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Post-apartheid Education and Building ‘Unity in Diversity’: Voices of South African youth

Tamlynn Fleetwood

The challenges facing nation-building and overcoming the legacy of apartheid in South Africa are immense. This thesis examines the crucial role of education in this effort. Drawing primarily on the perspectives of secondary school learners through Participatory Research (PR), this study explores the role of education in providing young people with productive spaces in which they can strengthen national unity. The research makes four key contributions. Firstly, it engages directly with the generation born after 1994, whose attitudes have yet to be adequately reflected in understanding nation- building in South Africa. Secondly, it contributes to a growing body of literature highlighting ‘best practice’ in integrating post-apartheid schools. Thirdly, it offers critical insight into the function of the Life Orientation (LO) curriculum in citizenship education and nation-building. Finally, it decentres and challenges the western emphasis of geographies of education literatures. Drawing on the concept of ‘race trouble’, the results reveal the extent to which the spectre of race, rooted in the apartheid past, continues to haunt the lives, subjectivities and experiences of young people. Overcoming race is crucial to building a united nation for the large majority of learners. Notions of nation and state are intimately connected, and negative perceptions of the current government can lead to marginalisation and disassociation with the nation. Through examining the role of multicultural schools in creating democratic and inclusive spaces, it is argued that they can potentially provide opportunities for meaningful contact that can strengthen national cohesion. More direct interventions are also necessary, however, to ensure that racism, in all its manifestations, is acknowledged and confronted. Although citizenship education also has a role in bridging social divides, this thesis identifies a number of problems confronting teaching and learning in LO. Finally, the research also draws attention to the importance of viewing school spaces as relational and embedded within wider social contexts. In this respect, social attitudes, norms and identities, circulating in broader society both affect and are affected by what happens inside school spaces, with implications for nation-building endeavours.

Post-apartheid Education and Building ‘Unity in Diversity’: Voices of South African youth

Tamlynn Fleetwood

Submission for Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Geography
Durham University

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Table of Contents

Page

Abstract..…… i

Table of Contents..…… iii

List of Tables……....viii

List of Figures……...ix

List of Plates……....x

List of Acronyms……xi

Declaration and Statement of Copyright……...xii

Acknowledgements……..xiii

Dedication…….xiv

Chapter One: Introduction….....1

1.1 Background……..1

1.2 Research rationale……....4

1.3 Research aim and objectives……....7

1.4 Structure of the thesis……...8

Chapter Two: The apartheid legacy……..12

2.1 Introduction……....12

2.2 The apartheid regime…….13

2.2.1 Apartheid ideology and Afrikaner nationalism…….14

2.2.2 Implementing apartheid…….....19

2.3 Apartheid education…….. 21

2.3.1 Educating white students under apartheid…… 22

2.3.2 Educating black, Indian and coloured students under apartheid…….. 26

2.4 The fall of apartheid and the 1994 democratic transition……. 30

2.5 Post-apartheid South Africa and the educational context…… 36

2.5.1 Socio-economic inequalities…… 37

2.5.2 Socio-spatial divisions……. 40

2.5.3 Psychological scars…….. 41

Page

2.5.4 Civic deficit…….. 45
2.6 Conclusion…… 46

Chapter Three: Building a South African nation: The role of education and school spaces…… 49
3.1 Introduction……... 49
3.2 Nation-building in post-apartheid South Africa……... 51
3.2.1 Creating a new national identity: civic nationalism and ‘unity in diversity’…… 52
3.2.2 Healing past divisions……... 56
3.2.3 The twin goals of reconciliation and redress…… 57
3.3 Nation-building and the role of education: formal curricula and institutional contexts……. 60
3.3.1 Citizenship education…… 61
3.3.2 Teaching political literacy and values education…….. 62
3.3.3 Fostering national unity and reconciliation…….. 69
3.4 Fostering meaningful contact in school spaces……..... 72
3.4.1 School spaces and the relational construction of social identities…… 72
3.4.2 Social diversity and making meaningful contact…….. 76
3.4.3 Race and racial identities in South Africa……. 81
3.5 Conclusion…… 84

Chapter Four: Engaging young South Africans in Participatory Research……. 87
4.1 Introduction……... 87
4.2 A brief overview of Participatory Research…… 88
4.3 Participatory Research with children and young people……... 91
4.4 Adopting a Participatory Research approach…… 94
4.5 Fieldwork preparation……... 98
4.6 The two study sites: Buxton High School and Spring Vale High School…….. 101
4.7 Primary data collection……... 104
4.7.1 The ‘Activity Afternoon’ sessions…….. 106
4.7.2 The Life Orientation lessons……... 115

Page

4.7.3 The interviews with the learners…… 119
4.7.4 The interviews with the school principals and educators……... 121
4.8 Data analysis and interpretation……...122
4.9 Critical reflections…….. 125
4.10 Conclusion…….. 128

Chapter Five: Learners' perspectives on national identity and unity in the 'new' South Africa…… 130
5.1 Introduction…… 130
5.2 Proudly South African? National identity and pride in post-apartheid South Africa……... 132
5.2.1 Relational identities and civic pride: the role of the state and the 'international gaze'…… 133
5.2.2 "I'm proudly South African, but…"…….. 137
5.3 National unity in post-apartheid South Africa……... 142
5.3.1 The pervasiveness of a racial consciousness……. 143
5.3.2 The weight and influence of the older generations…… 146
5.3.3 A delicate balance: affirmative action or 'apartheid reversed'?..... 148
5.3.4 Positive views of the future…… 154
5.4 Conclusion……. 156

Chapter Six: Working towards integration: Creating democratic and inclusive Schools…… 159
6.1 Introduction…… 159
6.2 Patterns and progress in desegregating schools……. 160
6.3 Trends in racial integration in South African schools…… 164
6.4 Assessing integration in the two case study schools…….. 165
6.4.1 Institutional cultures, values and school practices……. 170
6.4.2 "There is something for everyone at this school": learners' perspectives on diversity and inclusion…….. 175
6.4.3 Integrated spaces? A critical assessment…….. 178

Page

6.5 Conclusion……. 182

Chapter Seven: Making meaningful contact: Race and identity inside school spaces…… 184

7.1 Introduction……... 184

7.2 "Birds of a feather…": Normalising segregation and personal choice…….. 185

7.3 Crossing social boundaries and the policing of identity ……... 189

7.4 Just a joke? Elusive racism and the crisis of interpretation…… 192

7.5 Conclusion…….. 196

Chapter Eight: Teaching and learning for 'unity in diversity' through Life Orientation…… 198

8.1 Introduction…… 198

8.2 The post-apartheid OBE curriculum…….. 199

8.3 Life Orientation and citizenship education……. 203

8.4 Praise for Life Orientation…….. 206

8.5 The Life Orientation stigma…… 208

8.6 Life Orientation and promoting 'unity in diversity'……... 215

8.7 Conclusion…….. 225

Chapter Nine: Conclusions…….. 229

9.1 Introduction…….229

9.2 Living with the shadow of the past……. 229

9.3 National identity and unity in post-apartheid South Africa: the voices of South African youth…… 232

9.4 Relational school spaces and the potential for meaningful contact…… 233

9.5 Learners' perspectives on the role of Life Orientation in building 'unity in diversity…….. 235

9.5 Concluding comments: broader relevance and avenues for future research…….. 238

Page

References…….. 241

Appendices……. 270

List of Tables

Table **Page**

4.1 An overview of the research methods and samples used in this study……... 108

4.2 The ‘Activity Afternoon’ sessions at Buxton High School…… 109

4.3 The ‘Activity Afternoon’ sessions at Spring Vale High School……. 110

4.4 Participants that took part in the ‘Activity Afternoon’ sessions……. 111

4.5 An overview of samples, research techniques and themes used in the LO lessons……. 116

4.6 Interviews conducted with learners at Buxton High School and Spring Vale High School…… 121

4.7 Interviews conducted with educators at Buxton High School and Spring Vale High School…… 122

List of Figures

Figure **Page**

2.1 Map showing the Union of South Africa (1910) and the four provinces, namely; the Cape, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State……. 17

4.1 The ladder of participation…… 95

4.2 Map showing the location of the two case study schools within the eThekwini Municipal region……... 102

List of Plates

Plate **Page**

2.1 The iconic image of Hector Pieterson being carried away by Mbuyisa Makhubo after being shot dead by apartheid police. Hector's sister (Antoinette Sithole) is running alongside Mbuyisa…… 31

4.1 A painting to represent the theme of 'inclusion/exclusion at Buxton High School'…… 112

4.2 A photovoice/scrapbook poster created by a learner at Buxton High School using the 'environment/background' theme……... 114

4.3 A brainstorming poster created by a group of Grade 10 learners at Buxton High School depicting issues related to the 'break time' theme…… 118

5.1 A painting to represent the theme of 'South Africa' as interpreted by a group of learners at Spring Vale High School……. 136

List of Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CAPS	National Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements
CNE	Christian National Education
COSATU	Confederation of South African Trade Unions
C2005	Curriculum 2005
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DET	Department of Education and Training
DHET	Department of Higher Education and Training
DoE	Department of Education
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
HOA	House of Assembly
HOD	House of Delegates
HOR	House of Representatives
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LO	Life Orientation
NP	National Party
NPC	National Planning Commission
OBE	Outcomes-Based Education
PE	Physical Education
PR	Participatory Research
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RNCS	Revised National Curriculum Statement
SADF	South African Defence Force
SASA	South African Schools Act
SGB	School Governing Body
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission

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I dedicate this thesis to my country, South Africa.

Chapter One
Introduction

1.1 Background

In many countries around the world, education plays an important role in nation-building. Through their everyday interactions in school spaces, young people are provided with the necessary knowledge, skills and values that they need in order to participate effectively in their societies. Not only do young people learn social norms and acceptable behaviour through their schooling, but by interacting with their peers, as well as the adults in their schools, young people also (re)produce and challenge social identities and relations (Valentine, 2001a). In many post-conflict contexts, like South Africa, education takes on the additional task of helping to bridge social divides and build unity. Augmenting national cohesion is a particularly crucial challenge in South Africa, where the majority of citizens remain socially and spatially segregated from one another, and where racial identities, attitudes and behaviour have proved difficult to shift (Seekings, 2008).

In order to understand this endeavour, it is important to appreciate the historical context of South Africa. In 1994, the apartheid era came to an end and the African National Congress (ANC) became the first party in the country's history to be democratically elected by all South Africans. The apartheid years (1948 to 1994) left the new government with some significant challenges. For 46 years the largely Afrikaner National Party (NP) systematically excluded and oppressed millions on the basis of race.[1] Embracing the ideology of 'separate

[1] It is important to note that 'race' is a socially constructed and contested concept. The apartheid government, however, held a rigid conception of race and categorised the different ethnic populations in the country into specific racial groups to support their political agenda. The racial categories used were black, white, coloured (mixed race) and Indian. In contemporary South Africa, individuals continue to use these categories to define themselves and others (Posel, 2001). These categories are also still used at an institutional level, for example, in employment affirmative action policies (Alexander, 2007). Given the continued pertinence of race in South Africa, these categories are used in this thesis whilst recognising their problematic historical resonance. It is also worth highlighting some of the complexities involved when distinguishing between concepts of race and ethnicity in the South African context. Whilst the term 'race' typically refers to fixed characteristics, such as skin colour, 'ethnicity' refers to other characteristics, such as ancestry, language, religion and culture. The Afrikaners provide a useful example to illustrate "the fuzziness that can mark the ethnicity/race boundary as conventionally rendered" (Glaser, 2001, p.137). As discussed in the following chapter, promoting a distinctive ethnic identity was important in the rise of Afrikaner nationalism prior to 1948, which eventually helped the NP win the election

development', which advocated and justified the socio-spatial separation of the different racial groups, the NP used all their might to ensure white dominance (Giliomee, 1995). Education under the regime played a crucial part in reproducing state ideology and ensuring white control. In order to realise their agenda, the NP racially segregated education institutions and provided unequal resources and curricula to each, which unashamedly favoured the white population (Molteno, 1984). The state implemented apartheid with uncompromising brute force, which led to the impoverishment and displacement of millions of South Africans, violated their human rights and led to the death of thousands (Cawthra, 1986). Under the regime, South Africa became a fractured and unequal nation, where black, Indian and coloured individuals were denied full citizenship and their just share of the country's wealth and opportunities.

