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# Racially Segregated Education in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia

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Was majority rule achieved earlier if repression in education was less severe?

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Source front page: Adapted blank world map, with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia colorized.

<http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e0/BlankMap-World-1985.png>

accessed 7-6-2015

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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

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ANC	African National Congress
BSAC	British South Africa Company
BPC	Black People's Convention
NP	National Party
RF	Rhodesian Front
RNP	Re-unified National Party
SASO	South African Student's Organization
SADF	South African Defence Force
SRANC	Southern Rhodesian African National Congress
UFP	United Federal Party
UP	United Party
WWII	World War II
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union

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## INTRODUCTION

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Recently there was a large protest in South Africa at the University of Cape Town. The 'Rhodes must fall campaign', as it was called, had as its main goal that the Cecil Rhodes statue on campus must be removed. The protesters claimed that the statute represented the lack of opportunities the black majority still have. Even after apartheid has ended, it is still not possible for the majority of blacks to gain access to the top universities.<sup>1</sup> The statue of Cecil Rhodes probably also reminds black South Africans of the colonial heritage and its ensuing racial segregation. And Rhodes' influence did not end there; he was also the founder of the Rhodesia's, now Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Rhodes sent settlers to the Rhodesia's to find gold, a mineral that was mined extensively in South Africa already. This led to the formation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia as new British colonies, thereby joining others like South Africa. Both countries had more similarities than being a British colony and having a mining industry; Southern Rhodesia and South Africa both possessed a large white settler community. The Southern Rhodesian and South African settlers had taken control over the country in different eras, but it created a similar situation; whites controlled the economy and the political structure and the indigenous population had little influence in either area.<sup>2</sup>

A system of racial segregation, or apartheid, was constructed in South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia, which affected all parts of life for the black population from racial segregation in the mines and on the farms, to separate park benches and cinemas. The apartheid system in South Africa was infamous throughout the world, and from the 1950s onwards many inside and outside South Africa protested against it. Lesser known was the racial segregation in Southern Rhodesia, even though it was also very present.

Racial segregation ended in 1980 in Rhodesia, when 'majority rule' was achieved and Robert Mugabe became the new Prime Minister of Zimbabwe. South Africa, on the other hand, was one of the last countries to end racial segregation when apartheid policies were officially

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<sup>1</sup> BBC correspondent, 'South Africa university boards up statue', accessed on 12-2-2015.  
<http://www.bbc.com/news/education-32116166>

<sup>2</sup> Africans often had unskilled jobs and most had no voting rights.

**Figure 1. Net Primary School Enrolment Rate Percentage, 2008-2013.**



Central and West Africa are below 80%, whereas Southern Africa is between 80% and 95%. Note that net enrolment data were used, but if unavailable net attendance data from surveys were used.

Source: <http://data.unicef.org/education/primary>, 18-4-2015.

abolished in 1994. Although there was resistance within the country and throughout the world, both countries had minority white rule for an extensive period. There were several methods that had kept these white men in power, but one that is particularly interesting was the effect education had. For South Africa “[i]t is widely accepted that schooling, in the form of the debased and separate Bantu Education that was introduced specifically for Africans in 1953 ... has been a major instrument in constructing the racial order ...”.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to see if this was indeed the case, and if this extends to Zimbabwe as well.

Today access to education is considered a basic human right and is treated as such by international organizations such as the United Nations (UN). This becomes clear in the UN’s Millennium Development Goals of 2000; one of the eight goals was universal primary education. By promoting and pursuing this issue the net enrolment rate has increased from 82% in 1999 to 91% in 2012. Still, West and Central Africa are far behind and although Southern Africa is not in the worst category, it is also not in the over 95% group (Figure 1).

Education is needed in the formation of human capital. This will lead to better health, for example, lower crime rates and it also leads to a better skilled labour force. Furthermore, an educated society is linked to economic growth,<sup>4</sup> as it has been shown that “societies that achieved higher literacy rates earlier than others were also the economies to achieve higher

<sup>3</sup> Shimahara, *et al.*, *Ethnicity, Race, and Nationality in Education* (2012), p.103.

<sup>4</sup> Goldin, ‘Human Capital’, pp. 14-15.

economic growth rates over longer periods".<sup>5</sup> Individually, education is needed to gain access to better job opportunities. Research in America shows that larger inequality in income will lead to greater educational difference; therefore, children from poorer families are likely to attain less human capital. "Because labour market success is linked to schooling achievement, the consequence of widening disparities in schooling is likely to be further increases in earnings inequality."<sup>6</sup> Thus, a vicious cycle would be created.

In Southern Rhodesia and in South Africa education was separate for black and white children.<sup>7</sup> If it was not only separate, but also different in quality and access, white children would have been better educated and would have had access to higher ranking jobs and a larger income. Black children would have enjoyed less education or education of a lower quality, which would have led to lower ranking jobs and thus a smaller income. This situation, then, would be the same for the next generation, if not worse. The difference only would have increased and Africans would have never enjoyed the education necessary for positions of political and economic power; meaning that the white population would have retained these posts. It therefore could have made racial segregation in education one of the main reasons that apartheid was maintained.

It is therefore interesting to research if differences in education led to different outcomes when it came to majority rule. By looking at the racial segregation and education policies in Zimbabwe and South Africa a clear picture can be formed on their education systems. The choice to research these countries was made because of the similar situation in both states, such as both being a British colony, and both having a mining and farming economy; but mostly because of the white settler minority which ruled these countries. A comparative method will be used, with South Africa and Zimbabwe on an equal footing, and within the time period of 1945 until independence. The chosen time period includes the 'worst' of the racial segregation period, with the National Party which advocated apartheid in South Africa and the Rhodesian Front party which was strongly in favour of racial segregation.

Several sub-questions have been formulated to delve into the research question in more detail. First it is necessary to find out how the racial segregation systems were implemented

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<sup>5</sup> Fourie and Swanepoel, 'When Selection Trumps Persistence', p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Campbell, *et al.*, 'Economic inequality and educational attainment across a generation', pp.14-15.

<sup>7</sup> University education in Southern Rhodesia was multiracial, but this was only a very small group. South African universities were also not necessarily racially segregated in access, especially before the 1950s, but there were separate classes and halls of residence for each race. This will be further discussed in chapter 4.

in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Was this done in a similar way, or in a different manner? What could be the reasons for this racial segregation? Were these economically, politically or racially motivated? If the racial segregation was already very different, it is likely that the education systems were different. This would make it harder to pinpoint education as the main reason for keeping the white population in power.

Secondly, the education system will be looked at. This will be split into educational legislation; primary and secondary education; and tertiary and post-primary non-academic education and working life. For all three the focus will be to find to the similarities and differences. Was there different access, or different quality, or both? Were there similar reasons for the segregation in education in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia? And what could African students who had passed certain levels of education obtain in terms of higher education and employment opportunities? Could a student who passed secondary school attend university? Did a bricklayer have the qualifications to work anywhere he pleased?

The hypothesis is that the racial segregation policies concerning education were stronger and stricter in South Africa than in Southern Rhodesia. Although there was a difference between the black and white level of education, and therefore the average earnings, the black population in South Africa was hindered more by racial policies in education than the African population in Southern Rhodesian. Less human and financial capital available within the African population of South Africa is a feasible reason why majority rule came about at a later date in South Africa than in Southern Rhodesia.

South Africa and Rhodesia will be compared in their general and political history in chapter one. It will discuss the history of racial segregation in both countries and the similarities and differences between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Furthermore, it will look at possible reasons for this racial segregation. The chapter will be divided into three time periods, early settlement until self-government, self-government until World War Two and WWII until majority rule. This will help pinpoint the origins of the majority of the racial policies.

Chapter two, three and four will then focus on racial segregation in education. Chapter two will discuss the educational legislation of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. It will start with a short history of the early settler education efforts and then move on to the time period that this work focuses on. The underlying thoughts of racial segregation in education



will be discussed, as will the differences between both countries concerning the ideology and legislation.

Chapter three and four will use data from the National Yearbooks of the countries as well as UNESCO and UN data, plus a few secondary sources if data was unavailable from the primary sources. These two chapters will compare the numbers of enrolment, teachers, schools and financing and calculations derived from these figures. Chapter three will focus on primary and secondary school as these are often grouped together in the yearbooks. It will show if the countries were similar or different in the quality of and access to primary and secondary education.

Chapter four will discuss tertiary education and non-academic post-primary education. It will also give some insight in job opportunities and access to vocational education and higher education. The discussion will show the differences and similarities in access and if this was racially motivated. The chapter will also cover the job opportunities available to the African populations of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa after they had finished their education.

The similarities and differences between Southern Rhodesia's and South Africa's education system will be significant in explaining the different economic and political outcomes for both countries. It will be a relevant contribution to the small literature available on how the white minority remained in power; especially for Zimbabwe, for which there is not much recent literature on its colonial history.

This work will also increase our understanding of racial segregation in education. The education sector in Zimbabwe particularly has not been well researched as of yet and a comparison between South Africa and Zimbabwe in this area has not been made. The data will hopefully contribute to a renewed academic discussion on racial segregation in both countries and education policies in Southern Rhodesia.

Works that have been used in this dissertation are plentiful. Of particular use has been the UNESCO database, both for documents about educational organization in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and for population, economic and educational data. The Official Yearbooks of both countries have also been very helpful, as was the International Historical Statistics book. Secondary sources contain dissertations, especially on Zimbabwe, books and

articles. The *History of South Africa*, by Roger Beck, and *Mugabe's War Machine*, by Paul Moorcraft, have been very helpful for some general knowledge on both countries.

The chapters will contain some terms that are not my choice of wording. For instance the indigenous populations of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia will be mentioned as Africans, natives and blacks. In the case of the white settlers, these will be called Europeans or whites. For Southern Rhodesia the term white and European will often include Asians and Coloureds. It must be noted that Coloureds and Asians were treated differently than Europeans in Southern Rhodesia, but due to the unclear line between these three 'races' they have been grouped together.<sup>8</sup> For South Africa these groups will be mentioned separately; but in South Africa the Asian group is referred to as Indians. Sometimes when referring to blacks, Coloureds and Indians the term non-white will be used. Most of this terminology is considered racist and rightly so, but I have decided to use these 'historic terms' to further indicate the racial segregation.

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<sup>8</sup> O'Callaghan, *Southern Rhodesia: the effects of a conquest society on education, culture, and information* (Paris, 1977), p. 61.

## CHAPTER 1:

A HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA

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SOUTH AFRICA PRE-1910 AND RHODESIA PRE-1923

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South Africa was first settled by the Dutch in the Cape area in 1652. This Cape Colony, which was extended into the interior throughout the following decades, became British in 1814.<sup>9</sup> In disagreement with the British legislation on black rights and other elements of British rule, the Dutch settlers, or Boers, moved further inland to found two Boer Republics, the Transvaal (1837) and the Orange Free State (1837).<sup>10</sup> These Afrikaner states were officially recognized by Britain in the 1850s. Natal was also originally founded by the Boers (1839), but it was soon annexed by Britain (1843). These four colonies eventually united in 1910 as the Union of South Africa.<sup>11</sup>

During the extension of the settlement, the Dutch and later British came into contact with local tribes, such as the KhoiKhoi, KhoiSan, Xhosa, and eventually the Zulu, with whom many wars were fought. They were incorporated into the colony together with imported slaves and at a later date Indians, who were brought in as a labour force for Natal; this was the start of the race-based society that South Africa became known for.

It was not until the discovery of diamonds and gold that the number of white settlers increased in the four settlements. The British annexed the remaining original indigenous states in the 1870s and 1880s and imposed cash taxation on the natives, which forced the Africans into the white money economy. Pass laws, which restricted Africans in their movement into certain areas, and a lack of suitable land, were also reasons for the African population to enter this economy. It led to many Africans finding work on farms or in the mining industry.<sup>12</sup>

In 1875, a colour bar was instituted to prevent Africans and Coloureds from gaining diamond mining concessions, which meant that they had even fewer options available to earn money

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<sup>9</sup> The British had already occupied the Cape in the late eighteenth century when France had occupied the Netherlands. When the French and British signed the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 the Cape was returned to the Dutch. When Anglo-French hostilities re-emerged the British re-occupied the Dutch Colony in 1806. It was formally ceded to Britain in 1814. For more on this subject read Roger Beck, *The History of South Africa*, pp. 51-57.

<sup>10</sup> The Transvaal was then known as the South African Republic and the Orange Free State as Transorangia.

<sup>11</sup> Beck, *The History of South Africa* (2012), chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>12</sup> Feinstein, *Economic History of South Africa* (2012), p. 60-66.



(Figure 2), for which he had received a Royal Charter to develop a settler community led by his BSAC. In this decade the local tribes were conquered and an uprising of the indigenous population was precipitated. Thereafter, the local population was exposed to taxation, forced labour, while drought, locusts and rinderpest also threatened the subsistence living of Africans.<sup>14</sup>

The unrest in Rhodesia had been quelled, but tensions between the Boers and the British had increased. This eventually led to the Anglo-Boer War, which was mainly a struggle over gold mine control. It lasted from 1899-1902 and cost many thousands of lives, irrespective of race and regardless of military or civilian status.<sup>15</sup> The peace treaty incorporated the Boer republics into the British Empire with local self-government.<sup>16</sup>

Reconstruction of the settlements started and Britain was preparing the transition of South Africa to self-government. During this time British authorities also increased the pressure on Africans to enter the labour market by expanding taxation on this group, which enlarged racial differences. As a result of policy and ideology more 'non-white' groups were protesting, with more African, Coloured and Indian organizations being founded.<sup>17</sup> After several rebellions and many African protests, the white South Africans agreed on the need to unite against the African threat to white dominance.<sup>18</sup> The Union of South Africa was proclaimed in 1910 when the Union of South Africa Act of 1909 came into effect.

While South Africa was preparing for self-government, whites in Rhodesia were organizing the new settlements. Contrary to South Africa, the British did not want to administer Rhodesia and BSAC rule was extended over all of Southern Rhodesia.<sup>19</sup> In 1898 the first form of government with settler representation was set up, elected by a restricted franchise.<sup>20</sup> In an attempt to protect some African rights, the British government ordered in 1899, that the

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<sup>14</sup> Hudson, *Triumph or Tragedy?* (1981), pp. 7-12.

<sup>15</sup> One of the British tactics was a 'scorched earth' method, burning all the Afrikaner farms and capturing its inhabitant. They were all sent to concentration camps. Separate camps were set up for the African population and the African men were forced into the mines. The conditions of all camps were horrendous and cost the lives of over 35,000 people, mostly women and children. For more information read S.B. Spies, *Methods of Barbarism?* (Cape Town, 1977).

<sup>16</sup> Beck, pp. 108-110.

<sup>17</sup> Clark and Worger, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* (2013), pp. 16-19.

<sup>18</sup> Beck, p. 108.

<sup>19</sup> Rhodesia became Southern Rhodesia in 1901 when it was separated from Northern Rhodesia

<sup>20</sup> The franchise was given to men who held a certain amount of land or earned a certain income. There was no colour bar, but few Africans qualified.

BSAC was “obliged ... to create economically viable Native Reserves across the territory for Africans displaced by conflict and white occupation.”<sup>21</sup>

The distribution of land caused a racial division of land ownership, but despite this, Africans could still prosper from farming produce. However, after complaints of white settlers about African farming competition, subsidies and other government interventions caused a significant competitive advantage for the white farmers. By 1908 farming had become the major industry for white settlers, overtaking the profits from mining.<sup>22</sup>

The Master and Servants Act was introduced in 1901 to cover physical labour in all sorts of industry ranging from domestic service to mining. When a servant would disobey his master in any way, the servant could face criminal charges.<sup>23</sup> Personal rights of Africans were also diminished and were further curbed in 1910 when the Southern Rhodesia Native Regulations was passed. It gave the Native Commissioners the right to control the movement, land and labour of Africans.<sup>24</sup>

Within ten years Southern Rhodesia had a firmly segregated society on a racial basis. Taxation and the lack of available land also forced Southern Rhodesian Africans into the money economy. It created a large unskilled labour force, mostly employed in the mining and agricultural sector. Thus, a similar situation as in South Africa was created. There, racial segregation had taken longer to evolve, but with the same results. Although racial superiority certainly played a role, the early signs of racial segregation coincided with the need for a large and cheap labour force.

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<sup>21</sup> Alden and Anseeuw, *Land, Liberation and Compromise* (2009), p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>23</sup> Austin, *Racism and Apartheid in Southern Africa* (1975), p. 63.

<sup>24</sup> Shutt, 'Natives are getting out of hand', pp. 656-657.

Native Commissioners were state officials who were responsible for the administration of a tribal district. They served under the Chief Native Commissioner.

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**DOMINION SOUTH AFRICA AND SELF-GOVERNING SOUTHERN RHODESIA**

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The South Africa Act of 1909 served as the constitution of South Africa for over fifty years. It organized the government of the new Union into a bicameral legislature in Cape Town with the Governor General at the top.<sup>25</sup> The electoral representatives could only be whites, ruling out participation of other races in policy making. The Act contained a few important aspects that facilitated the racial segregation.

Almost every article of the constitution, with the exception of two, could be amended by a majority. As the South African system was a Westminster-style parliament laws could easily be changed.<sup>26</sup> The two exceptions needed a two-thirds majority of both houses for amendment, one being the black franchise in the Cape.<sup>27</sup> Although the reality was that the majority of Africans and Coloured did not qualify to vote.<sup>28</sup> It was also decided that each parliament seat represented a constituency and that all constituencies had the same number of voters. However, a judicial committee could adjust this number according to a list of factors. Thus, it could lead to sparsely populated rural areas needing less votes for a seat than highly populated urban areas.<sup>29</sup>

The white settlers in Southern Rhodesia had pushed for more power and the British government eventually decided that Southern Rhodesia would be given responsible government.<sup>30</sup> In 1923 Rhodesia became a self-governing British colony led by the small white minority, under the control of the Governor General. A constitution was drafted which called for and organized a Legislative Assembly of thirty seats. Just like in the Cape Province, the population was allowed to vote if it met the requirement of literacy and landownership or a certain income. Still, hardly any Africans were allowed to vote.<sup>31</sup>

The colony was still under British Rule, thus the British government could still legislate in Rhodesia without consulting the local government, although this hardly ever occurred, and

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<sup>25</sup> The Governor General was the representative of the British Monarch and was often of British nobility until 1943. After 1943 the Governor General was a citizen of the country it represented.

<sup>26</sup> The victor of the elections would have the majority of the seats.

<sup>27</sup> The franchise issue was complicated and was something the four colonies would not agree on. It was therefore decided that the franchise would remain the same as it was in all four colonies.

Klotz, A.; *Migration and National Identity* (2013), p. 99.

<sup>28</sup> Clark and Worger, p. 20.

<sup>29</sup> Beck, p. 109-111; *Union of South Africa Act* (1909), IV (35; 39-40). This process is also referred to as gerrymandering.

<sup>30</sup> Hudson, pp. 16-19.

<sup>31</sup> Hudson, pp. 17, 22.

Native Affairs remained in British hands through the High Commissioner.<sup>32</sup> The constitution's reserve clauses also allowed the British government to cancel bills the Rhodesian government wanted to introduce. However, any potentially controversial legislation was discussed and amended beforehand. Therefore in reality, most of the power was in the hands of the Rhodesian prime minister.<sup>33</sup>

The level of autonomy these countries enjoyed was very similar. Most importantly, both countries made the decisions on the rights of the non-European population, which led to a series of discriminatory laws. Yet, only four percent in Southern Rhodesia and twenty percent in South Africa was white at the time of self-rule.<sup>34</sup>

### SEGREGATION LEGISLATION

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After Union, the first racial segregation act in South Africa concerned job reservation for whites in the mines and on the railroads through the Mines and Work Act (1911). Then Native Labour Regulation Act (1911) restricted organized protest against employers, preventing Africans from breaking their contracts and leading to recruitment control. It undermined black worker's rights and this law helped to further reinforce the already existing Master and Servants Acts (1856, 1880, 1894 & 1904).<sup>35</sup>

Protests erupted after this legislation. To curb future African challenges the Industrial Conciliation Act (1924) was introduced, which also racially defined wages. The Wages Act (1925) introduced a minimum wage, basically just for whites;<sup>36</sup> and Africans were not included under the term 'employee' in The Mines and Work Act (1926), which further expanded the colour bar in industry and mining. This left the Africans with low-ranking jobs, low wages and without the right to protest.<sup>37</sup> In the 1930s laws concerning labour contracts were passed and pass control was tightened.<sup>38</sup>

In Southern Rhodesia, the Industrial Conciliation Act (ICA) of 1934 further segregated job opportunities after the Public Services Act of 1931 had already excluded Blacks from

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<sup>32</sup> The High Commissioner of Rhodesia was also the Governor-General of South Africa.

<sup>33</sup> Bowman, *Politics in Rhodesia* (1973), p.8; Martin, 'The Rule of Law in Zimbabwe', p.240.

<sup>34</sup> Adapted from *Yearbook Southern Rhodesia* (1918).

<sup>35</sup> Ross, *et al.*; *The Cambridge History of South Africa: Volume 2* (2011), p.255.

<sup>36</sup> For more information on this Act see Feinstein, p. 87.

<sup>37</sup> Clark and Worger, p. 21.

<sup>38</sup> Ross *et al.*, pp. 240, 284.



government administrative jobs. The ICA created a formal colour bar against African workers by protecting the white wage structure and by controlling access to employment opportunities. This was done by defining the term 'employee' as a white worker only, just like in South Africa.<sup>39</sup>

Most of the previous acts and regulations concerning natives in Southern Rhodesia on a personal level were combined in the Native Affairs Act (1927). This gave the Native Affairs Department and its Native Commissioners control over all parts of African life. The racial separation was further increased by the Maize Act (1931) and its amendment of 1934. It forced black farmers to sell the output below production costs, which resolved the competition problem white farmers faced. More importantly, the independent African farmers were pressured into white employment to be able to pay their taxes, which helped to resolve the labour shortage for the white community.<sup>40</sup>

Land had already been divided into African and European areas by the 1930 Land Apportionment Act. Seen as one of the main pillars of racial segregation laws, it led to a skewed distribution of land. Massive forced removals of blacks from white areas followed with the majority of the population living in the reserves. The Native Reserves and Purchase Areas were controlled by the government through the 'traditional authorities' by the passing of several acts.<sup>41</sup>

Thus, by the mid-1930s the indigenous population was limited in job and land access, and was forced to work for the white settlers to pay their taxes. Furthermore, the restriction in land access threatened the subsistence living of Africans. Land in the reserves was less fertile and soon the land was overtaxed due to a rapidly growing African population and their growing herds. This drew them even further into the money economy as they needed to buy provisions.<sup>42</sup>

In South Africa land access was also segregated with the Land Act (1913), which created the Native Reserves. The Land Act prohibited Blacks to buy land outside these reserves. It also made provisions to prevent other means of independent black access to land, and therefore

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<sup>39</sup> Bowman, pp. 14-15; Warhurst, 'The History of Race Relations', p.17.

<sup>40</sup> Alden and Anseeuw, pp. 40-41.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* p. 41; Warhurst, p. 13; Moorcraft, *Mugabe's War Machine* (2011), p. 27.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

no economic independence was possible.<sup>43</sup> Many amendments were made to this act, changing the amount of hectares and the location of the Native Reserves, most notably the Native Trust and Land Act (1936). The Native Affairs Act (1920) gave these reserves a separate and segregated administrative and legal system, also run by the 'traditional authorities'.<sup>44</sup>

From 1913 on, Blacks were only allowed to live on white owned farms as workmen. It meant an end to the purchase rights of blacks in the Cape Province.<sup>45</sup> Just as in Southern Rhodesia, the subsistence farming existence of the African population was hampered by the lack of fertile available ground, as owning land outside the reserves was illegal and within the reserves the soil was barren and overused.

Next to land access, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act restricted black entrance into 'white' urban areas from 1923. It restricted the movement of black men in white areas, controlled migration of Blacks into towns and called for the establishment of separate black locations near urban centres. This act was also frequently amended and tightened.<sup>46</sup>

The Native Administration Act in 1927 prescribed a separate political regime for the Black Areas and set up a separate legal system for the administration of Africans. The Governor General became "in effect the paramount chief of all Africans".<sup>47</sup> The government now ruled by decree when it came to Africans rather than by law, except in the Cape. Laws concerning separate education, the prohibition of interracial sexual relations, relocation of urban blacks and the removal of voting rights were passed in the following twenty years.<sup>48</sup>

The Native Affairs Department in Southern Rhodesia had similar rights as its counterpart in South Africa. It also administered the pass laws and regulated African movement in Southern Rhodesia. This was consolidated in the Native Registration Act (1936) and the Native (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act (1946). Other segregation laws were passed in areas such as education.<sup>49</sup> The 1930s also saw the implementation of the policy of 'parallel

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<sup>43</sup> Feinstein, p. 43.

<sup>44</sup> The act could not be imposed on the black population in the Cape province as it would have been in conflict with the constitutional franchise rights of blacks which were property based. To deny this group property rights was to deny them the franchise, which was unconstitutional. Moorcraft, p. 78.

