

**THE ADMISSION POLICIES OF EX-MODEL C PRIMARY
SCHOOLS IN CAPE TOWN DURING 1998**




A mini-thesis submitted to the University of the Western Cape
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Masters Degree
in Educational Management, Administration and Policy.

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November 1998

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.


.....
Shuaib Dénysse

...NOVEMBER 1998.
.....
Date



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The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a stylized classical building with columns and a pediment.

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ABSTRACT

In the past all black learners were excluded from ex-Model C schools by Apartheid laws. In the context of transformation, the South African Schools Act (1996) aims to equalise opportunities for learners from all racial and social class backgrounds.

In spite of the popular trend to gloss over racial and class differences and rather celebrate freedom, opportunity, equality and black empowerment after the first democratic elections of 1994, the social context remains characterised by Apartheid remnants such as geographically separated living areas according to race and social class. The result is that in spite of claims that thousands of black learners are in fact presently enrolled at ex-Model C schools, hundreds of thousands of working class black children remain excluded.

In order to aid the process of transformation towards equal schooling opportunities, it is necessary to have an understanding of how national schooling policy is implemented at school level. This study therefore collects the views and understandings of selected ex-Model C school principals about their admission policies using qualitative methods.

From the admission trends implied in this study, suggestions and recommendations are made which may aid the democratisation of school governance.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Race and class separation through schooling:

When discussing schooling in South Africa, racial difference and oppression is inevitably emphasised. The work of Althusser (1971), Bernstein (1971), Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) and Bowles and Gintis (1976) refers to the manner in which schools reproduce class divisions and entrenches middle class behaviour and values. It is thus accepted that "schools are middle class institutions with middle class values (which) function naturally to benefit those who are already privileged at the expense of those from lower social orders" (Van Den Berg:1980: 9). Schooling is accepted to be a key socio-political force in the process of reproducing social inequality. This work therefore emphasises social class as an integral part of the racial inequality that exists in the South African society.

1.2. Admissions tests, access and educational standards:

Ex-Model C schools are characterised as having the most advanced educational and extra-mural resources. Apartheid education policy which regulated white schooling to develop according to the Model C model allowed wealthy white parent communities to be involved in the redevelopment of schools through school councils or committees. Such councils (presently called governing bodies) were allowed to buy school land and property and rebuild, refurbish and redevelop schools to satisfy their educational needs according to their own values and beliefs (Pampallis: 1993: 2-3).

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Ex-Model C school councils were also allowed to adopt admission policies. White middle class parents gave input into the procedures controlling access of new learners to schools. At the time of the adoption of the Model C school plan, many schools included stringent tests as part of their admissions policies. These tests were designed to ensure that new learners fit the specific standard of the school as this could not be allowed to drop. It also aided schools in assessing the strength and weaknesses of learners so that their specific needs could be catered for.

An opposing view states that such tests form part of gatekeeping aimed at excluding learners with low potential so that ex-Model C schools cater for the 'cream of the crop'. The rest of the public schools thus have to provide education to the country's 'average' learners (The Cape Times: 16.09.96).

1.3. Ex-Model C schools and current educational policy:

Current school policy such as the South African Schools Act (1996) ✓ heralds the dawn of state policy aimed at restructuring schooling with redress towards equity as its stated goal. Model C schools were scrapped and so reverted back to the status of that of ordinary public schools. Schooling has been declared to be free so that children from families who cannot afford school fees cannot be refused entry into schools (SASA: 1996: Chapter 2: 5(2)). Those who are able to pay, are obligated to do so and governing bodies can collect school fees from them. Racially defined education authorities were disbanded and united under one National Education Department. The drive towards equity means that the high quality educational resources which ex-Model C schools provided to white

learners for so many years should be easily accessible to previously disadvantaged learners from the black sectors of the South African community. Access to former white schools is thus free to all learners.

A more challenging aim of schooling policy is to develop all previously disadvantaged public schools so that quality education can become available to all learners in all areas. The SASA allows for all public schools to be governed with the parental and community control that ex-Model C schools had since its inception. Schooling has been decentralised with provincial authorities regulating broadly set admissions criteria. Parents from all racial and class backgrounds can be represented on governing bodies in all public schools. In this way, they are empowered to give input on various aspects of school life. In spite of provincial 'control' over admission criteria, it remains in the hands of individual governing bodies to decide on admission steps. In a case like that of the Western Cape Provincial School Education Act (WCPSEA: 1997), the criteria are set out in such a manner that individual schools can set up policies and administer them according to their own interpretations.

1.4. The focus of the study:

This study is not aimed at gaining a picture of whether the SASA (1996) through its implementation, is going to lead to the development of public schools in manners similar to what ex- Model C schools developed into since 1991. The study in fact concurs with Sayed (1997) that the funding option endorsed by the Schools Act of 1996 may lead to a "class divided two tier system of public schools, namely well resourced predominantly white and middle class schools and then a tier of predominantly black and

poorly resourced schools" (Sayed: 1997: 20-22). It does not have the exclusive aim of further assessing whether the Act would have the desired outcome of equity and redress for public schools.

It is expected that the general features of past exclusionary practices such as gatekeeping through admission policy may be "... modified and transformed by the historical specificity of the contexts and environments in which they become active" (Troyna: 1993: 26). The opening of former white schools with middle class Christian Afrikaans and English traditions to black learners with different religious, language and working class backgrounds, may make the admission of such different groups a daunting task. The processes through which admission policies are set up and administered within school governing bodies are thus expected to be a contestation between different racial and class interest groups. Schools may need to change their ethos, traditions and curricula to accommodate learners from diverse social backgrounds into one school.

The specific aim of the study is to gain an understanding of how ex-Model C schools cope with the curricular and policy challenges involved in admitting lower class black learners into white middle class Christian schools. The focus is thus specifically on the way in which admission policies are set up and administered at schools. Given the fact that principals, teachers and parents from differing backgrounds are expected to work together to set such school policy up in school governing bodies, there is an interest in contestation as differing ideas, beliefs and values may come into conflict with the drawing up and implementation of policy and curricular changes.

1.5. The relevance of this research:

To date research about admission policies at primary schools in Cape Town has been limited. This study is initiating an exploration of admission policies and processes at schools. It can feed into a body of knowledge that is necessary to establish patterns of school governance and its outcomes for a society which has put legislation in place in attempts to transform a previously unjust and inequitable schooling system.

1.6. Racial categories in this work:

Throughout this work reference is made to general differences between black and white groups. Black refers to people who were, according to the Population Registration Act of 1953, classified as non-white; this includes Indians, Coloureds and all Africans. White refers to all those who are from European descent.

In spite of the homogeneous treatment of groups at some stages of the work, there is an awareness that there are differences of class, gender, religion and language within each of these groups. The homogeneous treatment is at times necessary as apartheid legislation purposefully neglected the socio-economic development of all those who were classified to be non-white while it catered for the exclusive development and advantage of whites. Due to the mentioned differences within especially the black group, they will at times be referred to as African, Coloured and Indian.

1.7. Overview of the study:

Chapter 2:

This chapter discusses the context within which the study is undertaken on three levels: (1) that of the historical and economical structure set up by apartheid legislation and the struggle against it, (2) that of the geographical space created between race and class groups because of such legislation and (3) the policy context as set up by the South African Schools Act of 1996.

Chapter 3:

A discussion of literature covering issues of inequality, race, power and class which relate to the admissions of new learners to ex-Model C primary schools. This chapter attempts to show how issues of inequality, race and class feature within policies such as admissions policies of schools. Here issues such as multicultural and antiracist policy as well as the deracialisation of school policy is discussed. The conceptual framework from which decisions about specific methods with which data is collected and analysed is derived from such discussions.

Chapter 4:

The research design and methodology is discussed in more detail in this chapter. The qualitative research approach and the usefulness thereof for this study are discussed. The research design and how the research was strategically planned and changed to deal with specific problems, is set out. It further shows how decisions with regard to samples, sites and target persons were reached.

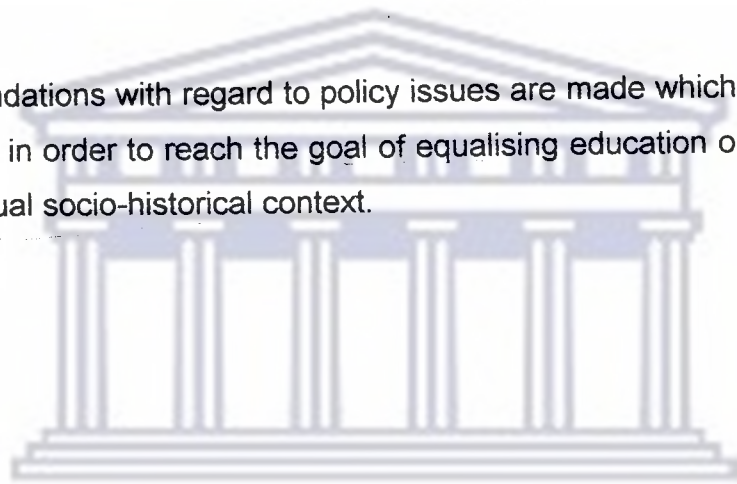
Chapter 5:

This chapter reports on data collected and details trends revealed in the collected data. An analysis of interviews and application documents are used to give insight about school governing issues surrounding admission policies at ex-Model C schools.

Chapter 6:

This chapter accounts for general issues referring to policy changes during times of transformation at schools.

Recommendations with regard to policy issues are made which need to be considered in order to reach the goal of equalising education opportunities in an unequal socio-historical context.



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CHAPTER 2
CONTEXTUALISING SCHOOLING IN SOUTH AFRICA
AND CAPE TOWN

2.1. Introduction:

The white Nationalist state had two goals with Apartheid: one was to preserve white privilege and the other was to strengthen capitalism. In pursuing these objectives racial identities were assigned to people which concurred with the development of class groups in a capitalist environment (Nkomo et al, 1991). In this study apartheid is viewed as “functional to capitalism” where “class alignments could eventually transcend race, and thus undermine the very basis of the racist society which is supportive of capitalism” (Smith: 1982: 25).

A feature of apartheid is the ways in which it evolved to adapt to the prevailing national and international contexts. While it remained an oppressive and discriminatory system of government, its proponents used different strategies in attempts to allow for its survival and the continued privileged status of whites over blacks. To its international allies, the government used linguistic constructions such as “separate development”, “cultural pluralism”, “plural democracy” and “own affairs” to credit the apartheid society they created for the sake of white supremacy (Nkomo et al.: 1991). South African officials continued to distance themselves from racism associated with the term ‘apartheid’. They presented their racist practices in more acceptable forms to the rest of the world. Their manipulation of language in various ways “points to one of the most central tools of racism in its attempts to persist” (Nkomo et al.: 1991: 263). To

create the facade that racism no longer existed, they simply used different, softer terms calling the same reality different names.

At one stage during the 1970s, allowing parts of the black population to develop into middle class citizens was important for the survival of the white dominated capitalist system. Smith (1979) reports that there was evidence of it becoming state policy to allow the development of such a trans racial bourgeoisie. Laurence (cited in Smith: 1979) states that P.W. Botha's government responded positively to black middle class aspirations "encouraging the growth of a black middle class with the clear motive of increasing the conservatism of the black bourgeoisie by making it a junior partner in the white establishment". Added to the apartheid policy of divide and rule by race was thus divide and rule by social class. Property ownership in the form of housing was a key to this development.

The Western Cape and specifically Cape Town, where this study is situated, have a particular history in which Coloureds were privileged above Africans in the development of a black middle class (Smith: 1979: 32). As it was a Coloured preferential area, African people were for a long time prevented from owning property while Coloureds were given that right. In this way, while racial and class segregation caused the oppression of all black people, aspects such as housing and schooling played a crucial role in separating and oppressing various parts of that black group in different ways. The fact that separated geographical living areas for whites, Africans, Coloureds and Indians presently remain largely intact testifies to the fact that the repeal of the above mentioned laws did not bring a sudden end to apartheid.

In order to understand the admission policies of ex-Model C primary schools it is necessary to point out the development and impact of apartheid on the lives of South Africans. This chapter thus aims to show how the structural remnants of apartheid caused the development of particular racial and class understandings to operate within the society. It shows how the removal of race as a discriminatory measure to school admission may not mean that schooling is less discriminatory as social class instead of race is becoming a key feature of social division.

2.2. Apartheid: The evolution of racist and class oppression:

2.2.1. Apartheid laws ensured white privilege:

Apartheid legislation in the form of restrictive land laws, the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act and Population Registration Act and Pass Laws were effective because they covered all aspects of South African life. These laws acted in an integrated way to separate people and to protect white privilege. According to Wolpe (1988) citing Hall, "race (became)... the modality in which class is 'lived,' the medium through which class relations are experienced, the form in which it is appropriated and 'fought through'" (52; my addition). Through the deliberate control of the movement and settlement of black people and restricting the use of social amenities to them, race was interiorised in class (Nkomo et al.: 1991: 265). The laws systematically established personal and interpersonal attitudes of racial difference and exclusivity based on the assumption that black people were inferior to whites and were thus entitled to less of society's resources and privileges.

Underlying the racist facade is an economic role assigned to each group. One of the basic aims of apartheid was to ensure that its capitalist economy could flourish using cheap black labour. Racially discriminatory land laws and laws controlling the movement and settlement of blacks ensured this. Restricting the movement and settlement of African people channelled them into areas where white employers needed cheap labour. Such laws were also used to ensure that black people were kept out of white areas (Smith: 1979).

Life in South Africa was thus explicitly fragmented along racial and social class lines. Not only did it cast people into racial moulds, but it also ensured that legally defined race groups lived different, separate and unequal lives according to social class.

2.2.2. Setting the stage for educational reforms:

In 1990 political and social 'transformation' in the form of the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Act was started. This gesture by the National Party government did not remove the racial and social class separation existing within South African society. Apartheid education laws remained in place. Discussing aspects of it provides a window through which to view how "racist practices are being maintained in mutated ways" (Nkomo et al: 1991:).

The education system remained segregated along racial lines: 19 different education departments could be identified in South Africa, including the independent states of Boputhatwsana, Transkei and Ciskei and the self governing territories of Kwazulu, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane, Qwa Qwa,

Venda and Lebowa. Each department catered for its own racial or ethnic group. The Bantu Education Act passed in 1953 and later replaced by the Education and Training Act of 1979 saw to the establishment and maintenance of these departments to continue realising the Verwoerdian maxim of separate and unequal education under apartheid.

As Minister of Native Affairs in 1953, Verwoerd's words reflected the core belief of apartheid education: "When I have control over native education, I will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them" (Christie: 1985: 12). The aim was linked to ensuring a constant supply of cheap black labour for white owned businesses in the country. The idea that black people were inferior to white people was contained in school curricula regulated by an education system known as Christian National Education which implied that it was in fact instituted by Christ or God. Such ideas and values were continually reinforced by the state controlled mass media.

The state provided different levels of education to people depending on their racial classification. The experience under apartheid schooling was racially segregated as well as qualitatively different - separate and unequal. Bantu Education was deliberately inferior on the assumption that African children would largely remain unskilled manual labourers (Kallaway: 1986; Nkomo: 1991)

2.2.3. Resistance redefines educational aims:

The school boycotts and students' resistance during the 1980s was based on the belief that apartheid education was inferior. Hartzenberg, the

Minister of Education and Training at that time, stated that "Educational policies in South Africa must be dictated by the apartheid philosophy" (cited in Christie: 1985: 13). Students made the link between apartheid education and the capitalist economy in which South African schools merely trained them to perform low paying jobs and to remain in subordinate positions in society (Christie: 1985). The system of education which was "meant to keep the ... people apart from one another, to breed suspicion, hatred and violence, and to keep us backward" was rejected (Christie: 1985: 14).

The people's education movement which was made up of teachers, students and community organisations called for the eradication of apartheid education and the establishment of a single non-racial democratic education system for all South Africans, irrespective of race (Bundy: 1986a; NECC: 1990). These struggles indicate significant shifts. What started as a rejection of Bantu Education developed into a rejection of apartheid education in general and then into a rejection of the whole apartheid capitalist system. This led to the establishment of an alternative to the prevailing education system. From seeing the need to develop an education system for blacks which was qualitatively similar to that of the whites, to seeing the white education system as flawed despite its material privileges, Sisulu (1986) stated that

We are not demanding the same education as whites, since that is education for domination. People's education means education at the service of the people as a whole, education that liberates, education that puts the people in command of their lives, education

that prepares our people as responsible citizens of our country
(110).

2.3. Opening white schools to all races:

Under internal pressure from student, teacher, trade union and civic organisations as well as external pressure for economic sanctions by the banned ANC and its international allies, the National Party government was forced to announce the restructuring of various parts of its legislation; among it was white schooling (Pampallis: 1991: 277-287).

It was reorganised according to four models which would make it legally possible for black pupils to be admitted to historically white schools. Piet Clase, the then minister in charge of white education announced the following models:

Model A: This would be a private school under the control of an owner/board of governors/management body who employ the teaching staff and determine their salaries and conditions of service. The board can also dictate admission policies according to which pupils would be admitted. The state would provide a 45% subsidy for these schools providing they meet certain criteria relating to the curriculum and adequate facilities.

Model B: This type of school would remain a state school under day-to-day management of a management body working according to the regulations of the education department. The salaries of a selected number of staff members and operating costs would be paid by the state. School fees were not compulsory.

Model C: This would be a state-aided school run by a management body consisting of the principal and parents. A selected number of teachers' salaries would be paid by the state, with the management body paying for additional teachers, building maintenance, text books and extra-curricular activities. The management body was empowered to appoint teachers, decide on admission policies and change curricula beyond that of the national education department curriculum. School grounds and buildings were transferred to the school's management body free of charge provided it would only be used for educational purposes.

Model D: Model-D schools were in effect schools that contained mainly black students, but were staffed by teachers from ex-white schools. It was a fact that because of a low birth rate amongst whites, schools had to be closed. In this manner, white teachers could still have jobs if they were prepared to teach black learners. These were to be run and maintained by the government and aimed specifically at the previous disadvantaged pupils. Very few of these schools were implemented (Coutts:1992)

2.3.1. Model C schools and exclusivity :

These models afforded white parents the opportunity to vote for models A, B or C or retain their existing pattern of school governance. 98% of the white state schools' parent communities voted for the Model B option. In spite of this, in April 1992 it was unilaterally announced that because of 'economic pressures', all white state schools were to be converted to Model C (the semi-private - semi-state option) (Carrim: 1991; Metcalfe: 1991). This caused most governing bodies to dramatically increase their

school fees. This influenced access to their schools as it was difficult for the majority of black learners to afford such fees. This heralded the phenomenon that economic rather than racial criteria became a measure by which learners were excluded from the privileges locked on the other side of white school gates. This measure linked ex-Model C schools to exclusive schooling catering for middle class members of society no matter what the colour of their skin was.

The National Party government viewed the Clase models and Model C schools as the solution to calls during the early 1990s from the business sector and Mass Democratic Movement to address the economic and education crisis faced by the country at the time. Under the Clase models, white state schools had to comply to strict rules ensuring that they retain a majority of white students and give preference to white children from feeder areas as well as uphold the principles of Christian National Education and mother-tongue instruction (Christie: 1995) The limited desegregation made possible by the Model C schools has been analysed as not responding to "...the chronic and massive education crisis..." identified by civic and student organisations (grouped together here under the term Mass Democratic Movement) but in order to save white schools under threat of closure because of the dwindling white birth rate "...by providing it with the requisite number to keep it going" (Carrim and Sayed: 1991: 22).