In the last decades of apartheid, however, the cracks in the regime began to show irreversibly. Under a range of domestic and international pressures, the apartheid state architecture was gradually dismantled, and in the early 1990s, significant inroads were made towards realising a new, democratic future for the embattled country. In particular, the landmark speech made by then president Frederik Willem de Klerk in February 1990, in which he announced the unbanning of the ANC and various other resistance movements, as well as the imminent release of Nelson Mandela from prison, set in motion a series of formal negotiations aimed at transforming South Africa into a non-racial and democratic state (Fiske and Ladd, 2004). Four years later, the ANC was elected into power and they promptly embarked on a strategic nation-building campaign. Unsurprisingly, the apartheid period left a legacy of socio-economic inequality, socio-spatial divisions and psychological scars, all of which continue to connect persistently to race. Due to the totalitarian way in which the apartheid government controlled the country, this legacy has also brought with it a citizenry that is deeply suspicious of authority and has what Schoeman (2006, p.130) refers to as a

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that year. Afrikaners saw themselves as a distinguishable ethnic group based on their shared language, religion, heritage and culture. This was problematic in some cases, however, especially given that through miscegenation, much of the coloured population shares the same genes, language, religion and cultural traits as the Afrikaners. In this sense it was important that the apartheid government distinguish Afrikaners racially from the coloured population, and legislation banning inter-racial sexual relations and marriage was largely designed to better demarcate white and coloured groups (Glaser, 2001). Of course the apartheid government also gained significant political leverage by classifying both English and Afrikaans speaking whites in a single race category.

"civic deficit". In light of the country's troubled history, the new government recognised the importance of consolidating democracy, addressing socio-economic imbalances, as well as reconciling and uniting citizens and promoting a new national identity. To achieve these objectives, the government has consequently instigated a number of policies and processes in order to help transform society and the economy.

Significant to this project, the government also radically transformed the education system and developed a new curriculum. Education in post-apartheid South Africa is positioned as vital to the state's nation-building efforts. Not only does education have a function in reducing socio-economic inequalities and preparing young South Africans for life in their democracy, but it is also tasked with promoting a new national identity and fostering solidarity amongst learners.[2] With regard to the formal curriculum, this study concentrates on the Life Orientation (LO) Learning Area,[3] which has a distinct 'citizenship education' focus area. LO essentially combines civics, guidance, physical education (PE) and religious education, each of which were taught separately during the apartheid period (van Deventer, 2009). Although the focus and Learning Outcomes[4] of LO differ slightly between Grades R-9 (6-15 year olds) and Grades 10-12 (16 –18 year olds), the emphasis on education for citizenship is clear. In LO, learners are to be taught about their democracy, their Constitutional rights and responsibilities, and the value of accepting and appreciating the different cultures and religions in the country, all of which aims to contribute towards strengthening South Africa's democracy and building a united nation. Government policy has also initiated the desegregation of schools to ensure that no child is denied access to a quality education. Besides aiming to reduce inequity, the government hoped that bringing diverse learners

[2] In line with the terminology changes that came about with the implementation of the new Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) curriculum in 1998, students or pupils are now officially referred to as 'learners' and teachers are referred to as 'educators'. Despite recent revisions to the national curriculum, this terminology remains in use within education policy and wider education rhetoric.

[3] In the post-1994 curriculum, Learning Areas effectively replaced former 'subjects' under the apartheid system, and are defined as, "field[s] of knowledge, skills and values which [have] unique features as well as connection with other fields of knowledge and Learning Areas" (Department of Education, 2002a, p.9).

[4] In the new OBE curriculum, a Learning Outcome is defined as "a description of what (knowledge, skills and values) learners should know, demonstrate and be able to do at the end of the General Education and Training band" (Department of Education, 2002a, p.14).

together would also help bridge social divides and foster cohesion across difference (Department of Education, 2001a).

The way in which policy objectives are translated and realised in schools and classrooms can be very different from what policy-makers and politicians intend, however. It is within this context that this thesis aims to explore the role of education in providing young people with productive spaces in which they can strengthen national unity in post-apartheid South Africa. This investigation thus explores how learners feel about their country, nationality and national unity, but also to what extent the formal curriculum, via LO, as well as learners' everyday interactions in school spaces, serves to promote meaningful contact. Meaningful contact is described by Valentine (2008, p.325) as "contact that actually changes values and translates beyond the specifics of the individual moment into a more general positive respect – rather than merely tolerance – of others". In order for meaningful contact to be achieved within the South African educational context, conducive spaces need to be created within schools wherein an understanding and respect for difference is fostered and where social identities can be challenged and transformed. This in turn has the potential to contribute to overcoming racial divisions and ultimately strengthening national cohesion. Given the continued importance of race and racial markers in South Africa, Durrheim, Mtose and Brown's (2011) notion of 'race trouble' provides a useful conceptual tool to understand the psychological 'troubles' and complex workings of race in contemporary South Africa, as well as new, more subtle forms of racism. The concept further allows one to appreciate the importance of context in shaping how race and racism are socially constructed and variously interpreted, as well as the contingent and fluid nature of race constructs. As part of developing a relational understanding of school spaces, this study also aims to cast light on the possibilities of, and the constraints upon, education in its role in promoting cohesion in post-conflict societies (Massey 1994; 2004; 2005).

1.2 Research rationale

The novelty and value of this research is reflected in four main areas of contribution. Firstly, the research is significant because it engages directly with young people who are living and attending schools in contemporary South Africa. Engaging with young people through

qualitative research is essential, particularly in research that relates to, or affects, their lives and experiences. Yet this is something which, in the past, has been missing from such research (Langhout and Thomas, 2010). In the literature on citizenship education in post-apartheid South Africa, research has tended to focus predominantly on the views of principals and educators - various studies explore the problems associated with teaching democratic values that are variously interpreted and/or contradict individual value systems, as well as the values embodied and practised within institutional school cultures and the public sphere (Harley et al., 2000; Schoeman, 2006; Mncube and Harber, 2010; November, Alexander and van Wyk, 2010; Hammett and Staeheli, 2011). The current study is novel in adopting a Participatory Research (PR) methodological approach to understand the important perspectives of South African learners in a more democratic and anti-hegemonic way. In addition, given that the empirical study was conducted in 2010, this study was fortunate enough to engage with a sample of the so-called 'born frees', the generation born after 1994. In the popular media there appears to be a notion that the post-1994 generation are 'colour-blind' and, without the emotional baggage from the past, are free to realise a truly non-racial South Africa (Macdonald, 2005). Given that much of the existing research on race relations and the changing nature of race and racism (Franchi and Swart, 2003; Ansell, 2004; Gibson, 2004; Roefs, 2006; Bornman, 2011), as well as feelings of national pride (Grossberg, Struwig and Pillay, 2006; Boyce, 2010) presents the perspectives of adults in society, or of young people who were born within the apartheid period, this research serves to address this gap and provides some interesting points for comparison. In particular, the learners' views on race and its continued significance in South African society contribute to existing research by challenging popular notions that suggest the opposite. By focusing on how learners feel about both their nationality and the ways in which citizenship education is taught in their schools, this study offers further original critical insight.

Secondly, this research is important because it explores the progress being made in integrating young people in schools in post-apartheid South Africa. A common theme to emerge from recent research on this issue is the continuing saliency of race. Although many schools have formally desegregated, race remains a contentious issue and a primary marker of identity. Research shows that even in the majority of desegregated schools in the country, integration amounts to little more than assimilation (Soudien, Carrim and Sayed, 2004;

Vandeyar and Killen, 2006; Johnson, 2007). Many of these studies also draw attention to the persistence of racial attitudes and discrimination in schools as hegemonic institutional cultures resist change (Vally and Dalamba, 1999; Soudien, 2004). Although this research does reflect some aspects of these broader trends, it is significant because it also adds to a growing body of studies that highlight examples of 'best practice' in the current educational system (see for example Nkomo and Vandeyar, 2008; Vandeyar and Jansen, 2008; Vandeyar, 2010). In other words, this study also draws attention to areas where schools are making progress in bringing different learners together, providing equal opportunities and creating inclusive spaces, which in turn can engender meaningful contact and help bridge social divides. These more positive findings have a wider bearing on research that explores the role of education and school spaces in other post-conflict contexts around the world.

Thirdly, the research has important potential to inform education policy and practice. In particular, it is significant because it reflects critically on the curriculum and the LO Learning Area in terms of its role in citizenship education. As mentioned above, in LO learners are taught about the value of accepting and appreciating social diversity in the country, with the ultimate aim being to improve relations between different learners and augment national unity. Due to the relative newness of the subject, research and evaluation on LO are limited. Although some of the existing literature explores learners' perspectives regarding LO and the content covered in LO lessons (Rooth, 2005; Theron and Delzell, 2006; Theron, 2008), much of this research focuses on the perceptions, experiences and challenges confronting educators and principals with regard to teaching LO in post-apartheid schools (van Deventer, 2009; Prinsloo, 2007). Further research explores the challenges facing LO and the teaching of PE (Hendricks, 2004; van Deventer, 2004; 2009), as well as research that reflects critically on the role of LO in teaching life skills and providing essential support to learners (Theron and Delzell, 2006; Prinsloo, 2007; Theron, 2008). Although some of these studies touch on citizenship education (for example, Rooth, 2005), none have made it their main focus. This study addresses this gap. Not only does this study focus primarily on the perspectives of learners, but it also concentrates on the function of LO in values education and building cultural understanding. By drawing attention to the areas in which LO is successful in this regard, but also to areas where the Learning Area needs critical intervention, this research is able to make a valuable contribution to the growing body of literature. Furthermore, given that

education is positioned as having a crucial role to play in nation-building efforts (both in multi-cultural and post-conflict societies), this research provides important insight into the role, potential and challenges facing citizenship education, which is applicable both within South Africa and in other diverse and/or post-conflict contexts around the world.

Finally, this research also makes important theoretical and empirical contributions to wider literatures on the geographies of education. With regard to this literature, Collins and Coleman (2008) point out that in the western context, schools have typically received less attention from geographers than other institutional spaces, such as hospitals and asylums. This is significant given that most people spend a large amount of their lives at school or engaging with education. In the last decade, however, there has been an increasing interest in the geographies of education, although the literature on the subject remains fairly limited (Holloway et al., 2010). Furthermore, it is important to draw attention to the fact that most of this research is written from a western vantage point, drawing on case studies in western contexts. Ansell's (2002) study is an exception to this and in relation to her research she also highlights the paucity of work done by geographers on school spaces and the (re)production of identities in 'third world' contexts. The small amount of work that has been conducted has mainly been quantitative and has focused primarily on the spatial variation of school provision. Ansell (2002) notes that although a great deal of research does exist on gender and education in other fields such as development studies, it is also limited in its scope and it does not consider the importance of spatiality. By presenting an African-centred project, which explores the relational construction of identities in school spaces, this study makes valuable theoretical and empirical contributions that have implications for theorising in other contexts, as well as challenging taken- for- granted western-based knowledge.