<sup>45</sup> Moorcraft, pp. 32-34.

<sup>46</sup> Clark and Worger, p. 51.

<sup>47</sup> Beck, p. 123.

<sup>48</sup> Christopher, *Atlas of Apartheid* (1994), p. 65; Clark and Worger, p. 23.

<sup>49</sup> Warhurst, p. 9; Shutt, pp. 655-666; Bowman, p. 11.

development' or the 'two-pyramid policy'. It meant that Africans could rise to any position within their own area. This was, however, a deception as regulations surrounding any form of training or education ensured that Blacks could never become lawyers or doctors.<sup>50</sup>

As the economy was concentrated in the white areas, there were no real opportunities in the Native Reserves. Labour, agricultural, industrial, educational and health legislation of the late twenties and thirties was aimed at creating a secure and prosperous society for the whites at the expense of blacks. This mostly succeeded, despite the hard times of the Depression. Soon everything would change with the formation of a Central African Federation of the Rhodesia's and Nyasaland. It could solve the 'native problem' as due to the federation formation a black state could be founded.<sup>51</sup>

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## NATIONAL PARTY AND RHODESIAN FRONT RULE

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### SOUTH AFRICA

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When World War Two came to an end, both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia had racially segregated societies. It has been shown that Africans were forced into the money economy through taxation and lack of available land, which made subsistence farming impossible. Pass laws had also reduced the possibilities of movement for Africans, binding them to certain employers, mostly in agriculture or mining. White wages were protected and most of the skilled jobs were reserved for whites; resulting in a large unskilled labour force which was necessary for working the fields and mines.

During the war years the South African economy had grown tremendously. The industrial expansion had led to blurring lines between black and white workers. After a series of strikes a few concessions were made to black workers. However, the standards of living and rights hardly changed and the huge rise of the urban population led to squatter camps on the urban periphery.<sup>52</sup>

The white population was getting very concerned about the growing influx of blacks into the city, the loss of black farm labour and the number of black urban workers. Control over

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<sup>50</sup> Bowman, pp. 15-16; Warhurst, pp.18-19.

<sup>51</sup> Chanock, *Unconsummated Union* (1977), p. 257.

<sup>52</sup> Clark and Worger, pp. 36-37; Beck, pp. 131-32.

labour, especially the cheap labour that was required and the protection of jobs for whites, was necessary. The UP was seen as too liberal on this issue, especially by the Afrikaners. The Reunited National Party (RNP) formed the Sauer Committee to address these issues. The committee concluded that more segregation was possible and needed. As a result of these racial policies, the RNP won the majority of the seats at the 1948 elections. They were aided by gerrymandering,<sup>53</sup> which would help them remain in power for the coming decades.<sup>54</sup>

After winning the election the RNP, soon to be the National Party (NP), started to implement the Committee's recommendations, or what the NP called apartheid. "It declared Indians to be permanent aliens and called for [their] repatriation. Africans were temporary visitors to white areas [with quotas on migration to towns, who had] no possibility of ... gaining political or social rights to those of whites ... Strict segregation of the Coloured population was recommended, as well as the removal from the common voter role in the Cape."<sup>55</sup>

Although the exact definition of Apartheid was unclear even to the NP politicians, it divided South Africa into the four racial groups: White, Indian, Coloured and Black, with diminishing rights in that order. Whites always came first, were all equal independent of their heritage, and only this group was civilized and therefore had all the political rights. New legislation and amendments to existing legislation quickly followed.<sup>56</sup>

Interracial marriage was prohibited, extra-marital sexual relations between whites and the other races became a punishable crime, and a race classification board was set up to register every citizen into a racial group. Movement of Africans was even more restricted and controlled through identification passes and public facilities became racially segregated. It completely constrained African lives and to a lesser extent the lives of Coloured and Indians.<sup>57</sup>

Africans were further coerced into certain jobs through the renewed pass laws, and because African unions were made illegal via the Native Labour (Settlement and Disputes) Act, wages

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<sup>53</sup> See also above p.12.

Gerrymandering is the term used for changing boundaries of a district or electoral constituency in the favour of one party. For more information read this interesting Washington Post article of 01-03-2015: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2015/03/01/this-is-the-best-explanation-of-gerrymandering-you-will-ever-see/>

<sup>54</sup> Beck, pp. 109-111; Christopher, p. 30; Clark and Worger, pp. 20-21.

<sup>55</sup> Beck, p. 133.

<sup>56</sup> Beck, p. 136; Clark and Worger, pp. 45-47.

<sup>57</sup> Beck, p. 136; Clark and Worger, pp. 45-47.

were further repressed. The establishment of labour bureaux to match Africans to vacancies, where both employee and employer had to report within three days of job loss or job opening, further pushed Africans into certain areas.<sup>58</sup> The introduction of apartheid legislation ensured the cheap labour control that was deemed necessary to the white population.

Within a decade a vast amount of apartheid legislation had been passed and the protests increased in all racial groups and at all social levels.<sup>59</sup> These protest movements would form the Congress Alliance in 1955. The Alliance ratified the Freedom Charter, which demanded equal rights in all aspects of life; a document which remained in use until the end of apartheid. The government responded with repressive laws and legislation; there was legislation to ban organizations, prohibit meetings in public places and police was increased and gained more authority.<sup>60</sup>

The NP remained in power and pushed on for further segregation. With the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act (1959) homelands were created for each tribe and African political rights were limited to these homelands.<sup>61</sup> One year later the policy of apartheid became an international affair after South African police officers opened fire on a crowd of non-violent protesters in Sharpeville. What came to be known as the Sharpeville Massacre sparked international attention to apartheid and it led to the formation of ANC military branch Umkhonto we Sizwe. It also led to more state repression, supported through laws, including the feared '90-day act' which allowed the police to detain suspects without charging them.<sup>62</sup>

This was also the time that British Colonial Policy changed. Britain was decolonizing its African colonies and wanted a change in racial policies in South Africa before independence. To avoid this change, Prime Minister Verwoerd declared South Africa a republic in 1961.

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<sup>58</sup> Wolpe, 'Capitalism and Cheap Labour-power', pp. 446-447.

<sup>59</sup> Next to white groups, the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan African Congress (PAC), South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), amongst others led the protests. Others included the National Union of South African Students, the Progressive Party in the form of the one seat of Helen Suzman, the South African Coloured People's Organization (SACPO), the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) to name a few.

<sup>60</sup> Beck, pp. 146-151.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>62</sup> The number of days was later increased to 180 and eventually an indefinite number of days.

Although now independent, Britain and South Africa remained close economic partners regardless of Britain's opinion on apartheid.<sup>63</sup>

South Africa underwent a period of enormous economic growth in the next decade, nearing a growth rate of seven percent in the mid-1960s.<sup>64</sup> It was partly due to the increase in mineral production, but also because of the unsatisfactory educational attainment due to the Bantu Education Act, which ensured a large unskilled labour force and as a result increased profits. Educated and skilled Africans were kept out of the higher ranking jobs by several acts that reserved these jobs for whites; this despite the fact that the growing manufacturing industry (1938: 17.0%; 1960: 26.6%; 1965: 30.4%) required more semi-skilled, and even skilled, labour.<sup>65</sup>

While South Africa slowly became more isolated internationally, Verwoerd carried on with implementing 'separate development'. The first homeland became 'independent' in 1963, with a Prime Minister, a legislative assembly and separate citizenship, but also with many aspects that were controlled by the South African government. It was also ensured that African labour was still available for the white industries outside these homelands through the Bantu Labour Act (1964), which allowed African workers in the urban areas while all 'unnecessary' Africans were forced out.<sup>66</sup>

More homelands followed and racial segregation policies in white areas continued. However, some apartheid features were relaxed, like the segregation of public amenities. South Africa's outward policy became more open. New Prime Minister Vorster reached out to African countries, allowed black and Asian diplomats a 'white status' and changed segregation policies in sports. This did not affect the international boycott of South Africa, it was only increased. Despite this, "[t]he economy was growing, opposition had been crushed, and separate development was proceeding as planned, albeit slowly."<sup>67</sup>

More Africans were moving to the cities, taking jobs officially reserved for whites and joining trade unions *en masse*. Strikes were increasing, led by anti-apartheid movements, and businesses also demanded a relaxation of apartheid laws. Following strikes in Durban, BPC

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<sup>63</sup> Beck, pp. 153-155.

<sup>64</sup> Feinstein, p. 147, f. 7.1.

<sup>65</sup> Feinstein, pp. 157-162. See also Appendix A, table 3.

<sup>66</sup> Clark and Worger, p. 62.

<sup>67</sup> Beck, p. 163.

and SASO leaders were banned and arrested.<sup>68</sup> It came to a head when pupils and students went to protest the use of Afrikaans at African secondary schools.

The Soweto protest in 1976, supported by Biko's Black Consciousness Movement, was put down with extreme violence and as a result riots erupted throughout the country. The decision was eventually reversed, but when the protesting students returned to their schools many were arrested, leading to another school boycott. Many more children were arrested and died in prison, as did Biko, and many more did not return to their schools. As a result the government increased suppression and banned several institutions, organizations and newspapers in the late 1970s.<sup>69</sup>

The growing international boycotts and the exodus of whites, or 'brain drain', led to a recession by the end of the 1970s. This caused the appointment of two commissions to look into apartheid and the economic needs. The results led to an increase in the amount of money spent on Indian, Coloured and Black education to provide for a better education for workers, necessary to keep the economy running. Yet, the removal of surplus blacks to the overcrowded and unviable homelands was still taking place and it made the people in the homelands even more dependent on migrant workers' wages.<sup>70</sup>

The 1984 Tricameral elections, issued after the new Constitution, were boycotted by Indians and Coloured; violence erupted throughout the country, which led to a nationwide State of Emergency. This gave police broader powers to arrest, detain, interrogate and hold suspects without charges and access to a lawyer. During this time, torture became an integral part of interrogation and those who were not detained had to fear South African security forces who were assassinating anti-apartheid leaders in and outside the country.<sup>71</sup>

By 1987 the government regained control and the South African Defence Force (SADF) replaced police in the townships, where Africans had been fighting white repression and each other. Whites had little to no idea what was happening due to the ban on press coverage in these areas, but the economy had been suffering severely with investors pulling

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166; pp. 168-170.

<sup>69</sup> Clark and Worger, pp. 79-83.

<sup>70</sup> Feinstein, p. 194.

<sup>71</sup> Beck, pp. 178, 184.

out of South Africa and international banks refusing loans because of apartheid.<sup>72</sup>

Organizations and parties left and right were meeting with the ANC to discuss ending apartheid.<sup>73</sup>

The NP was losing support and the apartheid system and the necessary duplicate governments and departments were immensely expensive, as was the tremendous police and military apparatus. Meanwhile it became harder to control the African population, with the government relying on force to keep Africans in their homelands and townships and to control their actions. When F.W. de Klerk became Prime Minister in early 1989 the situation was unsustainable. He started releasing political prisoners and lifted the ban on liberation organizations like the ANC. With this the negotiations started to end apartheid and organize free elections.<sup>74</sup>

#### SOUTHERN RHODESIA

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In 1948, the United Party and Huggins won the election and the idea of a federation was pursued. A pre-war commission had researched the federation question and advised that although the territories faced similar problems, the native policies differed too much to strive for federation. Even though Southern Rhodesia had progressed most in social services and development for natives, the native policies were observed to be too restrictive.<sup>75</sup> Eventually, after several conferences, with few Africans present, the Central African Federation was born in 1953.<sup>76</sup>

Before 1953, the already extensive native policy that was in place had been increased. Legislation was passed in 1946 to control the urban African population that had grown immensely during the war. One of the aspects of the legislation was that employers of Africans now had to pay the rent for their employees. If an African individual would lose their job it meant that eviction could occur. It also forced the educated Africans to live with the lesser or un-educated workers.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> The economy was already in freefall because of the long lasting practice of cheap labour and a strict import policy, which had led to little efficiency and a bad competitive position. More will be discussed in the following chapters.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 186-187.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188.

<sup>75</sup> Chanock, p. 230.

<sup>76</sup> Bowman, pp. 17-18.

<sup>77</sup> West, *Rise of an African Middle Class* (2002), p. 165.



Five years later Southern Rhodesia's Parliament passed the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) of 1951. The NLHA was presented as a conservation measure in an attempt to deal with the increasing pressures on the reservation lands due to the population growth. It prescribed land fragmentation control, shifted land ownership from communal to individuals, destocked African cattle and land allocation was moved from the African chiefs to the native commissioners. It did not resolve the problems in the Native Reserves and was met with great resistance and was one of the igniters of African nationalism in Southern Rhodesia. The act was quietly abandoned in 1961.<sup>78</sup>

Until then protest was very limited and it was not until 1957 that the African Nationalists Congress (SRANC) was founded, soon banned and renamed Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). All forms of protest were quashed by the government through several acts passed between 1950 and 1960. These acts, similar to South African legislation, banned organizations, prohibited public meetings and increased the power of the police. The government could easily repress their activities, especially in the urban areas, through pass laws and other legislation, which was already in place before the extensive security legislation.<sup>79</sup>

The reason that the passing of this legislation was possible despite the foundation of the CAF in 1953 was that Southern Rhodesia retained control over its native affairs. Although from a British point of view this was to protect the natives in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, it also meant that Southern Rhodesia could do as it pleased. The formation of the CAF meant that Southern Rhodesia gained economic control over the other two countries and overall had more power than the other countries.<sup>80</sup>

In the ten years of federation the Southern Rhodesia economy experienced a great increase in GDP, mainly paid for by the copper fields in Northern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia's GDP went from 161.5 million pounds in 1954 to 306.3 million pounds in 1963, with initial growth rates around 8.5%. Further advantages were that the federal government organized matters like white education and white farming and the federal expenditure on Southern Rhodesia was larger than the taxes Southern Rhodesia paid.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Alden and Anseeuw, p. 41; Bowman, p. 49.

<sup>79</sup> Moorcraft, p. 46; Alden and Anseeuw, p. 42.

<sup>80</sup> Alden and Anseeuw, p. 192, f. 15.

<sup>81</sup> Bowman, p. 23.

The new federal government included six seats that were allowed to be filled by Africans, out of thirty-five. African Junior Minister Posts were created and there was a more significant role for Africans in the Federal Civil Service, although a lot of European immigrants were also employed. Higher education for all racial groups became a responsibility of the federal government, resulting in the foundation of the multi-racial University of Salisbury.<sup>82</sup>

By 1960 the federation had lost its appeal. The real growth percentage of the Southern Rhodesian economy had declined to a little over three percent as opposed to nearly nine percent in the first year of federation. Furthermore, Britain was changing its policies after other British Colonies had gained independence in the preceding years. A commission of inquiry advised that "racial hostility was so great that the federation could not be maintained except by force or by introducing massive changes".<sup>83</sup> Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia got African governments in 1961 and 1962 respectively, and eventually the CAF was disbanded in 1963.

At this time the Southern Rhodesian government was trying to convince Britain to allow a new constitution and take the reserve clauses out of the constitution. In return, an extension of the African franchise and an alteration of the LAA were promised. The Industrial Conciliation Act was also amended and Africans were now allowed to become members of the trade unions. However, as these were organized vertically per branch, the African masses could not organize together and furthermore the unions were still segregated.<sup>84</sup>

Yet Britain appreciated the steps Southern Rhodesia was taking. A conference was called and Britain agreed to withdraw the reserve clauses if the 1961 Constitution would contain a declaration of rights; an increase the number of seats to sixty-five including fifteen African seats; and a constitutional council. These modifications to the constitution seemed more promising than they actually were since the exceptions were plentiful and the rest was easily bypassed.<sup>85</sup>

The constitution was passed, despite an African nationalist boycott. They were not, however, the only party that disagreed with the new constitution. Two parties that would

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<sup>82</sup> Hudson, p. 30; Bowman, p. 17; Moorcraft, p.29.

<sup>83</sup> Bowman, p. 28.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> Bowman, p. 28.

become the Rhodesian Front (RF) in 1962 were strongly opposed to the fifteen African seats.<sup>86</sup> Southern Rhodesia was to be ruled by the white man, like always according to RF. Their stance proved golden. Despite UFP winning the African vote, the RF won thirty-five of the sixty-five seats in the 1962 election.<sup>87</sup>

In the same year ZAPU was banned and nationalist leaders set up camp abroad. A power struggle ensued and ZAPU split into ZAPU and Zimbabwe's African Nationalist Union (ZANU); both set up camp in neighbouring countries. White Rhodesia was increasing military conscription and military material to defend itself against a possible guerrilla war and the already increasing violent protests.<sup>88</sup>

While the Africans were struggling amongst themselves, the RF was pushing for independence from Britain. The RF was far more aggressive than the UFP when it came to this, especially after Field was replaced with Ian Smith. As African rural and urban unrest was increasing and Rhodesian repression was becoming more violent, Britain became more worried. The British government urged the white Rhodesians to reform, but the white Rhodesians saw this as giving into black majority rule. Both parties would not budge. In 1965, Ian Smith declared a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI).<sup>89</sup>

Southern Rhodesia was becoming more and more isolated after its UDI and it was not formally recognized by any country. As a result of the UDI, sanctions were imposed by Britain, but they were largely ineffective. The government used import substitution policies and some export was possible through South Africa. Rhodesia's economy was growing with an average real growth rate of 5.6% in the first decade after UDI.<sup>90</sup> While the white population became increasingly prosperous, the African's economic position hardly changed.<sup>91</sup>

During the following decade Rhodesia was trying to control the African majority even more, through legislation like the Tribal Trust Land Act of 1967, for example. This made provisions for the unemployed Africans to go to the reserves. Propaganda was also used and created the image that "the Africans were ignorant, lacking in education and not capable of civilized

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<sup>86</sup> The UFP was formed out of the United Party and the Federal Party.

<sup>87</sup> Bowman, pp. 30-60.

<sup>88</sup> Moorcraft, pp. 30-31.

<sup>89</sup> Bowman, pp. 63-83.

<sup>90</sup> As calculated from Herbst, p. 23.

<sup>91</sup> Bowman, pp. 111-117; Alden and Anseeuw, p. 43; Cousins, 'State, Ideology and Power in Rhodesia', p. 56.

behaviour.”<sup>92</sup> Just like in South Africa, the cheap labour force was retained, but the ‘non-useful’ Africans were pushed out.

Meanwhile, the African liberation movements were pushed into action by UDI and started a guerrilla war. ZAPU and ZANU were not making much of an impact and were easily held off by the Rhodesian army until they changed tactics in 1971. As ZAPU and ZANU infiltrated Rhodesia more often an attempt was made to persuade the rural population to join them, by force if necessary.<sup>93</sup>

Rhodesia was trying to gain international support and proclaimed itself a Republic in 1970, but they were not internationally recognized. Although Britain did not accept this proclamation, they were still attempting to negotiate an agreeable independence. After a meeting between Smith and the British foreign secretary a settlement was made, but Rhodesia as a whole had to approve it. The African population refused this settlement.<sup>94</sup>

The freedom movement stepped up its struggle. Although it was severely slowed by rivalries and differing ideologies, ZANU and ZAPU eventually combined forces by creating the Patriotic Front. The government realised it could not keep out the guerrilla's and created protected villages, mainly to keep the rural population away from the PF. Whites were fleeing the country, leading to a ‘brain drain’, and children could not attend school. Rhodesia was in a severe economic crisis. The government realised that negotiations had to take place with Britain and the freedom movement. Eventually free elections were held in 1980.<sup>95</sup>

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## CONCLUSION

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The big difference between South Africa at the time of dominion status and Southern Rhodesia at the time of self-government was the history of settlement and the type of settler. South Africa was administered by the British government, and had been run by whites for more than fifty years in the Afrikaner Republics up to nearly 260 years in the Cape. Southern Rhodesia was run by a privately owned company, with a small white minority that had settled in Rhodesia less than thirty-five years before self-government.

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<sup>92</sup> Cousins, p. 54.

<sup>93</sup> Alden and Anseeuw, pp.44-46.

<sup>94</sup> Cousins, pp. 60-4.

<sup>95</sup> Alden and Anseeuw, pp. 46-49.

South Africa was bigger and more complicated than Southern Rhodesia at the time of unification. It had to incorporate two 'nationalities' with differing opinions on many things, including the role of the native population. Nevertheless, the legislation concerning racial segregation was increased or fortified, as the 'native' had to be subdued and a cheap labour force was needed; which it had been since the opening of the mines.

The Southern Rhodesian settlers were more 'alike' and the native laws came into existence early on in the history of 'their' country. In thirty years Southern Rhodesia had the same legislation in place as the laws that had been developed in over a century in South Africa. Presumably this was caused by the origin of the Rhodesian settlers and because of the sole purpose of the settlement in the first place: mining gold.

The large agricultural and mining industry, which existed in both countries needed a large labour force, found in the African population. The racial legislation controlled the labour force, kept Africans unskilled, enforced its compliance and ensured low wages. Whereas in South Africa the major businesses were trying to convince the government, in Southern Rhodesia the government was run by a company, which probably explains the quick development of the racial legislation in Southern Rhodesia. Although it took a relative short time for Southern Rhodesia to develop the racial segregation policies, they were mostly one step behind South Africa in their legislation.

After self-government the racial segregation continued. When the restrictive legislation was slowly relaxed, the Rhodesian Front and the National Party came to power. All improvements were reversed. The governments increased their military and police apparatus and their powers to coerce Africans in everything. This ensured that they could still be used as a cheap labour force, filling the majority of the unskilled jobs. Both countries experienced an initial economic boom after these parties won the elections, mostly through economic protectionist policies.

The freedom struggle was fought by the nationalists in Rhodesia through a guerrilla war, compared to civil unrest in South Africa. This struggle and the worsening economic position in both countries, partially caused by the lack of skilled labour and the white 'brain drain', eventually lead to negotiations about majority rule. The economic position of the African population had hardly improved until this time and will be further discussed in chapter 4.

Britain played an interesting role in the independence of both countries, which is one of the major differences between both countries. Britain demanded a change in racial legislation in South Africa, but when South Africa resisted and became a republic, Britain retained the economic ties. In Southern Rhodesia a similar demand was made, but when the Rhodesians refused and declared independence the British response was a boycott and a continued negotiation to discuss change.

Is it the timing or is it perhaps the larger mineral wealth of South Africa compared to Southern Rhodesia that could explain this different reaction of the British government? The larger mineral wealth of South Africa did keep the economy afloat for longer, as gold remained in high demand; whereas the largely agricultural economy of Southern Rhodesia was easier to sanction.

The main source of the economic recession in both countries was the use of protectionist policies and the use of cheap labour. Cheap labour meant a lack of skilled labour, which was due to white emigration, but also due to the low standard of African education. It could be that this lack of skilled labour, and thus lack of education, caused the difference between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia when it came to majority rule.

## CHAPTER 2:

## EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA: LEGISLATION AND ORGANIZATION

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As seen in chapter 1, formal education was already racially segregated long before WWII in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. In South Africa the availability of education and to whom it was available had been different in each colony until unification. It became available in the Cape in the seventeenth century and in the mid-nineteenth century in the Boer Republics. When compared with its South African equivalent, Rhodesian formal education had a relatively short history. Education was not introduced until the late nineteenth century when Europeans permanently settled in the area later known as Southern Rhodesia.

This chapter and the subsequent chapters will be focused on formal education. Although not fully replace, tribal education that had been available for centuries before white settlement will not be discussed, as the control over the African population originated from formal schooling. Here, formal education will be defined as “children (and adults) congregat[ing] according to a predetermined weekly schedule in a classroom setting to engage in prescribed curricular activities “. <sup>96</sup> It was therefore similar in organization to Western education and it focussed on general competence rather than vocational study. <sup>97</sup>

What follows is a short historiography of education in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia before World War II, starting with early settler education. This will include mission and state education, although most of this chapter will centre on the influence of government on both. As most education in the nineteenth century was primary schooling, no distinction will be made until after World War II.

The period after WWII until independence will be the main focus. Education legislation, which includes the existing laws in 1945, will be discussed and a comparison will be made between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. A similar approach will be used for educational organization. This will show what differences there were between both countries in education on a governmental level. Especially interesting will be the effect these policies had on the balance of knowledge versus labour shortage. Did the policies create a

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<sup>96</sup> Frankema, ‘Origins of Formal Education’, p. 336.

<sup>97</sup> Frankema, p. 336.

lack of knowledge, but did it solve the labour shortage? Or did it create a different shortage of labour?