Various researchers at that time came to the conclusion that Model C schools merely entrenched inequality in the South African society (Gaganakis: 1991; Soudien: 1994) and allowed for decisions about the

education of other races and the poorer classes of the society to be left in the hands of the wealthy, the white and the middle class sectors so that their privileged position in the South African society remained intact and protected.

The South African Schools Act of 1996 redefined Model C schools as ordinary public schools. Inequality in terms of resources between it and other public schools remains. For the purposes of this study, they are called ex-Model C schools. Their situation in wealthy white urban and middle class 'grey' areas geographically separate them from the rest of the Cape Town community. This in itself makes for a crucial difference as geographical separation in the South African context carries with it the meaning of differing resource allocation according to race and social class. The present context of South African schooling can correctly be described as unbalanced with on the one hand adequately resourced ex-model C schools and on the other schools without basic educational resources such as desks, qualified teachers and textbooks.

2.4. The period since 1994:

2.4.1. Geographical and social class separation:

Apartheid legislation divided the city of Cape Town into a white and black side. The mountainside of the railwayline and the Main Road has traditionally been occupied by white while the Cape Flats side has been occupied by black families. The majority of black people still live in townships on the Cape Flats while whites live on the mountain side or in the Northern suburbs. In spite of the increasing trend at present of Coloured and African blacks moving into white areas, this usually takes

place on the basis of financial and social class position. With the repeal of apartheid laws, lower class whites were forced to continue living in former white and 'grey' areas which are increasingly being occupied by middle class blacks while middle class whites moved out of such areas towards more exclusive white areas in the Northern suburbs.

Living areas between the Salt River - Muizenberg line and the Maitland - Diep River line have always had a 'grey character'. Lower middle class whites and a small percentage of middle class blacks shared living areas for years before the official dismantling of apartheid laws. With the repeal of these laws after 1994 there has been a steady white exodus from these areas towards the northern suburbs of Parow, Goodwood and Kuilsriver as the percentage of black middle class families in the areas increased. 'Grey' areas such as Claremont, Kenilworth, Harfield, Rondebosch East, Crawford, Lansdowne and Kenwyn where lower class white and middle class blacks used to live together, has a distinct Muslim character with symbols of the Islamic religion in the area evident in the form of old mosques. Islam is a predominantly black religion practised by descendants of Indians as well as Malays who fit into the racial category of Coloureds. The railway line initially divided these areas into black and white living areas. Presently more lower middle class white than black people live on the mountainside than on the Cape Flats side of these areas. Ex-Model C schools in these areas are thus expected to presently have a majority of black learners on its role. It is so as the railway lines and roads to such schools are reasonably close to other black areas and can be easily accessed by learners from townships. It is clear that African townships such as Nyanga, Guguletu and Khayalitsha are the furthest removed from

white areas. As far as access to white schools is concerned, African learners remain the most disadvantaged.

Property prices in middle class areas have escalated since the repeal of the Group Areas and Social Amenities Acts in 1990. Properties in areas on the mountain side of the Maitland - Muizenberg line and the Main Road have always been reserved for upper middle class white people because of its high prices. Presently, these areas remain the most exclusive in terms of race with few black higher middle class home owners having moved in than in the traditional white middle and lower middle class areas. The small percentage of black people living in these areas are those who have entered the upper middle class sector and are more acceptable because of their financial positions and hold no threat to white lives. There has been no sign of white flight from these areas as the area cannot be 'occupied' by blacks with 'foreign cultures'. Schools in these areas can be expected to have a lower percentage of black learners. They are generally very old and have strong European and Christian traditions.

The neighbouring areas opposite the Main Road on the Cape Flats side are inhabited by middle and lower middle class families. Although it remains mostly white, its class structure enables middle and lower middle class black families to live or enrol their children in schools there.

In spite of previously separated race groups integrating on a social class basis, the majority of black living areas remain to a large degree separated from white schools. The discussion now turns to schooling policy and its noble aims to integrate racially separated people at school level.

2.4.2. The South African Schools Act

On the surface, a reading of the SASA (1996) shows a marked increase of parental involvement in school governance. It can be read as a policy text which empowers parents across racial and class borders. It sets up school governing bodies as the structures which would fulfill important tasks such as setting up the vision of schools, admissions policies and appointing teachers. The SASA theoretically opens the gates of all public schools to all the children. All South African parents have the opportunity to choose the school at which they want their children to be educated. In spite of these positive elements contained within the SASA, there are problems with regards to its stated aims of redress and equity in a context in which social class rather than race is increasingly becoming the variable according to which privilege is ensured. By focusing on the issue of school funding, this discussion highlights some of these problems.

The funding formula as set out by the SASA has its roots in the Hunter Report which proposed three models of school funding:

- **The Minimalist-Gradualist Model**

Existing governing bodies would continue gathering fees from parents. In this way, the status quo of unequal schooling would remain for longer.

- **The Equitable Schools-Based Formula**

This called for per capita expenditure and prohibited schools from raising additional funds from parents. This might include an aim to stunt the development of ex-Model C schools. It shows a

commitment to raise the levels of previously disadvantaged schools.

- **The Partnership Approach**

This called for equal per capita expenditure while the state's commitment to operating costs was reduced depending on parental contribution. This approach allowed that running costs of schools where parents are able to contribute sufficiently, would be cut. This may allow for the redistribution of funds to disadvantaged schools (Sayed: 1996).

The Report did not make a commitment to any of these three models although it suggested that the partnership approach offered the advantage of appeasing ex-Model C school communities while dealing with redressing existing imbalances.

The Hunter Report was followed by two white papers giving the state's response to the Commission's suggestions. The second white paper rejected all three funding models, suggesting a fourth option referred to here as the Middle Class Mandatory Fee Clustering option (MMFC) (Sayed: 1996: 20). This fourth option has been taken up within the SASA (1996) and is the focus of this discussion. The second white paper was heavily influenced by the findings of two international consultants, namely Colclough and Crouch (1996). They warned of the possible flight of the middle class from public schooling if ex-Model C schools were not allowed to charge school fees. The argument was that it is middle class parents who are most likely to advocate reform and change. Their flight from public

schooling would mean that the standard of public education would be brought into question. The second reason given, was that if governing bodies gathered fees only from those parents who are able to pay, then it would release additional funds which could be used for redress purposes.

Sayed (1996: 20) questions whether it is logical to assume that it is the middle class who would argue for improvements towards equity and redress in public schooling. The disparities between ex-Model C schools and disadvantaged ones are so wide that for equity and redress to really take place, no public school governing body should be allowed to raise additional fees. To allow that to take place, would mean that the wealthy white, middle class schools would continue to be advantaged above other public schools. The resources gathered through apartheid schooling may have to be redistributed amongst the poorer schools. Transforming public schooling in South Africa towards equity and redress would thus mean making and implementing policy which could regulate the distribution of educational resources away from ex-Model C schools to impoverished schools. Ex-Model C schools managed by governing bodies consisting of a majority of white middle class membership would clearly not be likely to support such change.

It is Sayed's (1996) contention that the SASA's funding formula in the form of MMFC sets up a situation in which governing bodies which charge school fees are very likely to 'refuse' poorer learners entry into their schools using various manners of gatekeeping which would still be 'legal' under the regulations of the Act and the South African Constitution. What MMFC in the SASA (1996) therefore sets up, is "...market competition that

will drive certain governing bodies towards ensuring a more prosperous and privileged parent community” (1996). Consistent with the international trend of school policy (Ball: 1990: 102), the SASA sets up a market in which parents who are able to pay school fees, have a choice of where they want their children to be schooled while those who are unable to do so, have to rely on the closest public school to home.

Through its funding formula the SASA places the aim of reaching equity in the hands of parents and their representatives in governing bodies. It has a broad aim of equalising schooling for all, unifying separate education departments, but leaves the implementation of equitable schooling practices in the hands of individual parents, teachers and school principals. This is based on the assumption that all parents and teachers are able to deal with the task of deciding on and implementing policy. This is a false assumption. The South African society is one of inequality between and within the different groups. To assume that the implementation of equitable practices will arise from positions of inequality without first bringing about some balance in schooling, is unrealistic.

2.5. Conclusion:

Bourdieu (1976a;b) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) stressed that in a class-based social system social practices are continuously reproduced and maintained by schools. Together with schools, families instill in children a system of habits or ‘habitus’ which facilitates the ability to behave in class-appropriate ways in various stages in life. Knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of upper classes are increasingly needed the higher a child moves through the educational system. Conversely, the

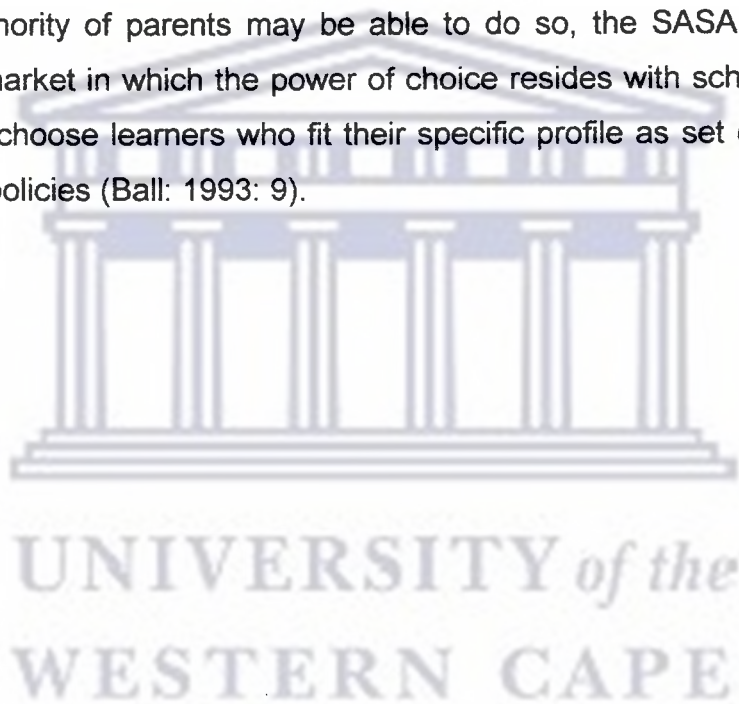
knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of lower classes are less acceptable within the educational system the higher one goes. These modes of knowledge and thought are referred to as 'cultural capital'. The cultural capital of the middle class is that which is valued by schools.

Given the fact that the parent communities of schools across the racial and class divide would differ markedly in terms of both financial and cultural capital, the issue of parental input in governance and policy development is a more complex issue than what the SASA (1996) assumes. This study argues that the present schooling policy does not take all such factors into consideration when it sets the aim of eradicating inequalities.

This chapter pointed out how apartheid and the struggle against it affected the relationship of racial and class difference. The argument is that apartheid laws caused race to be the facade behind which social class differences existed. After the repeal of those laws, the geographical space created by them did not disappear. Racially defined living areas remain dissected by railwaylines; the mountainside and Tygerberg Hill side of Cape Town is still predominantly white while the Cape Flats side remain black. The difference is that the freedom brought about by the repeal of apartheid Acts and the adoption of a democratic Constitution (1993), allowed middle class black people to increasingly live in previously designated white areas. Black children from all living areas and class backgrounds enrol at ex-Model C schools. The discussion pointed out that as predicted by Smith, "class alignments could eventually transcend race, and thus undermine the very basis of the racist society which is supportive of capitalism" (Smith: 1982: 25). Social class status rather than racial

category may thus increasingly be the variable which determine access to living areas and schools.

In this socio-historical context, the funding option of the SASA (1996) sets up a policy context in which schools are treated as marketing commodities. Parents with the financial and cultural capital can easily afford to send their children to a school of their choice while those who lack such resources are unable to do so successfully. In this way, it is a false assumption that all parents are free to choose the school at which to enrol their children. While a minority of parents may be able to do so, the SASA sets up a schooling market in which the power of choice resides with schools which can in fact choose learners who fit their specific profile as set out in their admission policies (Ball: 1993: 9).



CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Introduction:

This chapter is a discussion of concepts relevant to the study. The aim is to gain a conceptual understanding of the topic at hand through discussing concepts relating to it. This would aid decisions on how to operationalise the inquiry. It is a process of discovering meanings from the work of academics and researchers about racism, social class and inequality in education. Policy and the various processes through which it is developed and implemented is also discussed. The latter part contains understandings gained from these discussions in the form of a conceptual framework from which the study is operationalised.

3.2. Race, class and schooling:

A discussion of the unequal social relations that form part of the context of the study showed how racism is articulated with class in the city of Cape Town. It was previously stated that one cannot simply explain the educational, cultural and political behaviour of black and white groups based on an understanding of race alone. Different class and gender interests dissect race interests in possibly contradictory ways (McCarthy: 1990).

McCarthy asks the question: "What is the relationship of race to the modern school curriculum and how should this relationship be theorized in order to give us greater explanatory purchase on the nature and effects of racial inequality?" (1990: 2). McCarthy's brief summary of the treatment of racial inequality in mainstream and radical research efforts can be summed

up as the former emphasising values and individual agency while the latter “points to the structural relationship between schools and the economy and its needs for various types of skilled and semi-skilled labor.” (1990: 5). Such research efforts are criticised for eliminating the “‘noise’ of multidimensionality, historical variability and subjectivity from (its) explanations of educational differences.” (1990: 6).

It is suggested that an examination of the institutional and social context and the links between social structures and “what real people such as students and teachers do” (1990) may be useful in order to understand aspects such as the implementation of school policies. This alternative shift in the investigation of racial inequality does not privilege either ‘cultural values’ or economic structures as the exclusive source of racism in schools and society. It aims to rather engage in an analysis of racial difference which emphasises the “dynamic link between (i) structural and institutional arrangements of school knowledge and the instrumental rules which constrain educator and educated alike, and (ii) the self affirming agency and capacities of social actors (students and teachers) to resist and transform the structural arrangements and relations that exist within the educational settings and the wider social milieu” (McCarthy:1990: 6).

The argument is that schooling is organised around making meaning and producing knowledge; learners are trained to view the world in a specific manner because of rules and rituals. Teachers and learners exist in relation to one another and the social actors outside the school in such a normative milieu of values. Schools thus create and recreate the social identities of learners. It is at school that children get to know about

differences between individuals and the processes of “separation, inclusion, exclusion and grouping “ (McCarthy: 1990: 8). These processes take the form of standardised achievement tests which “systematically disorganises minority identities (because) they privilege white middle class values” (Carby: 1982 cited in McCarthy: 1990). It is argued that schools are institutions where economic, cultural and political practices form part of everyday reality. The dynamics of race, class and gender form part of those practices through the internalised values and belief systems of each social actor within these schools.

Rizvi (1993: 8-9) points out, though, that “Racism is not the property of individuals; it describes ... a particular way in which social relations and practices are organised.” It is thus not only manifested in explicit attitudes and acts such as emotive and provocative remarks and physical assaults. More beguiling, it appears as subtle forms of taken for granted assumptions which often pass as common sense - what Hall (1981) calls ‘inferential racism’. This shows that forms of racism often do not exist as conscious intentions, but may be “locked up in mistakenly held stereotypes, negative patronising attitudes and beliefs that hinder expectations and create misunderstanding” (1993). Importantly, when manifested in policies and accepted practices, racism often goes beyond little acts of discrimination because of a person’s background, but rather “constitutes the very pattern of opportunities that people have” (1993).

It would be better for research into race and class differences to be done as close as possible to the school, “emphasising the symbolic, signifying languaging dimensions of social interaction and their integral relationships

to both systems of control and strategies for curricular reform” (1993: 10). Schools are treated as dynamic, complex institutions that are “deeply infiltrated by society, and stratified by difference, unstable alliances, needs, desires and interests...” (McCarthy and Crichlow: 1992: .xxi). In order to understand its complexity, it is important to remember that it remains tied to the wider socio-historico-political world in which the school and the social actors exist. Hall (1981: 68; cited in McCarthy et al. 1992: .xxi) summarises all of this so that:

“If you try to stop the story about racial politics, racial division, racist ideologies short of confronting some of these difficult issues; if you present an idealized picture of a “multicultural” or “ethnically varied” society which doesn’t look at the way racism has acted back inside the working class itself, the way in which racism has combined with, ... sexism working back within the population itself; if you try to tell the story as if somewhere around the corner some whole constituted class is waiting for a green light to advance and displace the racist enemy ... you will have done absolutely nothing whatsoever for the political understanding of your students.”

3.2.1. Race and class in education policies in the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Australia:

The UK, USA and Australia have histories of racial and class inequalities which have an economic foundation. Schooling plays a major role in establishing attitudes and stereotypes which reproduces racial and class inequalities (Bowles and Gintis: 1977; Giroux: 1988; 1991). Racial and class mixing in schools has been treated as a necessary prerequisite to bring social groups in the broader society together based on the theory

that such contact would bring about social harmony (Allport: 1958 cited in Rist: 1979). Over the years the concepts of assimilation, pluralism and integration featured prominently in policy aimed at harmonising divided social groups.

3.2.2. 'Racial forms of education':

Mullard (1984:14) identifies three stages of 'racial forms of education' since the early 1960s: "immigrant", "multicultural", and "antiracist". Cole (1989: 6) then typified three dominant 'racial forms of education': monocultural, multicultural and antiracist. Troyna (1992: 67) warns that these categories "only describe and periodize, not interpret policy." They do not provide any insight into the dynamics of change or the ideological foundations of each specific form. Street-Porter (1978) provides an ideological interpretation of the various 'racial forms of education'. Drawing on concepts derived from the sociology of race relations, they specify ideological and policy responses in terms of assimilation, integration and cultural pluralism. Troyna and Carrington, commenting on these, state that what is intended with these phases periodising education from the early 1960s through to the mid 1980s, is that they merely "characterize prevailing ideologies as they are reflected in the rhetoric and policy descriptions at national and local government level" (1990: 20).

Troyna (1992) provides clues about how these ideologies featured in education. Assimilation can crudely be said to refer to the process of becoming similar. Banton points out that it is necessary to refine such a crude definition as "members of a group who differentiate themselves in one respect (as say, Sikhs wearing headgear) may assimilate in another

(like in language use)" (1988: 26) It, however, can be argued that the direction of change for minority groups in countries like Britain and the USA, is both predictable and non-negotiable: a one-way process during which the acquisition of white middle class Eurocentric norms means the loss of identity to some extent. Assimilationists caused the development of one race or monocultural education. Here 'one race', means that learners of one race were preferred to be in a school of their own or where integration of different races was allowed, those from black or 'non-white' backgrounds had to adapt to the white norms. Monocultural education had as core the suppression of ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity. To cater for immigrants, policy which set up language centres where they had to learn English as Second Language was developed. In this way, these learners had to be removed from mainstream classes and their friends to attend these classes. Through bussing, these children were dispersed to white schools across different Local Education Authorities as there existed a racist concern that "too many black students in a single school would have a deliterious effect on the academic progress of white pupils and the development of a harmonious multiracial society" (Troyna: 1992: 68)

Rist reports deliberate efforts from middle class parents in the USA to oppose integration of schools by changing school settings making it difficult for lower social class learners to attend. There exists a strong belief among such parents to raise children "among one's own kind" (1970: 6-7). "The fact that social class shapes attitudes about what is correct and desirable means that parents hold certain assumptions about what the schools will accomplish for their children" (1970). It adds to the stereotypical view which parents have of the type of children with whom

they want their children to mix. When white middle class parents express preferences about the social class composition of the peer group for their children, the thorny issues of school integration over colour and class boundaries emerge: How to create a situation where middle class parents will agree to the presence of more than a small amount of lower class children in the schools of their own children. The problem is evident in white as well as black middle class parents that they often move their children out of public schools where too many lower class learners attend as it is perceived that the quality of education becomes questionable with lower-income learners attending: "the absence of middle class students from public school classrooms diminishes the educational opportunity and quality of schooling" (1970: 7).