1.3 Research aim and objectives

This thesis aims to explore the role of education in providing young people with productive spaces in which they can strengthen national unity in post-apartheid South Africa. As such, this study attempts to assess the successes and challenges facing education in general, and schools in particular, in overcoming the structural and socio-cultural legacies of apartheid. The study is guided by five research objectives:

- To develop a relational understanding of school spaces that can cast light on the possibilities of, and the constraints upon, education in its role in promoting cohesion in South Africa and other post-conflict societies.
- To explore how learners feel about South Africa, their nationality, as well as national unity in the country, and to reflect on what their perspectives could mean for broader debates on nation-building in South Africa.
- To assess the extent to which schools are working towards, and/or responding to, the challenges of creating inclusive learning environments, in which learners can interact with others in meaningful ways and overcome racial divisions.
- To explore how learners are interacting with one another in schools spaces, and how they create, (re)produce and negotiate their social identities, with particular reference to the influence of race and racial markers of difference.
- To reflect critically on the teaching and learning of citizenship education in South African schools, with specific reference to efforts to foster understanding and cohesion among diverse learners.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is organised into nine chapters. Chapter Two introduces the legacy of apartheid as it affects broader society and education. It is essential to reflect on the country's troubled past in order to fully understand the socio-economic inequalities, socio-spatial divisions and psychological scars that exist in South Africa today (and the racialised elements of this), as well as the country's 'civic deficit'. Understanding this legacy is important because it demonstrates why successful nation-building is a vital process in post-apartheid South Africa, and it also helps shed some light on the context in which schools are attempting to realise nation-building imperatives. The chapter begins by explaining the racist ideology of apartheid and its links to Afrikaner nationalism, as well as the ways in which apartheid was ruthlessly imposed on society. The chapter then turns to explore education under the regime, which was used as a tool to reproduce state ideology, protect Afrikaner identity and ensure white supremacy. The chapter ends by briefly describing the demise of apartheid and the birth of the 'new' democratic South Africa. The ANC's approach to rebuilding the country is presented

briefly, and some of the key challenges confronting both society and education in the post-apartheid period are discussed. This discussion helps highlight some of the more substantive issues that are dealt with in greater depth in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Three aims to place the research in a conceptual context by situating it within various conceptual literatures. The chapter begins by exploring theories of nations and nation-building as they relate to the South African context. In particular, the post-1994 governments' approach to nation-building is introduced and interrogated in light of relevant literature. The second section of the chapter turns to explore citizenship education and its function in both multicultural democracies and post-conflict contexts. Specific emphasis is placed on how the curriculum may be used as a vehicle for building unity and reconciliation across social divides. This discussion also highlights the importance of context and institutional cultures in ensuring effective teaching and learning in this regard. The final section of the chapter reviews and appraises relevant literature on the geographies of education, focusing specifically on the role of school spaces in (re)producing social identities and in particular, racial identities. Various other concepts and theories are also introduced that are useful to understand how learners negotiate difference and under what circumstances meaningful contact may be achieved. Given that race continues to play a significant part in everyday life in South Africa, literature that explores the nature and construction of race is discussed critically in relation to the South African context. The three sections contained in this chapter provide a useful background to the following chapters.

Chapter Four details the methodology employed in the thesis. As mentioned previously, this study adopts a PR approach in order to address the research objectives. This particular methodology was selected as being the most appropriate for this project because participatory approaches have the potential to be democratic and inclusive, and it was important that the learners involved in the project would have an opportunity to play an active part in different aspects of the research. The chapter begins by providing a brief overview of PR approaches. An effort is made to highlight some of the criticisms that have been levelled at these approaches and how proponents of PR have responded, particularly from within human geography. This first section also explores how and why participatory approaches are increasingly being used in research involving young people and children, and in light of this, I

discuss the extent to which this study was conducted in a participatory manner. The following section turns to describe how the logistics of the empirical fieldwork were organised and how the two participating schools were selected. The third section describes the two case study schools in greater detail, before providing an overview of the samples, sampling methods, and research techniques that were used to produce the primary data. The chapter ends by describing the three phases in which the data were analysed and interpreted, and reflects on some of the epistemological and practical limitations of the study.

The next four chapters present the findings of the research. The fifth chapter focuses on how the learners who participated in this study feel about South Africa and their national identities, as well as their views on national unity. This chapter aims to explore whether the learners feel a sense of positive identification with, and belonging to, the so-called South African nation and what their perspectives could mean for broader debates on nation-building in the country. The chapter begins by examining the learners' feelings of national pride, as a means to gain some insight into their opinions of their country and their nationality. The second section of the chapter presents the learners' perspectives on national unity and explores how their views relate to nation-building initiatives and debates, as well as to their future imaginings of South Africa and their place in it. This chapter serves to provide a broad analysis of national identity, belonging and unity in post-apartheid South Africa, from the perspective of learners, which in turn provides a basis for a more detailed analysis of the role that education plays in nation-building in the ensuing chapters.

Chapter Six examines racial integration in the two case study schools by examining their institutional cultures. The chapter begins by reviewing research on desegregation and integration in South African schooling since 1994. This review highlights the patterns and progress made in desegregating and integrating schools across the country and it is helpful in situating the findings presented in this chapter. The chapter then moves on to assess how successful the two case study schools have been in terms of responding to diversity and creating democratic and inclusive learning environments, as well to highlight some of the challenges that they face in this regard.

There is more to ensuring that schools are well integrated besides transforming and democratising institutional cultures, however. In this respect, Chapter Seven explores learners' everyday interactions with one another in their schools. This examination considers how learners are negotiating difference on a day-to-day basis and how these interactions serve to both (re)produce but also challenge learners' identities (and in particular their racial identities), as well social attitudes and norms. The nature of race and racism in influencing these interactions is examined critically. This discussion feeds back into the overall evaluation of the case study schools, in terms of assessing the extent to which these schools are providing learners with the space and opportunity to make meaningful contact with one another, which will enable them to think critically about race, challenge prejudice and appreciate their commonalities.

Chapter Eight examines the post-1994 curriculum and how it relates to citizenship education and nation-building. The chapter begins by briefly introducing the post-apartheid OBE curriculum and describes the politics and processes that have shaped the development of this curriculum since the late 1990s. Over the years, the pedagogical soundness and implementation of the new curriculum have faced substantial problems and criticism. This chapter explores this criticism and the subsequent attempts made by the Department of Education (DoE) and the Department of Basic Education (DBE)[5] to revise the curriculum. The chapter then turns to introduce LO and its citizenship education focus area, before the final sections of the chapter critically discuss LO and its effectiveness in realising the nation-building imperatives highlighted above.

The final chapter of this thesis, Chapter Nine, outlines the main findings of the thesis and discusses these in relation to the research aim and objectives. It draws conclusions that highlight the importance of the findings to both education policy and wider literatures. Although the research informing this thesis is necessarily modest in scope, a number of important recommendations for future research are made on the basis of the findings.

[5] In 2009, the Department of Education (DoE) in South Africa split into two separate departments; the Department of Basic Education (DBE), which oversees primary and secondary schooling and the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET), which oversees post-school education.

Chapter Two
The apartheid legacy

2.1 Introduction

Contemporary South Africa is deeply affected by its history, as the shadow of the apartheid years continues to loom oppressively, influencing all aspects of society, including education. The apartheid period left a legacy of socio-economic inequalities, socio-spatial divisions and psychological scars, all of which connect persistently to race. The totalitarian way in which the apartheid state controlled the country has also left a "civic deficit" in its citizenry, which is critical to address if democracy is to survive (Schoeman, 2006, p.130). Understanding the country's past is crucial in appreciating life in present day South Africa; thus this chapter aims to describe apartheid and its devastating consequences. Successful nation-building, and in particular building national unity, is vitally important in post-apartheid South Africa. This is largely because of the country's history, and yet it is also this history that makes nation-building efforts so difficult to initiate and sustain. Whilst education undoubtedly has a significant role to play in building a united nation, schools are also constrained by the legacy of the past, which impinges on their ability to realise national transformation imperatives.

In 1948, the National Party (NP) came into power and so began the implementation of one of history's most ambitious social engineering projects. Soon after their election victory, the new rulers began implementing their 'separate development' project, whereby the population was socially and spatially segregated on racial grounds, with the best land and resources reserved exclusively for the white population (Giliomee, 1995). Through the use of oppressive legislation, extensive propaganda and brute force, the state set about realising its political, social and economic objectives, which consequently resulted in the dispossession, destitution and death of thousands of South Africans (Cawthra, 1986). Education played a crucial role in promoting and reproducing apartheid ideology. In line with their 'separate development' agenda, schools were racially segregated and each was provided with distinctive curricula and funding structures, which were deliberately designed to ensure white economic, political and social dominance (Molteno, 1984).

There was, of course, much resistance to apartheid both within South Africa and abroad. By the end of the 1980s, pressure on the state became too much to bear and change seemed inevitable (Kenney, 1991). As a result, the government began to slowly dismantle key pieces of apartheid legislation and reform their 'separate development' project. In the late 1980s, negotiations between the NP and the African National Congress (ANC) began, which culminated in the formal ending of apartheid and the transition to a fully-inclusive democracy with the 1994 election (Fiske and Ladd, 2004). The euphoria of political freedom aside, the new government faced enormous challenges in combating the apartheid legacy. In this respect, the new government needed to urgently address the vast inequalities, 'civic deficit', socio-spatial divisions, as well as the entrenched racial consciousness that the regime left in its wake.

This chapter begins by providing an overview of the apartheid regime, focusing on apartheid ideology and its links to Afrikaner nationalism, as well as how it was ruthlessly implemented. Understanding the ideology of apartheid is important because it both shaped and was (re)produced by education. The second section discusses apartheid education; its values, goals and the different approaches to education for black, Indian, coloured and white South Africans. Following this, a brief description of the downfall of apartheid is presented. The chapter ends by providing an overview of how the apartheid legacy continues to influence society, and more specifically education, in post-apartheid South Africa. Herein the context in which schools are trying to realise national transformation imperatives is described; highlighting issues that are explored in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

2.2 The apartheid regime

Apartheid translates from Afrikaans as 'separateness' and the ideology of apartheid, or 'separate development', essentially called for the social and spatial separation of the different racial groups in the country (Thompson, 1985). Although the roots of racial segregation extend much further back than 1948, the apartheid government differed from its predecessors in that it set about institutionalising 'separate development' with more ideological zeal and political purpose than had ever been seen before (Posel, 1991).

Dr. Hendriek Frensch Verwoerd,[6] in his election statement in 1961, summed up many of the key features of the 'separate development' ideology:

> "We do not only seek and fight for a solution which will mean our survival as a white race, but we also seek a solution which will ensure survival and full development – political and economic- to each of the other racial groups…In the transition stage the guardian must teach and guide his ward. This is our policy of separate development. South Africa will proceed in all honesty and fairness to secure peace, prosperity and justice for all, by means of political independence coupled with economic interdependence" (Verwoerd, 1961 in Thompson, 1985, p.45).

Verwoerd's words illustrate official state rhetoric, which claimed that 'separate development' was the only feasible solution for a peaceful and successful future. The strategy was hailed as being fair and in the best interests of all South Africans. Not only was the project said to reduce growing racial tensions and generate employment, but the architects of apartheid also argued that for the first time black South Africans would be afforded the opportunity to develop independently in their own spaces, according to their own cultures, traditions and beliefs. The discourse of the state was powerful and influential in justifying government actions to the white public (Giliomee, 1995).

It was clear from the onset, however, that despite the rhetoric, apartheid was primarily concerned with securing white (and preferably Afrikaner) political and economic interests. Armed with an ideology rooted in Afrikaner nationalism, the NP government began systematically implementing 'separate development' through a series of oppressive pieces of legislation and a sustained propaganda campaign. The apartheid laws were imposed with uncompromising brute force and the subsequent oppression and violence left untold suffering and destitution.