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## ORIGINS OF EUROPEAN AND AFRICAN EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

1652-1945

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Schooling began in the Cape Colony, when The Dutch Reformed Church founded the first schools in the late seventeenth century. However, these schools only provided religious instruction, and hence reading and writing, but not much else.<sup>98</sup> It is now generally accepted that formal schooling was first introduced after British colonization. This happened through the missions, of which the Glasgow Mission Society was the first in 1821. The mission school had a much larger curriculum and went beyond bible studies.<sup>99</sup>

The establishment of these initially non-segregated mission schools started in the Cape. Already by 1841 the state offered some financial aid to the missions in and around the Cape.<sup>100</sup> The British authorities had also set up a Cape Department of Education in 1839 and created the position of Superintendent-General of Education (SGE). State schools were founded in the British tradition, but the Cape's SGE decided to also create a new system of state-aided schools, next to the existing private schools and mission schools. State-aided schools would eventually spread to the Afrikaner republics.<sup>101</sup>

In Natal there was a much more centralized education system with state schools; everything was controlled by the government. The Natal population was content with the state organizing educational provisions, unlike the inhabitants of the Cape.<sup>102</sup> In the Afrikaner Republics education was hardly available for Europeans other than in the mission schools.<sup>103</sup> This is supported by the data on total enrolment of pupils in the British colonies, which was far higher throughout the nineteenth century than in the Afrikaner colonies.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore,

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<sup>98</sup> Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa* (1970), pp. 8-9.

<sup>99</sup> Dube, 'The Relationship between Racism and Education in South Africa', pp. 89-90.

<sup>100</sup> Horrell, pp. 10-11.

<sup>101</sup> A community could establish a school and this endeavour would then be partially funded by the state and partially by the local community.

Pells, *European, coloured, and native education* (1978), p. 32; Christie, *The Right to Learn: The Struggle for Education in South Africa* (1987), p. 34.

<sup>102</sup> Pells, pp.37-38; Christie, p.41.

<sup>103</sup> Hlatshwayo, *Education and Independence* (2000), p. 33.

<sup>104</sup> Byrnes, 'Education, Early Development,' *Library of Congress Country Studies*, accessed online Feb. 2015; Dube, p.91.



there was basically no schooling in the rural areas and it was also much more church controlled, as state and church were synonymous in the Afrikaner Republics.<sup>105</sup>

By the 1850s plans were proposed by the governor of the Cape, George Grey, to subsidize the mission schools in the Cape and Natal for the indigenous population. The idea was that educating the natives would subjugate and pacify the local tribes and the taught subjects would prepare them for work as servants or other low-level jobs. European education was focussed on maintaining white superiority and supremacy, thus starting the racially segregated education system South Africa became known for. Racial segregation in Natal and the Cape became official policy at the turn of the century.<sup>106</sup>

In the Boer states indigenous education was mostly organized by the missions until the beginning of the twentieth century. In the Transvaal there was already a segregationist approach when it came to schooling and in the Orange Free State education in general hardly had any priority for Africans or Europeans. In mission schools it basically came down to an introduction into religion with reading and writing.<sup>107</sup> To exemplify, let us look at the literacy rates, measured by reading and writing skills in this case, in 1911. This was 73.2% in the Orange Free State of the total white population compared to 10.2% of the non-white population. For the Transvaal this was even lower for non-whites, but the literacy rate for whites was higher.<sup>108</sup> The high literacy rate amongst whites, despite the low availability of formal schooling, can be explained by the fact that home schooling was very common in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.<sup>109</sup>

In the 1870s the Education Department of the Cape was reorganized, making the school system more dependent on state financing and state control was increased by 1900.<sup>110</sup> In Natal the system remained much like it was and educational progress was small, in part due to the small white population.<sup>111</sup> The Afrikaner states also started to reorganize their education system and multiplied the limited amount of schools, plus, primary education became compulsory at the turning of the century.<sup>112</sup> After the Anglo-Boer war the victorious

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<sup>105</sup> Pells, pp.37-38; Christie, p.41.

<sup>106</sup> Hlatshwayo, pp. 30-32.

<sup>107</sup> Seroto, *The Impact of South African Legislation: 1948-2004* (2004), pp. 69-70; p. 75.

<sup>108</sup> As adapted from *Yearbook of South Africa* (1912-1913), pp. 360-361.

<sup>109</sup> Pells, pp. 32-38.

<sup>110</sup> Pells, pp. 45-48.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

British imposed their education system and most importantly their language upon the Afrikaners. In a response, the Boers set up a school system based on the Dutch Reformed Church religion. This was called Christian National Education, which was reluctantly funded by the government.<sup>113</sup>

In the years before unification the number of schools had increased immensely in all settlements. Enrolment of black students at these schools was practically not allowed, leaving the education of the African population in the hands of the missionaries. By 1905, only 2.1% of the total African population was attending school, none higher than primary school. To put this figure in perspective, in the Cape Colony eleven percent of the European population attended school in 1904.<sup>114</sup> The difference was further enlarged when in 1904 Natal and the Cape Colony ratified laws introducing compulsory education for Europeans only, followed by the Orange Free State and Transvaal in 1907.<sup>115</sup>

In 1910, when the South Africa Act came into effect, the new provinces retained their rights to decide on everything concerning education. Only higher education was to be handled by the Union Parliament.<sup>116</sup> For Europeans, primary education remained compulsory, even though it took some time before the majority of the European population had enjoyed some form of primary schooling. For blacks more state primary schooling did become available, albeit non-compulsory.<sup>117</sup>

Still, most of the education of Africans was in the mission schools and not organized by the state. Growth in enrolment numbers for blacks was minimal compared to the growth in population. A possible reason was the control of the Union government over African education and that their education was financed by the Africans themselves.<sup>118</sup> The growth of European enrolment was also minimal, but this is most likely because attendance had been compulsory since before Union, resulting in nearly all children of school-age to already being in school.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Christie, pp. 159-160; Byrnes; Dube, p.91.

<sup>114</sup> Collins, 'South Africa's First Three Hundred Years of Schooling', p. 372; Pells, p. 92.

<sup>115</sup> Library of Congress, *Early Development*; Dube, p.92; Villiers and Ntshoe, 'The Political Economy of South African Education', p. 596.

<sup>116</sup> *South Africa Act* (1909), V.85.iii.

<sup>117</sup> Collins, p. 374.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 370.

<sup>119</sup> Villiers and Ntshoe, p. 599.

The little education Africans obtained also had a different effect. It excluded them from certain jobs, which by law could only be carried out by workers with a minimum educational qualification. If this was not the case, conditions such as attendance of industrial classes could be demanded, which were mostly unavailable to Africans. The Apprenticeship Act of 1922 set Standard VI as the entrance level and was a further example of how Africans were excluded through education.<sup>120</sup>

As manufacturing was responsible for a small percentage of the GDP between 1911 and 1928, rising from 5.9 percent to 12.4%, this was a desirable situation to the white employer. A large unskilled labour force was available for mining and agriculture, which together accounted for 34.6% of the GDP in 1928. This can be seen in the number of employees in these sectors in 1925, with 266,912 Africans in mining, 435,000 in farming and only 121,000 in manufacturing.<sup>121</sup>

This situation was preferable and the government wanted more control over African education. Funding was provided by the provinces until 1925, but after this funding was obtained from a fixed grant from the Union's Consolidated Revenue Fund (CRF) made possible by the Native Education and Development Act of 1925.<sup>122</sup> The remainder was financed by African taxation, collected by the Union government.<sup>123</sup> Thus the financial responsibility of African education was mostly reliant on African taxes.<sup>124</sup> Indian, coloured and European education remained the responsibility of the provinces, including part of the finances that were drawn from provincial taxation.<sup>125</sup>

The distribution of school funding was skewed between the racial groups and became even more unevenly allocated throughout the first fifty years of the twentieth century. If an institution wanted to receive financial aid it had to register. Registering meant that the government decided upon the primary school syllabus that would be used.<sup>126</sup> Special native curricula were introduced in the period of 1913-1924 in the Cape, Orange Free State and

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<sup>120</sup> Feinstein, pp. 76-77. This also includes a list of jobs reserved for Europeans.

<sup>121</sup> Feinstein, pp. 60, 122; Wolpe, p. 427. Number for manufacturing is for the year 1924-25.

<sup>122</sup> The Consolidated Revenue Fund was the main account of governments in most of the Commonwealth countries.

<sup>123</sup> Blumfield, 'A Timeline of South African Events', pp. 2-27; Hunt Davis Jr., 'Administration and Financing', pp.128-130; Hartshorne, *Crisis and Challenge*, pp.24-26.

With this taxation, the direct taxation of Africans became the responsibility of the Union. Before, the provinces taxed the African population.

<sup>124</sup> Hlatshwayo, p. 36.

<sup>125</sup> UNESCO, *Apartheid its effect on education* (1967), pp. 31-33; 37-39.

<sup>126</sup> UNESCO (1967), pp. 31-33; 37-39

Transvaal, whereas in Natal these had already been introduced in 1886.<sup>127</sup> "At this junction the state had solidified hegemony in terms of form, content (syllabus), and structure (registration and funding) of African education."<sup>128</sup> A separate system was created with a different focus for African pupils, namely industrial work.

There was no secondary schooling system for Africans and only some institutions were open to Africans, but most went on to teacher training after primary school. Secondary schools for Africans were opened around 1930, mostly as part of a mission school, but later on state secondary schools were opened also. These schools provided a good education standard, with the same syllabus as the white secondary schools. Matriculation exams were the same for each race, giving the African population some hope. However, the number of African secondary schools was small and the costs to attend were high.<sup>129</sup>

The discussion whether or not the African population should be educated lingered on until the 1930s.<sup>130</sup> In 1936 the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education or the Welsh Committee reported on African education. It noticed the difference between white and black education in both funding and quality. The report recommended transfer of responsibility to the Union, including all finance; the latter suggestion only being implemented in 1945.

By 1945 education was racially segregated, with a different curriculum for Africans than for European students. Finances came from the state, rather than the province, and were reliant on African taxes. Primary schooling was mostly organized by the missions and only a small percentage of Africans attended, especially when compared with the European percentage; secondary schooling hardly existed. This all led to Africans being poorly educated, which affected their job opportunities.

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<sup>127</sup> UNESCO, (1967), pp. 31-33; 37-39.

Indians had immigrated to Natal in the nineteenth century to solve the labour shortage. Coloureds were the descendants of Europeans and the indigenous population.

<sup>128</sup> Hlatshwayo, p. 36.

<sup>129</sup> Harsthorne, pp. 60-62; Hlatshwayo, p. 39

<sup>130</sup> Morrow, 'Aims of Education', p. 172.

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THE FORMATION OF RACIALLY SEGREGATED EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA  
1890-1945

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In Southern Rhodesia formal education was mainly introduced for the schooling of the settler children. The indigenous population was seen as inferior, intellectually and culturally, and therefore did not need to be educated; except as a means to labour production. At a practical level this meant that the only institution that engaged itself with African education at the time of settlement was the mission. Their reasons were more of the evangelizing kind, making the African children Christians and 'removing' their inferior and barbaric culture.<sup>131</sup>

The segregation that was believed to be necessary in schooling can be found in the Education Ordinance of 1899. It created the system of the governmental or non-denominational schools, the voluntary or denominational schools and the native schools; all under the control of the ruling BSAC. The main focus of the ordinance was white education. All European students were in the governmental and voluntary schools, whereas African pupils were only allowed to attend native schools.<sup>132</sup>

The control the BSA Company had over education was enforced by a government inspector. The 1899 Ordinance prescribed that all schools, which received financial aid, had to permit government inspection. This applied to all governmental and voluntary schools, which were given grants, but also to the minimally subsidized native mission schools. Although the European schools were granted ten times more aid than the native schools, the latter still had to be open to inspection.<sup>133</sup>

Although the Ordinance was focussed on regulating education for the European population, it did stipulate regulations for the native schools as well. For example, European schools had to have at least twenty-five pupils to receive financial aid, the native schools at least fifty; and white males obtained an academic education and for girls domestic training was added, whereas African students had to spend 50% of their time in school on industrial instruction by a government approved teacher.<sup>134</sup> It already shows the focus of the white settlers on creating a labour force.

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<sup>131</sup> Richards and Govere, 'Educational Legislation in Colonial Zimbabwe', p. 138.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

In 1903 new legislation was passed which further segregated the races. New were the schools for Coloured students, next to the voluntary and governmental schools for Europeans and the mission schools for natives. The Ordinance reaffirmed the focus on industrial work for the native students, which had to be systematically taught. There was only a minimal amount of English in the curriculum and a school had to have at least forty students, who attended four hours a day for 150 days.<sup>135</sup>

The financing of all schools was increased; European schools now received half of their costs from the Company and the amount for native schools was more than doubled to 125 pounds. The native schools only received this financial aid if certain requirements were met, one of these being the systematic teaching of industrial work; whereas European schools did not have to comply with these conditions. The new financial arrangements meant a greater divide between the European school system and that of the natives. Especially as there were extra grants handed out for white pupils taking extra subjects, and etcetera.<sup>136</sup>

The Education Ordinance of 1907 restructured the school system into three categories: First class, second class and third class. First and second class were under European supervision; the first were boarding schools and the second were day schools. Third class was only required to have a certain amount of pupils that were being taught rudimentary English.<sup>137</sup> First class schools were subsidized the most, followed by second class schools; and far behind these followed third class, with only a tiny sum of money. Every school could become a first or second class school, but in reality the amount of money needed to meet the requirements meant that only European schools had the finances to qualify.<sup>138</sup> This then resulted in these schools receiving even more money, enlarging the difference between first/second and third and therefore between European and native.

The focus on industrial training remained and was further enhanced by government regulations in 1910, 1914, 1917 and 1921. Industrial teacher salary subsidies were doubled, grants were given to missions for the purchase of equipment, and grants were extended to industrial teachers and to students who were involved in practical work. Literary skills were left at a very elementary level and any attempt of the missionaries to set up facilities geared towards a more academic education was left without governmental aid. The missionaries

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<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139-140.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

were continuously demanding more financial aid from the Company. Although the Ordinance of 1903 and 1907, plus the regulations of the 1910s, increased the amount spent on mission schools and therefore native education, government spending on African schools was still greatly behind that on its European equivalent.<sup>139</sup>

The opinion that African culture had to be 'untaught' as it was barbaric and that the natives should be instructed how to be Christians, slowly moved further towards the opinion that Africans ought to be educated as low-level workers. The Company was financing the necessary industrial training, but there were also fears amongst European artisans and farmers that the natives would become their competitors. White anxiety was calmed by making statements such as that the native education should be "limited only to those handicrafts and trades needed in the reserves or useful for African assistants to European craftsmen".<sup>140</sup> This was countered by growing criticisms in missionary circles who believed that industrial training was "reducing Africans to the conditions of hired slaves".<sup>141</sup>

Around the time of self-government the Director of Native Development initiated a new policy for native education. It was to be focussed on educating the Africans at a primary school level, not on any further education, and the curriculum would mostly include industrial training. Later, the new Director of Native Development Jowitt even steered towards the policy "that African education should expand slowly and concentrate on the elementary level, geared to the social and economic capabilities of African communities".<sup>142</sup>

The 1920s also saw the erection of the Department of Native Education (1927), thus officially separating the European and African school systems. It mostly meant more governmental control in education, ensuring the permanent segregation of European and Native education and curbing the expansion of African education;<sup>143</sup> thus racially segregated education and a differing quality for each race.

At the end of the 1920s the Great Depression started. It led to white unemployment and in response the Department of Native Development Act was passed. It entailed job protection for whites, for example by disallowing academic and professional development for Africans, and it resulted in Africans carrying the burden of the depression. Although job protection

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<sup>139</sup> Küster, pp. 61-63.

<sup>140</sup> Challiss, p. 35 as quoted in Küster, p. 63.

<sup>141</sup> Küster, p. 64.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>143</sup> O'Callaghan, p. 18.

was not necessarily the response in the other African colonies, the depression costs were often paid for (in)directly by the African population in the colonies.<sup>144</sup>

The Native Development Act also led to a change in education administration, which was now separate for Africans and Europeans, Indians and Coloureds; meaning that each had its own white director, white school inspectors and other white officers, adding to the segregation that was already in place. It led to greater access, but also to more government control in African educational and economic development.<sup>145</sup>

Further differentiation between both groups came about when primary education became compulsory for Europeans in 1931. Seven years later this was extended to Coloured and Asian students. With the Compulsory Education Act schooling was made free for Europeans, but Africans had to pay fees, whether they were in government or mission schools.<sup>146</sup> The 1930s therefore brought larger differences between white and black education, adding to the discrimination in job opportunities for Africans.

The war led to a new policy concerning Africans residing in urban areas, including schooling. Urban African schools were developed and the government assumed all responsibility in 1945.<sup>147</sup> The increased involvement in African education was mostly based on the need to control the instruction in African schools, due to white fears of well- educated Africans who could compete for white jobs and cause unrest in the colony.<sup>148</sup>

When WWII ended Southern Rhodesia had a racially segregated school system, based on similar ideas as the South African system. The different focus of the curriculum trained Africans for low-skilled jobs and different levels of access also contributed to the low educational attainment of Africans and therefore restricted access to high ranking jobs. Since few numbers were available on the Southern Rhodesian economy, it was only possible to create an overview. However, it is clear that white jobs were protected and a large unskilled labour force remained available to farmers and miners, where 58% of the Africans in the white wage economy were employed in 1946.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Rothermond, *Global Impact of the Great Depression*, p. 135.

<sup>145</sup> Richards and Govere, p. 142.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.* p. 142.

<sup>147</sup> Zvobgo, 'Colonial Inheritance', p. 13; Hungwe, 'Educational policy in African Colonial Contexts', pp. 14-15.

<sup>148</sup> Küster, p. 173.

<sup>149</sup> Bowman, p. 47.



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## EDUCATION AFTER WORLD WAR II

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By the end of World War II education was racially segregated in both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. As a fairly young colony, Southern Rhodesia's African education system was not as far developed as its counterpart in South Africa. However, the similarities were clear: white education was compulsory and free, African education was neither.

Furthermore, white education was aimed towards general competence or literary teaching, black education sought to teach the natives a certain low-skilled profession. In both countries the white settlers were trying to protect their 'supremacy' and economic position by creating a low-skilled African workforce with low wages.

In these next paragraphs the decades following the end of WWII will be discussed. The focus will be the structure of the organization and the legislation on education. This will increase our understanding of the differences between black and white, but mostly the differences and similarities between both countries.

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### LEGISLATION AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA

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After World War II change was coming to South Africa. In an already racially segregated society, the National Party (NP) had re-emerged in the political arena. The NP wanted to enforce strict racial segregation in all areas of life, including education. Even before the 1948 election, NP members in the House of Assembly made public statements on racial segregation and even exclusion of races in parts of education. NP member le Roux said in 1945:

"We should not give the natives an academic education ... If we do this we shall be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in the country?"<sup>150</sup>

This already indicated the future of Africans as a resource of cheap labour.

Until the NP came to power, policies had been loosened by the UP. In desperate need of skilled workers after the war and to quell labour unrest, more money was made available through the Native Education Finance Act of 1945 to train Africans. Education funds were now drawn solely from the Consolidated Revenue Fund, not from the African taxes, and

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<sup>150</sup> UNESCO (1967), p. 27.

expenditure doubled between 1945 and 1950. At the same time Native Education was placed under the control of the Department of Education, rather than under the Department of Native Affairs.<sup>151</sup>

In 1948 after its victory in the elections, the NP quickly established a commission on education. Led by Max Eiselen, the in 1949 appointed commission had a mandate to formulate "the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race".<sup>152</sup> It would consider the racial qualities, distinctive characteristics, aptitude and needs of Africans. The existing primary, secondary and vocational education systems could then be adapted to an extent that would fit the proposed principles and aims.<sup>153</sup>

The report by the Eiselen commission was presented in 1951 and formed the theoretical basis for African or Bantu education. The report "emphasized the cultural coherence and integrity of the different 'peoples' (later to become 'population groups') of South Africa, and the way in which the schooling provided should be in harmony with the other social institutions of these different 'peoples', and should aim to prepare people to serve their 'own' communities."<sup>154</sup> The commission also commented that the aims of education should be realistic considering the socio-economic opportunities for Africans.<sup>155</sup> The Bantu education should transmit the language and culture of the Bantu and should prepare the pupil for its future work.<sup>156</sup>

The outcome was the basis for the Bantu Education Act of 1953. With this act the Union had direct control over Black schools as administration was moved from the provinces to the Department of Native Affairs. When the bill was introduced, the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Henrik Verwoerd said that "[g]ood racial relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself."<sup>157</sup>

Education for Africans was thus adapted to the needs of Africans. Focus was placed on Bantu language and culture, but also on education for future jobs.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Hunt Davis Jr., pp.128-130; Hartshorne, pp.26-27.

<sup>152</sup> UNESCO (1967), p. 30.

<sup>153</sup> UNESCO (1967), p. 31.

<sup>154</sup> Morrow, p.173.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>156</sup> Hartshorne, p.34.

<sup>157</sup> UNESCO(1967), p. 31.

<sup>158</sup> Morrow, p. 173.

If there was any doubt about the level of education African students would now receive, Verwoerd stated that “[t]here is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed.”<sup>159</sup>

Any black school, including mission schools, had to be registered with the government from 1953. The Minister of Bantu Education controlled all aspects of education at black schools, like teachers, the syllabuses and the awarding or withdrawing of subsidies. Private schools, like the mission schools, also had to use these syllabuses. Moreover, in the years after the introduction of the Bantu Education Act, the subsidies for mission schools were withdrawn, which led to a transfer of these schools to the government or closure. The decision of 1945 to fund black schools from only the CRF was reversed to the situation before, drawing partially from black taxes. Education was not made obligatory with the Bantu Education Act.<sup>160</sup>

Until 1948, agriculture and mining were responsible for 26.4 percent of the GDP, compared to 26.5 percent in 1954. The difference was that industry was slowly overtaking this contribution. Manufacturing and other industries require more semi-skilled labour, especially after modernization.<sup>161</sup> Considering earlier legislation, but also the Bantu Education Act, South Africa was creating a serious problem for its economy: a lack of semi-skilled African labour.

The Bantu Education Act mainly concerns primary and secondary education. With the Extension of University Act of 1959 the Department of Native Affairs also gained control over higher education. Even though earlier decisions had already been made concerning the attendance of black students at historically white universities, this act further emphasized the separate higher education. It prevented African students from attending white universities, which had been open to all races until then, unless a course was not available at a black university.

The act also resulted in the establishment of black universities, or at least some form of tertiary education. The government further extended its control over black education as the

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<sup>159</sup> Soudien, “We Know Why We're Here”, p. 9.

<sup>160</sup> Christie and Collins, ‘Bantu Education’, pp. 171-72; UNESCO (1967), pp. 31-32.

<sup>161</sup> Feinstein, p. 190.

curriculum at these universities would also be controlled by the Department of Native Affairs.<sup>162</sup>

After the Soweto riots the Education and Training Act was passed in 1979. From then on the instruction language choice became more flexible and Afrikaans or English would be taught from a lower level. Also, education at primary school was now free for blacks, as in that fees were no longer required. Soon after, the De Lange Commission was set up. In its report it recommended amongst other things equal education opportunities for all, including equal quality of education, irrespective of race or sex. The White Paper of the government that followed disregarded most of these recommendations, basically stating that apartheid and CNE were to stay.<sup>163</sup>

In 1983 a new constitution was passed which organized the government into three houses, for white, coloured and Indian, that all had their own education department. Education for blacks was assigned under general affairs, which meant that the other three race groups would decide on it.<sup>164</sup> This further segregated universities and the newly established technikons into black, white, coloured and Indian education<sup>165</sup>. Blacks were still excluded and even though the National Policy for General Education Affairs Act improved the situation somewhat, the difference in education on all levels between different race groups was still there. This remained the case until the 1990s when apartheid was to come to an end.<sup>166</sup>

Although the economic situation of the 1970s and 1980s in South Africa had led to some more educational opportunities for Africans, schooling was still racially segregated and the difference in quality was still unchanged.

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#### LEGISLATION AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

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Soon after the war the first government secondary school for Africans was founded, following the establishment of a mission secondary school. The next government secondary school was not created until 1957. The state was becoming more involved in African

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<sup>162</sup> Moodie, 'The state and the liberal universities in South Africa', p. 5; Christie and Collins, p. 172.

<sup>163</sup> Jansen, 'Curriculum as a Political Phenomenon', pp. 201-202; Seroto, pp. 143-146.

<sup>164</sup> Each 'independent' country also had an education department.

<sup>165</sup> Technikons were the successors of the advanced technical colleges, basically tertiary technical education.

<sup>166</sup> Bunting, 'The Higher Education Landscape', p. 35-36.

education in urban areas and in secondary education. Arguably because it could not prevent the establishment of post-primary education establishments, due to African demands, but it could control its development.<sup>167</sup>

Another improvement was the change in teacher training and its funding. The level of education required for entry had already been raised and scholarships were made available for aspiring teachers in the early 1940s. Upon the urging of the missionaries the grants for teacher salaries were raised. Further progress was made when a teacher training course for the higher primary school grades was established in 1949, which required two years of secondary school to gain entrance. However, the necessary number of trained teachers did not increase between 1940 and 1950, mainly due to low salaries for trained teachers, resulting in an untrained teaching force of seventy percent.<sup>168</sup>

African pressures eventually led to an inquiry in 1951 into Native Education; the main demand being more government involvement. Recommendations were put into practice in the following years; more money was made available for African Education, the inspectorate was enlarged and in 1955 a government Teacher Training College was opened. A five-year plan was written and initiated in 1956 with special focus on increasing the number of trained teachers, increasing school places in the higher grades and providing more post-primary education. African Education became an independent department in this year.<sup>169</sup>

In 1953 the Central African Federation, or Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was formed. European, Coloured and Asian education was now the responsibility of the federal government, but African education remained at the territorial level. Thus, the financial burden for European education was carried by the Federation;<sup>170</sup> more importantly the African population had no access to this schooling budget.<sup>171</sup>

As a result of the 1951 inquiry the African Education Bill was proposed and finally came into force in 1959. It was aimed at academic education for the native population, which was to be achieved through the creation of a general purpose fund for government schools. However, there were few government schools for primary and secondary education in urban

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<sup>167</sup> Küster, pp. 178-180.