By the mid 1960s, the assimilationist trend waned and integration was prioritised as a social, political and educational goal. Integrationist policy based on the 'melting pot' ideology was developed. Like assimilation, it emphasised the "liberal ideal of a homogeneous ... community" (Rizvi: 1991:165). This ideal was based on an assumption that people from different social class and racial backgrounds could have a single culture - be that Australian, American or British. This has been challenged as there was a need to analyse difference in sociological and political terms so as to understand how to bring about equality in an unequal society. This led to the multiculturalist ideology. It "rejects the idea of homogeneity as it was impossible and undesirable" and assumes that ethnic and racial difference is a natural and permanent feature of human society (Rizvi: 1991: 165-6). Any policy aimed at dealing with difference needs to take that into account. Multiculturalism does that.

In spite of its noble aims it was criticised by the mid 1970s, as an ideology which had "risen like a phoenix out of the ashes of monocultural education" (Troyna: 69) because it contained core assumptions on which monocultural education was based. These assumptions define the problem of multiculturalism for antiracists as it is within it that the seeds of old racism from which monocultural schooling grew, is seated.

3.2.3. The problem with multicultural policy:

Multicultural education policy wants to develop appropriate attitudes of tolerance and intercultural understanding among teachers and pupils from different backgrounds. An overall multicultural attitude should be developed through the use of relevant teaching material (Rizvi: 1991).

It stresses ethnicity and cultural identity by highlighting the importance of 'ethnic' languages, religion, customs and rituals and the way in which these form individual and group identities. Ethnic and racial identities of groups are assumed to be the prime reason of unequal social relations. Individual ignorance and a lack of knowledge about other groups are argued to be the cause of racism; the cure to this social ill is for different groups to learn about one another's cultural heritage and to respect it. This is the central problem of the multicultural ideology: it assigns to ethnic and racial identity the status of "primary object of social analysis ... abstracted from class and other patterns of social relations" (Rizvi: 1991: 185).

Multiculturalism is based on an ahistorical and apolitical understanding of social life. Proponents of multiculturalist education theories assume

uniformity within race groups. This is something which does not exist in reality. People from the same ethnic or race group occupy different class positions. Racism is therefore not about racial difference, but about “an ongoing process of group interaction, whereby the status and behaviour of minorities are defined and redefined in relation to that of the dominant group” (Rizvi: 1991: 189). These definitions are, however, “linked to modes of production and the structures of the state ” (1989). Rizvi cites Castles et al. (1988) who states that in capitalist societies racism can be linked to the creation and maintenance of class divisions within the working class. (1989). Discrimination against lower class black and white people has its roots in the conflict over economic and social interests. “Prejudiced attitudes emerge as a justification for discrimination ...” (1989).

Omi and Winant (1986) argue that the assumption that the roots of racism lies within individuals is misguided. Racism can in fact be built into the structures of the state, its “institutions, the policies they carry out, the conditions and rules which support and justify them, and the social relations in which they are imbedded ” (76).

The theories of racism and prejudice of Castles et al. (1988) and Omi and Winant (1986) make it clear that it would be a mistake for multiculturalist education policy to assume that by simply learning about the languages, rituals and religions of different racial and ethnic groups, intercultural understanding can be promoted and that prejudice against lower social class blacks and other minorities would decrease.

If racism is linked to socio-economic conditions then racism cannot be resisted by encouraging cultural tolerance in the classroom alone; it means that an analysis of the economic and social conditions which produce it is necessary.

3.2.4. Racialisation and deracialisation:

Multicultural education remains popularly viewed as “a profound improvement on assimilationist ideas and a panacea for the problems experienced by black pupils in the education system” (Troyna: 1992: 71). In his works (*Doing Good by Doing Little* (1979) and *Just Schools* (1981) Kirp stated that until at least 1981, race related policies in British education could be conceived of in what he terms their ‘racial inexplicitness’. He explained that he uses it as a descriptive concept. He draws a distinction between the ways in which education policies are made in the USA and Britain. Race had figured prominently in policies in the USA since the landmark case of *Brown vs the Board of Education* in 1954 when the Supreme Court ruled segregated schools as being unconstitutional. Since then, Kirp explains, the divisiveness of racial inequality has always been the focus of policy intervention in the USA where “racial fairness and educational equity” have been treated as inseparable (1982: 32-3). Following his argument, in Britain on the other hand, race did not feature openly in educational policies. Race-related categories were concealed within a range of ‘racially inexplicit’ educational categories. In this manner, the concept of ‘inexplicitness’ was useful in a descriptive manner. Kirp gave it evaluative value when he stated that “In the usual instance, inexplicitness implies doing nothing concerning race. The term may also mean doing good by stealth” (1979:2). Later on in his work he stresses this

point of what he saw as the benefits of the 'doing good by doing little' approach of educational policies in Britain when he states: "... one helps non whites by *not* favouring them explicitly. The benefits to minorities from such an approach are thought to be real if invisible - or better - real because invisible" (1979: 61, original emphasis).

Troyna prefers the use of concepts which "... convey more precisely the ways in which ideological and political imperatives have determined which of the demands arising from the black communities and anti-racist pressure groups have been met by policymakers and which of these demands have been excluded routinely from the agenda." He suggests the use of the term 'racialisation' which would bring to the fore more descriptive and explanatory power. This is how Miles describes the term racialisation:

"... a political and ideological process by which particular populations are identified by direct or indirect reference to their real or imagined phenotypical characteristics in such a way as to suggest that the population can only be understood as a supposed biological unity" (1988: 246 as cited in Troyna: 1992).

Racialised processes are ones which are "propelled by racist assumptions and propositions ... because ... they are predicated on an imposed ordering of groups where some are better or worse than, superior or inferior to others" (Miles cited in Troyna: 1992: 72). Presently, such forms are less likely derived from scientific or pure racism as experienced in the decades between 1950 and 1990 in South Africa. As Billig and others (1988) have shown, they are not really missing from people's conversations. They are only expressed in a variety of new forms cloaked

in proxy concepts such as “ethnicity, culture, nationality, heritage, language and ‘way of life’” (Troyna: 1988a).

In his work, “British Racial Discourse” (1983), Reeves uses the notions of ‘discursive deracialisation’ and ‘racialisation’. He states that racial evaluations in political discourse may be overt or covert and either harmless or racist. He states that ‘discursive deracialisation’ typifies a situation in which “a person speaks purposely to their audiences about racial matters, while avoiding the overt employment of racial descriptions, evaluations and prescriptions” (1983: 4). This covert use serves important political purposes because it is often capable of justifying racial discrimination by providing other non-racist criteria for the differential treatment of a group distinguished by it as racial characteristics” (1983: 4).

In contrast, ‘discursive racialisation’ is the explicit or overt use of racial categorisation and evaluation often directed towards racist aims of fascism or scientific racism. Its racial evaluation and prescription is aimed at eradicating racism and unjust racial practices (Reeves 1983: 175). Here it is seen as a means to an end: racial equality and justice. Troyna makes the point that this form of “‘benign’ racialization also summarizes the focus of antiracist education debates” (1992: 73).

The concepts of discursive deracialisation / benign racialisation provides a better way of understanding, interpreting and conceptualising manners in which race and class feature in British educational policy since the early 60s. Moreover, it provides a better understanding of the often contradictory manners in which concepts such as ‘race’, ‘ethnicity’, ‘culture’ and ‘social

class' appears in literature on race and educational policy in Britain. An awareness of the historical development of multiculturalist and antiracist British educational policy and the manners in which the concepts of race and class feature in it, is thus of utmost importance here.

Multiculturalist policies in Britain during the 1960s and 1970s were rejected by black communities in spite of Kirp's assumption that they 'did good by stealth'. The problem for black communities were their deracialised nature which did not address racism as they experienced it in British schools. By being 'racially inexplicit' multicultural policies did not conceive of the education system and its schools as places where race and class differentiation is reproduced. They therefore failed the black minority groups because they were deracialised and did not identify the fact that British schools are sites where racial inequality was being perpetuated. The concept of deracialisation provides this study with a framework from which to identify policies not in their move away from inexplicitness to explicitness, as Kirp's account would have one believe, but in *what* they have been explicit about. "By obscuring the realities of racism as a corrosive feature in the lives of black communities ... , the deracialization process helps to sustain the ideological facade of equality of opportunity" (Troyna: 1992: 74). It is such a facade which allows racial stereotypes and prejudice against lower class blacks, whites and other minority groups to continue in the form of common sense 'non-racial' terms which Hall (1981) described as "inferential racism".

3.2.5. Antiracist policies:

While antiracist ideas centre around a complex analysis of economic relations in society, the development and implementation of antiracist policy does not reflect that.

In an analysis of antiracist policy statements of Local Education Authorities, Troyna (1992) states that in the development of antiracist policy “the process of benign racialisation resulted in little more than old wine in new bottles” (81) because of a “failure of policymakers to cohere ‘race’, class and gender inequalities into a more broadly conceived programme ... (and) their inattention to identifying more precisely the role of education in the generation and reproduction of racism” (Troyna:1992: 87). The conception of antiracism is therefore described as corresponding closely with understandings of racial discrimination as discussed by multiculturalists. This is an understanding which divorces racism from other forms of inequality and injustice. These policies thus fail to view racism as “a fundamental organizing and discriminating structural variable” (Troyna:1992: 87). Instead, it is viewed as separated from the way society is organised according to socio-economic relations.

3.2.6. Multiculturalism: Two extremes in one:

The historical discussion of multiculturalism and antiracism above described each one as homogeneous concepts in opposition to one another. The multicultural view is described as the conservative one of society and schooling in opposition to radical antiracist views. A similar debate rages currently in the USA and South Africa about opposing

understandings within the concept of multiculturalism itself. These two views correlate to the opposing ones ascribed to multiculturalism and antiracism respectively in the previous section.

Giroux (1992) refers to 'traditional' and 'radical' interpretations. The understanding as carried within 'traditional multiculturalism' is one which refuses "to think of American culture as a conversation among different voices" as "cultural difference promotes forms of chaos and barbarism." (Kimball: 1991). Western tradition is viewed to represent civilisation itself and minority cultures are integrated within the 'common culture' prevailing in the country in a similar way as monocultural schooling did. Traditionalists like Kimball attempt to hold up Eurocentric values, traditions and ethos as the normative cultural capital for minority groups. Giroux states that this intolerance for cultures different to the dominant one "conceals its own complicity in reproducing multiculturalism as a code word for race" (1992: 149). It is used as a marker to control and keep other races on the periphery of Eurocentric life. Issues of power, race and domination are ignored. The school curriculum as a narrative structure through which a "unified culture and social identity" (Giroux: 1992: 149) would be produced is more important. No room is left for exploring issues of power and how it works in schools "across a range of pedagogical practices to silence, marginalize and disempower certain groups" (1992). By limiting the issue of multiculturalism to issues of national identity, traditionalists ignore how multicultural concerns are "inextricably related to structures of inequality and injustice" (1992: 150).

Radical understandings of the concept argue that schools need to explore the way in which “economies of privilege and power work within the curriculum to secure forms of domination that marginalize and silence minority groups” (Giroux: 1992: 149). Issues of race and class are part of the debate within the radical interpretation of the concept. Schools are recognised as places where children are included or excluded based on their social class and racial background. Curriculum and school policy is contested terrain where the interests of different groups should converge. Contestations often revolve around issues such as poverty, unemployment and school drop-out rates. However, schools do not engage in these as, following the traditional view of multiculturalism, such issues are interpreted to cause disunity and friction by overemphasising difference. What is emphasised instead are issues of value and morals which may allow schools to provide the best education.

Since the opening of former white schools as Model C schools, these conservative interpretations of multiculturalism have been popularised in the work of Coutts (1990). He enthusiastically advocates his interpretation of multicultural education as *the* solution to the schooling problems in South Africa in opposition to his interpretation of anti-racism: “...multicultural education **can and should** subsume anti-racism” (1990: 25; original emphasis). He describes anti-racism as being too confrontational as it accuses multi-cultural education to be an attempt “by white people who try to tell black people how best to respond to racism”. Developing and implementing anti-racist policies would be too time consuming and has in any case proven to be far too “obsessed with the racial dimension, however damaging and humiliating past policies might have been” (1990).

Coutts acknowledges (1992) that his interpretation of multicultural schooling “implies the presence of pupils with different cultural heritages learning in the same classrooms and enjoying the protection of their own cultures while being exposed to the cultures of others. ... Although the participants are more or less inevitably assimilated into ‘mainstream’ culture, the cultural heritages of constituent minorities are also consciously valued and supported” (1992: 43). Schools could develop admission policies in ways which ensure that lower class white and black learners (as well as those from minority religious persuasions) remain in the minority. The assimilation of these pupils into the ‘mainstream’ culture may be justified at such schools as being attempts “to provide a basic, good grounding in education ... in terms of values and morals” (Soudien: 1996: 286). Many ex-model C schools’ policies and curricular changes are expected to be influenced by this interpretation of multiculturalism.

Instead of arguing about multiculturalism and antiracism along a bipolar line similar to what is happening in Britain, Australia and parts of the USA, (Troyna: 1993) the debate among South African academics rages about different interpretations of the concept multiculturalism itself (Moore: 1994).

✶ The understanding is that multiculturalism is an important “form of protest against oppression, as a social construct of iidentity which essentialises difference ... (which) is a necessary starting point if we are to begin to de-naturalise the concept of culture and arrive at different understandings of identity and difference ... “ (Muller cited in Moore: 1994: 250). The argument is that in reconstructing new identities in a transformed and integrated society it becomes all the more necessary to be aware of ethnic differences and divisions not as apartheid’s creation, but as realities.

Cross, (cited in Moore: 1994: 245) warns that the contrived "rhetoric of unity" could lead to serious problems if people do not remain aware that the realities of division and differences continue to exist. While it remains important to have a national culture, this culture should not "be at the expense of a continuing cultural diversity (which would) certainly lead to hostile resistance." Alexander (Moore: 1994: 257) states that the role of multicultural education is to "explore the necessary and complex interplay between unity and diversity, between a national culture and cultural pluralism ..."

Multicultural education in South Africa would thus form part of a larger network of promoting in learners, students and teachers "resistance to the multitude and intersecting forms of oppression" (Moore: 1994: 257). In doing so, it differs from the traditional view which stresses ethnic and cultural differences in isolation from structural forms of oppression and stresses the developing of an awareness of difference based on an understanding of socio-economic structural inequalities.

3.3. Schools as marketing commodities:

Education policy, setting up schools as markets, has become "education policy flavour across the Western world" (Ball: 1990: 102). Such policy usually suggests that central control over public schooling causes an inefficient bureaucracy wasting the taxpayers money and should therefore be reorganised and decentralised. Market proponents argue that the involvement of parents and business would create more competition and choice for parents who are consumers of learning. As parents are prepared and able to put funds into schools, they should have a voice in

the management and the product and service which they buy from public schools. With parents more involved in the school's management, they are able to determine what the best education for their children are. This they do by having input into policy issues such as school language, religious ethics, admissions of learners and enrolment of staff. Schools providing the better product will have a better chance of surviving in the market as they supply services which their customer-parents demand. Those who do not supply schooling services to the needs of parents, run the risk of having to close down due to no support.

Scholars like Chubb and Moe (1990) argue that choice and the market model of schooling will work in favour of the least advantaged learners as their parents would be able to work against the monopolistic school bureaucracy which do not have the transformation of schools high on their agenda. Much of the blame for poor schooling in poor black schools is put on school administrators. The work of Harmer (1994) details how only 36% of the Los Angeles Unified School District's 3,9 million dollar budget was spent directly on instructional costs (teacher salaries and textbooks) while 31% was earmarked for the salaries of administrators, lawyers and business officers. Harmer concludes that "teaching children does not require that kind of bureaucracy" (43). Choice advocates thus argue that if parents from less advantaged positions are given the opportunity, then they would not allow such bureaucracy to stifle their children's schooling. They will instead prefer to pay higher fees for better educational services which will liberate their children from the poor schooling which only create a life of poverty for their children. These arguments form part of the New Right ideological base that views central control over public schools as

being responsible for the crises in societies and economies (Merson: 1995: 303-305). Parental choice and the marketing model of schooling is propagated as the panacea to these problems.

The choice plans as set out by Chubb and Moe (1990) have been criticised to have an anti-democratic bias (Fowler: 1991). Hogan (1992) goes further and identifies their model of schooling as one which fails to address the juncture between inequalities in the marketplace with regard to labour and the accumulation of capital. He links it to the deep racial and class structural barriers which in reality exist in American society and within its schools. Hogan observed that market driven patterns have become ingrained within the mindset of parents' school practices to the degree that such pressures have secured the "institutionalization of a stratified system of contest mobility" where choice is associated with upward social mobility for middle class families (1995). It is in such a way that high quality schools become institutions which cater almost exclusively for middle class norms thus making access to lower class learners all the more difficult.

The USA is a country in which racial and class division strongly influence access to the most fundamental public goods of which quality public schooling is one. Darden, Dunleep and Galster (1992) detail how segregative housing policies in real estate practices steer potential homebuyers to segregated areas. Racial discrimination by banks and other financial institutions in approving loans to people only when applying for certain areas further aids the geographical separation of white from black. This happened while suburbanisation occurred since the 1950s into the

1980s during which blacks moved to central areas of cities w
to settle on the outskirts of cities. Egan (1995) and Reic'
that in addition to this, whites from the upper middle class geog
segregated themselves from the rest of society to form their own self-
sufficient communities. The work of Orfield and Ashkinaze (1991) on the
city of Atlanta details the stark contrasts existing between the accessibility
to societal goods for white and black families. They refer to 'racially
separated networks' caused by the relocation of employment and business
to the perimeters of the city. This geographical relocation, coupled with
housing discrimination, lack of access to transport facilities and less
resources for schools in inner cities to educate the potential workforce,
made Orfield and Askinaze conclude that the 'market driven' policies
would not solve problems for poor black people in the USA (1991: 11).

3.4. A theoretical framework:

3.4.1. Defining policy

Policy is defined as 'the operational statements of values', 'the
authoritative allocation of values' and 'programmatically utterances' (Kogan:
1995: 55). As such, they are statements expressed in utterances as well
as in textual form and in schools have the formal purpose "to codify and
publicise the values which are to inform future practice" (Ranson: 1995:
440). Ball (1990) emphasises policies as projecting images of the ideal;
they are oriented to change and action and describe intent to change
practice according to ideal values. Policy formulation and implementation
are processes during which agreement has to be reached within an
organisation about change and values. Such agreement is not a given; it is
likely that there will be contestation around these as issues of race and

social class influence the struggle over educational resources and aims. Policy as defined here therefore involves “issues of task (how is policy to be formulated and carried out in practice) and people (who is to be involved in the process) which stretches over time” (Ranson: 1995: 440).

The economic, cultural and political context of broader society form part of everyday reality at schools. The internalised values and belief systems of each social actor impacts on school life. The contestation and struggle about change and the values involved operates along class and race lines. The unequal possession of resources such as knowledge and skill are among the resources which impact on processes of policymaking and implementation. During the contestation over values which will be reflected in policy, knowledge and skills equals power. The powerful are able to get their values taken up in policy texts while those who have low levels of such resources are unable to make their's known.