2.2.1 Apartheid ideology and Afrikaner nationalism

In order to comprehend the ideology of apartheid, it is necessary to gain some understanding of the Afrikaners, since apartheid was based on an ideology that expressed the worldview of the Afrikaner *volk*.[7] Cross (1999, p.16) describes the *volk* as a "cultural concept" that was

[6] Dr. H.F. Verwoerd was the former Minister of Native Affairs (1950 - 1958) and Prime Minister of South Africa (1958 – 1966).
[7] *Volk* translated from Afrikaans means 'people' (Giliomee, 1995).

interpreted by Afrikaners to refer to "a group of people with a common life-style and an experience of continuity based on shared history and tradition, common land, descent, custom, language, religion, social organization and political ideals". The concept of the *volk* and Afrikaner nationalism are closely linked, and over time as the *volk* faced greater economic and cultural threats, so Afrikaner nationalism grew in strength, cumulating in the 1948 election victory of the largely Afrikaner NP. Once in power, the NP was able to concentrate all their powers on realising 'separate development', which ultimately aimed to fulfil their political and economic ambitions, and protect the culture, language and identity of their people.

The Afrikaners emerged out of an amalgamation of various Europeans settlers, most notably the Dutch, but also French and Germans, who settled in the Cape in the 17th and 18th centuries. Collectively these peoples came to refer to themselves as 'Afrikaners' or "people of Africa" (Fiske and Ladd, 2004, p.18). Over time, this group forged a proud and distinctive identity, influenced by their language, religion, culture and experiences, as well as a deep love and commitment to the land of South Africa (Neame, 1962). When the British annexed the Cape from the Dutch in 1815, the Afrikaner identity and way of life came under threat. Tensions between the two groups increased as each wrestled for power over South Africa's land and later its mineral wealth (Lapping, 1986). It was due to these tensions with the English, who increasingly attempted to control and anglicise the country, as well as a growing fear of the *swaart gevaar*,[8] that Afrikaner nationalism swelled in support over the coming decades and the seeds of the 'separate development' ideology took root. Afrikaner politicians, clergy, artists and academics all played a role in fuelling the notion that the Afrikaners were a superior nation who had a divine right to rule the country and whose identity, ethnic purity and economic interests needed protection.[9] Religion played an important part in this. The Afrikaners followed the neo-Calvinist religion of the Dutch Reformed Church, a strict doctrine that believes in the word of God above all. The clergy preached that the Afrikaners were a

[8] Translated from Afrikaans *swart gevaar* means 'black menace' (Posel, 2001).

[9] It is important to mention the role that various cultural organisations, such as the Broedebond, also played in building a sense of commonality amongst the Afrikaners. The Broedebond was a secret society formed in 1919. By 1977, it had some 12,000 members organised into 800 local cells across the country. The Broedebond, along with other organisations such as the 1929 *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings* ('Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations') and the 1939 *Eerste Ekonomiese Volkskongres* ('First People's Economic Congress'), all helped promote Afrikaner identity, culture, language and economic interests (Lemon, 1987).

chosen race and that God had put them in South Africa because it was their 'promised land' or destiny (Thompson, 1985).

The Afrikaners found British rule increasingly oppressive and they resented the British missionaries, who had increased in numbers since 1815. Many of these missionaries played an important part in compelling the British authorities to abolish slavery in the region. This was a particular sore point for the Afrikaners, who had long benefited from the use of slave labour on their farms. In fact this issue was one of the main reasons for the Great Trek in 1837, when some 6,000 disgruntled Afrikaners set off to find somewhere to settle free from British rule. By the time the Trek was complete in 1854, more than 10,000 Afrikaners had left the Cape (almost one quarter of the European population in South Africa then), taking their servants with them. The *voortrekkers*, as they were called, headed northwards and eventually after a long, difficult trip, they established two 'independent' republics, the Transvaal Republic and the Republic of the Orange Free State. Initially the British authorities granted the two states their independence, but after the discovery of gold in the vicinity, Britain invaded the two Republics to claim back the land (Lapping, 1986).

Tensions and conflict between the two groups continued throughout the coming decades, cumulating in the outbreak of the South African War, which lasted almost three years (1899-1902). The War cost the British government approximately 200,000,000 pounds and resulted in thousands dead (Human Sciences Research Council, 2004). The Afrikaners were defeated and for the first time in the history of the country, South Africa came under consolidated British rule. Up to this point, a number of "more or less state-like" political systems had been established by both the white settlers and the indigenous peoples in the region, as each set of actors "jostled for territory, resources and jurisdiction across shifting and ill-defined frontiers" (Glaser, 2001, p.71). This all changed in 1910, however, when the Union of South Africa was formed and the country officially became a centralised state under British control. The state was established on a unitary rather than a federal basis, with management functions devolved to the four white provinces (Glaser, 2001) (see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Map showing the Union of South Africa (1910) and the four provinces, namely; the Cape, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State (UniMaps.com, 2007).

The hardships of the Great Trek and the South African War further fuelled the growth of Afrikaner nationalism and laid the foundation for a powerful Afrikaner nationalist mythology (Thompson, 1985). In many nationalist narratives, events such as the Great Trek took on accentuated meaning. The story of struggle and survival against huge odds became an inspiration to the Afrikaners. One can see evidence of this in Verwoerd's reference to the 'survival' of his race in the previous quotation. The Afrikaners have long held a deep seated anxiety about their survival as a people in South Africa, which developed through their particular history. Indeed, the apartheid ideology is closely related to the will of the Afrikaners to survive as an independent people.

This survival mentality is also closely linked to another key element of Afrikaner nationalism and 'separate development', that of racial superiority and the desire to protect the purity of Afrikaner blood and identity. In the above quotation by Verwoerd, the emphasis on race and white supremacy is apparent. From the arrival of the first Europeans on the shores of the Cape, the settlers held the widespread belief that they were the inventors of 'civilisation' and that the local populations did not have the capacity to develop themselves or the country. The colonists believed implicitly in a 'natural' racial hierarchy, where the white race was positioned at the apex. Related to these beliefs was the notion that Europeans had an obligation as good Christians to 'civilise' the natives, by helping them adopt western values (Dubow, 1995). Notions of white superiority/black inferiority continued to develop over the years, as the quotation from Verwoerd indicates. This discourse reflects aspects of the colonial "trusteeship ideology", whereby Verwoerd assumes whites as the 'guardians' of the other race groups, whom they need to 'teach' and 'guide' to enable them to reach 'civilisation' (Dubow, 1995, p.151).

Over the coming decades, the English and the Afrikaners continued to struggle for political power in the country. Although various 'pact' governments emerged between the two groups during 1910 and 1948, many Afrikaners remained dissatisfied. These disgruntled Afrikaners saw the unity governments as a cop-out and a threat to Afrikaner culture and identity (Giliomee, 1995). The rising tide of Afrikaner nationalism culminated in the victory of the NP in the 1948 national elections. When coming into power, many Afrikaners believed that their time had finally come and for them apartheid was the only way to ensure that they could keep what they perceived was rightfully theirs. As Kenney (1991, p.22) argues, "For Afrikaner nationalists the result of the election meant the triumph of more than a political party. They saw it as the victory of a resurgent nation which had a pre-eminent claim to the land of South Africa". Although apartheid did enable whites, and in particular the Afrikaners, to remain in power, it must be seen as an ideology that attempted to do more than this. Giliomee (1995) argues that 'separate development' was not the state's dominant ideology – rather the ideology consisted of a strong belief in the unity of the *volk.* For Afrikaners, it was the heart of their identity that was at stake. The *volk* needed to be protected and thus, when in power, efforts were made to ensure this. The protection of the *volk* and securing white political and economic power can therefore be seen to be intimately connected.

Evidence of this connection emerges from Verwoerd's words quoted at the beginning of section 2.1. Indeed the quotation picks up on one of the fundamental tensions of the apartheid strategy, wherein peace and prosperity is assumed to be achieved for South Africa 'by means of political independence coupled with economic interdependence'. It is important to point out that apartheid was never a clear-cut or definitive strategy. Hardliners had called for total segregation, and even if many felt that this would be ideal, it was also accepted by others as impossible. The state needed black labour to ensure economic growth (Posel, 1991). Eventually a less extreme approach to apartheid prevailed, and territorial and political segregation was adopted instead of total segregation (Brookes, 1968). Apartheid officials tried to resolve this tension by attempting to control and limit black urbanisation, but not at the expense of the economy and labour demands (Posel, 1991).[10] Thus soon after coming into power, the apartheid government began enacting key pieces of legislation that would realise their ideological, political and economic goals.

2.2.2 Implementing apartheid

The first significant piece of legislation enacted by the apartheid state was the 1950 Population Registration Act, which was used to classify all South Africans according to their racial/ethnic group (Neame, 1962). Using these classifications, the government set about implementing further measures aimed at segregating the country. Acts of legislation such as the 1950 Groups Areas Act, the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act and the 1959 Promotion of Self- Government Act were important because they effectively fragmented South Africa and weakened black resistance efforts. Under these Acts, the best available land was allocated to the white population, whilst the other ethnic groups were forcibly moved to assigned 'homelands', or 'Bantustans' as they were referred to by the state, where these groups were said to have originated from (Neame, 1962). The latter two Acts were particularly important in defining the bounds of citizenship in South Africa and ensuring that white political power remained intact (Lipton, 1986). The vision was that eventually each of the Bantustans would be completely 'independent'. Only white South Africans were considered to be official citizens of South Africa and as citizens they were given the vote (Lemon, 1987). Blacks, Indians and coloureds

[10] For more sophisticated debates on the relationship between capitalism and apartheid see Lipton (1986), Nattrass (1993) and Wolpe (1995).

were only allowed into white areas to work and when in a white area, they were classified as ‘visitors’ (Brookes, 1968).

The control over the movement of Indians, blacks and coloureds in white urban areas was also tightened, through both the 1952 Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act, which required all non-white South Africans to carry an identification pass book, and the 1953 Reservation of Separate Amenities Act. Under this latter Act, public amenities, such as beaches and cinemas, became racially segregated (Neame, 1962). Various other acts of legislation were also passed to segregate educational institutions across the country, which will be discussed in the following section. In order to better police the sexuality of South Africans, and protect the ‘purity’ of Afrikaner ethnicity, the state implemented the 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the 1950 Immorality Act, which forbade marriage and sexual encounters between white and non-white individuals (Lapping, 1986). Finally, in order to ensure economic dominance, the state initiated measures to restrict the job opportunities available to non-white workers, as well as eventually banning black trade unions, which helped keep black wages low (Marais, 2001). By simultaneously investing in the growth of Afrikaner businesses, the state ensured that the Afrikaners had the economic upper hand not only over the non-white population, but also over the English (Lapping, 1986).

The apartheid state went to extreme lengths to maintain its control over society. By developing further acts of legislation, such as the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act and the Unlawful Organisations Act of 1960, the state was able to outlaw opposition and arrest and detain resistance leaders (Neame, 1962; Brookes, 1964). From the mid-1950s, the state also began to invest heavily in the police and armed forces. The state utilised the full might of the police force to quell black resistance, but when the police could not adequately cope, the army became crucial. In 1957, a new Defence Act was introduced, the military was renamed the South African Defence Force (SADF) and compulsory military conscription for white males was initiated (Cawthra, 1986). Once in the army, SADF went to great lengths to prepare its service people physically and mentally for war. Servicemen and women underwent intensive indoctrination to discredit the anti-apartheid movement, boost morale and encourage loyalty to God and the nation (Cawthra, 1986).

The apartheid government also went to great lengths to feed the public state propaganda. With control over most of the media, the government was able to indoctrinate South Africans with their ideology and further exclude any subversive voices. After the NP won the election, the Broederbond came to control the state media, the South African Broadcasting Commission, which had a monopoly on radio and later television. Most Afrikaans newspapers were also associated with the state and thus could be used as a state propaganda tool. Although the English newspapers did sometimes criticise the state, this was never to any severe extent for fear of arrest. Given that the state frequently detained radical journalists, many avoided publishing controversial articles. By the 1980s, no black-owned newspapers existed and instead the government provided often "bland" and apolitical reports for the non-white audiences (Thompson, 1985, p.49). However, it was not only through the use of oppressive legislation, propaganda and brute force that the government was able to effectively implement apartheid. Education also played a crucial part in realising the state's 'separate development' agenda.