<sup>168</sup> Parker, *African Development and Education in Southern Rhodesia* (1960), pp. 93-95.

<sup>169</sup> Parker, pp. 95-99.

<sup>170</sup> Zvogbo, p. 13.

<sup>171</sup> O'Callaghan, p. 21.

areas and none in the rural areas.<sup>172</sup> Thus, although this law seemed to be a positive development, in reality there was little possibility for improvement.

Meanwhile, the number of Africans employed in the manufacturing sector increased (1936: 13%; 1961: 29%, whereas the percentage in mining decreased (1936: 33%; 1961: 8%). As mentioned, manufacturing requires more semi-skilled labour, but in 1961 the contribution of agriculture to the GDP was still more (21.7%) than manufacturing (16.8%).<sup>173</sup> Considering the few possibilities to become a semi-skilled worker, this was the start of economic troubles for Southern Rhodesia.

In 1962 another committee was established to look into African Education. Its report stated that there were "(a) constitutional provisions and enactments which have enabled certain classes or descriptions of institution to receive children of specified racial descent; [and] we are governed by (b) a body of legislation on the matter of land apportionment, including municipal regulations, which has prevented children, other than those of specified origin, from using educational facilities on soil segregated for particular use."<sup>174</sup> The commission recommended ending this racial policy and making a new policy for all races, under one government department.<sup>175</sup>

The recommendations were never put into practice by the government. The publication of the report coincided with the Rhodesian Front electoral victory, which is likely why the education system did not change for the better for Africans. Actually, 'improvements' made in the previous decades were disappearing. The Rhodesian Front government introduced an education policy in 1963 which devolved the power over primary education to local communities or governments.

"The family and the community, assisted by the church, should assume more responsibility for primary education, and play a much greater part in the upbringing of the individual."<sup>176</sup> The government would only assist if it was necessary in the national interest, the rest of state resources would go to secondary and other post-primary education.<sup>177</sup> European

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<sup>172</sup> Richards and Govere, pp. 143-44.

<sup>173</sup> Bowman, p. 47; Herbst, p. 23. See also Appendix A, table 3.

<sup>174</sup> O'Callaghan, p. 22.

<sup>175</sup> Zvogbo, p. 13.

<sup>176</sup> *Yearbook and Guide to Southern Africa* (1964), p. 270.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 270.

education was still mostly state organized and this 'move forward' was only applicable to the African population.

A sharp pyramid policy was developed, which meant that every African was allowed to go to lower primary school, but there were limited places in upper primary and secondary school. In 1964, government grants to African central primary boarding schools were withdrawn, which also happened to equipment grants to primary day schools; and from 1966 the African teacher training colleges were told to accept only half the number of students.<sup>178</sup>

The government introduced a ten-year education plan that allocated 37.5% of primary school graduates to a two-year junior secondary school education aimed at the preparation for the low-skilled employment. 12.5% was allowed to go a normal four-year secondary school, possibly extended with two years if the student was deemed fit for university entrance. The remaining fifty percent could enrol in correspondence classes at their own cost.<sup>179</sup> For whites there were no restrictions; they could choose vocational or academic post-primary schooling.<sup>180</sup>

The implementation of these policies occurred when manufacturing was nearing the percentage of GDP agriculture supplied in Southern Rhodesia.<sup>181</sup> Thus, at a time when more semi-skilled personnel were needed, the government curbed African possibilities in education and therefore excluded them from these semi-skilled jobs. Those that did finish secondary school or higher had difficulties finding suitable work, but Rhodesian politicians suggested it was the black population growth that caused the problem, not the existing policies.<sup>182</sup>

Local initiatives and missions erected many new schools and maintained existing ones in the 1960s due to diminishing government funding. The Rhodesian Front government on the other hand, tried to control the expansion of African Education. From 1968 new primary schools could only be established if a local government existed.<sup>183</sup> It was "widely interpreted as a deliberate attempt by the Smith regime to reduce and finally eliminate missionary

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<sup>178</sup> Zvogbo, pp. 13-14.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 13-14.

<sup>180</sup> Kumbula, *Education and Social Control* (1979), p. 80.

<sup>181</sup> Herbst, *State Politics in Zimbabwe* (1990), p. 23.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 88.

<sup>183</sup> Zvogbo, pp.13-14.

influence in African schooling".<sup>184</sup> Also, teacher salaries were cut in 1970, after the earlier decrease in grant amounts. This decrease in teacher salaries had to be raised by local communities, whereas European schooling remained fully financed by the government.<sup>185</sup>

The independence struggle had now become a guerrilla war. It certainly had its effect on African education. Pupils fled the country, schools closed, students joined the guerrillas or boycotted schools, and the schools outside of the protected villages could not be used by order of the government. Furthermore, the disruption of the economy meant that parents could not afford to pay the school fees. The deteriorated system was only salvaged when a transitional government was established in 1978 and the two systems were joined. Racial discrimination became forbidden in 1979, but because fees in white schools were raised and the white community could buy public primary schools and administer these themselves the segregation remained. It was not until 1980 that a new era began.<sup>186</sup>

The economy of Southern Rhodesia had collapsed by the mid-1970s with a decline of nearly twelve percent in 1977.<sup>187</sup> Although the shift to a manufacturing economy from agriculture and mining called for the development of a semi-skilled labour force, the RF government appeared to have returned to the creation of an unskilled labour force. The guerrilla warfare resulted in even more unschooled Africans and, together with policies regarding import substitution, led to a declining economy.

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<sup>184</sup> Kumbula, p. 80.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>186</sup> Zvogbo, p. 15.

<sup>187</sup> Herbst, p. 23.



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## CONCLUSION

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The two systems certainly had their similarities. Education, just like society, was racially segregated. In Southern Rhodesia the divide between education for black and white started as soon as Europeans first settled. In South Africa the racial segregation in school slowly increased and was separated, at least when it came to black and white children, from the 1920s onwards. Although they were not often mentioned, Indian and Coloured students were somewhere in between the Africans and Europeans. In South Africa they were initially somewhat included on the 'white side', which changed in the 1950s for both groups; in Southern Rhodesia the two 'races' remained on the European side, or at least the African pupils were completely separate from the other three groups.

What is clear is that Africans fell under a different department than Europeans in both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Although already in place, legislation after World War II further segregated African and European schools. This legislation created different education goals for Africans than whites in both countries. It resulted in a 'sharp pyramid' of enrolment; the higher the education level, the lower the level of enrolment. In Southern Rhodesia the percentage of enrolment in higher classes was even agreed upon by the Rhodesian Front government, ensuring that only a small percentage of Africans obtained a secondary school diploma.

Acts passed in both countries ensured that the African population was taxed to fund Native education and through the legislation the governments of both countries gained even more control over African education after World War II. The missions that had always organized the majority of native education were severely hampered by the South African state as soon as the NP came to power, and were slowly pushed out. In Southern Rhodesia the missions were also driven out of education, although later and at a lesser extent.

After World War II the focus of African education in South Africa became even more vocationally orientated. Although initially the Southern Rhodesian government appeared to increase general competence secondary schooling for Africans, it changed its position after the RF victory. From the early 1960s Southern Rhodesia only let the minority of Africans attend academic secondary school. White capitalist interests therefore remained protected. Africans could not obtain the educational qualifications to qualify for certain jobs, therefore white jobs were secured; and low educational attainment ensured a large unskilled

workforce. Although Southern Rhodesia was later in this development, the results were the same as in South Africa.

It is clear that the system that was organized by the government resulted in a knowledge shortage in the black community. It is probable that this knowledge shortage would eventually lead to a labour shortage in the section of higher ranking jobs. Thus, by solving the unskilled labour shortage and by keeping this labour as cheap as possible, it is possible that a new problem was created. This will be further discussed in chapter 4.

## CHAPTER 3:

## PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA

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In the previous chapters the origins of racial segregation in society and in education have been discussed. It is clear that there was a segregated society before World War II started. After the war the two 'racial' groups became even further removed from each other, first in South Africa and later Southern Rhodesia. The legislation and actions of the government concerning African education in both countries ensured that this was also the case when it came to schooling.

This chapter will go further into the differences between black and white primary and secondary education in both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The focus will be on the period after World War Two until independence. What were the similarities and differences between Southern Rhodesia and South Africa in the area of primary and secondary education? To answer this question enrolment figures will be discussed, as will expenditure on education, pupil-teacher ratios, and other data. Most importantly, access possibilities African students had in Southern Rhodesia and in South Africa will be compared.

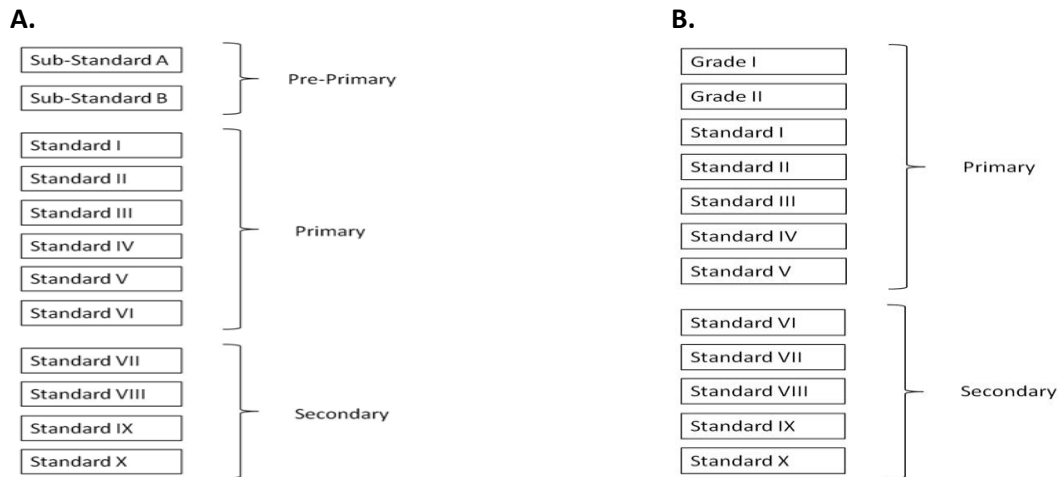
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#### THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

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Briefly touched upon in chapter 2, the school systems of both Southern Rhodesia and South Africa appear to be quite similar. When the war was over the situation in South Africa was that most European children went to government schools, and some attended government-aided or non-government-aided private schools. These types of school also existed for African pupils, but most attended government-aided mission schools. This school type division was similar in Southern Rhodesia.

Figure 3 shows the grades in primary and secondary education in South Africa. In the late 40s and early 50s this was the same for Europeans and Africans. Children started in sub-standard A around the age of six. On average it took one year to pass each standard and when standard VI was reached an exam had to be taken. When this exam was passed entrance to secondary school was possible. At standard VIII another exam was taken and

**Figure 3. Grades in Primary and Secondary School in South Africa.**

**A. African School System 1951.** Standard VII to X were also known as Form I to V. This system was still in operation in 1961. Standards I and II were also called lower primary school, with Standards III to VI named higher primary. Junior Secondary was Standard VII and VIII; higher secondary IX and X, which is either a teacher training course or a senior certificate course equal to the European secondary school.

Source: *Yearbook and Guide to Southern Africa* (1953), pp. 109-110; 116-117; UNESCO (1967), pp. 47, 53, 57.

**B. European School System 1963.**

Source: UNESCO (1967), pp. 47, 53, 57.

upon passing a Junior Certificate was awarded. A matriculation or university entrance exam was taken after standard X.<sup>188</sup>

As mentioned, the division of primary and secondary school for Africans was initially the same; as was the examination at standard VI. The first four grades were passed automatically on age; the obtained grades did not matter.<sup>189</sup> The Africans who attended secondary school initially went through the same motions as Europeans. The school organization changed in the 1950s. Whites now attended seven years of primary school and five years of secondary school.<sup>190</sup> The main dissimilarity was that African secondary school had four grades (Figure 3 A and B).

As can be seen in Figure 4, the set up of the education system in Southern Rhodesia was quite similar to South Africa when it came to primary school. Entry age was the same and primary school ran up to standard VI. In 1970 the African school system was adapted. African primary school was changed from eight years to seven years and 'remove classes' were introduced to ease the transition from an eight to seven years primary school education.

<sup>188</sup> *Yearbook and Guide to Southern Africa* (1953), pp. 107-115; UNESCO (1967), pp. 47, 53, 57.

<sup>189</sup> Christie and Collins, p.179.

<sup>190</sup> *Yearbook and Guide to Southern Africa* (1957), p. 109.

Figure 4. Grades in Primary and Secondary School in Southern Rhodesia, 1957 and 1970.

A.		B.	
AGE	SOUTHERN RHODESIA		
	Standard	Sub-Standard A	Primary
6	Sub A	Sub-Standard B	
7	B	Standard I	
8	I	Standard II	
9	II	Standard III	
10	III	Standard IV	
11	IV	Standard V	
12	V		
13	VI		
	Form	Form I	
14	I	Form II	
15	II	Form III	
16	III	Form IV	
17	IV	Form V	
18	V	Form VI	
19	VI		

**A: African School System.** Form V and VI were Post Certificate classes. After Form II a Junior Certificate could be attained; after Form IV the Cambridge School Certificate. Source: Parker (1960), p. 129; UNESCO, *Educational Planning Mission* (1964), p. 5.

**B: European, Coloured and Asian School System.** After Form IV a General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) was taken; after Form VI A(Advanced) Level Exams. Source: UNESCO, *Educational Planning Mission* (1964), pp. 7-9.

Secondary school had been divided into academic (F1) and non-academic (F2) since the 1960s.<sup>191</sup> The changes in primary school of 1970 did not affect the secondary school set up, except in name, with form I and II renamed grade eight and nine.<sup>192</sup> Exams were taken to pass certain levels. Europeans took an exam at standard VI, after which they were accepted to secondary school. In form IV General Certificate of Education exams were taken and if the student continued their studies Advanced Level Exams had to be passed in from VI.<sup>193</sup>

The first selection was at standard III level for Africans, where only pupils that had not reached the age of fifteen can proceed to standard IV. All students enrolled in standard VI had to take an examination; the results decided which type of post-primary education a pupil could attend. At secondary level there was an examination after form II (later grade 9), which led to a Junior Certificate. The last examination was at form IV when a Cambridge school certificate could be obtained. This meant that form V and VI were post certificate classes and that secondary school was a maximum of four years. The F2 schools had courses of two years and three years.<sup>194</sup>

<sup>191</sup> O'Callaghan, p. 63.

<sup>192</sup> *Monthly Digest of Statistics of Rhodesia* (June 1974), p. 9.

<sup>193</sup> Parker (1960), p. 129; UNESCO (1964), p. 5.

<sup>194</sup> UNESCO (1964), pp. 7-9.

## CURRICULUM

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In the early 1950s in South Africa the curriculum in African primary schools generally included religious and moral instruction, English, Afrikaans, a native language, manual and industrial training, arithmetic, geography, history, music, nature study, hygiene, drill and games. In European primary schools the subjects were arithmetic, English, Afrikaans, geography, history, biology (or nature study), hygiene (and physiology), religious instruction, drill, singing and drawing. For boys woodwork or another form of manual training was added and for girls cookery, needlework or another form of household skills.<sup>195</sup> Thus, the syllabuses for both races were quite similar at this stage.

After the Bantu Education Act of 1953 the Native Curriculum changed, whereas the European primary curriculum remained the same. The lower primary school curriculum contained religious instruction, Afrikaans, English, a Native language, reading, writing, arithmetic, environment studies, hygiene, singing, needlework, handicraft and gardening. Higher primary school then focused on the student's tribe history and geography, as well as other tribes, and provided training in manual skills which prepared the African pupil for its later life.<sup>196</sup>

The students that carried on to attend secondary school would be educated in religion, physical education, music and singing, a native language, English, Afrikaans, social studies, mathematics, a foreign language, natural science, agriculture, woodwork, arts and crafts, and homecraft. With additional subjects or a technical subject, a commercial and clerical junior certificate or a technical junior certificate could be obtained. A further two years led to either a teaching certificate or a senior certificate.<sup>197</sup>

For Southern Rhodesia the Chief Native Commissioner George Stark determined in 1938 that "the primary objectives of African education [were] mastery of the three R's and character training to prepare Africans to meet the rapid changes of the urban-industrial society they were fast entering".<sup>198</sup> The main subjects in primary school beginning 1961 were scripture, arithmetic, English, a Native language, nature study, hygiene, history, geography and

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<sup>195</sup> *Yearbook and Guide to Southern Africa* (1953), pp. 108, 116.

<sup>196</sup> *State of the Union* (1959-60), pp. 125-126.

<sup>197</sup> UNESCO (1967), p. 51.

<sup>198</sup> Parker, p. 91.

physical training, agriculture and manual training. In secondary school general subjects were combined with practical ones.<sup>199</sup>

It is clear that the South African and Southern Rhodesian systems had a similar set up. The clearest difference was that African pupils in South Africa were automatically promoted to standard II, whereas in Southern Rhodesia African pupils could not enter Standard IV if a certain age had been reached. In the African curricula the focus lay on manual skills rather than academic skills, which was similar in both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia trained the African students for the low-ranking jobs. Southern Rhodesia ensured that the majority of children left school at a certain age and South Africa made sure through automatic promotion that the educational attainment was low.

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### GOING TO SCHOOL

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When considering enrolment, one must realize that the African population in both countries was larger than the European population. Generally speaking, the white population in South Africa was around the twenty percent mark for most of the period discussed; in Southern Rhodesia it was between four and six percent.<sup>200</sup> Therefore, the enrolment figures must be placed against the total population, where possible. Even more telling are the pupil-teacher ratios and the pupils per school numbers.

In Figure 5 the percentage of the school going age population attending primary or secondary school can be seen for Southern Rhodesia and for South Africa. Based on the school going population of 1977, published in Hlatshwayo, a figure of 25% has been set as the percentage of the population that is of school going age for black and white students.<sup>201</sup> In the case of Southern Rhodesia this was set at 25% for both races as well.

The graph shows that the percentage of children attending school in the white group was mostly higher than the African population group. In Southern Rhodesia the percentage for African attendance remained lower than the European percentage, with a slight decrease for

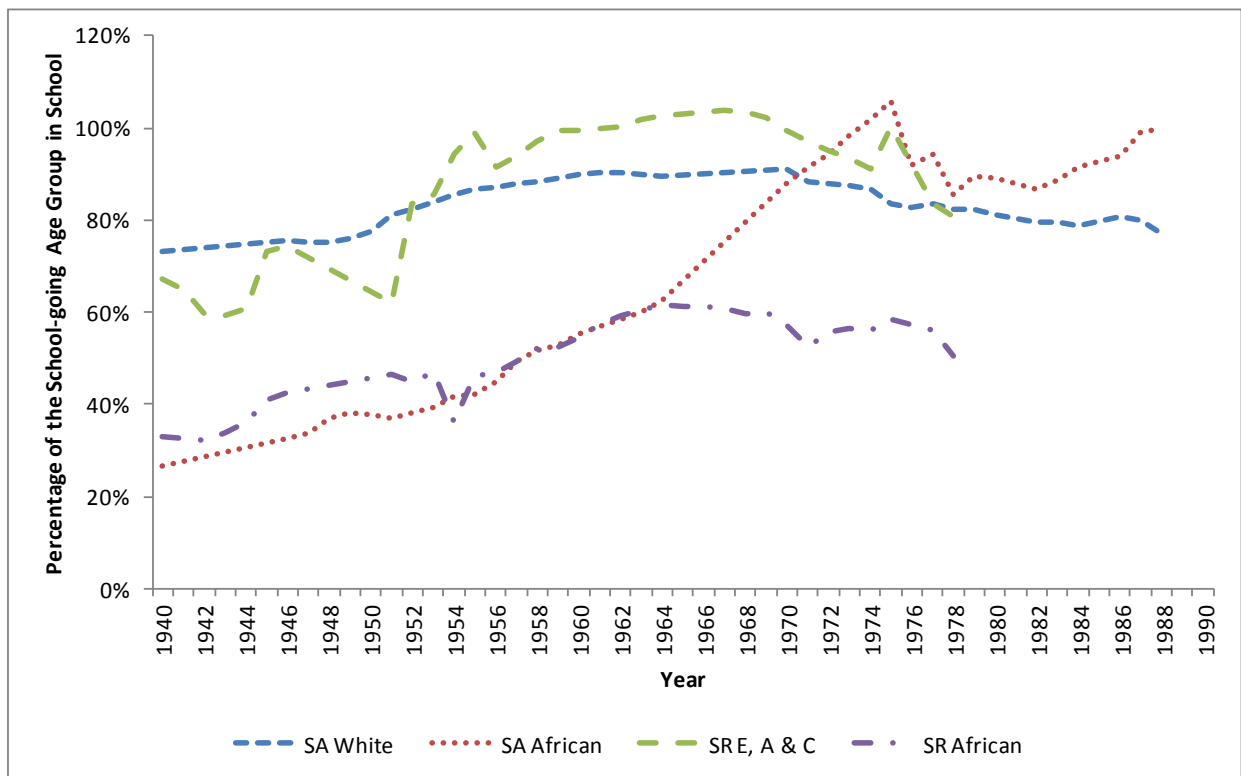
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<sup>199</sup> Du Toit, 'The Education of the African' (1961), pp. 94, 96.

<sup>200</sup> As adapted from *Yearbook of South Africa* (1948; 1952); *State of the Union* (1957-1960/61); *State of South Africa* (1962-1969); *South Africa: Official Yearbook* (1978; 1987/88; 1991/92); *Yearbook of Southern Rhodesia* (1947; 1952); *Monthly Digest of Statistics* (1957-1974); *Demographic Yearbook* (1978; 1979); *Statesman Yearbook* (1977).

<sup>201</sup> In 1977 there were approximately 940,000 white children of school going age and 3,900,000 black children. That is 21.8% and 26.3% of the total population respectively. Hlatshwayo, p. 77.

**Figure 5 Percentage of White and Black Population of School-going Age in School in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, 1940-1994; 1940-1980.**



Not all population and number of students' figures were available, therefore known data points have been connected. E, A, C stands for European, Asian and Coloured.

Sources: *Yearbook of South Africa* (1948; 1952); *State of the Union* (1957-1960/61); *State of South Africa* (1962-1969); *South Africa: Official Yearbook* (1978; 1987/88; 1991/92); SAIRR, *Survey* (1951/52-1956/57; 1961; 1964-1967; 1969-1975; 1978; 1984; 1989/90); *Yearbook of Southern Rhodesia* (1947; 1952); *Monthly Digest of Statistics* (1957-1974); *Demographic Yearbook* (1978; 1979); *Statesman Yearbook* (1977).

both in the 1970s. This was due to the guerrilla war, which caused the closure of many schools and resulted in many African pupils being recruited as soldiers who therefore did not attend school. As it seems unlikely that there is a larger European group of children of school going age, there must have been a different reason for the difference in percentages.

Possible explanations are the compulsory attendance law for Europeans and the availability of schools for Africans both in distance and in number.

In South Africa the case was different. At first a higher percentage of the white population of school going age was attending school, than the percentage of the black population. These percentages grew closer and the percentage black population in school actually surpassed the white percentage in the early 1970s (Figure 5). This increase was most likely caused by increased enrolment in lower primary school, but the increase itself does not say anything about the quality of education these children enjoyed. The drop in the mid to late 1970s was



caused by the Soweto riots and its aftermath, when many black pupils stayed away from school.

Although there was a slight increase in the percentage of the Black population attending school in Southern Rhodesia, the percentage was far lower than that of the South African Native population. The accessibility of schools was lower in Southern Rhodesia and the number of African schools was limited; 1394 primary and secondary schools at the beginning of World War Two, which increased to 3632 schools in 1974. In South Africa the number of schools quickly increased from 3894 primary and secondary schools in 1940 to 12.593 in 1975.<sup>202</sup>

This resulted in an average of 223 students per school in the period of 1940-1994 in South Africa, as opposed to an average of 160 pupils per school in the period of 1940-1980 in Southern Rhodesia. When only looking at the period of 1960-1980 for Rhodesia and 1960-1994 for South Africa, the averages were closer; 208 and 272 pupils per school respectively.<sup>203</sup> Fewer students per school can be an indicator of a higher quality of education. To see if this was the case let us turn to a more used indicator; pupil:teacher ratios.