The contestation about proposed alterations to the rights, powers and functions of public school governing bodies during 1996 (DoE: 1996c), is an example of such policy contestation during times of transforming schooling policy on a national level. Ex-Model C school communities rallied to have these alterations changed in manners which would not disadvantage them. School transformation through policy-making during the 1990s might have taken away some of their traditional privileges. To a large degree their views were heard. International consultants agreed with their threat that once they left public schooling for private schools, the standard and quality of public schooling might drop leaving a shell of the former schooling system (Sayed: 1996). This influenced the final policy text

in the form of the SASA (1996) so that it underwrites a funding option which is likely to benefit the traditional white middle class family rather than the poor.

3.4.2. Policy implementation in a context of inequality:

The South African Schools Act of 1996 has in chapter 2 been described as a school policy which sets up schools to be market commodities. It has been argued that it does so through the fourth option of funding which allow school governing bodies to charge user fees. In a social context of inequality where living areas and social resources remain divided according to racial and social class background, wealthy middle class schools are in fact empowered to, through admission polices, choose learners whom they prefer to enrol at their schools.

It is argued that the market place sets up inequalities which disadvantages the poor while it is advantageous to the wealthy because it involves cost. Ball (1990) points out that market choice theorists such as Chubb and Moe (1990) show very little interest in the effect of inequality because in reality, they are not important in market and school choice plans (Ball: 1990:114). The "inattention to the plight of the losers in the market" (1990) shows that market theories are informed by the values, interests and concerns of middle and higher social class groups. The operation and effects of education markets thus benefits certain class groups to the detriment of others. This is because markets presumes that all people possess material resources, skills and competencies such as time, knowledge and transport to an equal degree. Market theorists thus, in ignoring such differences

create a false view of social reality where race and class inequalities continue to exist.

In theorising what policy is, it is important to have an understanding of the society in which it operates. Theorising that there is an inter-relationship of individual action and structure aids the researcher in making sense of the social and political issues involved in policy at school level. McCarthy (1990) acknowledges that while individuals and groups strive to make sense of their worlds to reflect chosen values and interests, they are simultaneously affected by broad historico-socio-economic structures of power and domination. It would therefore be important to analyse the formation and implementation of policy at individual schools employing interrelated forms of analysis "*phenomenological*, to understand the meanings which actors create to make sense of their worlds; *comparative*, to explore the underlying regularities of which actors may be unaware; and *temporal*, to explore how actors choose to construct and change social forms over time in the face of the constraints which confront them" (Ranson *et al.* 1980 cited in Ranson 1995: 443).

3.4.3. The complexity of policy processes

This study is not only about racial differences in ex-Model C schools during admissions among white teachers and black learners; it is about a more complex interplay of issues. For that reason, this study positions itself within a framework emphasising *admission processes as part of a complex policy process* as described in the studies of Ball (1990). Policy-making is described as processes happening during contexts of influence, policy text production and practice. During each of these, individuals influenced by

racial, class and gender differences within constraining socio-economic contexts, exert their influence on the content of policy texts. It is in this way that policy is conceptualised as an unwieldy, messy process. Policy writers of national and regional education policy texts have no or little control over its meaning and eventual practical implementation at schools. What does influence it profoundly, are non-structural issues such as the racial, and gender make up of each policy actor (Rizvi: 1993).

The historico-socio-economic structure in which such an implementer and school is situated is visualised as the background against which the actions of social actors take place. It is not to be ignored but rather, the actions of social actors are analysed against that background. The fact that Rizvi defines racism as not being the property of individuals, but rather the "particular way in which social relations and practices are organised." (1993: 8) is relevant, but a simplification of the problem. It would be more helpful to view issues of racism and gender discrimination as part of a continuously shifting, dynamic process played off in the foreground (through the making and implementation of school policy) against the structural arrangement of society (which he refers to as "organised social relations and practices") which acts as the background. What happens in the one, influences the other and so the whole picture depends on the dynamic interplay between the two. This insight influences the study so that data regarding admissions policies cannot be collected and analysed without due consideration of the broader history and the socio-economic factors in which the ex-Model C school phenomena exists.

This study is therefore operationalised within a framework which emphasises the importance of socio-economic structure and the manner in which it is often expressed in terms of race and class. For that reason, the successes of laws such as the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts (1950), the whole strategy behind the 'creation' of ex-Model C schools by the last apartheid state as well as consequences of recent historical happenings such as the repeal of these laws, is not ignored in this work. It is the background against which admissions policies of ex-Model C schools is investigated.

The foreground, which is the focus and empirical investigation of the study, is operationalised using the following conceptual understandings as basis:

To merely state that one is investigating the admission policies of ex-Model C schools presents a problem. It is presented in the question: How is a school's admissions policy manifested in real life some time after admissions took place in a particular year? For the purposes of this study, admission policies are identified as *all the processes at a particular school which involves the interpretation of national policy texts by stakeholders who are involved in its implementation. The verbal and textual explanations through which such stakeholders operationalise, propagate and explain such processes, is part of a school's admissions policy.* As such, the study wants to identify stakeholders who profoundly affect the interpretation and implementation and collect data from them regarding the mentioned policy processes. Admission policies may further also be manifested through documentation such as application documents and

prospectuses. These have therefore also been collected and used purposes of analysis.

In this regard, the work of McCarthy (1990) and Rist (1970) guide the research to *refrain from methods of data collection which will see the researcher removed from the research site*. It is important for this study to collect data from a position which places him/her as close to the site and social actors as possible so that he/she can "get a better handle on the way in which (race and class) dynamics operate at the schools" (McCarthy: 1990) It is useful to emphasise "the symbolic, signifying, languaging dimension of social interaction..." (Rist: 1970) which take place between actors at schools and due consideration will be given to this aspect of interaction between the researcher and the researched.

Although racism is not the core issue on which this study is based, the following manner in which Rizvi defines it, has been identified as useful: "*Racism at schools are based on mistakenly held stereotypes, negative patronising attitudes and beliefs that hinder expectations and create misunderstanding*" (1993: 8-9). This is part of the conceptualisation of schooling as a process through which learners are trained to view the world in specific manners by following set rules and rituals. The normative milieu of values in which schooling takes place, is controlled by such rules so that the social identities of learners are created. Children learn that due to the differences between people, the processes of "separation, inclusion and grouping" happening at schools (McCarthy: 1990: 8) are normal and acceptable. Processes of admissions to schools involve inspection of learners' abilities for the purposes of either deciding on access to the

school or to stream them in certain directions. It may take the form of tests, an analysis of report cards or interviewing the candidates and their parents. The “separation, inclusion and grouping” (Ibid) of learners happen after such acts. It is during such acts that teachers and school administrators may, because of “mistakenly held stereotypes, negative patronising attitudes and beliefs” (Rizvi: 1993: 8-9) busy themselves with racist acts of admission. A situation is set up in which an applicant is powerless while the person who decides on allowing access possesses the power to use criteria which are often unwritten in policy documents. In a context characterised by a history of separation between the powerful and powerless, chances for decisions of access based on “mistakenly held stereotypes, negative patronising attitudes and beliefs” (1993) are increased.

3.5. Conclusion:

The framework set out in this chapter stresses the importance of exploring particulars of the socio-economic structural context so that the researcher can make sense of the responses and actions of individuals to it.

The South African context is one which is permeated by race and class differences. An understanding of how it may influence policy processes where individual actors possess unequal resources with which to express their ideals, is vital. The study explores the ways in which schools often perpetuate rather than eradicate social inequality. Issues of race, class and social inequality are sensitive ones which are not easily discussed. Decisions of how to investigate admission policies and the relevant concepts thus have to be made with that fact in mind. The discussion now

turns to such difficulties when dealing with the methods in which the research was operationalised.



CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction:

Within differing socio-historical backgrounds people have stereotyped beliefs and attitudes towards others which form the foundation of the language usage and the body of knowledge through which they may defend and explain their actions and beliefs.

The admission policies of ex-Model C schools are researched on two interrelated fronts: that of the structural and individual context. The structural context is defined as those historico-socio-economic aspects which constrain people in their daily lives. Individuals may not be aware of its influence and impact on all aspects of their lives.

It is argued that existing inequalities between groups and individuals do not appear out of nowhere. It is instead created through socio-cultural processes which consist of the reactions of individuals to the structure. The actions of individuals who are accountable for the setting up and implementation of school policies are constrained by that structure; their beliefs and attitudes towards it may cause them to react to it by organising school life in ways which perpetuate inequality. Their explanations of the processes involved are therefore treated as part of the cultural processes which organise society according to patterns of inequality.

4.2. Following a qualitative methodological approach

One of the distinctive features of the qualitative approach is that in the process of studying specific issues or problems, the researcher remains central to the sense that is made by observing and interpreting people's responses. Quantitative methodologies on the other hand, discount interpretation in its quest for the truth. For qualitative researchers nothing definite can be concluded from collected data. The belief is that through the direct experiences of listening, observing, talking and analysing what social actors expressed in the research situation, the researcher may gain but part of reality. This is so as the belief on which the qualitative approach is based, is one which views research to be part of the debate, rather than the ultimate truth. The researcher is interested in making sense of what lies within a person or situation, it is "an exploration, elaboration and systemization of the significance of an identified phenomenon" (Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor and Tindall: 1994: 3).

The starting point is the "gap between the object of study and the way we present it, the way interpretation comes to fill that gap" (1994). Qualitative methodology accepts that people make sense of the world by filling the gap which exists between them and the objects surrounding them. It is a process that continues as their relation with the world changes every single moment and day. Researchers follow and analyse that process in which people make sense of their worlds by continuously interpreting their explanations of what they experience; the researcher is thus always busy with meaning making processes. Research starts by acknowledging that there will always be that gap between people and the things they want to understand and give an account of. Woolgar (1988; cited in Banister et al.:

1994: 3-4) described this gap as the “methodological horrors” facing all sciences. It is described as the: (1) *indexicality*, in which an explanation is always tied to a particular occasion and will change as the occasion changes (2) *inconcludability* in which any explanation can always be supplemented and will continue to do as more is added to it; (3) *reflexivity* in which the way of explaining and characterising something changes its operation and our perception of it. Quantitative approaches often wish these away as scientific knowledge that should not be questioned and as technical or trivial difficulties best referred to others to solve as philosophical problems. Qualitative researchers prefer to work *with* it. Rowan and Reason state that all inquiry is prone to the error “of our biases, and prejudices, of our anxieties, the error which arises from pressures for group conformity...” (1981: xiii). These are tantamount to what Woolgar above describes as ‘methodological horrors’. For qualitative researchers, it is within these horrors that the exciting qualities of enquiry lies, for it is alive and real. Quantitative enquiry calls on the aspect of objectivity to obliterate it using “apparatus of experimental method, quasi-experimental method, statistical significance, dependent and independent variables... to kill it off with” so that “all that we are left with, is dead knowledge” (Rowan and Reason :1981: xiii). What qualitative research methodology strives for, instead, is a systematic, rigorous search for understanding social phenomena.

4.3. Research techniques:

It is important to have background information about selected schools before making personal contact with individuals from schools. Background information can be viewed as ‘contextual data’ which provides a

description of the immediate environment in which schools are situated. This would enable the researcher to understand individuals' responses to questions to thus interpret it from relevant perspectives.

4.3.1. Enrolment statistics:

Ex-Model C schools have always been accused of being exclusive white middle class institutions. The researcher had to establish how true or false this perception was prior to interviewing subjects. One way of doing so was to gather enrolment statistics of all ex-Model C primary schools in Cape Town from the Western Cape Education Department. It enabled a view of enrolment trends at these schools according to race. This helped the researcher to assess how inclusive or exclusive ex-Model C primary schools in Cape Town are during the late 1990s. From such an analysis useful insights could be gained which may have aided the selection of schools for the study. The statistics in the form of enrolment figures were used to gain insight into contextual aspects of the researched schools.

4.3.2. Identifying areas and selecting schools

A study of the geographical location of ex-Model C primary schools within Cape Town was made. Geographical maps and articles drawn from Smith's work (1982) relating the control of geographical space in South Africa during the apartheid era was used. It details the complex relationship of race and class in the allocation of space moving 'other' races away from high quality living areas while preserving it for whites (25).

Areas in which specific ex-Model C schools are located were identified. The researcher was able to draw a map (Appendix A) locating ex-Model C schools which could be selected for the study. School sites were then visited and profiles of each were made on a notepad. This was done to familiarise the researcher with the living area within which they are situated, the facilities it offered and the proximity of black (African, 'Coloured' and Indian) living areas and transport routes in relation to the schools.

Selecting the schools was made easier by the questionnaires which were posted to all ex-Model C primary schools in Cape Town during the initial stages of the study. This questionnaire had two primary aims: one was to gain background information about trends of administering and setting up admission policies in ex-Model C primary schools; the other was to sensitise staff and governing bodies about the enquiry into admissions.

The first aim was necessary so that the researcher could gain insight into the complexities of the task at hand. The second aim became important as the contextual data and telephonic contact with staff members alerted the researcher to the fact that issues such as race and social class were sensitive ones which are not easily raised within ex-Model C schools. This was borne out by the general response to the questionnaire when only 17 out of 83 schools returned completed forms. Out of the 17, nine agreed to interviews. After telephonic contact, this was reduced to six when some principals refused further discussion about the research topic. Only those schools where principals indicated a willingness to discuss admission

policies with the researcher and gave permission for their points of view to be made public is included in the process as discussed here.

In accordance with the ethical norms of research, fictional school names are used here to protect the identities of persons and school communities.

The city has been divided into the following three areas: In the Southern suburbs (from Claremont to Retreat) areas on the mountain-side of Main Road are considered to be highly valued, with extremely highly priced properties. Schools in such areas are considered to be wealthy and inhabited by upper middle class whites. In this area, Winmount Primary School has been selected.

On the opposite side of this area, situated between St. Georges Drive and Main Road an area which has traditionally been inhabited by middle and lower middle class whites has been selected. This is an example of how people from the same race have been divided in terms of class background as well. Main Road serves as a boundary between the higher middle class of upper Wynberg, Meadowridge and Constantia and middle to lower class whites of Plumstead, Diep River and Retreat. Since the repeal of apartheid legislation some black families have moved into houses here. The school selected here, is Meadow Primary School.

Schools on the lower main road side bordering the Cape Town - Simonstown railwayline, are situated in former 'grey' areas (previously racially mixed areas in spite of the Group Areas Act). Such schools are considered poorer by insiders and are struggling to make ends meet for

two reasons: partly because of the lower income group served by the schools (high school fees are just not possible) and partly because the immediate influx of black middle class families into white and 'grey' areas caused an exodus of white families to, especially, the northern suburbs which have been known to be a conservative white Afrikaner region. Immediately after the repeal of the main Apartheid laws these poorer schools struggled to maintain pupil numbers to ensure their continued existence. They have traditionally been fed by the poorer sections of the white community. Having middle and upper middle class black families as their new feeding communities aided the survival of these schools. The school selected in this area is Starfields Primary School in Kenwyn close to the 'grey' area of Crawford, Lansdowne.

Cases of 'poor' ex-Model C schools exist in the 'grey' areas of the northern suburbs, too. The point made here, is that because of the region's cultural character (also political - it is public knowledge that it is an area where the traditional Afrikaner political parties such as the National Party, Freedom Front and Conservative Party have strong support). It was a popular area to move to away from the 'grey' areas of the southern districts as the property prices there dropped after black families started to move in. This is similar to the phenomenon reported by Rist (1978: 6) in the USA where white families would move away from areas where black and Hispanic families moved into for fear of the property prices and the standards of living dropping. It is not that *all* white people were with the means to sell their houses and move; there are examples of people who could not do so and are still living in these areas, albeit grudgingly. At least in this more traditional conservative region, the property prices were not falling as low

as it has been doing immediately after 1990. The initial drop in property prices has stabilised and prices have risen considerably given the recent trend of high prices at which properties in previously identified 'grey' areas are sold. This region stretches from the Ysterplaat area, includes Milnerton, Plattekloof and continues along Voortrekker road including areas from Goodwood into Kuilsriver. Here the school selected is Roping Primary School in Parow situated close to the coloured areas of Ravensmead, Elsiesriver, Belhar and Bishop Lavis.

4.3.3. The semi-structured interview:

As it was impossible for the researcher to be present at the exact time when admissions took place, the chosen interview technique should enable the researcher to at least bridge the gap between researcher and researched in enquiring about the issues involved at that time.

Semi-structured interviewing has been identified as such a technique. It allows the researcher to be a participant in constructing meaning about the research topic in collaboration with the researched. Ball refers to the interview as "a confrontation and a joint construction" (1994: 97) and cites Hastrup (1992: 227) who states that "It is not the unmediated world of the 'others', but the world between ourselves and the others" which is relevant in interviews. It is inevitably a very personal, at times intimate as well as public encounter. It is concerned with subjective meanings and permits the exploration of issues which may be too complex to be investigated using quantitative or rigidly structured interviewing techniques.

Semi-structured interviewing is useful in cases where complex and sensitive issues of race and social class are researched. Instead of a rigidly structured schedule, the researcher's questions and responses are designed to accommodate the position and comments of the interviewee. Only issues which are appropriate and relevant to the interviewee and the researched context is useful. However, as the researcher and researched is not bound by codes of standardisation and replicability which limits responses, the flexible nature of this type of interviewing ensures that the latter can be put at ease so that a comfortable atmosphere is created making it easier to deal with sensitive topics.

The success of semi-structured interviews is further aided by the researcher's ability to let the interview become a controlled conversation; an interplay of comments and talk between the interviewer and interviewee. The former needs to know more about what the latter knows; even more, it is important that he / she has some idea of the person's speech patterns, culture and habits. Before the interview can take place, some contact with that person would allow the researcher to acquaint him / herself with aspects of the interviewee's personality. It is crucial for the validity of data gathered from subjects during interviews. During the interview, the researcher has to allow the interviewee opportunities to control parts of the conversation. By commenting and questioning, the researcher does not only make certain that what is said is understood, but also steers the interviewee into talking about what is relevant to the research.

Bigham and Moore describes the semi-structured interview as “conversation with purpose” (1959; cited in Banister et al.: 1994). The interviewer sets up a situation in which the mode, style and pace of talk of the interviewee is accommodated. The purpose is to get information, some of which includes the subject’s conversational and interpersonal habits which could aid in the analysis of interview generated data. Such knowledge aids the researcher in the analysis to reconstruct responses so that it can be tested for validity. The researcher clearly exercises some power over the situation so that the aim of gathering data may be reached. The same is true about the interviewee who also exercises a type of power over the researcher apart from the setting being set up according to his / her preferences. It should be remembered that interviewees may have their own specific aims during the interview. They may want to “present themselves in a good light, not to be discreet, to convey a particular interpretation of events, to get arguments or points of view across, to deride or displace other interpretations and points of view” (Ball: 1994: 97-8). Instead of believing that each interview in a study will be the same, one needs to remember that they differ from setting to setting and between interviewees. This is not only because the content of the interview may differ because of the different questions or responses that was encountered; it is very often also because of what Ball calls “the demeanour of the respondent.” More so, it is also because of differences in style (of the researcher) as it changes in response to the interviewee as well as in relation to the aim of the researcher.

Much of the hidden meanings and subtle nuances which form part of admission policy processes in ex-Model C primary schools may not be

captured through formal interviewing. Semi-structured interviews may elicit a more valid understanding about what admission policies at these schools entail.

4.3.4. Selecting persons for interviews:

Identifying target persons who are held accountable for the setting up and administering of admission policies at ex-Model C primary schools is a crucial methodological aspect of this work. These would be persons who are influential in all policy making processes at schools. Principals of all four selected schools identified themselves as such persons.