2.3 Apartheid education

Education constituted a crucial element of the apartheid state machinery. As such, schools acted as various 'Ideological State Apparatuses' through which the government was able to reproduce state ideology, preserve Afrikaner identity and ensure that economic and political control remained in the hands of the white, ruling elite (Althusser, 1993). By racially and spatially segregating education institutions across the country, the apartheid state began realising their objectives. Not only did social and spatial segregation serve to fragment black resistance and limit inter-racial interaction, but the segregated schools also followed different curricula and were funded disproportionately, which further secured state power.

This section begins by examining the Christian National Education (CNE) curriculum and the nature and role of schools for white students in apartheid South Africa. This system of education is then compared to the system, curricula and conditions experienced in black, Indian and coloured schools during this period. This discussion is important in order to better understand the catastrophic consequences of the fragmented, unequal and racist education

systems that the apartheid government put in place, which ultimately laid the uneven foundation for education in the post-apartheid period.

2.3.1 Educating white students under apartheid

The education of white English and Afrikaans speaking children was guided largely by the 1948 Christian National Education Policy and the later 1967 National Education Policy Act. Both drew heavily upon the educational philosophy of CNE. The seeds of the CNE movement can be traced back to the 1800s, when the British first occupied the Cape (Christie, 1985). CNE proponents imported ideas from 19th century Holland, where CNE had emerged as a Protestant alternative to Catholic education. In South Africa, however, it was adapted to counteract growing English dominance, gaining increased momentum after the South African War (Cross, 1999). In CNE schools, the Calvinist doctrine of the Dutch Reformed Church was paramount and Dutch was the medium of instruction in most primary schools (Christie, 1985). Although the number of CNE schools decreased through the first half of the twentieth century, the movement did begin to regain impetus in the 1930s and 1940s, as Afrikaner nationalism grew. During this period, CNE developed further and the 'separate development' ideology was fiercely promoted. In 1939, the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings* ('Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies') organised a Congress for CNE, wherein the Institute of Christian National Education was established. In 1948, the Institute of Christian National Education published an important pamphlet that contained the core ideals of CNE:

> "Our culture must be carried into the school and that cannot be done merely by having our own language as a medium. More is needed. Our Afrikaans schools must not merely be mother-tongue schools; they must be places where our children will be imbued with the Christian and national spiritual and cultural material of our nation…We wish to have no mixing of languages, no mixing of religions and no mixing of races. We are winning the struggle over medium. The struggle for Christian and national schools lies before us" (Institute of Christian National Education, 1948, p.33 in Cross, 1999, p.43).

The Afrikaner nationalist ideology is starkly evident in the above quotation, with its emphasis on language, Afrikaner culture, nationality and Christianity, as is the deep rooted desire of the Afrikaners to separate themselves from other cultures and races. When the Afrikaners eventually won the 1948 election, one of their chief ambitions was to reinstate the CNE system to its full glory. As a result, the Christian National Education Policy was released in 1948 and it became a blueprint for white education in the country (Enslin, 1984).

As part of their efforts to restructure education, the new government set about segregating English and Afrikaans speaking children (Kallaway, 2002). Through the curriculum, the Afrikaner Calvinist version of Christianity was endorsed and nationalism was encouraged, albeit a specific version of Afrikaner nationalism, which excluded the black, Indian and coloured populations in the country (Christie, 1985). It is also important to highlight the role that CNE played in preserving Afrikaner history and identity. In this way, key nationalist mythologies, such as those based on the Calvinist notion of predestination, whereby the Afrikaners believed it was their divine right to rule the country, were supported and reproduced (Cross, 1999). Similarly, in history textbooks, students were taught the history of South Africa recounted from a white (pro-Afrikaner) perspective. Many of these accounts not only overlooked the important history and contribution of other native South Africans, but these texts also helped justify apartheid, elevate Afrikaner figures such as the *voortrekkers* to the status of national heroes, and shower praise on Afrikaner nationalist politicians (Thompson, 1985).[11]

The CNE curriculum also played a part in reproducing ideological beliefs on race and white supremacy. The subject of 'Race studies', for example, existed in white high schools and focused on highlighting the 'natural' rurality and tribalism of native Africans, purporting the 'trusteeship ideology' and notions of black inferiority (Bernstein, 1971). Likewise, the textbooks used by English and Afrikaans students, especially for the social science subjects, contained clear elements of "negrophobia", whereby notions of 'white civilization' versus 'black barbarism' were reproduced, negative racial stereotypes were propagated and inter-racial sexual relations condemned (Thompson, 1985, p.59).

It is worth pointing out that by living in segregated neighbourhoods and socialising in segregated public spaces, the average young white person had minimal contact with black, Indian or coloured South Africans, and thus was provided with limited opportunities to

11 It is worth highlighting that there were slight differences between the 'political mythology' acquired by English speaking white students in their schools, as compared to their Afrikaans counterparts. Thompson (1985, p.63) points out that "In the English-medium schools for white children there was an element of Anglo-chauvinism and a less rigid racism". These differences were particularly marked in private institutions, where teachers had trained abroad. One must not overstate these differences however, as the state ultimately regulated the syllabuses and textbooks used in all white schools, which aimed to prepare students to write similar national examinations (Thompson, 1985).

challenge the views and stereotypes he/she was being taught inside of the classroom. As such, Thompson (1985, p.63) argues that, "The white pupils in the English-medium as well as those in the Afrikaans- medium schools, cocooned in their privileged, segregated world, lacked elementary information about what it meant to be black in South Africa".

As mentioned previously, the state also spent much more money on white education in order to ensure that these students were provided with high quality schooling. In white schools, education was compulsory between the ages of 7 and 16 years and it was provided to all white students free of charge (Bernstein, 1971). Due to substantial state subsidies, schools in white communities were able to employ well qualified teachers and equip themselves with state of the art facilities. Classes were small and manageable, for example, in 1976, the teacher: student ratio in white schools was a mere 1:20, whilst in black schools the ratio was 1:52 (Blignaut, 1981). Providing an advanced curriculum and superior technical and vocational training to whites only, helped ensure that these young people were adequately equipped to later occupy positions of power within apartheid society. Thus CNE was not only important in keeping alive Afrikaner values, identity and ideology, but it was also important in securing white economic privilege, and indeed these objectives can be seen to be intimately related.

It is also worthwhile drawing attention to the role that education played in the later years of apartheid, when the anti-apartheid movement was becoming stronger and more violent. In this context, the then Defence Minister, P. W. Botha, stated in 1976 that it was necessary for the state to begin to "educate for war" (Cawthra, 1986, p.55). Manifestations of this directive included the establishment of the Youth Preparedness Programme and veld schools,[12] which were initiated in the Transvaal in the 1970s. Another example was the 'Cadets' programme, which was introduced as a compulsory subject in most white schools across the country in 1976 (Christie, 1985), including in the two case study schools that participated in this study. Deriving from CNE values and principles, these programmes aimed to teach students various

[12] 'Veld' translates from Afrikaans to 'field'. Like the Youth Preparedness Programme, veld schools were also important in preparing the white youth for their uncertain future. Children were required to attend veld schools twice in their school careers for a combined total of ten days. These trips were compulsory for both boys and girls and groups of children would be taken to outdoor areas to undergo education and training (Christie, 1985).

skills, such as emergency planning, drills and marching, shooting and self-defence, in order to empower them to secure South Africa's 'white' future. In terms of 'moral preparedness', students were indoctrinated with religious and nationalist teachings (Christie, 1985). They were given lectures about South African society and the challenges that confronted them, and often were forced to participate in gruelling physical exercises. Groups were encouraged to be competitive and children who exhibited strong leadership abilities were recommended for further 'Leadership Camps' where they would learn more specialised skills (Christie, 1985). What is interesting and important to note here is the role that the military played in these various programmes. In the case of the Youth Preparedness Programme, schools were instructed to refer to SADF manuals on how to teach students correct drills and marches. The SADF also played an important role in organising the cadet programmes and training officers at schools. Young cadets were supplied with SADF uniforms to wear during their drills and marches, and SADF also provided schools with certain weapons for training (Christie, 1985).[13] For some parents and teachers, the presence of SADF in school activities was worrying. In other cases, parents were ill-informed as to the true content and implementation of these initiatives. Teachers who opposed the new programmes found it very difficult to voice their concerns. Dissent was dealt with swiftly and resisting teachers were discriminated against and in some cases blacklisted (Christie, 1985).

Teaching and learning under the apartheid regime was exceptionally controlled and stifled. Through the use of teaching inspectors, the state was able to monitor schools and act on potential disobedience (Molteno, 1984). At teacher training colleges and universities for white South Africans, new teachers were taught conservative pedagogies in conservative environments. Student teachers were not challenged to reflect on the inequalities in state education and institutional cultures attempted to create "docile", apolitical teachers who remained isolated from outside debate (Kallaway, 2002, p.11). Later, inside classrooms, these

[13] As such, white schools played a role not only in preparing the youth for potential civil war, but also in fuelling white fear of the black majority. At a broader level, Cawthra (1986, p.41) describes how, during this period, through a "concerted propaganda campaign", the apartheid state effectively instilled a "war psychosis" in the white population. So terrified were ordinary civilians of the 'total onslaught' that they supposedly faced, that many began to privately arm themselves and by the mid-1980s, Cawthra (1986, p.59) argued that "white South Africans possess more firearms per head of population than any other peoples in the world". The psychological effects of such propaganda, on both white adults and young people living during this period, have lingered long beyond the fall of the regime.

same teachers presented the curriculum in a rote-style manner, whereby their authority was not to be questioned and critical thought on the part of students was actively discouraged. More progressive teachers struggled to keep to the curriculum and to get students to think critically about their position of privilege as white South Africans, given the authoritarian and hostile environment in which schools operated (Kallaway, 2002).

2.3.2 Educating black, Indian and coloured students under apartheid

For black, Indian and coloured students, education under the apartheid regime was a very different experience. From the outset, the NP took firm control. Within months, the new government had set up a special Commission to report on black education and give recommendations for the future. The Commission was headed by Dr. W.W.M Eiselen and three years later it completed its Eiselen Report (Molteno, 1984). The report made a number of important recommendations that effectively laid the foundations for the 1953 Bantu Education Act, which was introduced into black schools across the country two years later (Soudien, 2002). Through the coming years, the state proceeded to set up separate commissions to report on Indian and coloured education too, resulting in the creation and implementation of the 1965 Indian Education Act and the 1963 Coloured Persons Education Act (Soudien, 2002). Universities in South Africa were similarly segregated and under the 1959 Extension of University Education Act, separate 'tribal colleges' for black, Indian and coloured individuals were established (Christie, 1985). Essentially the new government wanted a more centralised system, whereby they could control all aspects of black, Indian and coloured schooling, from the administration to the curricula (Soudien, 2002). The Department of National Education was consequently divided into 17 separate organisational bodies, each established to manage the education of the various racial and ethnic groups in the country (Suransky-Dekker, 1998). Verwoerd was appointed as the Minister of Native Affairs in 1950, and in this position he was in charge of administering and implementing the various education Acts mentioned above.

In terms of the curricula adopted in these schools, it was important that the education for the different population groups each focused on their unique cultures and traditions, as these differences were used to establish the need for separation (Christie and Collins, 1984). With regard to the Bantu Education Act for example, the government highlighted the distinctive cultures, languages and values of the different African tribal groups, and Bantu education was

positioned as an approach that appreciated and sought to uphold the values of African life (Molteno, 1984). Linked to this, Bantu education also had a clear role in keeping black people in their inferior position ascribed to them by the state. This is closely associated with the creation of the Bantustans, or 'homelands', as Molteno (1984, p.93) argues, "Bantu Education was to prepare young Africans psycho-ideologically for the position in which the Bantustans placed them physically and politically". There was a further, more sinister motive for segregation, however. By separating the different tribal groups and stressing their ethnic differences, the state also hoped that education would help prevent a collective black opposition from mobilising (Molteno, 1984).