In Figure 6 the pupil:teacher ratios are shown. It is clear that the number of students per teacher for whites were similar in both countries. Both were also much lower than the African pupil:teacher ratio. The assumption made above that the quality of education might have been higher in Southern Rhodesia than in South Africa is further substantiated by the lower number of students per teacher in Southern Rhodesia. However, if the pupil:teacher ratio is used as an indicator it shows that the quality was lower for Africans than Europeans in both countries. Furthermore, the quality of the teachers and their education is not reflected in this graph.

All of the above is based on figures which include both primary and secondary school. It could be that the enrolment in secondary schools was very different for Europeans and Africans in both countries, which then could affect the above averages. For example, only

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<sup>202</sup> *Yearbook of Southern Rhodesia* (1947), p. 220; UNESCO Database accessed online 12-3-2015; *State of South Africa* (1968), p. 136; *South Africa: Official Yearbook* (1978), p. 898.

<sup>203</sup> *Yearbook of South Africa* (1948; 1952); *State of the Union* (1957-1960/61); *State of South Africa* (1962-1969); *South Africa: Official Yearbook* (1978; 1987/88; 1991/92); *Yearbook of Southern Rhodesia* (1947; 1952); *Monthly Digest of Statistics* (1957-1974); *Demographic Yearbook* (1978; 1979); *Statesman Yearbook* (1977); UNESCO Database accessed online 12-3-2015.

3.5% of the total number of African pupils in South Africa was attending secondary school, compared to over thirty percent for Europeans in 1955. Although the percentage slowly rose and by 1980 got to more than fourteen percent, the European percentage remained higher and reached 47.1% in 1983.

In Southern Rhodesia, the first government African secondary schools were founded just after the war, with a mission secondary school just before the war.<sup>204</sup> There were only 327 African students enrolled in 1948, which was only 0.1% of the total enrolled African students. In 1955 this had increased to 0.4 percent of the total number of African students in primary and secondary school.<sup>205</sup> This was not just an exceptionally low figure, but when compared with the European percentage in 1956 of 30.4% the difference is incredible.<sup>206</sup>

The trend in the difference between African and European, or European, Asian and Coloured, schooling can be seen in Figure 7. It is very clear that out of the total number of students a much higher percentage of Europeans went to secondary school than the percentage of Africans. Although there was an increase throughout the years, the difference remained large. It seems most Africans in both countries either left school or attended other post-primary schooling, which will be further discussed in chapter 4.

These graphs indicate the skewed ratio between African and European primary and secondary schooling in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. It is very probable that the pupil:teacher ratio for primary school is much higher than the already high ratio for Africans in both countries, as was the average number of students per primary school. More pupils per school, but more importantly more students per teacher, result in a lower quality of education. Southern Rhodesian Africans had slight advantage over South African blacks when it came to the number of pupils per school, but most important the number of pupils per teacher. However, the percentage of Africans attending school in Southern Rhodesia stayed behind the percentage of African pupils in South Africa after the mid-1960s. This meant that although the quality might be better, fewer children attended school.

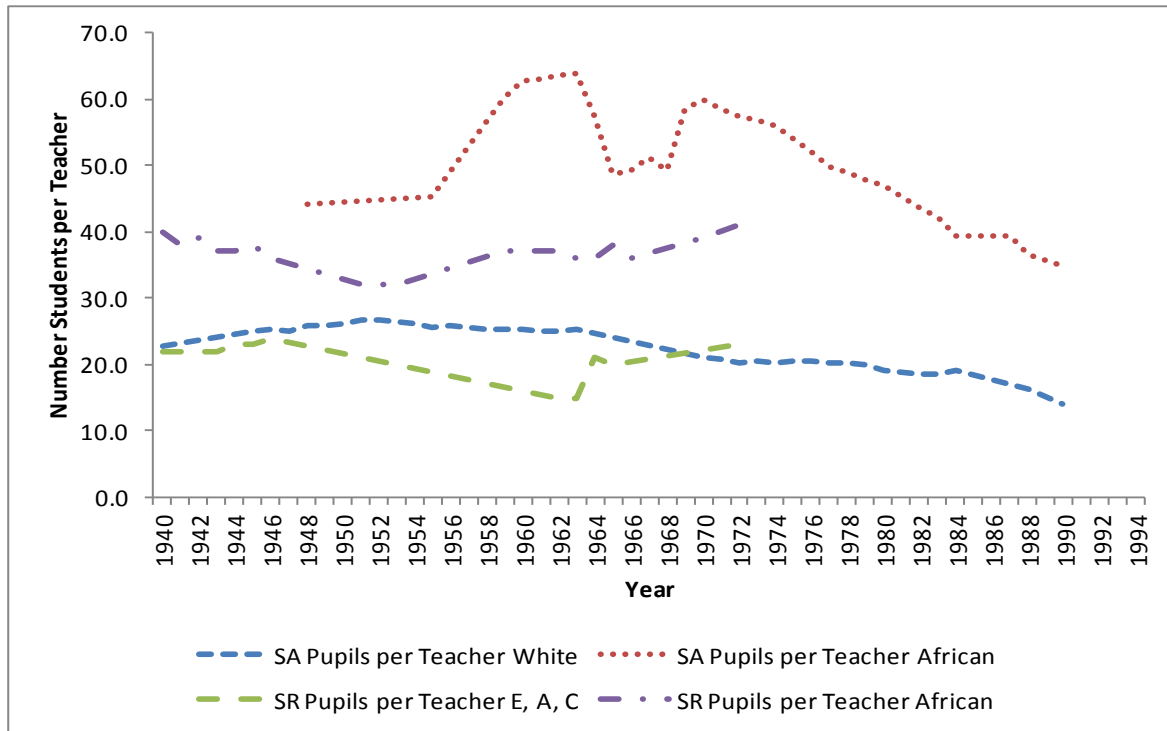
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<sup>204</sup> Secondary schooling had existed in South Africa since the nineteenth century, see also Pells.

<sup>205</sup> Du Toit, p. 89.

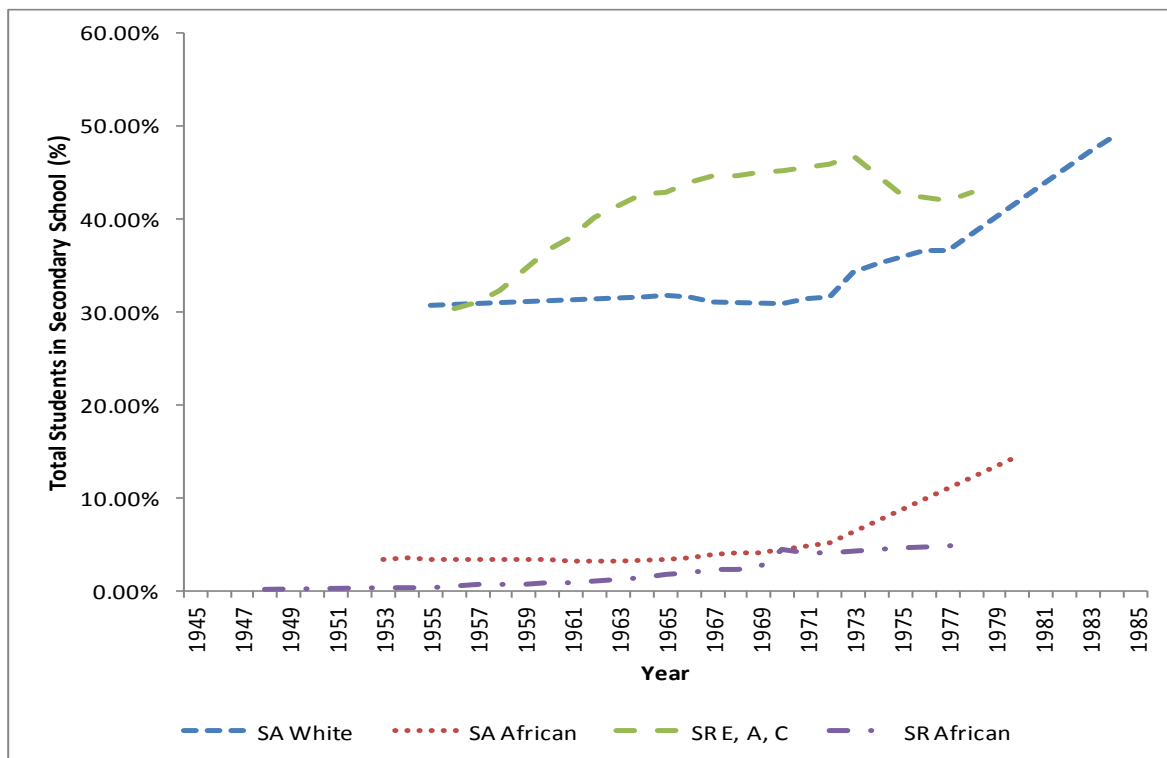
<sup>206</sup> *Monthly Digest of Statistics of Rhodesia* (Feb. 1966), p.10,

Figure 6 Pupils per Teacher for South Africa (1940-1994) and Southern Rhodesia (1940-1980).



Sources: *Yearbooks of South Africa* and *Yearbooks of Southern Rhodesia*, see also sources figure 5, p. 54.

Figure 7 Percentage of the total number of primary and secondary pupils which attended secondary school in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, 1945-1985.



N.B. There were not many numbers available of white students in South Africa attending secondary school. The few that were available have been connected and explain the straight line. It can therefore only be used as an indication.

Source: *Yearbooks of South Africa* and *Yearbooks of Southern Rhodesia*, see also figure 5, p. 54.

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**RESULTS OR EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT**


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The quality of education and the cost, which will be discussed further on, led to less African children in school. Either because after repeating a year several times pupils gave up, or because parents could not afford it, or another reason, the educational attainment amongst the African population was low in both countries. This cannot only be seen in the 'pyramid' of enrolment in primary and secondary schooling, but this can be seen in the level of education throughout the years.

Although throughout time a higher percentage of Africans enjoyed education in South Africa, the number stayed behind the average of all four races (Table 3). Furthermore, hardly any Africans went to university.<sup>207</sup> In 1970 the white percentages are also shown. This indicates what educational level is required of the population if a functional economy is wanted. The difference was extremely large, which was one of the causes of the economic problems South Africa later encountered. However, this will be discussed in the next chapter.

For Southern Rhodesia educational attainment levels for the working population were not available. To give an indication of the years of schooling African children received the percentage of children attending lower primary, higher primary and secondary schools were looked at. The difference between the African and European population is immense. Most of the African pupils were in lower primary throughout the period discussed (Table 2).

**Table 1. Level of Educational Attainment of Working Africans in South Africa, 1960-1991.**

	1960 <sup>a</sup>	1970			1980 <sup>b</sup>		1991 <sup>b</sup>	
	African	African <sup>b</sup>	White <sup>c</sup>	All races <sup>b</sup>	African	All races	African	All races
No education	62%	30%	1.1%	17%	22%	13%	14%	14%
< Standard 6	30%	24%	2.8%	20%	43%	29%	38%	26%
> Standard 6 and higher	8.7%	46%	80.6%	58%	33%	49%	47%	55%
University education leading to degree or diploma	0.05%	0.2%	15.5%	5.4%	1.3%	8.8%	1%	9%

a. Source: Hlatshwayo, p. 81

b. Source: As adapted from Moll, 'Collapse of Primary Schooling Returns in South Africa', p. 200.

c. Source: Feinstein, p. 161.

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<sup>207</sup> Marcum, *Education, race, and social change in South Africa* (1982), pp. 2-3.

**Table 2. Percentage of Europeans and Africans pupils in Lower Primary, Higher Primary and Secondary School in Southern Rhodesia, 1956-1973.**

	Lower Primary		Higher Primary		Secondary	
	European	African	European	African	European	African
1956	54.0%	91.5%	17.4%	8.0%	28.6%	0.5%
1961	47.1%	87.6%	17.5%	11.4%	35.4%	1.0%
1966	44.2%	79.4%	16.5%	18.6%	39.3%	2.1%
1971 <sup>a</sup>	41.4%	79.6%	17.7%	16.2%	40.9%	4.2%
1973	40.5%	78.9%	17.5%	16.7%	42.0%	4.4%

E: European; A: African.

a. From 1970 African primary school was changed from 8 years to 7 years. Remove classes were introduced to ease the transition from 8 to 7-years primary school. These were counted as secondary education and explain the increase in the percentage of African pupils in secondary school.

Source: *Monthly Digest of Statistics of Rhodesia* (June 1974).

Although there was a slight improvement throughout the discussed period, the difference between the European and African pupils remained large. It resulted in a much lower level of education for Africans in Southern Rhodesia, as it had in South Africa.

### THE QUALITY OF TEACHERS

Franklin Parker, a specialist in education at several American universities during the 1950s and 1960s, wrote *African Development and Education in Southern Rhodesia* in 1960. In it he states that “[u]ntrained, poorly educated teachers are one of the serious problems of African education.”<sup>208</sup> This is mostly indicated by the number of untrained teachers in African schools. In 1956 out of the 10,200 teachers, 5,556 were untrained in Southern Rhodesia. A UNESCO report from 1963 shows a similar picture, 4,203 untrained teachers out of 14,469 in 1962. As the salary of African teachers was the lowest paid profession for Africans with an education, it was not appealing to teach.<sup>209</sup>

Table 3 shows the decrease in the percentage of untrained teachers. By 1974 a teacher was not allowed to teach at a European school without training, but even before that the percentage of untrained teachers was in decline. Furthermore, half of these non-certificated teachers were at least graduates. It is therefore worth looking into the training programmes of teachers to see if there was much improvement in the quality of the teachers, even

<sup>208</sup> Parker, pp. 137-138.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

**Table 3. Number of Untrained and Total Number of Teachers in African Schools Southern Rhodesia**

	Untrained teachers	%	Total teachers
1956	5,556	54.5%	10,200
1962	4,203	29.0%	14,469
1966	3,931	21.6%	18,225
1974 <sup>1</sup>	1,228	6.4%	19,246

<sup>1</sup> This does not include academic secondary schools

though there were less untrained teachers in Southern Rhodesia.

Before WWII it was already clear that more African teachers were needed to supply for the growing demand in Southern Rhodesia. The standard needed for entry to teacher training school was raised in 1934 to Standard VI, but entry was still easy and the need for qualified teachers was high. Secondary education needed to be made available to ensure a higher standard of teachers for the higher primary school grades. For further improvement grants were established by a trust and in 1948 by the government. These could be used for a two-year teacher training course after Standard VI, which then required the grant recipient to teach for another three years.<sup>210</sup>

Places were limited due to staffing problems at the mission teacher training and properly qualified teachers for the higher primary grades were still needed. Therefore, another teacher training school was set up aimed at teaching the higher grades; to attend two years of secondary school were required. It was not until 1955 that a government teacher training school was opened which helped obtaining more qualified teachers. Wages were increased to keep teachers in their jobs, but about 45% of the teachers that received their qualifications in the 1940s had left in search of a better salary.<sup>211</sup>

Therefore, at the end of the 1950s there was still a teacher shortage. Many teachers quit or changed schools frequently and those that remained were not skilled enough to educate the pupils. The government did increase its support to the missions for training educators around this time and the newly formed University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland also

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.92-94.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

opened a department focused on educating teacher trainers and secondary school teachers.<sup>212</sup>

By the 1970s the teacher training options for Africans were still similar. It was divided into a standard teacher qualification and three kinds of teacher training certificates. The lowest certificate required only primary school and two years teacher training for example, which is the diploma most African teachers had throughout the 1970s. Even though the government aimed to decrease the number of untrained teachers, these were replaced by teachers with only minimal qualifications with which they could only teach at infant level.<sup>213</sup> Teachers at European schools, on the other hand, were of a much higher level.<sup>214</sup>

In South Africa there were also many untrained teachers and especially the number of untrained teachers in primary school rose and remained high throughout the apartheid era (Table 4). After the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission were implemented, African teachers could only be trained at government schools.<sup>215</sup> The certificates that could be obtained were similar to the situation in Rhodesia. The entrance level was also similar, with the lowest teaching certificate requiring only primary school and teacher training. European students could only attend teacher training school if they had passed matriculation exams, thus after secondary school.<sup>216</sup>

In 1953 there were over forty teacher training schools with nearly seven thousand students, but ten years later only a little over four thousand students attended these schools. Although this figure had increased by 1972 to over ten thousand, the number of primary and secondary school enrolments had trebled by this time.<sup>217</sup> Even more worrying was the school qualifications these teachers had. As mentioned, access to teacher training school required little education. The proportion of graduate teachers fell from 36.3 percent in 1961 to 25.5 percent in 1963 and by 1972 nearly 87 percent of African school teachers had not reached matriculation level.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

<sup>213</sup> O'Callaghan, pp. 79-81.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>215</sup> Zungu, 'The Education for Africans in South Africa', p. 210.

<sup>216</sup> UNESCO (1967), pp. 70-71.

<sup>217</sup> Zungu, p. 214; Birley, 'African Education in South Africa', p. 156.

<sup>218</sup> Zungu, p. 214; Birley, p. 156.

**Table 4. Percentage of Unqualified Teachers in African Primary and Secondary Schools in South Africa.**

	Primary	Secondary
1961	9.2	6.8
1965	25 <sup>b</sup>	11 <sup>b</sup>
1970	21 <sup>b</sup>	7 <sup>b</sup>
1975	18	7
1980	16 <sup>c</sup>	14 <sup>c</sup>
1983	21 <sup>d</sup>	13 <sup>d</sup>
1989	21 <sup>d</sup>	9 <sup>d</sup>

- a. 'Qualified' is taken to mean 'in possession of the relevant teacher's diploma'. This is the definition used by the various departments of education.
- b. Transkei excluded.
- c. Transkei and Venda excluded.
- d. Transkei, Venda and Ciskei excluded.

Source: Moll, p. 197.

Just as in Southern Rhodesia, being a teacher was not a popular job due to the low salaries involved. In the 1960s the maximum wage a teacher with a degree and teaching qualifications could reach was after seventeen years of service. This was still lower than the starting salary of a white teacher with the same qualification. It was around 40% of the salary a white teacher would receive in 1965; and in 1972 African teachers earned 45% of a white teacher's salary, while both having the same qualifications.<sup>219</sup>

To conclude, teacher training was accessible with low educational standards for Africans in South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia; this led to poorly educated teachers. Places in teacher training were few because of the lack of teacher training institutions. Furthermore, it was not an attractive job, as wages were quite low, especially compared to European teacher salaries. All these factors contributed to a low standard of education, especially at the upper primary and secondary levels.

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## EDUCATION FINANCE

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When mass schooling systems came about in Europe and in the United States, so did the state-sponsorship of education. Although the reasons of governments for organizing mass education are debated, with the formation of a national unity or national polity on the one

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<sup>219</sup> Zungu, p. 214; Birley, p. 156; UNESCO (1967), pp. 71-72.



hand and the creation of human capital and therefore a more skilled work force on the other hand, the reasons for the financing of education are more clear. Spending part of the national budget on education meant that the government had influence on the schooling process; varying from curriculum choices to teacher appointments.<sup>220</sup> Therefore, the financial origin of the funds available to schools is very important and needs to be further discussed.

### GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE

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In the year running from 1945-1946 expenditure on education in Southern Rhodesia totalled £ 774,040. Of this £577,852 was allocated to European, Asian and Coloured education; £ 196,189 was spent on African education.<sup>221</sup> Thus, a little over twenty-five percent of the total education budget was spent on African education, even though this 'racial' group was nearly ninety-five percent of the population.

In South Africa the division in racial groups was different, or at least when it came to expenditure in 1945. The total budget of education was £ 16,029,174, of which £ 11,499,256 was spent on European education. This is nearly seventy-two percent of the education budget. The remaining £4,529,918 was spent on non-European education, thus the Indian, Coloured and African population. In 1945 around twenty percent of the population was white, which means that eighty percent of the population had to 'make do' with just twenty-eight percent of the education budget.<sup>222</sup>

Thus, at the start of the discussed period, Southern Rhodesia spent more on African education percentage-wise than South Africa, but this was a larger group when looking at the population ratios. What is clear is that the difference between expenditure on European and non-European education was extremely large, especially when considering the ratio European/non-European. It is therefore not only interesting to compare the total expenditure on education for each group, but also the expenditure per pupil.

In Figure 8 the increase in expenditure on black and white education can be seen for South Africa. The money spent on white primary and secondary education was already higher

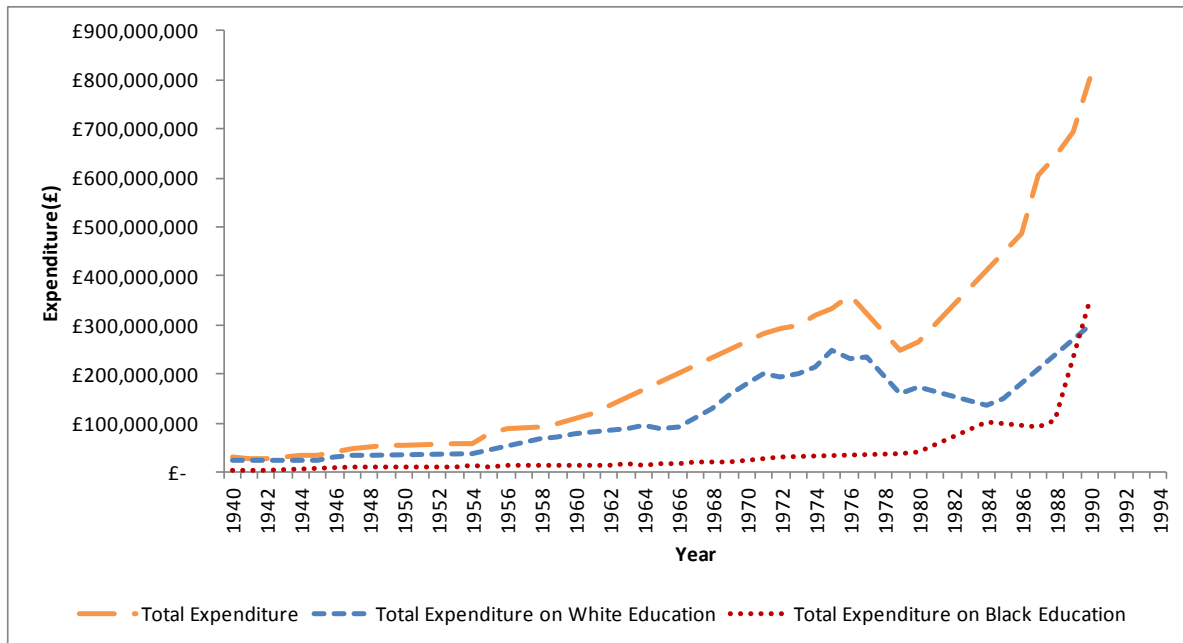
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<sup>220</sup> Ramirez and Boli, 'Political Construction of Mass Schooling', pp. 2-3; Goldin, pp. 14-15; Uslander and Rothstein, 'Mass Education, State Building and Equality', p. 17.

<sup>221</sup> *Yearbook of Southern Rhodesia* (1947), p. 222.

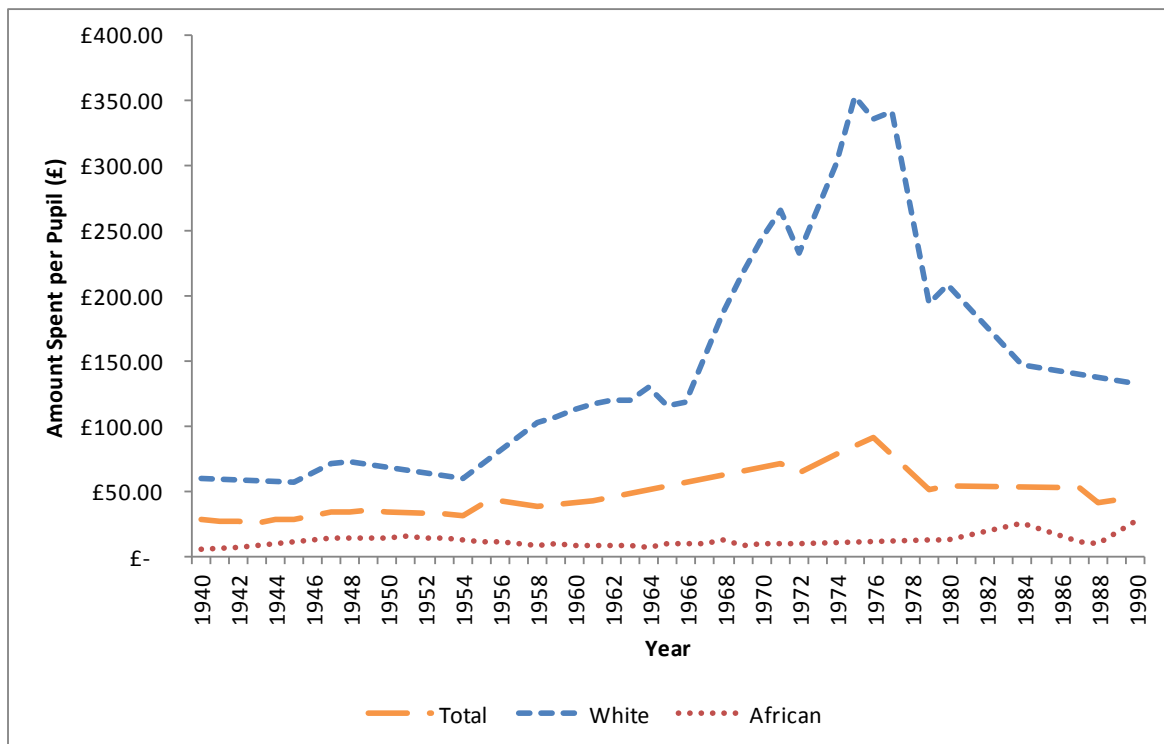
<sup>222</sup> *Yearbook of South Africa* (1952).