While it is accepted that principals are, by the nature of their positions, expected to be influential in schools, it was important to identify the most influential person with regards to admissions from across all stakeholder groups which consist of parents, teachers and administrative staff. This is crucial as these would be the persons who would validate topic domains and later shed more light on admissions at schools. The researcher could thus not take it for granted that all principals would be influential with regard to policy making at school level. Clarity on this was important as the SASA (1996) allows for parental input so that any number of school governing body members could be influential in the writing and administering of school policy.

It was therefore important to set up more than one method of ensuring that correct target persons were identified for the interviews. A questionnaire dealing with five instances of policy making in which any other stakeholders could be identified was administered. These are *involvement*

in admissions procedures, conducting interviews with parents and learners, administering admission tests, drawing up waiting lists and informing parents of negative or positive outcomes to admissions. Data collected from questionnaires showed that principals play a much more influential role than any other stakeholder with regards to all these processes.

On various occasions when telephonic contact was made to remind schools of questionnaire deadlines, it was the principals who took calls and personally responded to them in spite of the researcher's assumption that governing body chairpersons or secretaries might play a more influential role. On requesting to speak to persons who helped with the setting up of school admission policies, the principals would always point out that they are held accountable for these processes. They thus proved that their interpretation of the SASA (1996) was that they are still held accountable for the actual admissions and would therefore personally inform a public enquiry into it although it is the governing body's responsibility according to the text, to set up admission policy. In that way principals positively identified themselves as the target persons with whom the researcher had to converse to validate assumptions and collect insights about admissions through semi-structured interviews.

4.4. Data analysis:

4.4.1. Meaning construction and reconstructive analysis:

As already pointed out, contextual data was collected with the aim of understanding aspects of the specific contexts in which ex-model C primary schools operated. Such data takes the form of assumptions about

admissions based on the contextual circumstances of schools. These were used to plan interviews by setting topics and questions for discussions.

By reading through interview transcripts, patterns emerge and unusual events and noteworthy aspects may be highlighted. These are marked and coded in order to set them apart from one another. On the basis of these initial readings, segments from profiles and interview material are chosen for explicit, initial meaning reconstruction. Selections of interview material are chosen which can reveal some of the underlying tensions and contradictions present within the admissions processes. Segments chosen will be reconstructed line by line making discursive remarks about possible meanings embodied within them. These segments are copied and pasted in one file for further analysis. The operative concept in this section is that of constructed meaning fields

4.4.2. Meaning fields:

The researcher articulates possible meanings which the interviewees in the settings might infer to, overtly or covertly (Carspecken:1996) These articulations are constructions of possible meanings. One cannot know for certain exactly what it is that an actor intended by his words or acts and can thus only speculate about possibilities. It is important to remember that in exactly the same way as the researcher heard and observed the actor, so other second - and third person actors may also receive the words and acts of the initial actor during ordinary daily activity. The meaning field is that range of possible meanings and interpretations which actors in the social setting may be aware of what an act may mean. Those who commit the act may also be aware that such an act could be interpreted in a range

of possible manners. Carspecken calls this the “uncertainty principle of meaning: meanings are always experienced as possibilities within a field of other possibilities.” (1996: 96)

When reconstructing meaning, the researcher moves through the same range of possibilities which words and acts may have as it would have been in the ‘natural’ social setting. Meaning fields are articulated which “raises the meaning field from the tacit to the discursive as much as possible” (Carspecken:1996: 96). By reconstructing such possible meaning of statements the researcher is under no illusion about creating the exact meaning which actors are experiencing in the settings. However, as actors “usually experience many portions of a meaning field on totally tacit levels of awareness that may subsequently be forgotten” (1996: 96), there is no guarantee that the researcher would construct meaning fields exactly as actors experienced it. It is thus almost impossible to fully validate one’s reconstruction of a meaning field. There are, however, definite ways of supporting such constructions of meaning. These are validity claims based on making certain that one is familiar with and understands the culture, behaviour and norms of the researched. This type of information about aspects of the social actors’ school life has been called ‘contextual data’.

Using peer debriefers add to the validity of the reconstruction of meaning fields. A thorough analysis of the broad socio-historico-economic context and the specific context of each school and principal’s role enables the researcher to be familiar with his subjects to the degree that meaning fields closer to what actors may experience in actual settings can be constructed.

An analysis of subjects' statements may involve an analysis in a subjective realm. These include an awareness closer to the subject's personality such as speech patterns, habits, attitudes and mood changes during the interview. To recognise these, the researcher needs to know the subject to some extent. It is not very easy to know when someone's mood changes or to know the person's attitude to certain things at the very first meeting. The researcher thus made certain that there was telephonic and physical contact with each principal long before the time of interviews. In this manner, the researcher was able to use noted patterns of behaviour and specific mannerisms particular to the person of each principal which would indicate surprise, uneasiness, irritability and even anger to elicit subjective meanings from data. This two levelled analysis of data would again be checked by at least two debriefers before being analysed again to construct a valid account of subjects' responses to questions.

4.4.3. Strengthening constructed meanings: Analysing application forms:

Instead of focusing on the contents of the forms alone, the analysis is interested in the information which schools ask of parents and learners in the forms and exactly what the purposes of such information may be in the admissions processes. To gain insight into such purposes, it is necessary to understand the admissions criteria applied by school principals and teachers during admissions. In the process of admitting learners, criteria are used to justify the inclusion or exclusion of new learners. In order to apply those criteria, the information collected through application forms may be needed.

Application forms are analysed in an integrated manner using contextual as well as dialogically generated data to ensure that the information collected through each technique is as valid as possible. This method of triangulation allows for the final account of admissions to be as valid as possible.

4.5. Validity and reliability:

The critical epistemologist, Habermas (1981; 1987 as cited in Carspecken: 1996) developed a notion of validity and reliability within which this study roots its claim. Instead of concentrating on whether ideas are true or false, what is focused on, is whether they meet certain conditions necessary to be consensually accepted as valid and true. This presents a different understanding of validity. Truth claims can only be made through its ability to win the consensus of a specific cultural group. Such consensus is determined by certain universal standards which are not culturally specific, but rather rooted within the structures of human communication. These claims never give an answer about whether something is true or false. They present a set of criteria with which to determine whether a truth claim has valid form or not. Because truth depends on consensus being reached about what something is, a claim to be valid reaches into the premise of the argument itself. To claim that white schools provide quality schooling would mean that consensus had to be reached about the cultural understandings of concepts such as 'textbooks', 'quality' and 'schooling' long before a claim about the truth of the argument can be made. Such cultural understandings are "...rooted within the social routines and in the necessities of achieving agreements to coordinate activities between people in everyday life" (Carspecken: 1995: 56). There are thus conditions

which regulate the possible claims to truth and validity that persons can construct. So there are certain conditions necessary for different people to understand one another when communicating and arguing one another's truth claims in an effort to win consensus. Such conditions provide us with validity criteria. They may include specific speech codes and culturally learnt gestures necessary to understand the topic discussed. For any claim to be judged as valid one needs to first examine the validity conditions associated with it.

This study will not claim to have found the final or ultimate truth about the admissions policies of ex-model C primary schools but is bound to claim that its account is valid by ensuring that all the validity requirements are met and are well supported. This refers to the relationship between the 'contextual' data collected and the dialogical data generated. The manner in which topic domains were generated from within the social site itself, and then set as questions to be discussed with carefully identified subjects who would finally validate or invalidate them, is proof of such an effort to generate a valid account of the research topic. All phases of the study underwent rigorous processes of checks and balances to ensure the reliability of data and the validity of the account given.

4.6. Limitations to the methodology

The limitation of qualitative methodology is that it does not allow for a generalisation to be made about the admissions policy of all ex-Model C primary schools in Cape Town. This study does not claim that what occurred in one context is valid in another. The study was undertaken from the belief that even the admission policies of the particular schools on

which this work is based, are changing on a daily and yearly basis. It is in fact so that the admission practice of a particular school may in practice fluctuate from one learner's enrolment to the next so that there exist only trends instead of a unified admission policy per school. Instead of generalising about all ex-Model C school admissions on the basis of its account, the study rather states that it revealed certain trends of admissions at the selected ex-Model C primary schools in Cape Town in the academic year 1997 to 1998.

One problem which this work faced has to do with the nature of policy. Policy can be defined as written or spoken text stating aims with which to guide a particular practice in schools. In the case of this study, it concentrates on the practice of admitting new learners to primary schools. The problem is that in spite of the officially agreed upon policy (written or spoken form) the practice of admission may differ markedly from its text depending on the social conditions affecting the persons involved in the process at the particular moment of admitting new learners. Whether written at national, provincial or school level and whether it states the steps and requirements of admission, policy writers have no control over the manner in which this is interpreted and administered at the school.. This aspect is one which prompted Ball (1990; 1992; 1993a) to refer to policy processes as being unpredictable, 'muddled' and 'messy'. The study had to strategise about ways to ensure that a valid enough account is given of such a muddled and messy process which can be so very different under differing conditions.

The aim to gather data about admission trends at selected schools was difficult as it was impossible to be present when admissions took place. It is therefore imperative that influential individuals who could reflect on most aspects of admissions be questioned about admissions and how policies are designed. Through the administering of a questionnaire it was revealed that principals were involved in all the major processes of admission policies at schools. They were thus the ideal individuals to be interviewed in order to gain an idea of admissions. As no other school administrators who were involved in the admissions were interviewed, the study may present a one-sided view of admissions as all stakeholders represented on governing bodies were not interviewed. The researcher is acutely aware of this weakness. It is ascribed to the problem of researcher access to other administrators at these schools.

Instead of simply trusting the data gathered from questionnaires, telephonic discussions with secretaries and principals over a three week period emphasised two noteworthy aspects of researching admissions at ex-Model C schools: (1) principals across a wide range of schools in Cape Town are in fact very influential and powerful and (2) where schools granted access, it was of a limited kind even when the impression was initially given that it would be for a prolonged period. Often, after arriving for a visit to classrooms to observe the ratio of black-white learners enrolled, the researcher would be prevented from doing so. Principals who agreed to interviews did so on the proviso that they would not be drawn into long term research and that they would allow one interview only. This limited the amount of data which could be collected. Principals furthermore controlled access to other staff and governing body members so that the

researcher had no choice but to accept the very limited interview time which they offered.

4.7. The ethics of research:

Research processes involves gathering information about peoples' lives within social sites. Researchers must be aware of the ethical implications of their work on the lives of participants. This aspect impacts on all processes of the study from planning to outcome and often beyond that. Participants need to be protected from possible harm which may follow from the work. In this way, their psychological well-being, dignity and values need to be respected and preserved at all times.

In this work, insiders identified the possibility that the research topic was sensitive to the degree that few schools and individuals working inside the schools may want to participate. This was for fear of being recognised or branded as racist. The researcher thus had to ensure that all social actors' and schools' identities were protected at all times and that there was no need to fear such branding.

4.7.1. Informed consent:

Mutual respect and confidence between researcher and participants ensures honesty and transparency throughout the research process. All elements of the study were disclosed to participants by letter as well as telephonically and via electronic mail. This includes the researcher's position regarding admissions and his/her role in the study, the purpose of the research, what would be involved, the number of other participants,

how long it might take to complete and what was to happen with the data that was collected.

The researcher had to ensure that during all phases he was contactable and available to participants to answer queries and provide explanations about the progress of the investigation. In this way, participants were assured that their interests were taken care of and that their interests were protected. They were informed that they may at any stage refuse to continue participating. This work started out with six possible respondents. Two refused permission for their responses to be published. The data gathered from them had to be discarded and in one instance be given back to them. It is therefore not included in the rest of this work.

4.7.2. Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality and anonymity are closely related to the protection of participants. The possibility of harm always exists if their personal information is made public as anyone with mischievous aims can use it against them.

The information gathered from participants are made known to the public through this research report. In an effort to protect school communities, their true identities are kept away from the public. Anonymity is ensured by giving participants, schools and sometimes areas, fictional identities within this report. To this end, the researcher provides readers 'misinformation' in order to protect participants.

CHAPTER 5

THE ANALYSIS OF DATA

5.1. Introduction:

The SASA of 1996 sets up a policy context which situates schools at the centre of social transformation. The societal context is one characterised by unequal socio-economic and cultural resources. This is evident in the differences between the infrastructures of racially separated middle and working class areas.

The SASA (1996) protects previously disadvantaged learners by allowing them to be enrolled at schools of their choice whether it is situated in former white areas separated from theirs or not. The funding option endorsed by this policy text sets schools up as marketing commodities. (See chapter 2). The theory is that all parents have freedom of choice to enrol their children where they choose. The reality is that all parents do not possess the necessary skills, knowledge and capital to do so; some have more than others. Those who have more are empowered to have a wider choice while those who have less can barely choose at all.

In a context in which there are more applicants who want access to ex-Model C schools than what there are schools, it is not the parents that eventually make the choice but rather, the schools which set up criteria ensuring that those learners who enrol successfully, fit the schools' profile of its ideal learners. These are learners who would present the school with the least academic and social problems (Ball: 1993: 9-11)

The research framework is one which emphasises such unequal economic relations between groups of people in society. The historico-socio-economic structure in which policies are implemented is visualised as the broad background against which the actions of social actors take place. It thus influences meaning that is made through analysing collected data.

5.2. Contextual data:

5.2.1. Deracialising statistics:

After an initial discussion in 1996 with Western Cape Education Department officials on accessing and controlling statistics of ex-Model C schools, it was assumed that an official policy of ignoring and refraining from collecting information of a racial nature existed. Subsequent discussions in 1998 proved that assumption to be incorrect. Officials gave assurances that no policy of ignoring the collection of such statistics exists. The unfortunate situation is that although such data is requested from ex-Model C schools, there is a refusal on their part to not collect and send such data back for analysis.

The WCED thus does not possess any statistics showing enrolment according to race groups at ex-Model C schools for the years 1995 to 1998. During discussions with the official in charge of this section, it became clear that he interpreted the collection of such data to cause much embarrassment for school staff, pupils and parents and that it was too time consuming. The official stated a personal belief that such data had in any case no role to play anymore. Such a belief could aid ex-Model C schools in their decision not to send data in if urgent requests from the WCED for the data is not made from time to time.

This trend has far reaching implications for the interim context during which the racial and class disparities caused during years of apartheid governance continue to exist. Without information reflecting the racial nature of social actors at school sites it would for example be difficult to tell how far integration took place in public schools and how open access to all black learners is at ex-Model C schools. Such deracialisation (Miles: 1988; Troyna:1991) of schooling statistics may allow the exclusive nature of the schools to remain undetected for years under the guise of peaceful, successful social integration.

5.2.2. An analysis of the enrolment statistics:

Because enrolment figures according to race were not available for 1998 it was decided to use enrolment statistics collected for 1996 reflecting the home language of learners at ex-Model C schools to assess black enrolment in relation to white learners. It is useful as an enrolment pattern shown in one year may mean that it continue during 1998 as well. It is used in spite of the fact that traditionally 'white' languages of English and Afrikaans are the home languages for most Coloured and Indian black learners. These figures therefore do not show the exact ratio of black-white enrolment.

It needs to be kept in mind that African people have always been marginalised more than any of the other race groups by Apartheid legislation. As part of that, Apartheid legislation in the Western Cape, forced African black people into squatter camps as they were not allowed

to possess property. This was legislation declaring it a Coloured job and housing preferential area (Smith: 1978: 26).

If these enrolment figures show that African blacks were by far the minority group at ex-Model C primary schools in 1996, then it can be accepted as an indication of a context in which the majority of African black learners did not have access to ex-Model C primary schools during one of the years when apartheid legislation was already removed. It can thus safely be assumed that the trends may be the same for 1998.

In the light of national schooling policy allowing access to all public schools for all learners, it might be that factors closer to the ex-Model C schools are closing the door to sectors of the black learner community in Cape Town. These could be factors written in schools' admission policies.

Here follows the enrolment figures of learners at all ex-Model C primary schools (Reception grade to grade 7) according to home language and language of instruction for 1996:

<u>Home language:</u>			<u>Language of instruction:</u>	
Afrikaans:	19694	36.3%	19006	35.1%
English:	32306	59.6%	35190	64.9%
Traditional African Languages:	1659	3.1%	1	0.002%
Other:	538	1%		

TOTAL LEARNERS ENROLLED : 54197

The figures show that English learners make up the majority of all enrolled. Cape Town has a large Afrikaans speaking community of which the majority are working class Coloured people living in townships on the periphery of the city's middle and upper class areas. The other part

consists of white middle class Afrikaans speaking people. In spite of the language being linked to white Afrikaners and it historically being labelled as the 'language of the oppressors' it remains spoken mostly by these poorer people of the Cape Flats. Because of the erroneous link made between Afrikaans and white oppressors, many black Afrikaners refused to use the language. It became a trend that middle class black people opposing apartheid would rather use English as their home language. The fact that the figures show English speaking learners (59.6%) to be the majority enrolled for 1996, should thus be taken as an indication that it is likely that that figure is made up of white, Coloured and Indian (including a small percentage of African) middle class English speaking learners. The Afrikaans component (36.3%) is more likely to be made up of middle class white than working class black learners. The figures show that more white and middle class learners enrolled at ex-Model C primary schools than black lower class learners. The extremely low percentage of learners using traditional African languages at home, could indicate a growing trend that more African middle class families are opting to use English at home than their traditional home languages. It can also be interpreted to show that there are much fewer African middle class learners enrolled than whites, Coloureds and Indians together.

These figures underwrite the assumption that the study should be done from the viewpoint that the effects of apartheid legislation still affect the lives of black people negatively in the present time. On this basis the researcher accepts that ex-Model C primary schools are continuing with exclusive schooling practices.

5.2.3. Profiling schools:

Profiling took place before as well as after the final four schools were selected. Initially, six schools were profiled. The process was one of remaining outside school gates observing aspects such as buildings, sports facilities and school halls. Notes raising expectations about issues such as racial integration of the living areas in which the schools are situated, the transport routes to schools from the closest black and lower class living areas and the racial identity of parents and learners frequenting schools in the mornings and afternoons, were made. These assumptions were accepted as pure speculation and used to simply gain an initial understanding of the character of each school and its area. They were made knowing that later stages of data collection would provide a better understanding. (For a detailed reading of profiles, see appendix B).

5.2.4. Identifying topic domains and communication codes:

Profiling schools as above, data from enrolment figures and talks with insiders aided the researcher in understanding the context in setting up topic domains which are relevant to gaining insight into admissions at ex-Model C primary schools.

The identification of topic domains are important as they are later discussed with principals in the dialogical data collection phase. Topic domains would then be phrased as questions with which the attitudes and perceptions of ex-Model C school principals with regard to the transformation context of the present time can be understood. It provided an idea of the perspectives and codes needed with which to make meaning of their possible responses to the questions asked in the

dialogical stage. This is done from the understanding that people in every sphere of social life use normative and subjective codes with which they make statements. Without a knowledge of such codes and their meanings, it would be difficult to understand what it is that they mean with what they say. Meaning can only be reconstructed once the codes with which to reconstruct them are identifiable.

The talks and discussions with insiders were necessary to learn more about the manners in which understandings across the divide are locked up within certain terms. These can be codes employed to respond to issues relating to the admissions of lower class black learners to schools which were previously for the exclusive use of middle class white learners. The researcher needs this background data collected during phase 1 in order to identify such terms and codes which subjects may use when explaining issues relating to their schools' admissions policies.

The following topic domains were identified: the tradition, culture and ethos of schools; the differences in educational standards between township and ex-Model C schools; admission criteria and processes; power in school policy processes. These have been identified as issues and concepts which form part of ex-Model C school principals' understandings of schooling in Cape Town. The researcher thus had to have a relatively good understanding as to what they would mean when referring to any of these topic domains.