It is also important to highlight the role of the curricula for black, Indian and coloured students in 'dumbing down' these groups, thereby ensuring that they were trained for low skilled employment only. By preparing these students for their inferior position within the South African economy and society more broadly, white power could be ensured. In this respect, the rhetoric of the Eiselen Report is revealing:

> "We should not give the natives an academic education, as some people are too prone to do. If we do this we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in this country?... I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that to a greater extent he must be the labourer in the country" (Eiselen Report, 1951 in Christie and Collins, 1984, p.176).

These curricula had a further purpose. Not only did they deny black, Indian and coloured South Africans the opportunity to improve their quality of life and secure good employment, but they also served to indoctrinate these young people to accept white rule and their subservient role in white South Africa. As Molteno (1984, p.94) argues:

> "Bantu, Coloured and Indian Education were designed to control the direction of thought, to delimit the boundaries of knowledge, to restrict lines of communication, and to curtail contact across language barriers. They aimed to dwarf the minds of black children by conditioning them to servitude".

In examining apartheid history textbooks for non-white students, Thompson (1985) describes how history was again presented from a white perspective, which ignored or glossed over African history and indigenous knowledge. In order to help justify 'separate development',

Africans were presented as comprising of distinct nations that benefited from the rule of "a generous civilised government" and as such the textbooks were paternalistic and prejudiced (Thompson, 1985, p.65).

Furthermore, significantly fewer resources were spent on black, Indian and coloured education, which made it even more difficult for South Africans in these institutions to learn and succeed. In terms of funding and resource allocation, a clear racial hierarchy was evident in how the apartheid state approached the various education institutions. Thus whilst white schools occupied the top position in the hierarchy and received the most funds and support, funding and support to Indian and coloured schools was still considerably more than what black schools received. In 1965, for example, whilst R74 was spent on each white child in the system, R26 was spent on each Indian child, R17 was spent on each coloured child and a mere R2.39 was allocated for each black child (Bernstein, 1971). In addition, whilst education for the first three population groups mentioned above was paid for out of general revenue, black communities were largely responsible for funding their children's education. Limited funding from state revenue was provided and instead the larger portion of funds was raised from African general taxes. In addition, black parents were also forced to pay for their children's books, learning materials and transport, as well as for the maintenance of school buildings (Horrell, 1962; Bernstein, 1971). To further cut costs in these schools, the state initiated a number of different measures, such as employing less qualified teachers and paying them low wages, as well as making children responsible for cleaning their schools (Molteno, 1984). In black communities in particular, which were already under enormous strain from apartheid social and economic policies that created widespread impoverishment, funding their own inferior education system both increased their financial burden and further trapped these communities in a cycle of poverty.

Life inside black, Indian and coloured schools was also particularly tough. Whilst education was compulsory between the ages of 7 and 16 years in white schools and between the ages of 7 and 14 in Indian and coloured schools, there was no compulsory education for black children. This resulted in many black students beginning school but dropping out within the first five years. Reasons for the high drop-out rates included a lack of money, inadequate classrooms and facilities, and overcrowding (Bernstein, 1971). As in the case of white

education, the state also tightly controlled black, Indian and coloured principals and teachers, and insisted that teachers teach their students in a rote-style manner, where critical questioning was actively discouraged (Kallaway, 2002). As public servants, teachers could be dismissed at any point without reason. Offences such as speaking to the media, publishing critical articles about the state or being discourteous to any state official were swiftly punished. Many teachers were also dismissed on suspicion of being against the education policies of the government (Bernstein, 1971). Under these conditions, it was unsurprising that black students routinely under-performed. In 1989, for example, whilst 96% of white students passed their final secondary school examinations, only 40% of black students passed (Hofmeyr and Buckland, 1992).

Finally, Suransky-Dekker (1998) also draws attention to the violence experienced in these schools, through the frequent use of corporal punishment and humiliation to discipline children. Political violence and gender-based violence were also rife in many non-white schools. By October 1977, for example, some 196,000 students were absent from school for political reasons (Davies, 1984). In this respect, language emerged as an important issue in apartheid schooling. In primary schools, teaching and learning occurred in students' native languages, even though there were limited text books and teaching materials available in languages other than English and Afrikaans. In secondary schools, however, teaching and learning took place in either English or Afrikaans (Kallaway, 2002). For non-native speakers of these languages, the learning process was extremely difficult and in some cases impossible (Suransky-Dekker, 1998). The language issue was particularly contentious in black schools, and in 1975 students' frustrations reached breaking point when then Minister of Bantu Education announced that half of all primary school subjects in Form 1 and Standard 5 were to be taught in Afrikaans (Christie, 1985).[14] This move caused much protest and school boards attempted to resist the motion, but to no avail. Instead outspoken individuals were dismissed. Not only were schools not equipped to teach in Afrikaans, but the students saw Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor (Kenney, 1991). It was this change in language policy, amid growing frustrations over overcrowded classrooms, under- qualified staff and the lack of proper services in their schools, which sparked the 1976 'Soweto Uprising'. This event is

[14] Form 1 is the equivalent of Grade 1 in South African schools today (the first level of primary schooling) and Standard 5 is the equivalent of Grade 7 (the final year of primary schooling).

significant because it was organised by black school children who were dissatisfied with their inferior Bantu education (Kenney, 1991). On the 16th June 1976, 20,000 students marched through Soweto in protest against the new language policy. The protest ended in tragedy as the police opened fire on the unarmed students (Christie, 1985). Accounts of the events are contested. Whilst the police said that they had retaliated as the students threw stones at them, the students claimed that the police opened fire unprovoked. The riots spread through the townships and people burnt down buses and beer halls, which were considered symbols of white authority. By the end of the day the death toll had risen to 23, including 3 white casualties who were killed by the angry mobs (Kenney, 1991).

The 1970s and 1980s were a particularly turbulent time for South Africa as resistance to apartheid intensified and pressure for change was mounting. Across the country, schools, parents, teachers and students engaged in protests against apartheid and apartheid education (Soudien, 2002). Schools and educational institutions formed key sites for mobilisation and protest against the regime, as can be seen in the case of the 'Soweto Uprising' (Glaser, 2001). The consequences of the 'Soweto Uprising' were devastating and acted as an important catalyst for change. In particular, the iconic image of Hector Pieterson, a child who was shot dead by police, being carried by a youth with Hector's distraught sister at his side, sent shock waves through the international community and helped lead to international boycotts against South Africa (see Plate 2.1) (Christie, 1984).

2.4 The fall of apartheid and the 1994 democratic transition

There were many reasons why apartheid could not last forever. As mentioned above, the 1970s/80s was a particularly turbulent time in the country, as both domestic and international pressures on the state became too much to bear. On the domestic front, resistance to apartheid was intensifying and protests were becoming increasingly violent, especially in the townships. The state responded to the growing unrest with uncompromising brute force, using the power of the military and the police to crush resistance efforts.[15] The appalling consequences of the

[15] It is important to point out that many white South Africans also actively opposed the apartheid government. This is evident in the number of white South Africans who deserted the army and/or fled the country to avoid fighting in the SADF (Cawthra, 1986). Many were appalled at having to carry out unjust orders in the townships as well as in other African countries, such as Namibia. The 'End Conscription Campaign' grew out of this

'Soweto Uprising' and the 1980s unrest caused the government to rethink its approach to the black population. Instead of resorting to violence alone, the NP began to realise that they would need to make some sort of reforms to appease the black majority, as well as other domestic and international pressure groups (Kenney, 1991).

Plate 2.1: The iconic image of Hector Pieterson being carried away by Mbuyisa Makhubo after being shot dead by apartheid police. Hector's sister (Antoinette Sithole) is running alongside Mbuyisa (Wikipedia, 2012).

Further domestic pressure during this period came from the business leaders in the country. During the 1970s/80s, the South African economy hit a slump and the business community grew tired of calling on the state to reform its labour legislation and transform the education system in order to improve the economy (Davies, 1984). In the 1980s, South Africa also faced mass unemployment, a falling gold price and rising inflation rates. It was not only a weakening economy and labour shortages that the capitalists were concerned about, however. Davies (1984) argues that there was also a concern that protestors were starting to draw

resistance and was later banned in 1988. Many white political opponents were also oppressed, imprisoned or murdered by the regime. (Human Sciences Research Council, 2004).

negative links between the apartheid state and capitalism. Protest action was becoming increasingly socialist and anti-capitalist, which concerned business leaders. In response, business sought to produce a counter discourse, which positioned business as opposed to apartheid and on the side of equality.

It was not only domestic pressures that were starting to become too much for the state to endure. In the last decades of apartheid, the NP government also faced mounting international pressures. Many other African states, like Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe, were becoming independent from colonial rule, and their success strengthened the resistance movement in South Africa (Fiske and Ladd, 2004). Furthermore, the end of the Cold War and the destruction of the Berlin Wall in the late 1980s marked the end of a supposed communist threat, which the apartheid state had long used as an excuse for inaction (Human Sciences Research Council, 2004). To add to these pressures, the international 'anti-apartheid' movement was growing stronger, and this was fuelled by media reports of the state's violent response to the domestic protests, such as the case of Hector Pieterson. From as early as 1957, the ANC began calling for international sanctions to be brought against South Africa. In 1963, the United Nations Security Council imposed a ban on weapon exports to the country, and by 1986, most European countries and the United States of America had adopted sanctions in trade and economics (Fiske and Ladd, 2004). By the late 1980s, South Africa was also banned from 90 percent of world sport (Human Sciences Research Council, 2004). Foreign investment also started to drop off and in 1985, a number of influential international banks refused to renew or grant South Africa any more loans (Davies, 1984). Many multinationals also began leaving the country, including economic giants such as International Business Machines, General Motors and Coca-Cola (Human Sciences Research Council, 2004). This further damaged the economy and encouraged local business leaders to put more pressure on the government for change (Lemon, 1987).

In response to these pressures, the government conceded in making a number of reforms to the apartheid plan. In the 1980s, various cornerstone apartheid laws were abolished, including the Population Registration Act, the Pass Laws, the Mixed Marriages Act and sections of the Immorality Act (Lemon, 1987). Much of petty apartheid was also abolished and black South Africans were given the right to own property in the townships (Human

Sciences Research Council, 2004). The state also began to initiate certain reforms in the economy, such as removing the last job reservations and giving legal recognition to trade unions (Lemon, 1987). In an attempt to extend political power, the state also introduced a Tricameral Parliament as part of its new 1983 Constitution. The new parliamentary structure gave limited political power to Indian and coloured individuals in an effort to garner their support. The most glaring problem with the new system, however, was that the black majority were still excluded. Unsurprisingly the changes were resisted by many black, Indian and coloured South Africans, who were determined that the state should instead hand over genuine power (Lemon, 1987).

The government also initiated various reforms in education in response to growing pressures, including increasing funding to black schools and reconsidering their oppressive language policy. In 1979, the government published the Education and Training Bill, which would later replace the Bantu Education Act. The new Bill was positive in some respects, in that it introduced compulsory schooling and health services in black schools. Although it did represent a radical break from the past, many black South Africans viewed the changes as shallow and inadequate (Davies, 1984). They continued to call for broader, structural changes to the education system and to society more generally. Essentially they wanted a single, centralised education department, which would administer all education, and they wanted to abolish racial segregation and the oppressive control that the state had over schools (Davies, 1984).