Figure 8. Expenditure on Education in South Africa, 1940-1990.



South Africa changed its currency in 1961 to the rand. The exchange rate as found in Feinstein has been used so pounds could be used. Expenditure has been corrected for inflation with Consumer Price Index (CPI) where 1970=100 (see also Appendix A). The dip in expenditure on white education was probably caused by excluding capital expenditure on buildings at this stage, but the figures in the Yearbook of 1984 were not clear on this. Sources: *Yearbooks of South Africa* see also figure 5, p. 54; Feinstein, *Economic History of South Africa* (2005), p. xxii; Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics* (1999).

Figure 9. Expenditure per Pupil for Whites and Blacks in South Africa, 1940-1994.



The exchange rate as found in Feinstein has been used so pounds could be displayed. Expenditure has been corrected for inflation with CPI where 1970=100. The dip in money spent per white student was probably caused by the exclusion of capital expenditure in 1979 and 1980. Sources: *Yearbooks of South Africa* see also figure 5, p. 54; Feinstein, *Economic History of South Africa* (2005), p. xxii; Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics* (1999).

than the available sum for black education. Actually, the percentage of the total budget of education spent on white education was always somewhere between sixty and eighty percent. For African schooling this was no more than twenty-two percent, but it averaged around fifteen percent. It was clear that the government allocated more resources to white education, but what does this look like if the expenditure per student is taken into account?

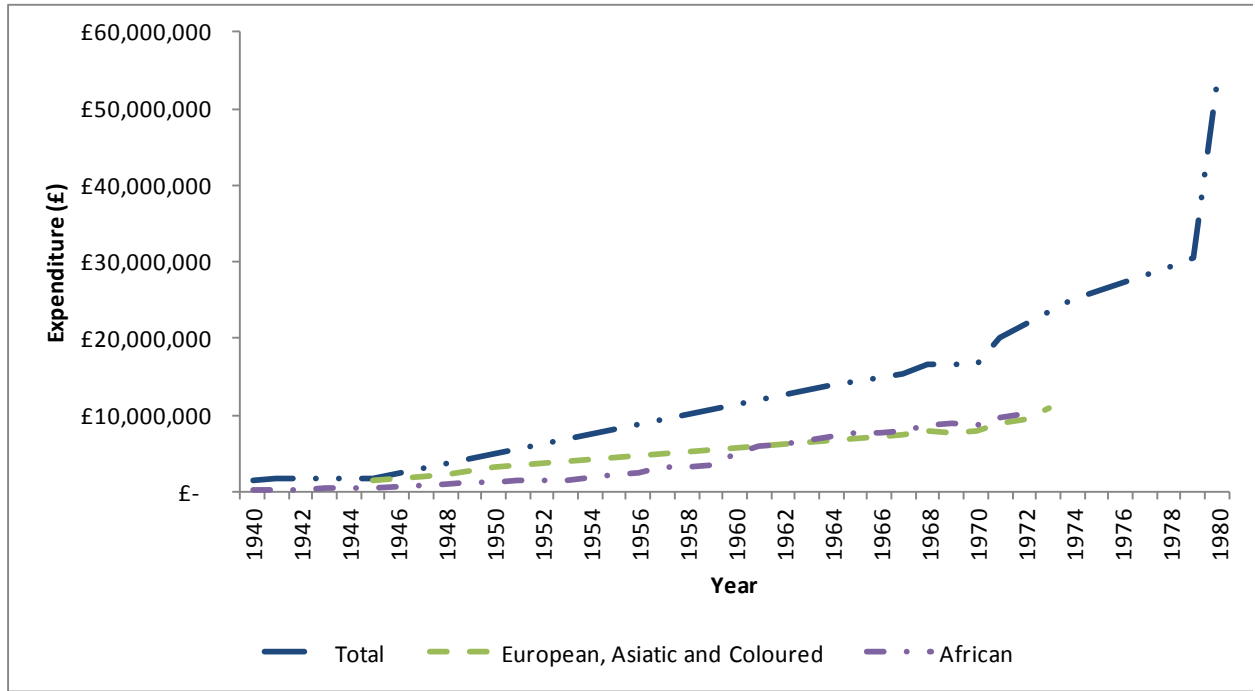
The expenditure per pupil can be found in Figure 9. These figures correct for differences in population numbers. It is clear that there was a large difference between African and European students. This graph further indicates that not only the amount spent on European education was larger than that spent on African schooling, but also the money allocated per European student far exceeded the financing per black pupil. The difference only became bigger as the number of African students was much higher than the number of European students. These graphs show that the South African government strongly favoured white pupils.

In Southern Rhodesia, as mentioned above, the initial expenditure on African education was somewhat higher than in South Africa when looking at percentages. The total expenditure can be found in Figure 10. It shows that the finance of African education slowly became levelled with European, Asian and Coloured education expenditure somewhere in the mid-1960s. The amount spent on African education actually surpassed European, Asian and Coloured expenditure. This seems positive, but it is essential to account for population size to see if these groups were equally financed.

That information can be found in Figure 11. This shows a very different picture, much more money per student was available for Europeans, Asians and Coloureds than there was per African student. It is obvious that even though a similar amount of money is available for each group, the main difference is the number of pupils in these groups. Although there is a decrease from the 1960s to the 1970s in the money spent on European, Coloured and Indian students, this was still a lot more than the expense per African student.

It must be noted that due to the foundation of the Central African Federation there are no numbers available for the expenditure on white education between 1953 and 1963, as these were not kept for Southern Rhodesia alone. Therefore the increase in money spent per pupil

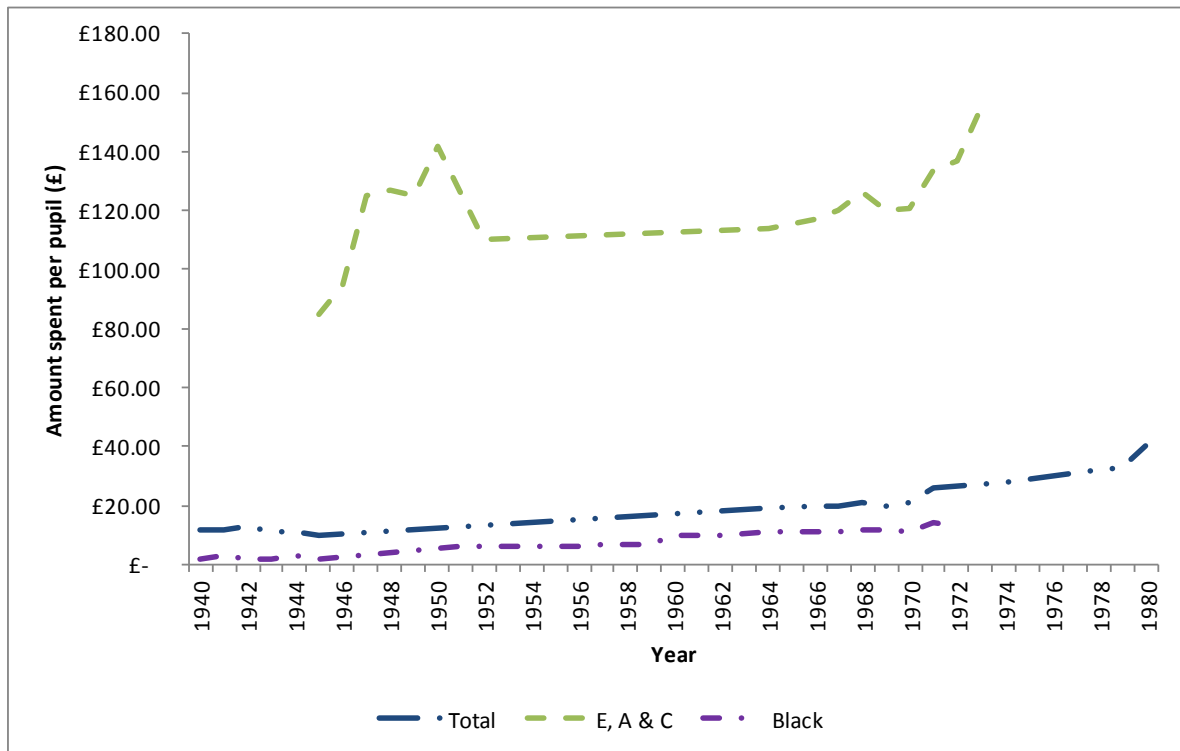
Figure 10. Amount Spent on Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1940-1974.



Note that Rhodesia changed its currency to Rhodesian Dollar in 1970. The original exchange rate was used after 1970, £1=R\$2. Expenditure has been corrected for inflation with CPI where 1970=100.

Sources: *Yearbooks of Southern Rhodesia* and *Monthly Digest of Statistics*, see also figure 5, p. 54; Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics* (1999).

Figure 11. Expenditure per Pupil in Southern Rhodesia, 1940-1980



Note that Rhodesia changed its currency to Rhodesian Dollar in 1970. The original exchange rate was used after 1970, £1=R\$2.

Sources: *Yearbooks of Southern Rhodesia* and *Monthly Digest of Statistics*, see also figure 5, p. 54; Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics* (1999).

is not known but was estimated by connecting the known figures. Still, it is clear that in Southern Rhodesia too, the government strongly favoured Europeans, although in this case Coloureds and Asians were often included. Thus, where in South Africa whites were better off than all other 'races' when it came to education expenditure, in Southern Rhodesia it was more the case that Africans were far worse off than all other 'races'. When comparing the African population in both countries, the expenditure per student in Southern Rhodesia was lower than in South Africa.

Both resulted in big differences in spending for each racial group. This can be seen in Table 5, where the ratios of white to black expenditure were calculated for several years. The South African ratio is low, increases, and eventually declines, while remaining 5 to 6 times higher than the black expenditure. The Southern Rhodesia ratio starts very high, but settles at a 10 times higher expenditure on white education throughout most of the discussed period.

**Table 5 Ratio Expenditure per Pupil White/Black for Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, 1940-1994.**

Year	South Africa Ratio W/B	Southern Rhodesia Ratio W/B
1940	1 : 10.0	
1945		1 : 30.2
1948	1 : 5.2	
1954	1 : 5.0	1 : 10.1
1958	1 : 11.3	
1964	1 : 21.5	1 : 10.1
1968	1 : 16.1	1 : 10.4
1972	1 : 24.8	1 : 10.1
1984	1 : 5.8	
1994	1 : 4.8	

Sources: *Yearbooks of South Africa and Yearbooks of Southern Rhodesia*, see also figure 5, p. 54; Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics* (1999).

## FEES

In addition to government and provincial expenditure derived partly from African taxation, parents of African pupils had to pay school fees and had to put money towards books in both Southern Rhodesia and in South Africa. Education for whites was free in both countries, although a contribution was expected. However, if a European parent could or would not pay, a child could attend school for free in both countries.<sup>223</sup> In table 1 book and material costs can be found for South Africa.

In South Africa the fees were 'voluntary' in 1963-64, which can be found in Table 7.<sup>224</sup> Although UNESCO put voluntary in quotation marks, the Yearbooks of South Africa stated that primary and secondary education is free of charge. Or better put, the yearbooks claimed that the white taxpayer paid for African education.<sup>225</sup> Although there is little further information on African school fees, it is very probable these fees did indeed exist throughout the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. It is not until 1981 that it is first mentioned in the yearbook that African education is compulsory and free.<sup>226</sup>

Taking a look at the tables, it is clear that especially the costs of books increased immensely after primary school. Actually, the South African Institute of Race Relations<sup>227</sup> calculated that in 1963-64 it would cost parents R. 1.42 a year for lower primary and R. 5.02 per year for upper primary. The costs for junior secondary school were more than triple the costs of

**Table 6. Book and Writing Material Costs for African Pupils, 1963-64.**

Class	Rand	Class	Rand
Sub A	0.575	Standard 5	3.34
Sub B	0.855	Standard 6	3.59
Standard 1	1.025	Form I	13.75
Standard 2	1.10	Forms II and III	22.94
Standard 3	2.515	Forms IV and V	34.30
Standard 4	2.59		
Average Montly Income 1962	25		

Source: UNESCO (1967), p. 44; SAIRR (1974), p. 233.

<sup>223</sup> Weinrich, 'Strategic Resettlement in Rhodesia', p. 228; Christie (1987), p. 180.

<sup>224</sup> UNESCO (1967), p. 43.

<sup>225</sup> *Yearbook of South Africa* (1958), pp. 113-114.

<sup>226</sup> *Yearbook of South Africa* (1986), p. 688.

<sup>227</sup> SAIRR was established in 1933 and has researched (and still does research) social and economic conditions in South Africa. The institute tried to influence government policy making and was a strong critic of apartheid. For more information see: <http://irr.org.za/about-us/history>.

**Table 7. Fees per African Pupil, 1960s.**

School Type	Fee per pupil	Voluntary or Compulsory
Lower Primary	Maximum of 10 cents per quarter	Voluntary
Higher Primary	Maximum of 30 cents per quarter	Voluntary
Post-Primary Community	Maximum of 1 Rand per quarter	Voluntary or compulsory
Post-Primary Government	Maximum of 1 Rand per quarter, with further contributions not exceeding 6 Rand per year for students attending trade or technical school	Compulsory

Source: UNESCO (1967), p. 43.

upper primary (R. 16.50) and for senior secondary more than six times those costs (R. 33.50).<sup>228</sup>

The income of African parents was substantially lower at this time than for white parents and it was therefore likely that “the cost of maintaining a child in secondary school must [have] affect[ed] the parental decision as to whether or not the child [proceeded] in school”.<sup>229</sup> The average monthly income in 1962 was around R.25, meaning that a child attending a post-primary government school would cost more than three percent of that income. When looking at the data available for 1973 education costs were higher than taxation, medical expenses and cleaning materials.<sup>230</sup>

African parents in Southern Rhodesia also had to pay fees for their children. The fee rate for mission schools is included in Table 8. As can be seen the increase per grade is quite steep as well, whereas education for the white community was free until the end of the compulsory school age. Secondary school fees were nine pounds per year in 1966. Added to the existing school fees was the ‘five percent fee’ due to the Education Amendment Act of 1970. This was raised to pay for the decrease in teacher salaries which had been caused by the Act of 1970.<sup>231</sup>

<sup>228</sup> UNESCO (1967), p. 44.

<sup>229</sup> UNESCO (1967), p. 45.

<sup>230</sup> SAIRR (1974), p. 232.

<sup>231</sup> O’Callaghan, p. 36, p. 88. Austin, p. 48.

**Table 8. Fees for African mission schools in Southern Rhodesia in Rhodesian Dollars, 1957, 1975, 1976.**

	1957 <sup>a</sup>	1975 <sup>b</sup>	1976 <sup>c</sup>
Sub A	0.35		
Sub B	0.42		
I	0.49	3.50	4.25
II	0.56	3.50	4.25
III	0.70	3.50	4.25
IV	1.40	4.00	4.50
V	2.10	4.00	4.50
VI	2.80	6.50	7.00
Average yearly income	82	464	524

a. Methodist mission school fees. Source: Parker, p. 137.

b & c. Anglican mission school fees. Figures exclude the 'five percent fee'. There was a large increase in 1976 due to government notice concerning that school managers were replaced by government appointed supervisors. If a school wanted to retain its school managers, the school had to bear the cost.

Source: O'Callaghan, p. 36.

Considering the financial position of the African population, many parents in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa could not afford to send their children to school. If they could, it often meant a few years of schooling, as attendance was only allowed upon full payment of fees, rather than the on average ten years of schooling European pupils enjoyed.<sup>232</sup> This staggering difference in years of education has been discussed earlier in this chapter.

To conclude, the difference in expenditure and the pure existence of fees for the poorer part of the population, the Africans, show that the South African and Southern Rhodesian governments strongly favoured European education. Especially the expenditure per pupil identifies the large differences that existed. Here, slightly less was spent per African student in Southern Rhodesia when compared with South Africa. Even though the difference between black and white expenditure per pupil was larger in South Africa initially, Southern Rhodesia remained at the same level after the difference decreased in South Africa.

It is plausible that the difference in money spent would have had a great effect on the quality of the education. Furthermore, a significant contribution of African parents was expected, which could not be met by many. It resulted in the vicious cycle discussed earlier, where low income results in fewer years of schooling.

<sup>232</sup> UNESCO (1967), p. 45; UNESCO, *Racism and Apartheid* (1974), p. 64.



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## CONCLUSION

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This chapter has shown that there were inequalities between the African and European primary and secondary school systems in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. These inequalities or differences are clear on basically all levels. The expenditure on African education is lower in total than that of European education in South Africa, but this becomes even clearer in the amount spent per pupil graph. Although the financial contribution of the Southern Rhodesian government towards African and European education drew closer and was eventually on par, it has become very obvious that this is not the case for the expenditure per student. Furthermore, the European parents did not have to contribute any fees, unlike the African parents. It indicates a strong preference for European education in both countries.

When delving further into the situation in primary and secondary school for both races the conclusion can be drawn that there were several disadvantages for the African pupils. First, there were always more students per teacher in both countries at white schools; more students per teacher leads to less time per student and thus a lower quality of education. The African students in Southern Rhodesia had a slight advantage when compared with the black pupils in South Africa. However, it must be taken into account that these are pupil:teacher ratios for primary and secondary school. As there were far fewer secondary school students in Southern Rhodesia than in South Africa, this would have affected the difference in the ratios. Also, the number of students per teacher does not indicate the quality of the teachers.

The teachers in African schools had lesser or no qualifications. There were untrained teachers in Southern Rhodesian African schools, this number was a lot higher than in European schools. Furthermore, from 1974 onwards teachers at European schools in Southern Rhodesia had to have a degree. This was already the case in South Africa before the war; therefore there were no teachers without a degree in white schools. In African schools the standard was much lower and there were many untrained teachers and even teachers with a certificate had often not reached matriculation level. This obviously led to a much lower quality of teaching in African schools in both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Interestingly, the percentage of untrained teachers in South Africa was larger, which could cause more drop outs than in Southern Rhodesia.

The access to secondary school for Europeans was much easier in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. There were only voluntary fees and education was compulsory until the end of secondary school. This can be seen in the high percentage of students in secondary school. African parents had to pay fees Southern Rhodesia, which were higher than the contribution necessary in primary school. School was also not compulsory, which was a second reason for students to drop out before secondary school. There even was a maximum percentage of primary school leavers that could continue to academic secondary school in Southern Rhodesia from the mid-1960s onwards. This is indicated by the incredibly low percentage of Southern Rhodesian African pupils in secondary school, especially when this is compared with the South African percentage.

In South Africa the difference between expenditure on African education and European education is large. Initially it seemed as if Southern Rhodesian Africans were better off, as the budget was divided equally between the white and black groups, unlike in South Africa. However, when the expenditure per pupil was considered, it showed that in South Africa this was less unequal, although still unequal, than that the expenses in Southern Rhodesia. This was even clearer in the ratios, which decreased in South Africa, but never changed from a tenth of the expense on white students in Southern Rhodesia.

A major similarity between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia was that African education was geared towards low-skilled jobs which lay ahead in the African student's future. This was reflected in the curriculum, somewhat in primary, but mostly in secondary school. European education was mostly academic, to train the white students for the higher ranking jobs in society. This was the case for both Southern Rhodesia and South Africa and has been mentioned before in chapter 2. It was also a clear policy of both governments.

This chapter shows that the differences between Southern Rhodesia and South Africa when it came to black primary and secondary schooling were not as large as expected. The African pupils in South Africa appear to have had a slightly better chance of attending secondary school and the expenditure per pupil was also higher. However, the quality of the education in South Africa appears to have been lower, as there were more untrained teachers than in Southern Rhodesia and there were more pupils per teacher. Yet, the latter could have been caused by the extremely low number of African secondary schools in Southern Rhodesia. As a UNESCO affiliated and educational change specialist states: "In a situation of poorly

qualified teachers, lack of facilities, and a system of automatic promotion, it is not likely that academic standards would be high."<sup>233</sup> This appears to have been quite similar and on some fronts a little bit worse in Southern Rhodesia.

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<sup>233</sup> Christie and Collins, p. 179.

CHAPTER 4:  
POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION:  
TECHNICAL, VOCATIONAL AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

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Although not much discussed in the previous chapters, post-primary education was available in both countries. This chapter will focus on technical, vocational and university education in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. An explanation of these three forms of education will be followed by enrolment figures and a discussion on the accessibility of this education for Africans. This will be done especially in comparison to European, or European, Coloured and Asian, access possibilities.

It is necessary to have a general definition of technical and vocational education. In this chapter the UNESCO description will be used. This organization has defined Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) as “the acquisition of knowledge and skills for the world of work”.<sup>234</sup> It further states the different terms that have been used throughout time, which include: Apprenticeship Training, Vocational Education, Technical Education, Technical-Vocational Education (TVE), Occupational Education (OE), Vocational Education and Training (VET), Professional and Vocational Education (PVE), Career and Technical Education (CTE), Workforce Education (WE), Workplace Education (WE), etcetera”.<sup>235</sup>

A further distinction is made between technical and vocational training, although this differs per country and very often these are commented as if they were one and the same. Generally speaking though, vocational training is offered in schools and technical education is given at a tertiary level and is meant for those that have completed secondary school. Vocational education and training “may be obtained either formally in trade schools, technical secondary schools or in on-the-job training programs, or, more informally, by picking up the necessary skills on the job without actual supervision”.<sup>236</sup>

Thus technical training requires minimal academic entry skills whereas vocational training is part of the ‘general education’ system.<sup>237</sup> What were the differences and similarities between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia when it came to this type of education? Did many Africans proceed past primary school, when compared to the white population?

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<sup>234</sup> <http://www.unevoc.unesco.org/go.php?q=What+is+TVET>, accessed on 15-4-2015

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>236</sup> Zengeya, *A Critical Analysis* (2007), p. 26.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

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## SOUTH AFRICA

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### UNIVERSITY

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South Africa has a long history in higher education when compared with the other African Colonies. The South African College was founded in 1829 to prepare students for further study abroad and more Colleges like this followed. A University College provides tertiary education, but is often part of a larger institution. The first university was the University of the Cape of Good Hope, which was established in 1873. It only offered examinations, not tuition, and was basically a continuation of the Board of Examiners which had been founded in 1858.<sup>238</sup>

The first independent universities were founded in 1918 after a series of University Acts were passed in 1916; namely the University of Stellenbosch, the University of South Africa (UNISA) and the University of Cape Town (UCT). UNISA was the new examining university of South Africa and six colleges were affiliated to this university.<sup>239</sup> One of these, the South African School of Mines and Technology, became the fourth university and was renamed the University of Witwatersrand (Wits) in 1922. Many of the colleges associated with UNISA eventually became universities.<sup>240</sup> When World War II was over there were five universities and this number increased to twenty-one in 1990. The majority of these were for white students. For black students the South African Native College was founded in 1916, or the University of Fort Hare from 1951.<sup>241</sup>

University education was not segregated, but most attended Fort Hare or enrolled in a correspondence course at UNISA; something that many students did throughout the years independent of their race. Only two white universities had non-white students with 155 non-European students in 1949 at UCT and a 171 non-whites attending Wits. In 1959 there were 633 non-European students at UCT and there were 297 non-white students at Wits, with

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<sup>238</sup> Pells, pp-35-36; Sehoole, 'South Africa', p. 972.

<sup>239</sup> These were Rhodes University College, Huguenot College, Natal University College, Transvaal University College and the South African School of Mines and Technology. Pells, p. 116.

<sup>240</sup> Rhodes University (1951), University of Natal (1949) and the Transvaal University College became the University of Pretoria (1930).

The South African School of Mines moved to Johannesburg in 1904 and the Pretoria Campus was opened in 1908. Both were called the Transvaal University College until the Act of Union in 1910. The Johannesburg Campus was renamed the South African School of Mines and Technology and the Pretoria Campus remained the Transvaal University College.