5.3. Dialogical data:

5.3.1 The respondents:

Before discussing and reconstructing meaning from interviews with principals, it is useful to describe aspects of each one's personality which were useful in understanding them in the interviews. This is the type of information which allowed the researcher an understanding of each person's particular ways of reacting under various circumstances. The researcher strategised to speak to or even meet each person on different occasions before the final interview took place. After such meetings notes were taken about each person's speech patterns and the peculiar codes in the form of gestures, body language and speech patterns which could embody subtle nuances of meaning. Each respondent has been assigned an alphabetic letter in bold print which identifies him / her throughout this section.

Respondent K: ex-principal from Meadows Primary School:

A retired school principal aged between 65 and 70 who lives in a comfortable middle class white area. He initially acted as an inside informant about ex Model C school practices in general. As he is retired and has nothing to fear from authorities or governing bodies, he may discuss admissions practices without the usual attempts at covering up sensitive issues. The research process started before the present principal was appointed. K is thus used as the respondent who influenced the present governing body and admission policy of Meadow Primary.

When encountering sensitive issues K would often hesitate and stutter lowering his voice and switching to Afrikaans to explain himself. He came

across as a very calm, organised person who is not afraid to express his opinion about the effects of the opening of ex-Model C schools to all races. In spite of his age he remains active in local council politics.

Respondent A, Winmount Primary School:

A is a middle aged woman (early fifties) who has been the principal of three other schools prior to this one. She has held this position for the past 15 years and thus has extensive experience about the opening of white schools to all races as well as the setting up of admissions. She has a post-graduate degree in education and is thus aware of the processes involved in research. **A** comes from an English background and speaks the language very well. During initial contact she showed reasonable interest in the research project. This, however, dwindled after completing the questionnaire. She did not want to be involved with it for a long period. During subsequent telephone conversations she referred to her aversion for researchers who are 'out to prove that ex-Model C schools protect white privilege and are busy with gatekeeping'. An interview date was eventually set after initial faxes and scheduled visits. During these contact sessions **A** identified herself as a strong-willed lady who displayed extreme pride in the Model C school tradition to the extent that she would prevent public enquiries (by researchers) into her school if she felt that it was detrimental for its public image.

Different from previous times, **A** was reasonably tense when meeting the researcher for the interview. This was clear from her attempts to compose herself while seemingly pondering about questions. She would keep quiet for almost half a second before answering some questions very calmly and

in a self-assured manner. Frustration and confusion are displayed by the raising of her voice and laughing in an embarrassed way; such feelings are often followed with reference to other researchers who angered her for their handling of issues of exclusive schooling and racism. When uncertain of herself, she would not commit to answering anything but would wait for a prompt from the researcher. She seems to have accepted with her role as principal, that of protector of the traditions of ex-Model C schools as she often expresses her displeasure with the policy initiatives of the National Education Department which is 'destroying Model C schools' which she views to be the ideal in education.

Respondent VH, Starfields Primary School:

VH is in her mid - 40s. She has held the position of principal for the past five years. She taught at the school for the past 20 years in various positions and thus has extensive experience of admissions and the opening of her school to other races. Her Afrikaner background comes across in her accent and her stated reference to family and friends linked to schools in the Afrikaner dominated northern suburbs of Cape Town. She holds a post-graduate degree in education which was completed recently and is thus reasonably informed about research processes.

VH showed a tendency to stutter often when faced with issues of race. She often used euphemistic terms to describe sensitive issues such as race and social class. **VH** could possibly come from a lower middle class background as she described the position of her own school in opposition to that of 'higher class schools on the other side of the main road'. When faced with a difficult or personal issue she often leans forward lowering her

voice. She has the habit to involve listeners in completing her sentences by asking 'You know?' thus almost making a matter-of-a-fact statement.

Respondent D, Roping Primary School:

D has been a principal for the past eight years. She is between 55 and 60 years old and is an Afrikaner lady who seems to have lived in the Northern suburbs all her life. She showed extreme care when asked about being interviewed and insisted that (in spite of official permission having been granted by the WCED two years before) the researcher asked permission from her Circuit Manager.

This principal knows her school very well as she, as VH, has held every position possible before being appointed as principal. Her knowledge and experience thus presented the researcher with an opportunity to gain a reasonably valid account of admissions at her school. She speaks English with a strong Afrikaner accent and often had to express herself in Afrikaans. This happened especially when divulging something which she considered to be confidential. She proved to be an enthusiastic person who often used her hands to emphasise what she said.

5.3.2. Principals' responses - possible meanings

Selected segments from the dialogical data showing trends of admission are discussed in order to reconstruct possible meanings. The researcher at times reconstructs single statements containing covert meaning more than once in an effort to gain a valid account of the responses. It should be noted that the patterns of admission identified through responses cross

over to other domains. It is therefore quite natural to find reference and quotations across domains.

5.3.2.1. The tradition, culture and ethos of schools:

A, principal of Winmount, states that "*The school itself is predominantly Christian ... certainly the predominance would be the Christian ethos.*". On being asked whether she would describe it as the school's tradition, she simply stated "*The school is a hundred and fifteen years old.*". This can be reconstructed in various manners. The researcher noted an intersubjective state of nonchalance and a certain amount of arrogance with which it was said. This is ascribed to her reluctance to allow an investigation into the school's admission policy. She could feel that the researcher expects the school's ethos to change soon due to racial integration allowed by the SASA (1996). She thus responds in this manner meaning that it has been so for that long and is not likely to change now or in the near future. Overtly, she might mean that this has been the norm at this school for so long and no aspect of transformation at the present time is threatening that. It is also not going to be changed as it formed the foundation for high standards, quality and excellence expected of teachers and learners at such white Christian institutions over all those years. Her statement ignores the role of white religion, tradition and ethos in the subjugation and oppression of South Africans for hundreds of years. She here divorces her statement totally from the fact that the major part of those 115 years included her and her school's role in excluding all those who were not Christian, white and middle class from attending the institution. The researcher is able to build this meaning field using the historical fact that such institutions used such traditions and cultural aspects to defend the

practice of exclusion and oppression of those who were different from them. Her statement is thus interpreted to carry such meaning.

During admission interviews Muslim parents are singled out to "*be honest with ...*" **VH** when filling in the application form asking whether they give permission for their children to be part of the Christian Religious Instruction classes. While they are assured that they need not worry as this would not penalise their children from attending the school, it remains a contentious issue to single this group out using such a question. If she meant that every parent is asked about this, then she would have stated so here. This is borne out by the manner in which she stuttered when responding to the question. She finds this to be a very sensitive aspect with Muslim parents and therefore seems to treat them differently to Christian parents during interviews.

This trend of emphasising difference progresses once the Muslim child is officially enrolled at Starfields Primary. Although **VH** stated that her school had a Christian tradition, she changed her mind stating "*But this school is not just Christian, we've got a lot of Muslim parents here as well.*" Where parents indicated that they prefer their children to be absent from Religious Instruction classes, their children are required to leave the classroom and sit in the corridor until the lesson has finished: "*...they just take a little cushion and they sit in the passage*". **VH** regrets this as they "*don't get any religious input as such...*". This in itself could mean that religious input to her means that it has to be of a Christian nature; not getting it, seems to bother her more than the fact that they are isolated from the rest and are forced to sit outside in the passage. Although this may be interpreted as

outside the realm of admissions, and although it has been the choice of the parent, it remains a problem emphasising difference as the school carries out a practice which creates division without countering it through other imaginative ways. It may also influence non-Christian families who come to hear about this trend to prefer not sending their children to such a school as this happens to some and not to other children. This may be a manner in which admission into the school for those differing from the tradition, culture and ethos of the school is more difficult than for those who adhere to it. This practice itself proves that in spite of her attempt to state that the school does not only cater for the Christian sector of the school community, it seems to have a very strong Christian tradition. The treatment of people from other religious beliefs during enrolment and inside classrooms suggest that it may be easier for Christian learners to enrol than for Muslims, Hindus or Bhuddists.

Responses to questions relating to tradition, culture and ethos revealed a pattern that some ex-Model C schools have a tradition of being “family oriented schools” to the degree that *“one (admissions criterion) that I can consider as a very last resort if there is place, is that parents who attended the school or grandparents and that is part of the ethos being that generations that pass through this school...”* has easy access. A explained the trend as useful because it is easier for teachers as they know the families and thus the teaching process is certain to be relatively problem free. One can ascribe this to the concern about standards found within the Model C schools shortly before ‘opening its doors to all learners’ in 1992. This may thus be a method of ensuring that standards stay at an acceptably high level. It may also refer to a trend to ascertain the support

of those who can afford to invest in the school on a more regular basis than those who are poorer. With this trend access is made more difficult for black lower class learners from religious persuasions different to that traditionally linked to these schools.

5.3.2.2. Deracialising schools:

An unexpected trend in which principals' expressed a refusal to discuss the racial difference between black and white pupils came to light. Kirp (1979) stated that in order to do good for lower class black people it is better to do very little: "one helps non whites by *not* favouring them explicitly. The benefits ... from such an approach are ... real because invisible." (61; Original emphasis). During interviews, principals treated the issue of race in a manner suggesting that it would be better if it remained hidden and undiscussed in order to do good for black and lower class learners and their parents. In the interviews the principals seem to interpret the use of the concept 'race' meaning 'skin colour' or 'cultural difference' to be tantamount to practicing racism. This could point to what Reeves (1983) describes as 'discursive deracialisation' in which "a person speaks purposely to audiences about racial matters, while avoiding the overt employment of racial descriptions, evaluations and prescriptions" (4). This serves the important political purpose of "justifying racial discrimination while providing other non-racist criteria for the differential treatment of a group distinguished by its racial characteristics" (Reeves: 1983: 4).

Principal **A** refuses to reveal the ratio of black as to white and prefers to rather give "*a thumbsuck (that it) might be about 40% children of colour at this school.*" She continued and described her estimation as "*a thumbsuck*

and I'm not likely to give you an answer on that one". She here seems to state that it is against her principles to speak of race. The researcher found this same attitude within the WCED where officials in charge of the collection and analysis of enrolment statistics with regard to race stated that it is difficult to collect these from ex-Model C schools. Within the white school sector in Cape Town there seems to be a trend of ascribing talk of race to mean being racist. This trend is dangerous as it may in fact hide racist practices if one is unable to distinguish patterns of integration during the transitional phase when it is a national aim to integrate and develop those who were previously disadvantaged. This trend to refer to black people in 'softer' terms as people "*of colour*" instead of simply "black" is repeated by D who refers to her black learners stating that "*we've got many pupils from outside the area*" (referring to what she calls her traditional white feeder area). This illustrates the way in which these principals interpret racism and its effects as locked within these words instead of possibly being active within the very admission criteria and processes through which they admit new learners to their schools.

Several times during the interviews the principals referred to their dismay at having to provide the Department of National Education with information regarding the racial make-up of their learners and staff. Various ex-Model C schools bluntly refused to take part in another investigation referring to aspects influenced by race and social class. There was a constant reference to the absence of African black learners who are in the minority at ex-Model C schools. The enrolment figures according to home language and language of instruction analysed as 'contextual data' concurred with these statements. They explain it as being the case because "*We are not*

in their area.” This is so in spite of the fact that in the case of all three selected schools, there are adequate public transport services available. The fact that they all refuse to “count heads” and look at the black-white ratio seems to be a trend of wishing away the fact that real integration is not taking place in spite of national policy allowing it to happen. Their explanations of admissions criteria however, shows that they are acutely aware of race and class dynamics but prefer to let structural economic inequalities existing in the Cape Town work for them rather than to identify the ways in which it perpetuates racial and class oppression in their schools well after the much celebrated democratic elections of 1994.

Ignoring racial and class dynamics within groups allows the racist social class status quo to continue operating at schools. It is in that manner that although principals find it difficult to give black-white ratios, they find it easier to separate Coloured and African learners within the black group from one another. Such a division allows for Coloureds (an artificially created race group which historically make up the largest percentage of the Cape Town population) who, during the apartheid years developed into a large middle class component together with the whites to form a majority against the minority lower class African blacks. It is thus also easy to ignore the absence of black African learners in terms of the school not being in their area rather than actively engaging in redeveloping the tradition, culture and ethos of the school into a more South African rather than a Eurocentric one.

The trend to thus deracialise when black-and-white is questioned and racialise when blackness is of concern, is noted. Reasons given raised the

issue of embarrassment at being 'Coloured' and not white or the possibility of calling a white child 'Coloured'. The researcher uses racial categorisation directed towards racist aims explicitly with the goal of identifying (and eradicating) unjust racial practices. Racial categorisation such as Coloureds, Africans, Indians and whites are thus employed as there is an awareness that there is in reality not a homogeneous black race anywhere in the world. The same would count for the white group. Racism is understood to act in an intermingling way with factors such as class, gender, culture and religion (McCarthy: 1990).

The researcher asks: *"Give me an idea of the black - white ratio of learners at your school. VH: I can't actually tell you. I haven't sat and ... I had to fill in a form not so long ago and we decided that we were not going to say, so many white, so many black ... I am trying to complete that and we just felt that we want to make a statement also and also it was a little bit embarrassing now in the class we've got very fair children ... We don't know whether they're 'coloured' or white."* She continues and prefers to distinguish between black, 'coloured' and white learners in her answer: *"Now I have to uhm ... estimate. I would say that we've got about 30% white and that we've got about 60% 'coloured' and ... (Researcher completing her statement confirmed by her nodding) 10% black."* This trend is captured in the interviews with the other two principals as well. In responding to the question in this manner, it is easier to state that the majority of black-white is not that large and that although the staff and governing bodies remain white, it is not that big a problem. Such a response hides the fact that the white middle class component remains in power to control the policies of schooling according to their values and not

according to the needs and values of the growing black pupil and parent body.

5.3.2.3. Standards and quality:

K states that before enrolling Coloured learners he *“had to explain to them that we have a standard and that we had to make sure that they meet it.”* This is why he had interviews *“with each and every one, an hour, an hour and a half to set the background and explain the background that we required ...”* He reflects about the time of opening the school to all races for the first time, when The Cape Times reported that **‘Meadow Primary School is going under’**. There was a general attitude from conservative sectors in the white community that the school could not *“sustain ... uhm ... uhm ... standards”* and that it was becoming part and parcel of the other (black) communities; as he puts it in Afrikaans *“Hulle vry nou na die ander gemeenskap”* (*They show affinity to the other communities*). K’s deep sigh following that statement emphasises the stress of having to appease white parents who preferred to take their children to other middle class whites-only schools. *“I had to convince them that that was not the case,”* and *...we did a lot of discussing and kept them (on our side)*. Part of this convincing was that the principal explained to white parents *“that we select them. Then we set our standards ... our ... (stutters and asks) what you call it? ... uhm ... (after being prompted by the researcher) Admission requirements! Yes! It was thoroughly worked out: These were the standards.”* K does not fully reveal the standards and admission requirements and criteria he refers to here. What he does, though, is to emphasise that there is a trend that ex-Model C schools make certain that they *“choose the right person”* when enrolling black learners at their schools as the perception of white

parents that a large number of black learners could cause standards to drop, might cause them to enrol their children elsewhere. This might mean the exodus of influential parents who are able to pay substantial amounts in school fees to private schools. In agreement with K, VH states that *"...white parents are now considering our school not good enough (stuttering and almost apologetically) ... uhm ... well, ... those ... so what they're doing now, is they move a step higher, say for instance the schools with the very good names ... in the upper main road ... or they move to the northern suburbs."* It should be noted that VH and K's schools are situated in or close to former 'grey' areas, closer to Coloured living areas than to what they call "schools with the very good names". These areas are increasingly being inhabited by wealthy Coloured and African families. This fear of standards and quality dropping which are described as a real issue by these two principals apparently does not exist at ex-Model C schools in the wealthier areas of Cape Town.

A states that *"overall standards haven't really dropped. No."* After further prompting from the researcher about the standards of languages and mathematics, they revealed that *" what we did find is that we picked up more problems from the point of view of preparing children to cope with the standards".* and *"We had more children that needed extra help."* A statement in this regard that needs special focusing is the one stating that *"I think particularly of the Xhosa children, uhm ... Yes, they struggle with the language. They definitely struggle with the language."* This statement was made after being continuously prompted about standards and quality with the subject responding about how skillful and well organised her staff is to cater for the language needs of Taiwanese, Greek and French

learners enrolled at her school. Of all learners with language problems, she singles Xhosa learners out as the ones who *really* struggle with English. This statement carries various meanings. This ranges from: black learners having a lower capacity to adapt to ex-Model C schools and learn English; the staff is better equipped to deal with learners from other non-African backgrounds and has difficulty dealing with learners who have African backgrounds to the possibility that the principal perceives the background of Xhosa learners to be of a much lower standard than that of the new non-African learners. One needs to state here that despite all the possible meanings, it seems as if admission to ex-Model C schools are easier for those from outside the country than for black African learners. The reasons seem to lie within the particular culture existing in the schools and “the negative, patronising attitudes” (Rizvi: 1993) held by principals towards African black learners.

Rather than the school changing to meet the learners' needs, learners are expected to make a sacrifice to become part of the white ethos existing in these schools. Even though principals state their knowledge of the difficulties to adapt to their standards, culture and tradition, when they “realise that the standard is not the same as in their school there” and that “the changes emotionally is going to affect the child” so that “the child is not going to fit in”, no real arrangements have been made to aid the integration of lower class black learners into these schools. It seems as if black learners are expected to struggle to adapt, fail or leave. They have to become similar to the white learners who are there, live up to the expectations of white teachers and if successful, be pleased that they received a ‘high standard’ of education. Although A states that teachers

"adapt to accomodate" no real effort to aid black learners to cope with what they are faced can be identified. The very limited language enrichment programmes and the Xhosa classes presented by white state-employed teachers are held up as proof that these schools attempt to make life easier for lower class black learners. This can, however, be described as attempts to rather teach middle class white and non-African black learners how to recognise Xhosa words and phrases rather than attempts at transforming school curricula to aid social and racial integration.

Principals view their schools as setting the norms and standards of schooling for others to follow. *"You can't compare ... the programme that we are able to offer at this school with what ... less privileged schools have to offer"*. Public schools in black areas have lower standards which cause most of the problems when learners from there enrol at this ex-Model C school. Because *"children are coming from different levels, ... we needed to find something in common."* The process of finding a commonality among all these levels included the administering of admissions or placement tests. 'Admission tests' were tests which often determined whether a learner gained access to ex-Model C schools or not. These are no longer allowed according to the SASA (1996). They have been replaced by 'placement tests' which are written after access has been gained. It therefore does not have a discriminatory aim as harsh as the 'admission tests'. It's aim can, however, not be dismissed as non-discriminatory.

The aim of 'placement tests' represents the only manner in which ex-Model C schools changed themselves to make life of black applicants 'easier'. It

is stated 'black applicant' here as the researcher interprets this principal to mean that: " ... we actually started it when we opened our school. That I must tell you. Uh ... when we became a Model C school. Because we felt that perhaps children are coming from different levels, you know, ..." The principal states that her interpretation of this is the need to place the child "where he would be most comfortable. Because what we ... experienced is that children that can't cope ... (and) develop other problems ... Behavioural problems ... And that's a terrible thing..." In spite of such noble aims, the tests cannot be divorced from the admission process of the learner. It is part of the child's entry into that school.