Of particular importance to this project are the changes that the government began to make in white education in the early 1990s, in anticipation of the wider political transition that at this point seemed inevitable. As part of these changes, the then minister of white education, Piet Clase, announced his plans to restructure the white schools across the country. From 1991, white schools were to adopt either a Model A, B or C status, as determined by parental vote (Karlsson, McPherson and Pampallis, 2002). Schools that voted to adopt a ‘Model A’ status became private institutions with no access to state subsidies. Adopting a ‘Model B’ status allowed schools to remain ‘white only’ and state subsidies were cut to 70% of the current level. Finally, schools that chose to become ‘Model C’ institutions were able to create their own management committees, which had the power to devise admission policies and set

compulsory school fees. These schools existed as semi-private, semi-state institutions, as they received fees from parents as well as state subsidies, which were provided by the government to cover the costs of staff wages (Hofmeyr, 2000). In 1992, a 'Model D' option was created for white schools that needed to enrol an unlimited number of black students due to falling enrolment rates (Karlsson, McPherson and Pampallis, 2002). Presented with the different options, the overwhelming majority of previously 'white only' schools opted for the 'Model C' status and opened their doors to students of all race groups, including the two case study schools that participated in this study (Hofmeyr, 2000; Lewis and Naidoo, 2004). As 'Model C' schools, each organised a School Governing Body (SGB) and the state transferred ownership of fixed property and equipment to the schools for the SGBs to manage and maintain (Karlsson, McPherson and Pampallis, 2002). There were two important reasons why the government decided to change the status of white schools. Firstly, the state could no longer fund these schools to the same extent as they had been able to do in the past. The economy was weak and political pressures demanded that more be spent on black education. Thus in order to maintain the standards of these schools, the government realised that white communities would need to subsidise the education system. Secondly, having schools managed by governing bodies, allowed white communities to retain some control over their schools, instead of allowing them to fall completely under the control of the new state (Karlsson, McPherson and Pampallis, 2002).

As the 1990s approached and political violence was escalating, the NP decided to make a compromise with the ANC and both parties agreed that they needed to play a joint role in building the 'new' South Africa. If a compromise could not have been reached, there was a good chance that the country would have embarked on a civil war and the effects would have been disastrous (Fiske and Ladd, 2004). On the 2nd February 1990, in a landmark speech, the then president of South Africa, F.W. de Klerk, stated his intention to lift media restrictions, unban the ANC and other organisations, release Mandela and other political prisoners, and create a new dispensation based on equality and democracy. On 11th of February that same year, Mandela was released from prison after having been incarcerated for 27 years (Human Sciences Research Council, 2004). Soon after his release, the government began engaging in formal talks with the opposition to pave the way for a 'new' South Africa. Formal negotiations began in December 1991 at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, through the specially

established Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) (Fiske and Ladd, 2004). The negotiation process took much longer than anticipated, however, and the political violence of the next four years was overwhelming. The NP and the ANC found it difficult to control their supporters and suspend the armed struggle. From 1990 to 1993, political violence claimed approximately 10 lives per day, which was higher than the 1980s death rate. It is worth pointing out that a great deal of this political violence took place in the KwaZulu- Natal (KZN) province between rival ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters (Human Sciences Research Council, 2004). Although the first formal talks undertaken in December 1991 broke down the following year, the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum established in 1993 had relatively more success. The Interim Constitution was adopted later that year, and the first truly democratic election in South Africa's history was scheduled for April 1994 (Human Sciences Research Council, 2004). Following the victory of the ANC in the 1994 election, the Government of National Unity was formally established. The Government of National Unity was a "constitutionally defined multiparty assembly" made up of seven political parties who won seats in the 1994 election (Fiske and Ladd, 2004, p.65). In the election, the ANC won the majority of the seats (252), whilst the NP won the second highest number (82 seats), with lesser numbers of seats going to a number of smaller parties (Fiske and Ladd, 2004).

Essentially the Government of National Unity represented a political compromise between the ANC and the NP in the context of growing instability. In order to enable a smooth transition between the two governments, the ANC agreed to a number of political and economic concessions, such as the 'sunset clause', which effectively endorsed a compulsory period of power sharing whereby apartheid civil servants were guaranteed to keep their jobs for a 10 year period (Human Sciences Research Council, 2004). The nature of these compromises has had profound implications on the progress made in transformation in the post-apartheid period, especially since the white minority were able to retain much of their economic power through the new Constitution's protection of private property clause, as well as their administrative and institutional power through both the 'sunset clause' and the Government of National Unity's decision to devolve a significant amount of power to the nine new provincial governments (Marais, 2001).

On coming into power in 1994, the new government was faced with an immense array of challenges, with profound implications for all aspects of society, including education. The apartheid legacy left the country with vast socio-economic inequalities and a socially and spatially divided population, much of which had a distinct racial character. Having never truly functioned as a democracy, the new government also realised that much was needed to prepare South Africans for equal citizenship. Given the above discussion of the country's history, it is apparent why nation-building both continues to be an important goal of government, but also why it is such a difficult task. Whilst education played a crucial role under apartheid in dividing the nation and securing the power of a small minority, education in the post-apartheid period is tasked with bringing citizens together, instilling democratic values and eliminating inequality. Thus the following section focuses on contemporary South Africa and its education system in order to provide some insight into the context in which schools are attempting to realise nation-building imperatives.

2.5 Post-apartheid South Africa and the educational context

Although the state's multi-faceted approach to nation-building is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter, it is worth flagging up here some of the policies and initiatives that the successive ANC governments have enacted to rectify imbalances, strengthen democracy, foster cohesion, and promote a new national identity. One of the first initiatives of the 1994 government was to spearhead the creation of the new 1996 Constitution. Unlike in the past, where the majority of South Africans were denied their basic rights, the new Constitution affords all South Africans equal rights and equal citizenship (Republic of South Africa, 1996a). Various other policies and initiatives, such as the 1995 Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, the 2003 Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, and the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) all reflect the ANC's commitment to redress and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. After 1994, the state also began constructing a new identity for the country. New national symbols were produced, including a new flag, anthem and coat of arms. As discussed more thoroughly in subsequent chapters, education also has a central role to play in nation-building efforts. Soon after coming into power, the government set about reforming the country's education legislature,

curriculum and policies. The apartheid themes of racism, exclusion and segregation were replaced by calls for democracy, non-racism and reconciliation.

Before exploring how the post-1994 governments have approached these challenges and how well education institutions and schools are doing in realising their objectives, it is important to look at the scale of the challenges posed by the apartheid legacy and how these have affected South African society, and in particular, schools and education institutions. This understanding is necessary in order to fully appreciate the context wherein schools are attempting to teach citizenship education, realise transformation imperatives and in particular build national unity.

2.5.1 Socio-economic inequalities

The gap between the rich and the poor in South Africa is one of the highest in the world and it is continually widening. The apartheid legacy has a significant role to play in this, whereby South Africans today are still confronted with the disabling effects of the regime's racist and unequal approaches to education and the economy. These inequalities in turn have been exacerbated by the post-1994 governments' neoliberal macroeconomic policy choices, as well as widespread corruption (Marais, 2001). In recent years, however, the lingering racial character of these inequalities has begun to shift slightly. Seekings (2008) argues that the lines between race and class are not as clear cut as they were in the past, largely due to the post-apartheid governments' affirmative action initiatives aimed at economically empowering previously disadvantaged groups, including black, Indian and coloured communities. Consequently, a rising number of previously disadvantaged individuals are becoming financially better off. Despite a slight deracialisation of wealth, however, socio-economic inequalities persist and are distinguishable predominantly along the racial lines of the past (Seekings and Nattrass, 2005).

According to the Social Profile Survey conducted by Statistics South Africa (2010), approximately 62.1% of children live in households with a per capita income of less than R570 per month. The differences between the various racial groups are stark. Whilst 68.4% of black children lived in low income households in 2010, only 3% of white children were in the same situation. A study conducted by Amoateng and Heaton (2007) that examines access to

basic services amongst the different population groups between 1995 and 2002, shows similar patterns of racial inequity. The results reveal that black households, particularly in rural areas, still have inadequate access to services, such as water and sanitation, when compared to the rest of the population. Similarly, if one considers the levels of unemployment in South Africa, the racial differences are once again marked, with black South Africans, and in particular black women, experiencing the highest rates of unemployment. In 2007, 23.9% of black South Africans were unemployed as compared to 23.4% of coloureds, 9.5% of Indians and 4.1% of whites. In terms of gender, 18.2% of men were unemployed as compared to 24.3% of women, the majority of whom were black (Statistics South Africa, 2009).

These inequalities are also manifest within the education sector. Despite revised policy and increased government spending, vast disparities between schools have proved difficult to eradicate. Furthermore, these inequalities vary between the different provinces, rural and urban areas, as well as between learners of different races, genders and socio-economic backgrounds. Typically, poor, black learners living in rural or township areas are the most marginalised, thus reproducing apartheid induced inequities (Bloch, 2009). In many of these poorer schools, classes are also typically overcrowded and the quality of teaching is poor (Department of Basic Education, 2011a). Another key constraint to improving this situation is the fact that many of these areas lack the necessary skilled staff to efficiently distribute monies and improve the system (Fiske and Ladd, 2004). Given the conditions in these poorer schools, it is unsurprising that their learners routinely underperform, as Fiske and Ladd (2004, p.199) argue:

> "Using the criteria of progress through school, nature of courses taken, and success on the matric[16] exam, we find black students on average continue to perform at low levels. Thus South Africa appears to have made little progress toward racial equity defined by the concept of educational adequacy. Educational adequacy for blacks remains under the powerful shadow of South Africa's past".

The above discussion and statistics point to two significant issues. Firstly, even though the new government has succeeded in improving school enrolment rates, whereby in 2010, a total of 99% of children between the ages of 7 and 13 were enrolled in education institutions (Statistics South Africa, 2010), critics have questioned what exactly the poorest learners have

16 Matric is a term used to refer to the final year of secondary schooling in South Africa, or Grade 12.

gained access to (Motala, Dieltiens and Sayed, 2009). Although the government intended post-1994 policy changes, such as the creation of the South African Schools Act (no. 84 of 1996b) (SASA),[17] to improve access to quality education for all, these policies have not resulted in the desired outcomes. As discussed in Chapter Six, South Africa is instead faced with effectively a two-tier education system: a high quality one that caters for the racially mixed middle classes and a large poor quality system that caters for the black poor (Vandeyar and Jansen, 2008). Secondly, the above discussion is significant in terms of highlighting the linkages between schools and wider society. As argued above, many learners in rural and township areas live in impoverished conditions. Some are heads of households; others have to care for sickly relatives. Many of these learners have additional roles and chores to do that can impinge on their ability to focus on their schoolwork, such as domestic chores and/or earning an income. Unemployment, crime, HIV/AIDS and malnourishment are also difficult everyday issues that affect the lives of many young people and thus impinge on their ability to succeed in education (Human Sciences Research Council, 2005).

These trends further demonstrate the reality that in South Africa, education tends to reproduce socio-economic inequalities, which are rooted in the past, rather than transform them. Furthermore, whilst the gap between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' remains exceptionally wide, it is unlikely that citizens from different socio-economic backgrounds will be able to cohere as a unified nation. Indeed, as is discussed in both Chapters Three and Five, the state is acutely aware of the importance and problems with regard to fostering reconciliation on one hand, and addressing socio-economic imbalances on the other. Affirmative action policies, for example, are aimed at providing employment opportunities to previously disadvantaged communities and yet, as will become apparent within this thesis, these policies have also created feelings of exclusion and marginalisation, particularly within

[17] The South African Schools Act No. 84 of 1996 (SASA) repeals previous apartheid education legislation and aims to set out the rules governing the organisation, funding and management of schools. The SASA is an important document because under the Act individual schools are required to establish SGBs who are responsible for devising local school policy, including fee, admissions and language policies, as well as overseeing school budgets, maintenance and staff employment. The SASA is also important in terms of addressing equal access and desegregation in education, as under the Act schools are legally bound to adopt policies that promote social integration and tolerance. According to the SASA, no school may discriminate against any learner, or refuse admission of any learner, on the basis of race, ability, language, religion or socio-economic status (Republic of South Africa, 1996b).

minority groups. However, apartheid not only created a legacy of socio-economic imbalances, but it also entrenched social and spatial divisions in society, which have proved difficult to shift.