<sup>241</sup> SAIRR (1989-1990), accessed online 12-5-2015, p. 1432:

<http://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/SAIRR%20Survey%201989-90.pdf>; Pells, pp. 114-115; Moodie, pp. 3-4; Sehoole, p. 972.

respectively 39 and 74 black students. Rhodes University admitted students if a course was unavailable at Fort Hare and over three hundred mostly Indians attended the University of Natal Medical School in separate classes.<sup>242</sup>

Even just after the war it was clear that the Afrikaans-medium universities had barred and still barred blacks from entry. English-medium universities were open to all races, although residential, social and athletic facilities were segregated.<sup>243</sup> It was basically only UNISA that allowed all races and offered courses in both languages. When the National Party came to power in 1948 the Afrikaner universities became even more prosperous, as the universities were able to expand due to additional funding from the government.<sup>244</sup>

After 1948 the government ensured further racial segregation and control at university level. For example black students could only receive bursaries to study medicine if they attended Natal's medical school from 1951. What followed were two commissions to look into university finance and how to implement separate training facilities for non-Europeans at university. Only the new financing proposal of the commission was accepted and "[g]rants were to be based on clearly specified and officially approved university needs (costed with reference to past expenditure) and student numbers, but to be allocated as block grants that left the universities with considerable discretion as to their use."<sup>245</sup>

With the 1955 Universities Act non-whites could be excluded by the university councils and the Minister of Education could withhold part or the whole of the grant a university received if it was found that a university did not abide to the provisions of the Act. Starting in 1957 further apartheid at university was initiated, although the first Acts were not implemented until 1959.<sup>246</sup>

The technically non-segregation of universities changed when the National Party passed the Extension of University Education Act of 1959. It barred black, Asian and coloured students

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<sup>242</sup> Moodie, pp. 3-4; *State of South Africa* (1962), p. 86.

<sup>243</sup> Afrikaner universities until 1994: Stellenbosch (1918), Pretoria (1930), Orange Free State (1950), Potchefstroom (1951), Port Elizabeth (1964), Rand Afrikaans (1967).  
English universities until 1994: Cape Town (1918), Witwatersrand (1922), Natal (1949), Rhodes (1951).  
Bilingual: UNISA (1918).

African universities until 1994: Fort Hare (1951), The North (1959), Zululand (1960), MEDUNSA (1976), Bophuthatswana (1977), Transkei (1977), Vista (1981), Venda (1982).

Coloured university: Western Cape (1970).

Indian university: Durban-Westville (1972).

<sup>244</sup> Marcum, pp. 2-3

<sup>245</sup> Moodie, p. 4.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

from attending historically white universities and it was the basis for the establishment of a racially segregated university system; it also led to the foundation of new white, black, Asian and coloured universities. All were funded by the government and were under government administration through the education department of each race.<sup>247</sup> Acts that followed were mainly ones establishing new universities, such as Vista in one of the homelands.<sup>248</sup>

Even though the English-speaking universities spoke of restraints in academic freedom and university students protested, they did not complain too much, probably due to the reliance on government funding. Resistance to the racial segregation in Afrikaner universities was very small and even in African Universities there was limited resistance until the mid-1980s. The latter was tightly controlled by the government and the staff was mostly white and included many Afrikaners. However, the black universities did bring forth the students that would become part of the Black Consciousness movement and the English universities also had student bodies that were a part of the anti-apartheid movement.<sup>249</sup>

It was not until 1983 that the universities regained the right to admit non-whites. Through the Universities Amendment Act it was now possible to allow non-whites to attend, although there was a ceiling to the number of students and the universities decided how many non-European students were allowed. Or in the case of black, coloured and Indian universities how many students of the other races were allowed.<sup>250</sup> It was the start of re-integration of the races at university level.

## TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

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Since the 1920s, most of the technical and vocational training was controlled by the state; just like university and unlike primary and secondary education, which was in the hands of the provinces. The number of students increased quickly especially after the Apprenticeship Act of 1922 made attendance of technical classes compulsory during the period of apprenticeship.<sup>251</sup> Significant change came after 1949 when the Eiselen Commission reported in 1949 on the variety of technical and vocational education that was available.

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<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5; Marcum, pp. 3-4.

<sup>248</sup> Kallaway, *Apartheid and Education* (1984), p. 28.

<sup>249</sup> Moodie, pp. 8-10; Davies, 'The State and the South African University System', p. 324.

<sup>250</sup> Moodie, p. 10.

<sup>251</sup> Pells. Pp. 102-104

Africans could attend technical classes in primary school, but there were industrial centres in several towns and some mission schools had industrial departments. The remaining provincially organized vocational training was subsidized by the state. Eiselen recommended a restructuring of this education sector. In 1955 the Vocational Education Act repealed all previous acts and put all vocational training under the control of the Department of Education, Arts and Science, except for African vocational training, which was controlled by the Native Education Department from 1959.<sup>252</sup>

In the 1960s there were technical schools in urban centres which African boys could attend after passing Standard VI. This three-year course would lead to a Junior Certificate and offered specialisation in trades like building construction, carpentry, and electrotechnics. The vocational high schools were divided into technical, housecraft and commercial high schools, with the corresponding trades like bookkeeping and welding.<sup>253</sup>

There were also trade or industrial schools for African boys and vocational schools for African girls in the rural areas. Dressmaking and home-management were taught at vocational schools and the trade schools offered two-year courses in building trades, such as plumbing. Upon completion the boys received a School Certificate in Vocational Training which was only recognized for employment in the reserves. Through work experience it was possible to become registered skilled workers for urban African townships.<sup>254</sup>

Four technical colleges were restructured as Colleges for Advanced Technical Education (CATEs) in 1967; for the other racial groups this occurred in the 1970s. These CATEs were considered to be technical universities and seen as full tertiary education. They were state-aided and were autonomous institutions. When the Soweto Riots erupted in 1976, the government responded with educational reforms, after the initial violent government reprisals. The Education and Training Act of 1979 was passed which included a massive expansion of the availability of technical education for blacks. In the eyes of the government it would solve the demands of the industry, more (semi-)skilled workers, and the demands of the black community for a better education.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> UNESCO (1967), pp. 75, 78.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

<sup>255</sup> Kallaway, p. 25-27; *Schoole*, pp. 974-75; *South Africa: official yearbook* (1978), p. 696; *Yearbook* (1984), p. 683; *Yearbook* (1991-92), p. 176-77.



In 1979 the colleges were renamed Technikons. There were six CATEs for whites and two for blacks in 1976. As of 1980 there was the correspondence technikon RSA, similar to UNISA, and by 1981 there were four technikons for blacks. Throughout the 1980s the technikon status became more entrenched in legislation and the institutions became degree awarding facilities like the universities. In 1993 an Act put the technikons of all races under one law.<sup>256</sup>

Thus, there was vocational, trade and industrial training at secondary level, or post-primary level. Technical colleges facilitated for secondary and post-secondary technical training and CATEs and technikons provided tertiary technical education. The academic version of this was the university. All were basically racially segregated, which will be looked at in more detail further on.

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## SOUTHERN RHODESIA

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### UNIVERSITY

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Just like in most of the British African colonies, Southern Rhodesia did not have a university until after World War II. The British government had set up a commission in the 1940s to establish more universities in the colonies. The University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was set up in Salisbury by Royal Charter in 1955 and opened in 1957. It was connected to the University College of London and entry qualifications were the same for both universities.<sup>257</sup>

At its inception there were three faculties: the Faculty of Sciences, the Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Arts. It was followed in 1963 by foundation of the School of Medicine, which was affiliated to the University of Birmingham, and in 1974 the Faculty of Engineering came into existence. In the year of independence the Faculties of Law, Commerce and Agriculture were established.<sup>258</sup> The staff of the university mostly originated from the United Kingdom and as an initial college of the University of London it had a very high academic standard. This academic excellence was retained even after independence, but it was only available to a small elite.<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> Sehoole, pp. 974-75; *South Africa: official yearbook* (1978), p. 696; *Yearbook* (1984), p. 683; *Yearbook* (1991-92), p. 176-77.

<sup>257</sup> Teferra and Altbach, 'African Higher Education', p. 637.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 637.

<sup>259</sup> Mhlanga, *Quality Assurance in Higher Education* (2013), pp. 104-105

What made the university unique in Southern Rhodesian education was the multiracial character, which was not present in any other form of schooling in the Federation or in Southern Rhodesia. When the Federation was dissolved in 1963, the British and Southern Rhodesian Governments agreed to keep developing the University College as a multi-racial educational facility.<sup>260</sup> During its twenty-three year run the university had changed its name to University of Rhodesia and became the University of Zimbabwe in 1980 at independence. The connection with the University College of London was ended in 1971 and with this the university was renamed University of Rhodesia and gained official university status. Formal relations with the University of Birmingham were ended in 1970.<sup>261</sup>

### TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

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Technical and vocational training had been available at the Bulawayo Technical School from 1927, for Europeans at least. Training was also possible in evening classes. There were several laws which dealt with technical and vocational education, the first being the Industrial Conciliation Act. As mentioned it mostly contained that Africans were not included under the term 'employee', thus creating a separate labour system protecting the white labourers and their wages.<sup>262</sup> It included provisions for apprenticeship training and most importantly for worker education, it prescribed who controlled the training of the apprentices.<sup>263</sup>

This was the situation throughout the 30s, 40s and 50s, until the Apprenticeship Training Act of 1959 was passed. It made it legal for Africans to become apprentices, and all races had to attend a technical college after one year's apprentice training. The progression in number of apprentices was limited due to unwillingness of employers and opposition of the mainly white skilled workers unions. Furthermore, ten years of schooling was required to be hired, which excluded many Africans. This resulted few job opportunities on the higher end of the spectrum for Africans. If there was a shortage in skilled labour, Rhodesia leaned on more immigration to fill these jobs.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> O'Callaghan, p. 99; Teferra and Altbach, p. 637.

<sup>261</sup> O'Callaghan, p. 99.

<sup>262</sup> Hudson, pp. 14-15; Warhurst, p.17.

<sup>263</sup> Zengeya, p. 162

<sup>264</sup> Austin, pp. 48-49

The restricted access and limited availability led to an inquiry and eventually a new Apprenticeship Training Act (1968). Although the Training and Skilled Manpower Authority that was set up through this law did succeed in increasing the number of apprentices, the liberation war eventually took its toll. Many trainees had to perform military duty and had to postpone their training. Towards the end of the independence struggle two more acts were passed concerning the control over private vocational and technical institutions and discipline in the technical colleges.<sup>265</sup>

In the period after World War II until 1980 there were also several post-primary education options. Industrial and Vocational training post-standard VI, which were non-academic secondary schools (later F2 schools) where boys were trained to become carpenters, builders, farmers, or a similar professions. In addition there were commercial schools which catered for typewriting, book keeping and other administrative jobs. For girls there were homecraft schools which taught in needlework, cooking, and etcetera. There was also an agricultural college. Students who could not attend secondary school often attended the correspondence college. The location of the college or institution often determined the specialization, such as agriculture in the reserves, and most Africans could only be employed in the reserves.<sup>266</sup>

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### UNIVERSITY EDUCATION FOR BLACKS AND WHITES

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It has been made clear that university education became almost fully segregated in South Africa from the late 1950s by introducing black, white, coloured and Indian universities and university colleges. Even before that black and white students mostly attended different universities or enrolled in correspondence courses at UNISA and although UCT and Wits initially allowed non-white students at their university, residential, social and athletic facilities were separate.<sup>267</sup> In Southern Rhodesia there was only one university and it was multi-racial and remained so throughout the colonial period. Even more contrasting were the integrated classes and halls of residence, at least by 1974, and there were no racial

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<sup>265</sup> Zengeya, pp. 168-171

<sup>266</sup> Parker, pp. 120-130; Du Toit, pp. 96-98.

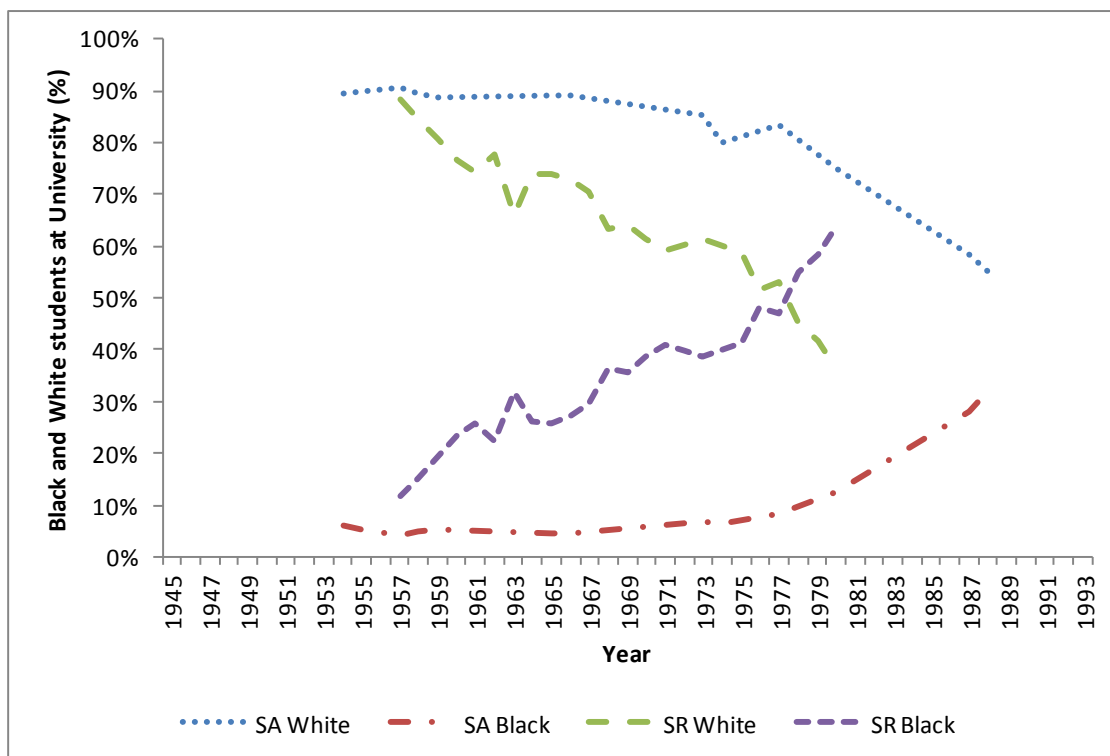
<sup>267</sup> Marcum, p. 2.

criteria for the appointment of the university staff. Although that did not mean there was no racial bias present or that multi-racial groups of friends were a common feature.<sup>268</sup>

Racial segregation at university does not necessarily mean restricted access to this form of tertiary education. To see if this was the case enrolment of black and white students for South Africa and Southern Rhodesia was visualized in Figure 12 as far as enrolment figures were available. Calculated were the percentages of both racial groups at university out of the total number of students at university.

First it becomes clear that there was a big difference in the percentage of black and white students in South Africa. Even though these were moving towards each other at the end of the 1980s, there was still a large gap. The increase in the percentage of black students in South Africa around 1976 was probably due to the opening of several universities and university colleges in the (independent) homelands.

**Figure 12. Percentage of racial groups at University of the total number of students, 1945-1993.**



Note that Europeans, Asians and Coloureds were grouped together under white for Southern Rhodesia.

Source: Mutowo and April, 'A path dependency investigation', p. 141; *Yearbooks of South Africa* (1948-1990/91); SAIRR *Survey* (1951/52-1989/90).

<sup>268</sup> O'Callaghan, p. 99.

For Southern Rhodesia the picture was different. Initially the difference is quite large, but the percentages quickly grew towards each other and just before independence the percentage of black students surpassed that of the European, coloured and Asian percentage. This appears to be positive, but as mentioned in the previous chapter, the steep pyramid structure in Southern Rhodesia ensured that not many Africans reached university in the first place; and the African population was about 19 times larger than the European population. Furthermore, there were quite a few white Rhodesians studying abroad. For example, there were 1272 students at South African universities in 1965, up to over 1900 students in 1972.<sup>269</sup> This obviously would change the percentages above.

First, these graphs are put into perspective by looking at the percentage of the population at university for both countries and both racial groups (Figure 13 and Figure 14). Figure 13 shows that the percentage of the white population at university in South Africa was much larger than that of the black population, but also larger than that of the total population. Figure 14 shows that the difference between the percentage of the total black and total white population at university in Southern Rhodesia was also very present, although the percentages were much lower than in South Africa.

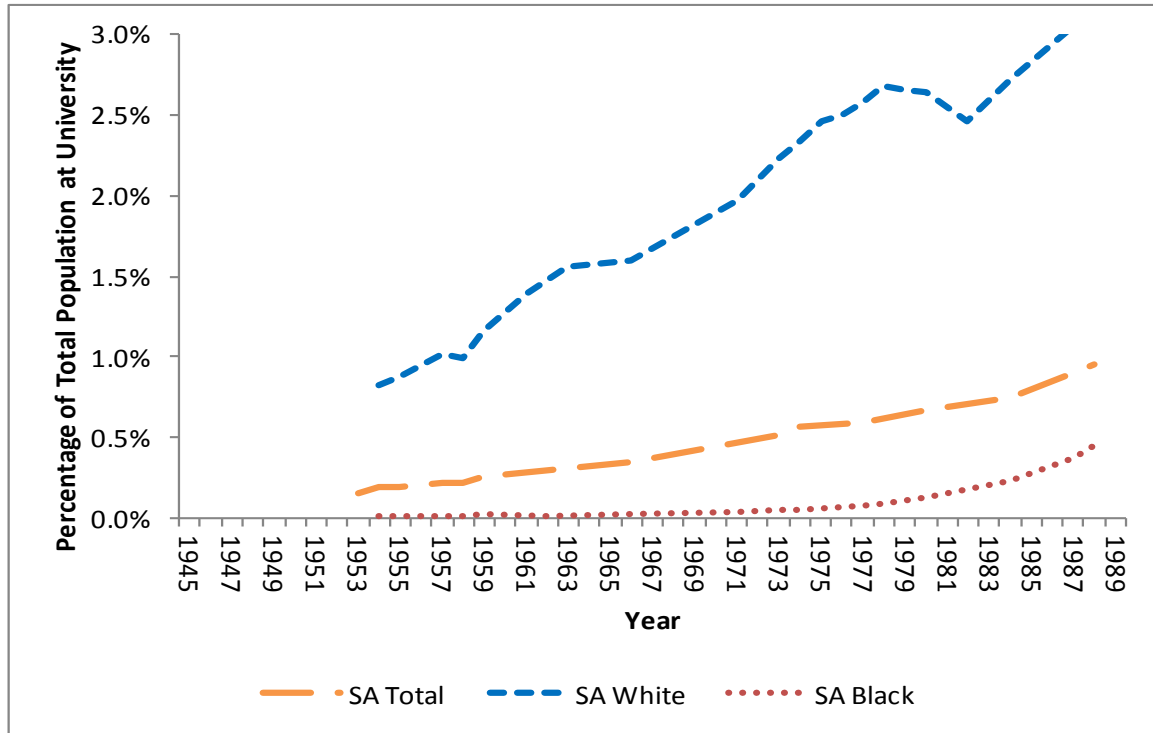
The differences in the percentages of the total white population at university in Figure 13 and Figure 14 are of a substantial scale. The percentage of the total South African white population at university in 1966 was 9.2 times higher than the percentage of European university students out of the total European population in Southern Rhodesia. This remained at a similar level until 1979. The percentage of the black population in 1966 at university in South Africa was 5.4 times higher than the black population at university in Southern Rhodesia. This had decreased slightly to 4.7 times higher in 1979.

As there was a large difference in the percentage of university students, it is wise to consider the ratios of black to white students for both countries. These can be found in Table 9. Although a larger percentage of the black population attended university in South Africa, the ratios show that the difference between the numbers of black and white students was larger in South Africa; one black student equalled many white students. This decreased, as was shown in Figure 12, but it was still unequal at the end of the 1980s. This is in sharp contrast

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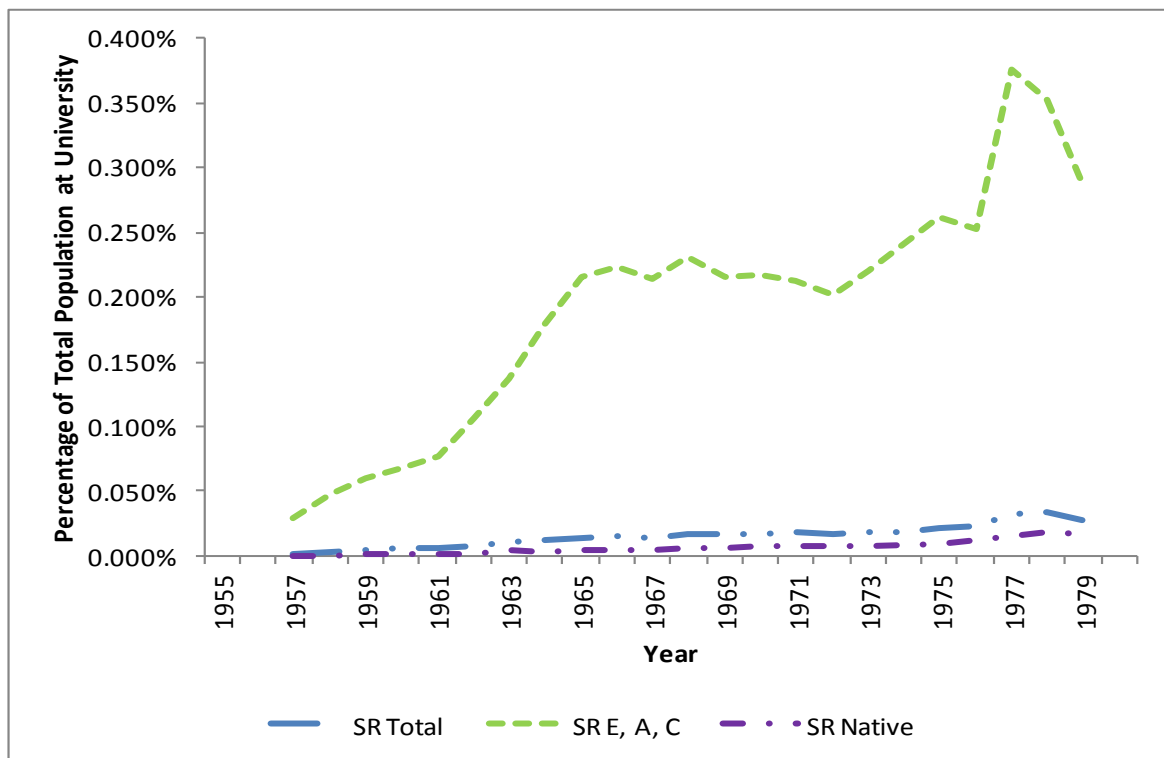
<sup>269</sup> UNESCO (1967), p.51.

Figure 13. Percentage of the Total Population at University in South Africa, 1945-1989.



Sources: *Yearbooks of South Africa* (1948-1990/91); *Demographic Yearbook* (1978; 1979).

Figure 14. Percentage of the Total Population at University in Southern Rhodesia, 1955-1980.



Sources: Mutowo and April, 'A path dependency investigation', p. 141; *Yearbooks of Southern Rhodesia* (1948-52); *Demographic Yearbook* (1978; 1979).

**Table 9. Ratio of Black to White Students for Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, 1954-1988.**

Year	Ratio B-W Students Southern Rhodesia	Ratio B-W Students South Africa
1954		1 : 14.3
1957	1 : 7.5	1 : 21.2
1959	1 : 4.2	1 : 16.9
1966	1 : 2.7	1 : 19.5
1971	1 : 1.4	1 : 14.3
1977	1 : 1.1	1 : 9.9
1980	1 : 0.6	1 : 6.1
1984		1 : 3.2
1988		1 : 1.7

Sources: *Yearbooks of South Africa* (1948-1990/91); *Demographic Yearbook* (-1978; 1979); Mutowo and April, 'A path dependency investigation', p. 141; *Yearbooks of South Africa* (1948-1990/91); SAIRR Survey (1951/52-1989/90); *Demographic Yearbook* (1978; 1979).

with Southern Rhodesia where eventually there were more black students than European students.

What this table conceals is the differences within the populations of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia; with roughly eighty percent African in South Africa and around ninety-five percent in Southern Rhodesia. This was clearer in the figures above where the percentage of the total population at university was shown for the different races. The ratios changed considerably if these percentages were used, rather than the numbers.

Interestingly, it showed that the Southern Rhodesian ratio, though initially higher in 1957 (SR: 120.7; SA: 72.8), decreased quickly and was lower by 1966 (SR: 50.0; SA: 69.7). In 1978 the ratios had lowered substantially for both countries, but Southern Rhodesia was still lower.<sup>270</sup>

However, if white Rhodesian students studying in South Africa were taken into account, the percentage of the total white population at university increased for white students. Then the percentage of white students attending university would be 92% in 1965 and 87% in 1972. Furthermore, the ratio black:white students then increases to one black student per 11.5 white students in 1965 and one per 6.5 in 1972. This is a fair estimate as the majority of Rhodesian students going abroad went to South African universities.<sup>271</sup>

<sup>270</sup> See Appendix A for more numbers.

<sup>271</sup> O'Callaghan, p. 99.

It seems clear that there were South African students going abroad for study as well. This appears to be much lower percentage than that of Southern Rhodesia. Marcum mentions 1170 students in America in 1979-1980 and 358 in Britain for the previous academic year.<sup>272</sup> Although this was presumably not the entire student population abroad, it gives an indication of the small number of South African students abroad. Therefore, the Rhodesian students abroad have to be taken into account.