K further refers to language as being part of the admission requirement. Learners who apply to an ex-Model C school are required to at least be able to speak one of the traditional official languages, Afrikaans or English. "One of the prerequisites is that when they (black learners) came, the teachers gave them uhm ... uh ... a little bit of a (sic) admission test." They "let the pupil read and assess that ... they would do a bit of maths and they would do sort of **slightly less so that it is not unfair** ..." This particular statement is "based on mistakenly held stereotypes, negative patronising attitudes and beliefs that hinder expectations and create misunderstanding." (Rizvi: 1993: 8-9). All four principals make statements about standards and quality in ex-Model C schools based on a belief that it sets the norm for all schooling. Schools and learners from other areas are stereotyped to come from a different (meaning lower) level. They go so far as to assume that the difference between ex-Model C schools and less privileged ones is so enormous that a comparison is impossible. To maintain the high standards and quality, learners from there can thus not

simply be enrolled; admission tests in mathematics and languages are used as the mechanism needed with which to gauge whether they 'fit in'. Once enrolled, in order to aid their assimilation into their new school environment, some of them are required to drop a standard grade before eventually developing into an accepted member of the institution. The process of admission thus does not simply have to do with the initial entry into the schools; for lower class learners it is a longer process which continues until the learner is fully assimilated or fails and leaves.

It is not argued that the individual principals state these issues in racist ways because they are racist. Rather, it is argued that the broad structure of inequality in society allows for these racist practices to continue as accepted practice or 'inferential racism' (Hall: 1981). Rizvi (1993) states that racism is not the property of individuals but rather "the particular way in which social relations and practices are organised." Racism is thus manifested in both unequal class and race relations which is caused by social relations organised by both broad historico-socio-economic structures and individual actions at schools. The implementation of admissions criteria in the process is part of the way in which access to schools is controlled and relations are organised in an unequal way.

5.3.2.4. Admission criteria:

The admission criteria employed by schools can be described as the real measures in which access to schools is controlled. Once asked about what prompted the school to set up an admission policy, **A** declared that she started it as "*I ... get very uptight when there is criticism levelled at these ex-Model C schools as wanting to preserve our rights and not wanting to*

change ... So ... I said ... we actually needed a system so that I can say, look I am actually not excluding your child because she's not white or because she hasn't got the same education or standards or whatever." This suggests a deliberate effort on the part of this particular school principal to set up criteria aimed at excluding some learners if they do not fit into a specific mould. This mould is explained by the criteria itself.

One criterion is that learners cannot become part of a school if residing outside the feeder area of the school. This is referred to as zoning, enrolment from feeder area or according to the availability of schools between the applicant's living area and the ex-Model C school. *"If it's kids (sic) from our feeder area, we must accept them. If they are not from the feeder area, we do not accept them."* and *"If this is their nearest school, I must accept them."* This can be interpreted as a definite measure to exclude the majority of black learners from lower class areas to these schools. Given the socio-historical context of Cape Town with these schools situated in white or 'grey' middle class areas far from working class black living areas immediately excludes millions of learners from applying to enrol at these schools. There is an awareness of this fact from one principal who states that it *"of course does immediately ... put at a disadvantage children who live in Guguletu, children who live in Mitchell's Plain, children who live ... uhm ... through previous laws, in outlying areas. And I can accept that . And I accept that as a point of criticism. ... But in fact, it is something that I can't help and I can't avoid doing it."*

There are instances when she attempts to do something about it, though. She does, after all other criteria have been met and there is place left,

admit some learners from outside her feeder area. This she does as she is *“convinced that (school’s name) does need to improve on its representation of people. ... I will ... instead of taking children who might be white or coloured children in the Kenilworth area, I might then certainly jump the list and take children who ... live in Gugulethu and have transport available.”* This statement about jumping the list proves that admissions is often dealt with in a ‘fumbling in the dark’ manner (Similar to that described by Penny, Gultig, Apple, Harley and Muir in 1993 in their Pietermaritzburg study of admissions at racially integrated schools). A here reveals an attempt to make politically correct admissions not for the sake of the majority of black lower class learners, but rather for the sake of giving a public impression that the school is reasonably integrated. In spite of an initial argument that race does not play any role and should not be discussed with her with regard to enrolment and admissions, she is here very prepared to create a racial distinction between African and Coloured learners based on her understanding of the class and race dynamics at play within Cape Town. Note that she refers to Coloured learners from Kenilworth in relation to black learners from Gugulethu. She seems to base this on a personal belief that blacks in Gugulethu would be less well off than Coloureds in Kenilworth. In that way, she may want her act of jumping the application list to be viewed as heroic and as doing something for poorer African black people. On the other hand, it means that such ‘affirmative acts of admissions’ may be an attempt to balance the amount of wealthy white and Coloured enrolments which is needed to keep the tradition, culture and ethos of high standards and quality alive. The heroic act is thus very much an attempt to keep the status quo rather than making a definite attempt at opening the doors of learning to her school.

Transport is identified in the above example as the one criterion which may even in such a case prevent the principal to reconsider admitting such a black learner. This is confirmed by another principal as she states that: *"If I've got space in the school, the only thing that will stop me from taking that child is if in the interview, I see that the child would be standing here in the afternoon ..."* Another principal added that *"(Transport is) an absolute must and it's becoming a huge problem!"* This criterion also certainly excludes the masses of black lower class learners from these schools. This is closely related to the high fees charged by these schools.

The manner in which principals are able to 'jump application lists' and overwrite stated school admission policies at times illustrates the complexity and contradictory process which makes up policy. It does not mean that they are doing something very wrong or reprehensible but that they are actually busy in the muddle and messiness which characterises policy processes. Admission processes are part and parcel of the interrelated complex policy processes consisting of contexts of influence, policy text production and practice (Ball: 1993). A from Winmount refers to how she aims to use her admissions policy to be able to justify exclusion as well as inclusion.

5.3.2.5. High school fees defended:

Principals defended and explained the reasons for high school fees in various manners. One is that it was necessary because the numbers increased drastically once they opened. The fees thus acted as a measure to control the influx of black learners. Also, an increase in numbers meant

an increase in the need for desks, books and tables. Being Model C schools, they had to raise most of the money for resources from parental fees. High fees can thus not simply be described as an attempt to simply exclude poorer black learners. The matter of exclusion because of high fees was built into the status of being Model C with state funding being less than for other schools. White parents had a bigger say in the governance and could therefore decide what they wanted the school fees to be. With the change of status to ex-Model C, schools could refuse entry to those who could not pay and those who failed admissions tests.

The trend of high fees is, however, continuing now that these schools have been changed back to public school status in a context when national policy does not allow schools to exclude learners on such a basis. In the context of state expenditure on education being rationalised so that fewer teachers are employed, by increasing the ratio of learners to teachers and the introduction of Curriculum 2005, high fees are explained as being absolutely necessary: "... we are employing additional (to the state allocated number) teachers To keep our classes ... smaller." This is one way in which ex-Model C schools ensure that they maintain a higher standard of education. It is done from the assumption that smaller classes allow more individualised attention to learners, thus raising the standard of education. The ratio of 40:1 has been decided upon to allow the state to spend less of the budget on education. This would mean that all class sizes would increase across the board; even in the case of ex-Model C schools. Because of the resources available to them, they are, however able to raise enough funds to employ additional teachers enabling smaller classes. In this manner, school fees were raised even further to cope with

this need. The schools thus clearly cater for those who can pay, have transport available and are able to speak English or Afrikaans reasonably fluently and are prepared to often sacrifice at least one year in a lower grade 'recovering' from the 'lower standards' offered at 'lower level schools' in black areas.

One principal referred to the fact that they do not charge school fees from learners whose parents cannot afford to pay it. At least in this regard the school follows the letter of the Schools Act which prohibits any school to refuse a learner who cannot pay school fees. This was in response to a question about whether the school had any problems raising school fees from new black intakes. It was an attempt to clarify that although the school is situated close to and services the affluent white areas such as Upper Wynberg and Constantia, many learners from those areas are in fact not wealthy and white, but black and poor. She referred to the children of domestic workers who live with their employers. These children often have been completely assimilated into the white middle class life style and do not offer many problems fitting into the school life of ex-Model C schools.

With regard to fees, the principal then states that although the school does not expect all the fees to be paid, they *"do have another rider to that policy and that is that everybody is expected to pay something. Even if it is five rand a term... everybody ... is required to make some contribution even if they come to us and say to us well, can I come in and sell popcorn at break to make up my child's ten rand a term."* This example underwrites the analysis of such practices with regards to the poor in ex-Model C

schools as discriminatory. It further enhances the class and racial differences between learners and their families in spite of the very innocent sounding protest by the same principals at the start of the interviews when they refused to be drawn into discussions about racial and social class difference. Their problem was that the researcher, by collecting information of a racial nature, would disturb the racial harmony existing in their schools. This was so despite the fact that one of the general aims of this study was to aid the enormously complex and difficult process of eradicating unequal opportunities. In contrast with the researcher's aim, this way of allowing the poor to be exposed as being unable to pay the full fee and thus having to engage in 'entrepreneurial activities' at school to raise a few rands with which to absolve themselves from the burden of being poorer just to be part of high class schools, is causing the very racism and unequal opportunities which they profess to be against.

5.3.2.6. Power in setting up school policy

On questioning principals about whether national and provincial policy texts aided in the process of setting up school policy, there was an overwhelming negative response to this: "*No they didn't because we had decided on this before those Acts appeared.*" and as their admissions policy was already in place, another school "*didn't have to change anything. there was no need to.*" This could be a sign of the non-adherence to the letter and spirit of those texts which have as their aim the transformation not only of the organisation of schooling structure but of schools from within. The four principals interviewed here seemed to be either totally unaware of this or not interested at all. This remains in line with the nature of policy processes in which policy writers cannot control

and determine how implementers will interpret texts. That is if they ever touch and read those texts. It is often interpreted for them by others. In that manner, policy aims go by the wayside in the implementation thereof. This means that transformation as set out by policy texts such as the SASA (1996) may never really be carried out ever in ex-Model C schools. What may happen instead, is that window dressing takes place - racial harmony seems to exist, while class and racial divisions are reproduced in these schools on a large scale through discriminatory processes of admissions.

The possibility and consequences that these schools do not adhere to the transformational processes as set out for schools within the Schools Act, is very real. The interest of this study included the policy process through which admission policies are set up at school level. This involves an interest in who is involved and who (if any) controls the process. It is important as principals were identified, through 'contextual data' as the most influential persons who would be able to give a well-rounded account of the admissions processes and policy of each school.

Two issues which influence ex-Model C school admission policies were revealed. The one is that although principals have control over the governing bodies in setting up the admissions policies, the governing bodies remain white-controlled. Some principals control the setting up of policies through processes which verge on being autocratic to the point of disempowering stakeholder sectors on the governing bodies. The other is that although the schools consist of a large percentage of black learners,

very few black parents serve on these bodies in spite of always being present in general meetings when elections take place.

On being questioned about the manner in which her school decided on the admissions criteria, A stated that she *“started this whole thing ...”* and takes responsibility for it as the governing body *“hold me accountable for having implemented a system that is acceptable ... my governing body doesn’t actually stipulate what we have to do in the school as far as that is concerned.”* The researcher prompted by stating: *“But you ... the role that you play in setting up policy is pretty strong.”* with A answering: *“Oh, certainly. Certainly.”* This of course validates the researcher’s assumption that this particular principal was the correct person to be interviewed in order to gather valid data about admissions at her school. What transpired after further questioning, was unexpected.

The researcher wanted to know more about the role of parents in setting up the admissions policy itself to understand why the specific admissions criteria were chosen. Questioning the process of choosing admission criteria and the role of the parent body in the policy process, she stated that only the governing body and not the parents had to workshop the criteria as she does not believe that parents should be involved in the process. The researcher’s prompting must have frustrated her as she then repeated in a high tone, raising her voice, that *“The present policy is worked through by the Governing Body and as I say, it’s a workshop situation. I’ve had no problems. I’ve been reported to the Department for not accepting children. But I have the criteria. I don’t know. I have a problem with parents deciding for future parents.”* This could mean that

present parents are not expected to make any contribution to admission criteria at this school. Another very real possibility is that a small, influential group on the governing body which includes the principal, draws the criteria and policy up for acceptance by the governing body. The rest of the parents are thus excluded from the process. This issue has very much to do with how individuals interpret concepts such as "democratic procedures". A's interpretation seems to disempower a large contingent of white as well as black parents who cannot influence the manner in which learners gain access to the school.

A states that the racial composition of the governing body does not affect the school at all : *"It doesn't affect the school, it doesn't affect the children, it doesn't affect the admissions, it doesn't affect the composition of the school."* Upon asking whether she thought that a majority black parent component on the governing body might change the admissions and the racial make-up of the school, A answered: *"I don't think so because of the admission criteria. If we had more black parents on the governing body, unless they were to say to me we do away with your three criteria of admission which is availability of schools in your own area. If they were to force me to do that, and say you take all the children who apply from Guguletu, it wouldn't change the composition radically because of the availability of schools and because of transport."* A makes it very clear how exclusivity is maintained in this statement by stating the real aims of the selected criteria. This statement is an extremely powerful one stating clearly that criteria are chosen to ensure that control over admissions remains with the white middle class school staff and governing bodies who thus monopolise ex-Model C school resources for their own benefit.

VH similarly stated that she has a white governing body. At her school, it was the teachers at a meeting in the staffroom who drew up the admission policy. The governing body once again only had to accept it to make it official. She did not outright want to state her position of power on the body. Asking the recorder to be switched off, she stated emphatically that she controlled the governing body enough to make decisions without them having to know much about it.

As powerful individuals the principals influence each of the contexts of policy at their schools profoundly as their past experiences, beliefs, histories, values and purposes impact on it. Ball states that the struggle around policy at schools is organised around all kinds of ... considerations (such as) ... race, gender, religion and professional status.” (1990: 14-15). While different interpretations are in contest in the implementation of policy as they relate to different interests, some dominant ones may prevail. Whether all parent groups are represented on the governing body or not and whether policy is developed involving all stakeholders in a democratic way or not, the beliefs and ideas of the powerful and influential will almost certainly prevail. Rizvi and Kemmis (1987: 29) stress the point:

“Because the participants in the contests which shape the evolution of a program start from different positions of relative power, the program, as it emerges, is distorted by the exercise of power, and freezes certain predominant ways of thinking into its structure.”

It is in this way that principals’ racial and class background, their gender, personal histories and beliefs impact on the admission of each learner at their school. Embedded within the macro-economic structural relations,

their personal interpretations of the context of admissions which are influenced by these personal considerations, determine access to schools.

5.3.3. Analysing application forms:

Application forms consist of items requesting information about new learners, families and living conditions. Instead of focusing on the contents of the forms alone, the analysis is interested in the information collected through the forms and exactly what the purposes of such collected information may be in the admission process. Principals use criteria to justify the inclusion or exclusion of new learners. In order to apply those criteria, the information collected through application forms may be needed.

Although ten schools sent copies of application forms, only those schools where principals were interviewed are analysed to the full extent. The others are merely analysed to show common trends of gathering information from parents. This is as it would be impossible to successfully analyse forms of other schools without being able to draw on interview data which may explain the purposes of information collected through application forms. The analysis consists of two steps: one involves the noting of common questions from all ten forms. The second is to make the link between the information requested about learners and parents and the admission processes where such information is useful to administration staff. It is from the second step that the other six schools are excluded.

5.3.3.1. The content of application forms:

The following items are commonly found on all collected forms: Information about parents' occupation, residential address, pupils' childhood illnesses, previous schools and academic history, home and instructional language. All forms are used as contractual agreement on which parents bind themselves to pay school fees and make a commitment to adhere to school rules and take part in school activities.

The following items on some forms need closer inspection. Two forms state that they are regulated by the defunct (whites only) Cape Education Department. This can be interpreted in two ways: as negligence to not change forms or as a savings measure to first use all old forms before setting up new ones. It can also be interpreted as part of the school managements' attitude of refusing to adhere to the unification of all public schools under the WCED. It does not really matter whether one or a combination of these interpretations are true. The fact of the matter is that the application forms are the first written documents given to parents to complete. The heading is the first line to be read. It is therefore important that such a heading reflect what the school is and exactly who controls it. The interpretation that schools which in 1997/8 (two years after the unification of schools) still prefer to have Cape Education Department as their stated administrative body, harbour sentiments amounting to not feeling part of the unification and equalising of schooling as initiated by policy such as the SASA (1996). This interpretation is strengthened by the reference to repealed ordinances and Acts (respectively Education Ordinance 1956 and the Education Affairs Act (HoA) 1988) when asking whether parents had objections against Bible Education. Schools using

policy and Acts developed during years of apartheid education with which to admit new learners in a context when all the country's new policies and Acts repealed such acts and schooling regulation, can - in spite of stating so overtly - clearly not be adhering to the letter and spirit of laws and policy wanting to establish equality for all.

Application forms were never changed to fit in with the period of transformation and integrating education departments. This has the effect that sensitive issues such as language, religion and culture which were previously used to exclude black lower class learners, presently remain on application forms as they did in the past. A strong affiliation to the old tenets of Christian National Education which is a characteristic of the oppressive white school system of previous years is noted in all application forms except for one. Most schools wanted to know whether parents gave permission for children to take part in 'Bible Education'. One school went so far as to merely ask which 'church' applicants belong to. In that manner, assuming that all applicants would be Christian and that the religion is the norm with all other religions being the exception. This strengthens the conclusion gained from the dialogical data that the tradition, culture and ethos of these schools remain Christian and that even if new learners of other religious beliefs are admitted, the school environment remains a Christian one with such learners being excluded from mainstream school activities.

5.3.3.2. The admission process: step-by-step:

From interview data collected from four schools, the following steps of admission (not in sequential order) can be identified:

1) *Completed application forms are grouped according to:*

1.1.) *grades*

1.2.) *areas*

1.3.) *applicants having transport or not*

1.4.) *placement tests to be done or not*

2) *Interviews take place with accepted learners and parents with the following aims:*

2.1.) *Ensure that parents understand school rules*

2.2.) *Commit themselves to participating in school activities (fund raising, sports)*

2.3.) *Understand why the child has to drop a grade - Aid parent in making that decision.*

3) *Placement tests are done in languages and mathematics*

4) *Orientation day*

The information collected from parents and learners through the application forms impact on each of these steps. Depending on the living area of learners, application forms are grouped according to applicants' living areas. Principals set up admissions policies in manners which enable them to admit certain learners more easily than others. This is done on the basis of living area. This measure excludes the majority of black learners from lower class areas on the Cape Flats to ex-Model C schools. White and black learners from middle and upper middle class areas closer to the schools are favoured for enrolment.

Depending on the grade applied for, learners are subjected to placement tests which have further negative consequences for those learners who come from schools in lower class areas. Learners may be accepted on condition that a 'placement test' is written. Although all principals stated that they submit all new applicants to such tests, there is evidence that new learners from fellow ex-Model C schools would not be required to write such tests. 'Placement tests' is used as a measure to ensure that standards of new learners are not too low for the grade to which they apply at the school. The principals interpret the reason why some learners' standards are lower than others, as being because as A explains, "*You can't compare ... the programme that we are able to offer at this school with what ... less privileged schools have to offer.*" Public schools in black areas are believed to have lower standards which cause problems when their learners enrol at these ex-Model C schools. Because "*children are coming from different levels, ... we needed to find something in common.*" and the way in which that is done, is to submit learners from there, to placements or admission tests. The context in which the tests are written is not taken in consideration. These may all be manners in which new lower class learners have a more difficult time being admitted than higher class learners.

When the result of a test is low, learners and parents are interviewed to explain that it would be best for such a learner to rather drop to the grade-level which the test scores showed. The decision is not made for the parents; they rather are given the choice to let the child be enrolled in the grade applied for or to drop to a lower grade. Lower class parents are not always able to make such decisions and often feel obligated to follow the

advice of principals and teachers. The fact that they are given such a choice does not prove that the principals are being democratic or that they are empowering parents; in fact, by giving the choice to people who are in a weaker position than themselves they are in fact disempowering them to a larger degree as they are possibly being manipulated into accepting advice which may in the long run be detrimental to the whole family.