This results in a similar difference between black and white in both countries. Thus, although the university in Rhodesia was non-racial in principal and enrolment eventually was similar for both races, there was a big difference in both the percentage and number of black and white university students in Rhodesia; and with this, a similar situation as in South Africa.

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### TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

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Looking at the development in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia in this area of education, a similar picture forms; Africans were allowed to enter into vocational training, but could only be educated as semi-skilled workers. Most of these technical and vocational graduates could only work in the reserves. Technical and vocational education data was more difficult to obtain, because of the wide scope of this field of education. The found data is shown in Table 10.

What becomes clear from the table is the large difference between white enrolment in South Africa and white enrolment in Southern Rhodesia. The percentage of the white population enrolled in technical or vocational is also much higher for South Africans than Southern Rhodesians; 1.93% for South Africa and 0.42% for Southern Rhodesia in 1965. For the enrolment of the black population there was a difference, but as a percentage of the population the numbers were very similar at around 0.02%.<sup>273</sup>

As stated figures were not readily available when it concerned this type of education, but an attempt was made to put the above figures in perspective. For a similar period as the previous table the number of technical and vocational schools were collected (Table 11). Although there is little overlap, an increase is seen in both countries. In 1963, the only year

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<sup>272</sup> Marcum, pp. 59-60.

<sup>273</sup> *Monthly Digest of Statistics* (Feb. 1966; June 1974); *Yearbooks South Africa* (1962-1990/91).



where both the number of schools and the number of students were available for both countries, there were 48.7 African students per school in Southern Rhodesia as opposed to 72.7 in South Africa. It is obviously rash to conclude much from these numbers for the entire period, but at least for 1963 it shows the large difference between Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

What seems fair to conclude, however, is that the majority of the skilled labour force in both countries did not originate from the African population. For example the small amount of apprentices in the 1960s in Southern Rhodesia in Table 12. It means that in 1962 there were 43.6 European, coloured and Asian apprentices for every black apprentice. This was only getting better at the end of the 1960s when this number had decreased to 29.3 in 1968 and to 10.8 the year after. However, the difference was still very large.

**Table 10. Enrolment Numbers in Technical and Vocational Education in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, 1953-1972.**

	SR Total	SR E, A & C	SR Black		SA Total	SA White	SA Black
1953				1953	24558	10716	
1954				1954	15795	11814	
1955				1955			2237
1956			1604	1956	26087	18008	6720
1957			1471	1957	23490	19007	2952
1958			1484	1958			
1959			1802	1959			1379
1960			1809	1960	60782		1734
1961	2876	1102	1774	1961			
1962	2783	1192	1591	1962			
1963	2300	1181	1119	1963	76724		2035
1964	2817	1939	878	1964			2351
1965	2862	2030	832	1965		65729	
1966	3401	2510	891	1966			
1967	3380	2481	899	1967			
1968	3102	2297	805	1968			
1969	3487	2704	783	1969			
1970	3412	2527	885	1970			3652
1971	3393	2397	996	1971			
1972	3620	2594	1026	1972			

Sources: *Monthly Digest of Statistics* (Feb. 1966; June 1974); *Yearbooks South Africa* (1962-1990/91).

**Table 11. Number of Vocational and Technical Schools for Blacks in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, 1953-1983.**

	SR	SA
1953	14	
1957	17	
1963	23	28
1971	31	
1973		29
1974	49	
1976		31
1983		46

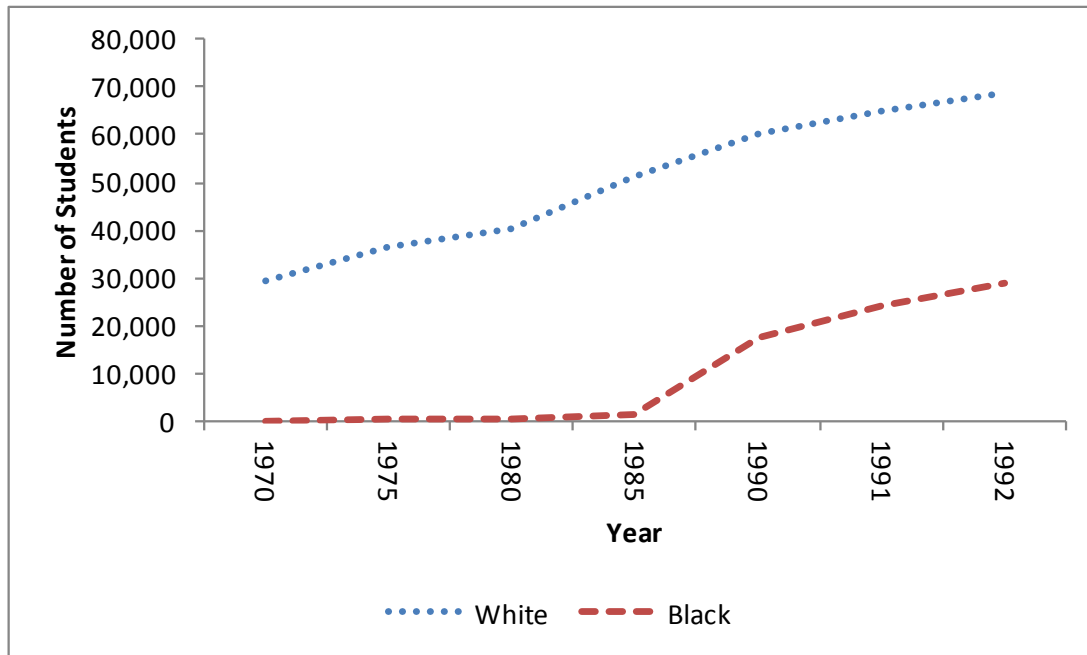
Sources: *Monthly Digest of Statistics* (Feb. 1966; June 1974); *Yearbooks South Africa* (1962-1990/91).

**Table 12. Number of Apprentices Registered in Southern Rhodesia, 1962-1969.**

Year	Total Registered	Africans Registered
1962	436	10
1963	371	9
1964	378	8
1965	445	7
1966	378	9
1967	396	5
1968	498	17
1969	531	49

Source: UNESCO (1975), p. 49.

**Figure 15. Enrolment at CATEs and Technikons, 1970-1992.**



Sources: *Yearbooks South Africa* (1974-1990/91).

In South Africa it has been mentioned that there was also advanced technical education, which was separate from university; for Southern Rhodesia technical education was part of the university system. The difference in enrolment was big, as seen in Figure 15, just like for the apprentices in Southern Rhodesia. It shows that the access to an education which taught skills at the higher end of the spectrum was mostly available to whites. It is therefore interesting to take a small side-step into working life. What jobs were available to Africans?

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### WORKING LIFE

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After university, semi-skilled or skilled education students joined the work force in their country. For both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia several UNESCO reports were published throughout the 1960s and 1970s. All reports were fairly critical of the apartheid regimes in place and its effect on the people, but also the economy. It was made clear in the reports on South Africa that educated non-white workers unable to get higher ranking jobs for reasons such as being in charge of white employees. However, just like in Southern Rhodesia, there were not enough properly educated workers to fill the higher positions in society, amongst the white population at least.<sup>274</sup> The shortages were often resolved by attracting foreigners to fill these vacancies.

In Southern Rhodesia, especially after UDI, there were vacancies at the top of the economic pyramid which could not be filled by Africans as these were reserved for whites. The positions at the top remained open as there were not enough white skilled workers available due to the 'brain drain', causing large economic problems for Southern Rhodesia. Despite this, Africans were kept out of the skilled jobs, although more and more Africans had the necessary qualifications. At the low end of the job spectrum, vacancies were filled by white low-skilled immigrants.<sup>275</sup> The few opportunities available to Africans thus decreased even further.

In South Africa mechanization and modernisation had also caused a surge in demand for semi-skilled and skilled workers. These jobs were mostly reserved for white workers, but most whites chose white collar jobs over manual labour. It resulted in a shortage of skilled

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<sup>274</sup> UNESCO (1967), pp. 102, 107

<sup>275</sup> Brownell, *Collapse of Rhodesia* (2011), p. 116.

**Table 13. Average Income Ratio European/Black for South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, 1960-1986.**

	South Africa	Southern Rhodesia		South Africa	Southern Rhodesia
1955	4.2	13.2	1972		
1956	4.4	13.2	1973		10.4
1957	4.5	12.9	1974		10.3
1958	4.8	12.4	1975		11.0
1959	4.5	12.1	1976	4.9	10.7
1960		12.1	1977	4.6	10.5
1961		11.3	1978	4.4	
1962		10.8	1979	4.3	
1963		10.4	1980	4.1	
1964		10.6	1981	4.1	
1965		10.5	1982	4.0	
1966	4.2	10.4	1983	3.9	
1967	4.2	10.4	1984		
1968	4.3	10.4	1985	3.6	
1969	4.3	10.6	1986	3.5	
1970	4.3	10.4	1987	3.5	
1971		10.8			

Sources: UNESCO (1974; 1975), SAIRR (1987-88), *Yearbooks of South Africa* (1962-1990/91); Parliament of Australia, *Report of the Joint Committee* (May 1980).

labour amongst whites and even though there were skilled African workers, these could not fill these positions due to legislation. Furthermore, the mechanization had also resulted in fewer positions for unskilled workers, leaving Africans few opportunities at the lower end.<sup>276</sup>

Africans were left with the lower ranking jobs, of which there were fewer available from the 1960s and 1970s. Also, they were paid significantly less than Europeans. This difference was even larger in Southern Rhodesia than in South Africa, which can be seen in Table 13. The ratio of European wages divided by African wages in Southern Rhodesia hardly changed throughout the period from 1960 until 1977, even when majority rule came closer. The variation between the different sectors could be large, for example in manufacturing the ratio was smaller than the average (ratio 7.3), but agriculture (ratio 24.7) and mining (ratio 12.7) were much higher.<sup>277</sup>

<sup>276</sup> Feinstein, pp. 190-191.

<sup>277</sup> Parliament of Australia (May 1980), pp. 430-433.

Although this was different in South Africa, with the ratio changing favourably for black South Africans throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the average income of a European worker was still 3.5 times higher than that of the African worker in 1987. As was the case in Southern Rhodesia, the difference between sectors in South Africa was visible as well; where the difference in the banking wages was smaller (ratio 2.3), sectors such as agriculture (ratio 4.6) and transport (ratio 4.5) had larger income inequalities between the racial groups even in 1987.<sup>278</sup>

Not only were the average African wages significantly smaller than the European wages, it was often the case that wages were below the Poverty Datum Line (PDL). This indicates the minimum amount of money needed to provide for a family in terms of food and shelter.<sup>279</sup> This was exemplified in the UNESCO publication of 1975 for Rhodesia, where at least 89.8% of the African population earned less than the PDL.<sup>280</sup> The 1974 UNESCO report of South Africa indicated that for many professions the average wage for Africans was lower than the PDL.<sup>281</sup>

It is clear then that Africans were paid far less than Europeans on average, even if they were doing the same job.<sup>282</sup> Furthermore, it shows that even if you were well educated the job opportunities were few, next to the difference in salary. As mentioned in chapter 2, there was indeed a knowledge shortage and therefore a labour shortage on the higher end of the job spectrum. The economy of both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia was suffering of this problem, which was also visible in the declining growth rates for both countries, as seen in chapter 1 and 2.

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<sup>278</sup> SAIRR (1987-1988), pp. 323-336

<sup>279</sup> UNESCO (1974), p. 59.

<sup>280</sup> Austin, p. 56.

<sup>281</sup> UNESCO (1974), p. 59.

<sup>282</sup> For example the difference in wages African and European teachers received. See also footnote 222.

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## CONCLUSION

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Interestingly, university education was not as racially segregated as the other forms of education. However, as seen in chapter 3, the road to university education was difficult and only few Africans reached university. If university was reached in Southern Rhodesia multiracialism was promoted, although not necessarily executed by the students. In South Africa, there was initially no segregation in entry, but there was apartheid in social life, classes, halls of residence and dining halls. After 1959 separate universities were created and non-whites could not enrol at white universities.

This is one of the biggest differences between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The difference between the numbers of black and white students attending university in Southern Rhodesia was a lot smaller than in South Africa. However, it must be noted, though, that quite some white Southern Rhodesians went to university in South Africa. The inclusion of these numbers results in that the difference between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia was not that large anymore. Noteworthy is that the University of Fort Hare produced many anti-apartheid leaders, whereas the University of Rhodesia was not the origin of the freedom struggle.

Technical and vocational education was different. It was separate for the different races and especially low and some semi-skilled training was the focus for Africans in both Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Higher skilled education was basically only available to whites. The difference in enrolment, even more so when put in perspective of the total population, resulted in a small group that had enjoyed a higher education. Both countries resorted to immigration to solve the labour shortage in the higher end job spectrum, and hardly ever resorted to black workers for these positions. Actually, well educated Africans had much difficulty finding suitable jobs.

All the evidence presented above points to the governments actively keeping out Africans of higher education or many other forms of post-primary education. With the ensuing result of the African population doing the unskilled and semi-skilled work and the white population the higher ranking jobs. It created a wage gap, which in turn resulted in less schooling for the next generation of Africans.

The demand for skilled and semi-skilled labour, which was caused by modernization, led to more struggles on the labour market. Whites refused to perform manual labour and Africans were kept out of the skilled manual labour jobs. Furthermore, unskilled work had decreased and more Africans found themselves without a job in both countries.

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## CONCLUSION

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What has become clear in this work is that racial segregation was in place before World War II in both Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Although the younger settler state of the two, Southern Rhodesia had as much apartheid legislation as South Africa by the start of World War II. When the Rhodesian Front and the National Party came to power, the restrictive legislation for the 'non-white' population was increased and the police force and army was enlarged, as were their powers. When comparing the two countries on this level there seem to have been more similarities than differences, with many similar laws and practices, and with economies based on agriculture and mining.

The restrictive legislation also had its effect on education. It separated the races into white or European, Coloured, Indian or Asian, and black or native. In Southern Rhodesia the Coloured and Asian students were often included on the European side, although there was certainly a distinction; in South Africa there was a clear line between the four groups.<sup>283</sup> Both countries funded African education through African taxation and both countries had a Native Education Department (NAD) that organized African education; despite the fact that the missions took in most of the African pupils until World War II. When government legislation pushed out the missions after NP and RF rule, the NAD took over all African education.

The separate education systems that had come into existence were unequal on a financial level in both countries. The expenditure per African pupil was much less than that the expenditure per white student. In South Africa black students were slightly better off than the Southern Rhodesian students. The lack of funds resulted in fewer schools in both countries, and as a result more children per school. Therefore, the number of children per teacher was also very large in African schools in these countries, although this was less so in Southern Rhodesia.

This affected the quality of education, but more influential were the low qualifications of the teachers in African schools. Most African teachers had few qualifications as it was not required, unlike in European schools, and the teachers that were educated often left to find better paid jobs. Although the situation was similar, pupil:teacher ratios and the higher

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<sup>283</sup> People could switch from black to coloured, for example, because of changing racial classifications. What is meant here is that there was a clearer distinction in the yearbooks and other official publications in South Africa than in Southern Rhodesia.



number of qualified teachers indicate that African students in Southern Rhodesia enjoyed a higher standard of education than the pupils in South Africa.

Another effect of the legislation and funding was a 'pyramid' of enrolment for both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The African enrolment was concentrated in the grades of lower primary school; partly due to costs that African parents could not afford to pay, partly due to the low standards of the teachers. As school was not compulsory for African students in both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, many dropped out of school with only a few years of education.

The ones that continued had different problems, such as the fixed percentage of primary school leavers that could attend secondary school in Southern Rhodesia from the early 1960s. The fixed percentage in Southern Rhodesia led to an incredibly low percentage of African children in secondary school. This attendance percentage was higher in South Africa, but the situation that most parents could not afford to send their children to secondary school existed in both countries.

If a student did not attend secondary school, enrolment at university was not possible. There was of course technical and vocational education in both countries. Actually, the countries were very similar in their approach of curriculum even before post-primary education; it was geared towards a profession. The non-academic secondary school or other vocational training that Africans in both countries attended, prepared them for low and semi-skilled jobs, unlike the Europeans attending these types of schools. The percentage of the African population attending these schools appear to have been similar, unlike the percentage of the white population, which was much higher in South Africa. This shows that the governments of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia influenced the education system in such a way that it resulted in the desired outcome: a large unskilled labour force.

Pupils that managed to reach university also experienced less racial segregation. In Southern Rhodesia University was multi-racial, in South Africa it was initially open to all races although everything else was segregated. This changed in 1959 when South African universities became fully racially segregated. It was at this level where the largest difference existed between Southern Rhodesia and South Africa; the first had a multi-racial university, the second had extreme racial segregation at universities. Much more students of both races attended university in South Africa, but the ratio of black to white students was similar.

The higher percentage of Africans attending secondary school and university in South Africa indicate the possibility of a larger political awareness than in Southern Rhodesia.

Interestingly this appears to be the case as Fort Hare proved to be a breeding ground for the anti-apartheid movement and the secondary school students were the originators of the Soweto protest. Still, majority rule was reached at a much later date in South Africa than in Southern Rhodesia.

It is possible that there is a larger number of high ranking jobs for Africans in Southern Rhodesia and with that higher wages. As a higher income is associated with a better educational attainment for the next generation, this could be a possibility for Southern Rhodesia. This was not the case, however, as both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia struggled with a lack of skilled labour, but both refused to fill the vacancies with skilled Africans. Furthermore, the majority of Africans in these countries earned wages which were under the PDL. The evidence also shows that the wage gap was much larger in Southern Rhodesia than in South Africa. Thus, Africans in Southern Rhodesia earned a lot less than whites, and this gap was a lot larger than in South Africa, but job opportunities were the same. Therefore, the origins of earlier emancipation in Southern Rhodesia cannot be found in better job opportunities and higher wages either.

The similarities between Southern Rhodesia and South Africa are greater than the differences. The reason for the similarities can be found in the similar economy. Both had a large agricultural and mining sector and initially required a large number of unskilled labourers. As white workers did not want to fill these positions, which probably stemmed from their feelings of racial superiority, the African population was forced into these jobs. It required little schooling, which is likely why the schools were racially segregated, but more importantly of lower quality.

Britain's role in these economies was not as small as it seemed. The government let the racial policies continue in South Africa when it became a republic, where a boycott followed the UDI in Southern Rhodesia. The economic interests of Britain and British companies in South Africa were much larger than in Southern Rhodesia, especially because of the large gold reserves.

The situation was not as fruitful as the white population initially thought, as the availability of cheap labour also resulted in less efficiency, which made it harder to compete

internationally in the case of both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The move from mining and agriculture to manufacturing caused a lack of skilled labour in both countries, eventually leading to a recession. This recession was postponed slightly in the case of South Africa due to the larger mineral wealth that Southern Rhodesia did not possess.

This thesis has proven that the hypothesis that Southern Rhodesia had more relaxed racial policies and that African students had better opportunities is incorrect. In fact, South African blacks had a better chance of an academic education, which led to more political awareness. However, Southern Rhodesian Africans reached majority rule sooner. The different outcome for both countries appears to be more in the economic corner, rather than that it stemmed from educational differences.

As African education was moulded to the economic needs of the white minority this seems a valid conclusion. Education did play a role in the low educational attainment of Africans that led to a lack of skilled labour. The shift in the economy to manufacturing required more trained workers in both countries and as there were not enough skilled workers, the economy suffered. Eventually, both countries changed their racial policies due to economic pressures. Problems partially caused by the low quality of education, but as this was the same in both countries it cannot be the major factor in the different path of Zimbabwe.

In future work the role of the economy of Zimbabwe in African emancipation should be researched further. There have been many contributions in this field for South Africa, but the literature on Zimbabwe is wanting. Looking further than just the different timing of majority rule, which was the different outcome researched here, the situation today should be examined. South Africa is still reasonably prosperous, whereas Zimbabwe's economy has collapsed. Whereas education did not influence the different timing of majority rule, it might very well have influenced the difference in these economies.

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 APPENDIX A
 

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**Table 1. Ratios of percentages total white population at university/total black population at university.**

Year	Southern Rhodesia	South Africa
1957	120.4	72.8
1958	86.0	63.0
1959	64.9	59.2
1960	49.9	
1961	45.0	
1962	55.6	
1963	34.5	
1964	50.9	
1965	52.9	
1966	50.0	69.7
1967	46.0	
1968	33.8	
1969	34.6	
1970	30.2	
1971	27.3	46.7
1972	28.3	
1973	29.5	40.8
1974		41.0
1975	27.8	
1976	21.5	
1977	24.2	33.9
1978	18.5	30.3
1979	17.5	
1980		21.5

Sources: *Yearbooks of South Africa (1948-1990/91)*; *Demographic Yearbook (-1978; 1979)*; Mutowo and April, 'A path dependency investigation', p. 141; *Yearbooks of South Africa (1948-1990/91)*; *SAIRR Survey (1951/52-1989/90)*; *Demographic Yearbook (1978; 1979)*.

**Table 2. Consumer Price Index for South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, 1940-1994.**

Year	CPI SA	CPI SR
1940	35.0	33.1
1941	36.6	33.4
1942	39.0	34.1
1943	42.2	35.0
1944	43.5	37.0
1945	44.8	42.3
1946	45.5	44.5
1947	47.3	45.8
1948	50	50.1

1949	51.8	52
1950	53.9	56
1951	57.8	59.9
1952	62.9	64.8
1953	65	66
1954	66.3	66
1955	68	67.7
1956	69.7	70.7
1957	71.8	72.8
1958	74.3	75
1959	75.2	77
1960	76.2	79.3
1961	77.7	81
1962	78	83.3
1963	79.8	84.2
1964	81.8	86.5
1965	84.7	88
1966	87.8	90.2
1967	90.7	92
1968	92.3	94
1969	95	96.6
1970	100	100
1971	105	103
1972	112	106
1973	123	109
1974	137	116
1975	155	128
1976	173	142
1977	192	156
1978	212	165
1979	240	195
1980	273	206
1981	315	233
1982	361	258
1983	405	318
1984	452	382
1985	526	414
1986	624	
1987	708	
1988	776	
1989	853	
1990	929	
1991	1010	
1992	1083	
1993	1134	

Sources: Calculated from Mitchell, B.R.; *International Historical Statistics* (1999).

**Table 3. Sectoral Distribution of GDP (%) for Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, 1911-1970.**

Year	Agriculture		Mining		Manufacturing	
	SA	SR	SA	SR	SA	SR
1911	21.5		27.3		5.9	
1918	24.2		18.0		9.7	
1928	18.9	18.5	15.7	22.2	12.4	14.2
1936		10.9		29.8		14.3
1938	12.7		18.3		17.0	
1948	16.4	26.9	10.0	10.0	23.3	13.0
1954	16.4	22.8	10.4	8.6	26.4	14.6
1960	16.1	18.8	12.7	6.8	26.6	16.9
1965	10.1	17.0	11.0	7.1	30.4	19.7
1970	7.9	15.2	9.0	6.8	30.8	22.4

Sources: Feinstein, Bowman and Herbst.

**APPENDIX B:**  
**OVERVIEW OF IMPORTANT RACIAL LEGISLATION IN SOUTH AFRICA  
AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA**

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On the left South African legislation is shown with the year that the act was implemented. On the right Southern Rhodesian legislation similar to the South African legislation is shown, also with the year the act was passed. If laws were only partially the same italics were used.

	South Africa		Southern Rhodesia
1841	Cape Masters and Servants Act	1901	Masters and Servants Act
1911	Mines and Works Act		
1911	Native Labour Regulation Act		
1913	Natives Land Act	1930	Land Apportionment Act
1923	Natives (Urban Areas) Act	1930	Native Registration Act
		1947	Native (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act
1924	Industrial Conciliation Act	1934	Industrial Conciliation Act
1925	Wages Act	1947	<i>Native Labour Board Act</i>
1926	Mines and Works Amendment Act		
1927	Immorality Act		
1927	Native Administration Act	1927	Native Affairs Act
1930	Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act		
1936	Natives' Trust and Land Act	1959	Land Tenure Act
1945	Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act	1947	Native (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act
1949	Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act		
1950	Suppression of Communism Act; Immorality Act is amended; Population Registration Act; Group Areas Act		

1951	Bantu Authorities Act	1957	<i>Native Councils Act</i>
1951	Native Building Workers Act		
1952	Nationwide Defiance Campaign; abolition of Passes Act		
1953	Reservation of Separate Amenities Act; Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act		
1953	Criminal Law Amendment Act	1950	<i>Subversive Activities Act</i>
1953	Public Safety Act	1955	Public Order Act
1953	Bantu Education Act;	1959	Native Education Act
1956	Industrial Conciliation Act	1959	Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act
1956	Riotous Assemblies Act		
1959	Promotion of Bantu Self- Government Act; Extension of University Education Act		
1960	Unlawful Organizations Act	1959	Unlawful Organizations Act
1963	General Law Amendment Act	1959	Preventive Detention (Temporary Provisions) Act
1963	Publications and Entertainments Act	1964	Printed Publications Act
1966	General Law Amendment Act		
1967	Terrorism Act		



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