5.4. Summarising the analysis:

The contextual data gathered by profiling schools and using Smith's work (1982) showed that the white areas in which ex-Model C schools are situated are ones inhabited by the most powerful social group while the black residential areas from where possible applicants come to enrol at ex-Model C schools are ones characterised by social groups who have low social resources. Given the context in which selected schools were easily accessible to all race groups because of public transport facilities and the policy context of the SASA (1996) which allows all learners irrespective of race, social class or religion to be enrolled at a school of their choice, one may expect an equal amount of black and white learners to be present at schools. The enrolment statistics according to language showed that there were far less African learners than white and Coloured learners at these schools in 1996/7. This trend is expected to be consistent in 1998.

The dialogical data showed that there are trends of setting up admission policies in manners which make admission to lower class black learners more difficult than what it is for middle class white learners. Schools are retaining their white middle class Christian ethos and traditions and seem unwilling to change to make the school life of new learners of differing

cultural backgrounds easier. Principals do not consider this issue important enough for serious discussion. Learners from other religious beliefs have the choice of remaining in Christian religious instruction classes or be separated from their classes. No or little provision is made to accommodate them. The schools thus did not change their ethos, tradition and culture at all with the opening to all races and cultures. They rather continued strengthening its white middle class Christian ethos, tradition and culture. The admission tests in mathematics and languages which new learners are expected to write have been identified as a mechanism with which learners are tested to see whether they fit into the ex-Model C school environment. This emphasises the fact that schools choose learners rather than learners and parents choosing schools. Schooling is not free and access to ex Model C schools is not open to all learners in Cape Town.

By linking interview data with what application forms ask from new learners and their parents, it is clear that the selected schools' admission policies can be characterised as being designed to exclude those who are not able to live in middle class white areas. When learners from other areas are accepted, it would be on condition of admissions or placement tests being written and children having to drop grades.

In conclusion, the admission policies of the selected schools show a pattern of exclusion based on criteria which have been carefully worked out in order to allow principals to justify the acceptance of some and the exclusion of other. This process of sorting learners is done on the basis of living area, tradition, transport facilities and ability. On rare occasions

black learners from disadvantaged areas may be accepted for the sole purpose of having blacks on the premises to ensure that the school is viewed to be representative of the community. Such admission policies can therefore be described as policies of convenience in which the powerful successfully discriminates against the weak through acceptable manners of admission.



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CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1. Social structure and the individual:

The conceptual framework stressed the importance of examining the institutional and social contexts and “what real people such as students and teachers do” (McCarthy: 1990: 6) as they respond to such structural constraints. The socio political context constraints the actions of the individuals involved in setting up and administering admission policies. The funding option endorsed by the SASA sets schools up as markets. It is argued that white middle class privilege is ensured as those who possess the ‘cultural capital’ and financial power are able to survive in such a context. Those people who do not possess such resources remain disadvantaged. There are though, other aspects of the present transformational context which white middle class principals are interpreting to threaten old privileges which apartheid education guaranteed.

The stated aim of redress towards equality in school policy texts such as the SASA (1996) can be interpreted as threatening previously secure white privilege. Redress may mean that educational resources have to be taken away from the advantaged and given to the disadvantaged. In the process, race becomes the criterion for determining whether people have been advantaged or disadvantaged. This causes principals to react negatively to most education policy which states aims of redressing to equality. In the process, all issues related to race and redress or transformation poses threats to principals. It is argued that this has a serious effect on the implementation of the SASA (1996) through admission policies.

6.2. Individual interpretations and policy:

6.2.1. Policy aims:

Structural constraints take the form of a transformational socio-political milieu in which educational policy is developed with the aim of transforming schools. School policy (SASA: 1996) situates schools at the center of redressing social inequalities caused by apartheid. Ex-Model C schools are symbols of the erstwhile exclusive white middle class schooling system. These schools thus need to be transformed as part of that general process of eradicating inequalities. The SASA leaves the actual implementation of changing towards equality in the hands of white middle class school principals and governing body members. They are expected to interpret national policy, set up school policy and implement them in such a way that their schools become institutions which include lower class black learners who were excluded during the apartheid era.

Policy processes are, however, not as simplified as that. It involves contestation in which the more powerful and skillful are able to influence final outcomes through their predominant ways of thinking (Rizvi and Kemmis: 1987: 29). Even where there are black parents from lower social class backgrounds on governing bodies, they remain to a large degree left out of the process of setting up crucial school policy such as admission policies. The aims of the SASA may not be realised in the manner as stated in its preamble as one which wants to "*redress past injustices in the educational provision, ... lay a strong foundation for the development of all our people's talents and capabilities, advance democratic transformation of society, combat racism and sexism and all other forms of unfair*

discrimination and intolerance, contribute to the eradication of poverty and the economic well-being of society, protect and advance our diverse cultures and languages, uphold the rights of all learners, parents and educators, and promote their acceptance of responsibility for the organisation, governance and funding of schools in partnership with the State;" (Preamble: 2). The responsibilities to adhere to this policy aim forms part of the broad socio-structural constraints which regulate the school life of school principals. The vehement manner in which ex-Model C school communities (led by principals) responded during 1996 to national policy drafts suggesting alterations to the rights, powers and functions of school governing bodies (DoE: 1996c), testifies to their continued attempt to hold on to their previously gained privileges and educational resources. It also strengthens the perception that they feel threatened by national policy which aims to change society in such a way that their benefits may be lost.

It is in this light that the implementation of the SASA through the setting up of admission policies was studied. It is argued that "stereotypes, negative patronising attitudes and beliefs" (Rizvi: 1993: 8-9) are the foundation on which principals and governing body members decide on admission criteria for new learners. Because governing bodies and staffs remain predominantly white, past exclusionary gatekeeping practices have been "modified and transformed by the historical specificity of the contexts and environments in which they ...(are) active" (Troyna: 1993: 26). In this way, admission policies have been set up and implemented in acceptable ways which seem non-discriminating as race is never mentioned or used as a

criterion. It is though, based on old stereotyped beliefs and attitudes which have as foundation racist attitudes towards those who are poor and black.

6.2.2. The stereotyped beliefs and patronising attitudes:

Ex-Model C primary school principals situate their own schools on a much higher level than other public schools. When enrolling Coloured learners for the first time, they saw it necessary *"to explain to them that we had a standard and that we had to make sure that they meet it", " You actually can't compare the programme that we are able to offer at this school with what perhaps less privileged school have to offer, "* and since opening schools to other races, *"We've had to adapt our manner of teaching ... for consolidating purposes"*. It is this general belief and patronising attitude towards people from black lower class areas which justifies the use of admission or placement tests so that *"when we opened our school ... we actually started (using) placement tests ..."*. These are euphemistically referred to as *"a little bit of an admission test"* and in a patronising manner, described as *"they would do sort of slightly less so that it is not unfair..."* As if too much may 'disadvantage' the disadvantaged as it would be too difficult for them.

Being disadvantaged and poor is here conflated with having lower academic ability and being unable to cope with school work on a 'higher level'. Such an attitude could have been developed during the apartheid era through the enforcement of laws such as the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws, the Separate Amenities Act; to name but these few. In the process of dividing society, schools and the media played the role of justifying and perpetuating beliefs which inculcated stereotypes which

'taught' people from all sectors the lie that whites set the standards and were the best while blacks were the worst. The fact that such stereotyped attitudes surfaced in interviews with these four white principals is not a surprise. The fact that such stereotyped beliefs could form the basis on which decisions about admission to schools are made in the context of transforming schools so that they are open to all, points to the manner in which inferential racism (Hall: 19) may operate within schools.

6.3. The selection of admission criteria and socio-economic structure:

Ex-Model C school principals let the unequal socio-economic structure work for them in the exclusion of working class black learners. Middle class black families are increasingly living closer to ex-Model C schools. Criteria such as feeder area and transport would then not exclude them. The fact is that the majority of black working class learners remain excluded because of such criteria as they live in black areas far away from ex-Model C schools and thus need transport to get there. The dialogical data shows that principals are not only aware of the fact, but that such criteria may in fact have been chosen to ensure that African, Coloured and white learners from middle class backgrounds are enrolled rather than working class Coloureds and Africans. Lower middle and working class whites are always geographically closer situated to ex-Model C schools than their African and Coloured counterparts. Three criteria are identified by one principal as the key ones which ensure that the racial and class composition remains as it is at present: siblings who attended the school in the past, feeder area and transport. Admission criteria have been cleverly worked out to ensure the continued existence of schools which are

composed of a majority white middle class learners. Where more black than white learners are enrolled at schools that were visited, the composition of Coloureds are in the majority with Africans and Indians remaining in the minority. This concurs with the enrolment data for learners according to mother tongue and home language for 1997 collected from the WCED and they can be accepted as a reasonably correct version of enrolments for 1998.

6.4. Recommendations:

This work provides a view into the ways in which policy operates at school level and how powerful individuals are able to impose personal understandings on the setting up and administering of school policy so that present racial and class inequalities are reproduced within schools.

The study illustrates the need for the representation of previously marginalised people on ex-Model C school governing bodies. The aims of the SASA to eradicate inequality can only start once such people's ideals are included in the processes of setting up school policies. There is an equally serious need to establish structures in the Western Cape through which people are trained in policy negotiation and administration. The popular interpretation that ex-Model C schools set the norms and are institutions of quality presumes that their school managers and governing body members possess the necessary skills to administrate and govern their schools democratically. The ways in which some principals described the functioning of governing bodies and the role of parents with regards to school policy issues such as admissions, point to the fact that in these, as in all public schools, there is a dire need for governance training. The

manners in which concepts such as democratic school governance is interpreted to exclude all parents in the setting up of school policy testifies that need.

This type of training and re-training is important because of misconceptions concerning governing bodies and policy processes. National policy does not empower previously disadvantaged parents to serve on it; it only states that they have a right to serve on it. The trend is that such parents are only active on the fringes of governing body activities so that their views and aims remain outside of school policy. The popular trend is that governing bodies are structures which generate school funds rather than structures through which policy is made through contestation. The exclusion of parents from discussions of policy at ex-Model C schools has become such an ordinary occurrence that it has been accepted as normal. Policy is often rather discussed in offices between school management teams after which governing bodies are notified of the need to ratify these. In this way, the ideals and views of the dominant group or individuals find expression in policies. Democratic school governance does not take place in such manners.

The process of redressing past inequalities is a difficult and complex one. It is a life long process involving the understanding of issues from different perspectives. This work is an attempt to aid in understanding the complex interplay of issues involving the transformation of schooling and society. This account of admission policies as implemented at four ex-Model C schools during 1998 is considered as part of a body of knowledge which is necessary for the transformation of society. In order to enable people to

participate in democratic school governance it is necessary to have an idea of patterns of school governance as it happens at schools across society. It is only through research carried out at school sites from the people involved in the processes that such knowledge can be gathered.

This work did not attempt to provide absolute answers to questions about admissions as part of school governance; it also cannot establish the only patterns of school governance which are needed to aid the transformation of schools. It rather provided a view of the complex interplay between individuals, institutions and socio-economic context in investigating school governance and school based policy making. It is thus viewed as a small part of a much needed body of knowledge that is necessary to establish patterns of school governance at different schools. It is such knowledge which should form part of the debate that is needed to transform schooling towards a more transparent, inclusive rather than exclusive process involving all stakeholders.

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a stylized classical building with columns and a pediment.

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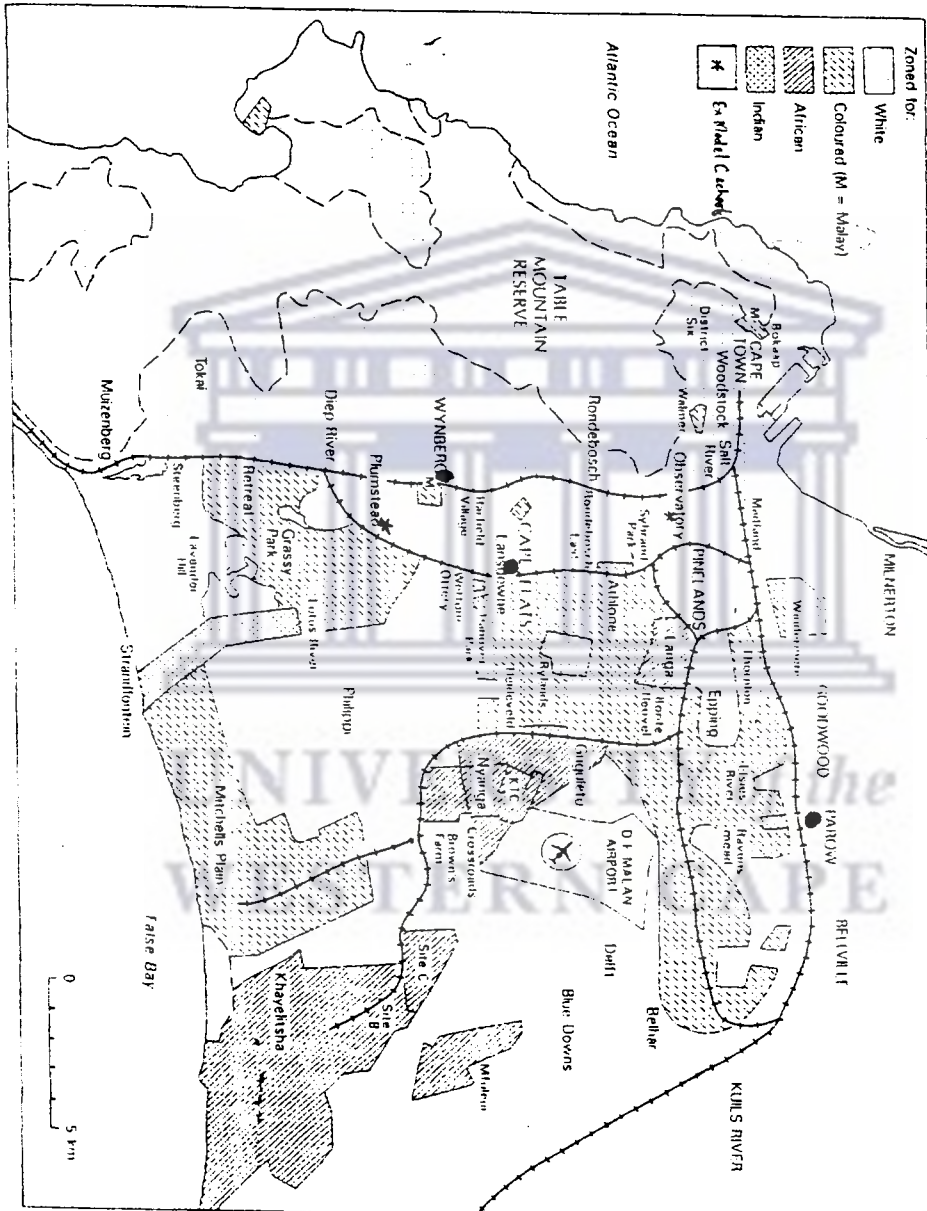
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APPENDIX A

MAP OF CAPE TOWN SHOWING THE LOCATIONS OF EX-MODEL C PRIMARY SCHOOLS DISCUSSED IN THIS WORK



(Adapted from Smith, 1986)

APPENDIX B
PROFILES OF SELECTED SCHOOLS

Winmount Primary:

Area: An upper middle class area stretching from Claremont past Diep River and Retreat on the mountainside of the Main Road. The area is very quiet, situated close to shopping centres but protected from its activity by its situation on the other side of the main road. The Simons Town - Cape Town railway line and the taxi rank serving numerous working class black areas are situated very close to this school. Houses and plots are massive; long driveways to garages and beautiful gardens are characteristic of the area. Except for the occasional older couple, very few people are visible during day time. Peak hour time, many return from work: a wealthy upper middle class white area inhabited by small percentage of black people evident - it is noted that those observed may have visited friends or used the roads to travel home to black areas. Roads lined by very old oak trees. People living here, irrespective of colour, must be wealthy and powerful. Houses and plots are massive and enclosed with high security walls and electronic gates. A number of private security patrol cars are observed.

School amenities: Schools seem to be very wealthy. The buildings testify of this. Very little is visible from the front gate. A high wall consisting of old granite blocks protects the school property. The school is quite old as the building style of the front area seems different and older than those at the back: this does not mean that it is badly maintained; it is in fact in an immaculate condition. A children's play park is visible next to the parking lot. Moving down a side road, the large schoolground is visible. Three other schools border this school ground creating a massive campus-like atmosphere. A school hall, rugbyfields, swimming pool and hockeyfields are visible from another side road. It is not clear to which school it belongs. As neighbours, these schools may even share facilities.

Pupils and parents: A traffic jam in the mornings. Quite a number of learners walk to school from the vicinity of the houses in the immediate area. Expensive 4X4's and the latest mini-buses drop other children off. A few coloured learners dropped off; fewer black learners.

Meadow Primary:

Area: Situated in the lower to lower middle class area on the Cape Flats side between the Main Road and Simonstown railway line. The Main Road separates this area from the higher class area in which Winmount Primary is situated. It stretches from Diep River to Retreat. The railway line and Prince George Drive separates it from the lower middle and working class Coloured areas of Grassy Park, Lotus River, Parkwood and Retreat. The railway line, Prince George Drive and Main Road provide adequate transportation routes for learners from such areas to schools like Meadow Primary. New housing developments in the area are increasingly inhabited by lower and middle class black families while more expensive white middle class houses remain in the hands of mostly white middle class families.

School amenities: Although well maintained, the buildings and facilities are limited to a rugby field and school hall. Different to Winmount Primary, this school clearly caters for learners from a lower income group.

Pupils and parents: Mostly Coloured and white parents drop children off by car in the mornings. A few cycle and walk to school from houses nearby. Only one African family has been noticed dropping and fetching three young children. There are very few black African learners enrolled here.

Starfields Primary:

Area: The lower main road side bordering the Simons Town - Cape Flats railwayline. This school is situated in a former grey area in which poorer white and black (mainly coloured) families used to live. Most of these white people moved away leaving younger black couples to buy their properties. Serving a lower income group than the school above, this school is viewed to be less wealthy. Houses and plots are of a reasonable size. Almost every house has a garage and all are burglar proofed. The area is bordered by busy roads used by Cape Flats taxis on either side which make access to lower class black learners reasonably easy.

School amenities: The quality of the school buildings do not seem like that of a poor school as it is well maintained. It compares favourably to that of a wealthier school such as Winmount's. No sports facilities are visible although it has a hall. Definitely no swimming pool. It seems as if corridors between classrooms are under cover.

Pupils and parents: A large percentage of coloured, almost no black learners are dropped off by car. A fair number are walking to school. School seems quite mixed according to race although very few African children are observed.

Roping Primary:

Area: The school is situated in a lower middle class white Afrikaner area. Houses and plots are of a reasonable size, most houses have garages and are burglar proofed. The area is close to an industrial area. A double carriage transport route separates it from a sprawling middle class and working class coloured area. It is close to a network of railway lines linking all lower class black areas which makes access to the school relatively easy.

School amenities: The school seems very small. A large tarred parking lot is visible but sportfields are absent. There seems to be enough space for the future development of such amenities. The school building seems designed so that all classrooms are situated around the administration block.

Pupils and parents: A large number of coloured parents drop children off by car. One or two black learners are observed. White learners numbers balance well with the coloured numbers.