2.5.2 Socio-spatial divisions

Although residential areas, school and leisure spaces have officially become desegregated, many of these spaces remain racially exclusive. In the case of residential areas, research has shown that even though South Africans may now live together, most continue to choose to live in racially segregated spaces. Of course this 'choice' is constrained by wealth, as many cannot afford to live in wealthy neighbourhoods and gated estates (Seekings, 2008). Furthermore, in cases where different race groups have ended up living side by side, research shows that meaningful interaction between the different groups is limited, and instead each group continues to frequent particular shops or particular leisure spaces where their racial group is perceived to be in the majority (Oldfield, 2004; Lemanski, 2006). This effectively equates to what Valentine (2008) describes as leading 'parallel lives', whereby diverse peoples may co-exist, but this does not necessarily mean that they are making meaningful contact.

Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011, p.20) further point out that, "About 40 percent of black Africans never have contact with white people, whereas the majority of whites have casual and close contact with black Africans". This statistic is shocking and shows that although workplaces, schools and other spaces have become desegregated, inter-racial contact remains uneven. This is partly due to the fact that inter-racial contact in urban areas is much higher than in rural areas, and whilst most whites are urbanised, a great number of black South Africans reside in rural districts (Seekings, 2008). It is also important to point out that inter-racial contact most often occurs in places of work, where the quality of contact needs to be critically questioned because of the power hierarchies that structure such encounters (Gibson, 2004).

In the case of schools, the picture is also worrying. Although many former white, Indian and coloured schools have desegregated and boast multi-racial learner bodies, integration in these institutions still needs to be addressed. As discussed in Chapter Six, recent research indicates that the dominant approach to integration is assimilation, and various studies also

point to how learners effectively re-segregate within these institutions (Vally and Dalamba, 1999; Soudien, 2004; Nasaree, 2005). Moreover, it is worth drawing attention to the fact that multi-cultural schools make up a small minority of the education institutions in the country. The majority of poorer schools, situated in the rural areas and urban townships, have learner populations that are almost exclusively black and thus there are almost no opportunities within these schools to make meaningful contact with diverse others (Soudien, 2004; Lemon, 2005; Chisholm and Sujee, 2006).

These issues are raised in subsequent chapters, but the effects of apartheid are clear. A socially and spatially divided people who harbour negative attitudes and stereotypes of one another without engaging in contact to challenge these views, does not bode well for national unity. Even though multi-cultural schools have the potential to address this, it appears that more needs to be done to help these institutions realise this potential. In this respect it is also worthwhile to discuss the psychological scars left by the regime, which is linked to the way in which South Africans relate towards one another.

2.5.3 Psychological scars

As argued throughout this chapter, apartheid was a violent regime, which resulted in the humiliation, exploitation and dispossession of thousands of South Africans. The psychological scars are still very real and the legacy has produced widespread feelings of anger, denial and guilt (among others), as well as engrained a deep-rooted racial consciousness in South African society. Indeed, the pervasiveness of this racialised way of life can be exhausting. In their book entitled, 'Race Trouble: Race, identity and inequality in post-apartheid South Africa', Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011) attempt to account for the psychological condition, or 'race trouble', that exists in South Africa as a result of the country's history of racism. Whilst the majority of race studies tend to focus on the experiences of minority groups in society who are being discriminated against, the authors argue that in South Africa, everyone is troubled by race. Although these troubles are interlinked and historically grounded, they are not the same between all people. The authors highlight some of the many possible troubles that white and black South Africans face. These 'troubles' amount to what I would call the psychological scars of apartheid.

With regard to black South Africans, the authors firstly describe the ‘stigma’ that many black South Africans are confronted with on a day-to-day basis, in terms of dealing with a range of negative stereotypes that were produced during the colonial and apartheid eras and which have been circulating for centuries. These stereotypes include that blacks are lazy, stupid and incompetent. The authors highlight the fact that sometimes these stereotypes can be internalised, so that some black people will view themselves or other blacks negatively through the ‘white gaze’. This ‘self-stigmatisation’ can lead to intense feelings of self-hate, inferiority, jealousy, low self-esteem and shame (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011).

Secondly, the authors argue that some black people still feel that white people hate them. Some participants in Mtose’s (2009) research reported that they feel scared or uncomfortable going into ‘white’ spaces, such as certain bars, beaches or clubs where the majority of people there are white. They explained that the threat of overt racism looms over them, and some fear physical attack (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011).

Thirdly, are the ‘dilemmas of interpretation’, whereby the authors draw attention to that fact that some black people find it hard to tell whether they are being spoken to or treated in a certain way because of their race. Given that overt racism in South Africa is not as obvious as it was in the past, black people are often confronted with a predicament in certain situations where they feel they are being prejudiced against. Many do not want to appear over sensitive, or race obsessed, so they might let the situation pass. This can negatively affect their sense of self; they may feel bad for not standing up to perceived discrimination. However, if they are convinced of prejudice, then they are forced to act in some way, which can be equally as distressing, as it may result in conflict or being labelled oversensitive (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011).

Lastly, the authors draw attention to the ‘quest for authenticity’. In a changing world, black people are also often confronted with the challenge to prove their authenticity, or their commitment to black culture or traditions. Black people who are seen to have many white friends, or who attend traditionally ‘white’ schools are often labelled ‘coconuts’ and charged with having lost touch, or of being ashamed of, their ‘roots’ (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011).

Just as race can be troubling for black South Africans, so too are white South Africans deeply troubled by race. Firstly, with regard to 'stigma', the authors point out that white people have to live with the commonplace stereotype that they are racist, largely due to the role that whites played in apartheid. This is distressing for many white people, who may feel that they constantly have to monitor their speech and actions so as to avoid being labelled racist. They also have to deal with the stress of being blamed for the past atrocities, and for the ill-feeling that other people may feel towards them. As a consequence, many whites profess to want to forget about the past to avoid this stigma and the 'white guilt' associated with it (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011).

The authors also point to the conflicted relationship many white people have with regard to the past, present and their belonging in South Africa. Older South Africans often have fond memories of their childhoods in South Africa, where they could go where they wanted and do as they pleased. Nowadays many of these same South Africans feel like they have been excluded from the places that they once used. These feelings are often accompanied by feelings of a fatalistic future, where they perceive limited or no opportunities for raising children or having a successful life. New economic and labour legislation contributes to these feelings. Some white people feel as though apartheid has now been reversed and that they are the victims of racial discrimination. Many feel a loss of power and privilege, which has been challenging to deal with (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011).

This links to citizenship. Alongside this feeling of being displaced, many white South Africans also feel strongly rooted to South Africa. For many this is the only home that they have ever known and thus it is not easy to consider leaving. Furthermore, there is a feeling that if they emigrate they will be 'aliens' in another country, where they do not belong either. There is a tension between feeling that South Africa is their home and simultaneously feeling that they cannot legitimately call themselves Africans as their ancestors came from Europe. This creates a 'sense of placelessness'. There are different ways in which white South Africans deal with these feelings. Some decide to emigrate, and the authors point out that between 1995 and 2005, 841,000 white South Africans left the country (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011). Others lock themselves away in predominantly white gated estates, in what Ballard (2004) refers to as 'semigrating' to their 'comfort zones' where they can protect their

privilege and sense of whiteness. Others disconnect from public life all together, work from home and avoid watching the news, as a way of avoiding the perceived threats and retaining a sense of control over their 'worlds' (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011).

Finally, there is a feeling amongst white people that they are hated and are now the subjects of racial discrimination. Some feel that the economic policies that favour black workers amount to revenge. Many white South Africans also feel that they are being deliberately targeted by black criminals, even though research has shown that the majority of victims of crime are in fact blacks (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011).

With regard to this study, it is important to point out that simply because the youth of South Africa were not born, or were very young during apartheid, this does not mean that they are not affected by the issues that have been raised above. Jansen (2009) describes the effects of apartheid scars on the second generation. He talks specifically about Afrikaner youth, but the idea is applicable to young people of all races. He describes the knowledge that the youth carry from their parents as 'knowledge in the blood', "Knowledge in the blood is habitual, a knowledge which has long been routinized in how the second generation see the world and themselves, and how they understand others" (Jansen, 2009, p.171). This knowledge includes an understanding of history and identity and it is with this knowledge that young South Africans attempt to negotiate the hurt of the past and the promise of a different future. Furthermore, research shows that race and racism remain vitally important within school spaces, as Chisholm (2005, p.221) argues:

> "The defining feature of South African schools and schooling is arguably the politics of race and racism. It is one of the central fault lines of South African society, intersecting in complex ways with class, gender and ethnicity. Race is historically inscribed into the functioning of everyday life through those institutions in which the majority of children spend the greater part of their lives: schools. Seen as one of the principle generators, justifiers and vehicles of racialised thoughts, actions and identities, the challenge has been, and continues to be, whether and how the roles, rules, social character and functioning of schools can change to challenge the retrograde aspects of such formation and stimulate new and diverse identities and forms of acknowledgement and social practice".

Indeed, this is an important theme and area of exploration in this study precisely because of how severe an obstacle it presents to building national unity in the country, and on the

potential of schools to make a difference in this regard. These debates are taken up in greater depth in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

2.5.4 Civic deficit

The final aspect of the apartheid legacy discussed here is the "civic deficit" (Schoeman, 2006, p.130). As mentioned previously, the totalitarian way in which the apartheid regime controlled the country has left the present citizenry with little experience of democracy and a distrust of authority. Although 'civics' was taught within apartheid education, for example through the Youth Preparedness Programme introduced earlier, it hardly amounted to democratic citizenship education, and instead (like the rest of the apartheid curricula) was aimed at maintaining the status quo. Thus, Schoeman (2006, p.130) argues that generations of South Africans passed through apartheid with little or no exposure to democracy and consequently, in 1994, there was "widespread ignorance" of the new system of government, political processes and civic functions. This ignorance continues to exist today and threatens the longevity of democracy in the country. On coming into power in 1994, the ANC government recognised this 'deficit' and has subsequently attempted to provide schools with a more explicit function in strengthening democracy through transforming the curriculum. It is interesting to note, however, that recent research shows that the younger generation, born after 1994 and within the 'new' democratic South Africa, are less in favour of democracy. As Mattes (2011, p.14) argues: "as far as popular demand for democracy goes, the post-*apartheid* generation is *less* committed to democracy than their parents or grandparents". The author's study reveals that frustrations over political corruption and enduring levels of unemployment and poverty largely account for young people's negative attitudes towards democracy. These findings are problematic for nation-building in post-apartheid South Africa. In fact, many scholars argue that a focus on realising democracy is the most feasible way of building a unified nation (Marè, 1999). In this respect the foundations are laid in the creation of the new, inclusive Constitution, for example. Given the gross inequalities, widespread poverty and unemployment in the country, as well as the unacceptable levels of political corruption, however, it seems unlikely that citizens will support democracy if these issues are not adequately addressed.

2.6 Conclusion

Brookes (1968, p.57 in Lemon, 1987, p.52) describes Bantu education as, “The only education system in the world designed to restrict the productivity of its pupils in the national economy to lowly and subservient tasks, to render them non-competitive in the economy, to fix them mentally in a tribal world”. This is a powerful quotation that captures the core aims of the apartheid education system for black, but also Indian and coloured South Africans. By restricting resources to these schools and by presenting these learners with inferior curricula, the apartheid state was able to ensure that white students had a considerable socio-economic advantage. Whereas black, Indian and coloured education served to ‘dumb down’ these students and condition them into servitude, the well resourced white schools prepared the white youth both academically and psychologically for their privileged position in South African society (Molteno, 1984). In this way education formed a crucial part of the state’s arsenal, which aimed to reproduce apartheid ideology, protect Afrikaner identity and maintain white supremacy. Indeed deliberately skewing and segregating education in the country formed a crucial part of the state’s ‘separate development’ strategy, which it aimed to implement in all spheres of South African life. Drawing on their Afrikaner nationalist ideology, the NP enacted a range of oppressive legislation whereby they were able to classify and separate the entire population into different racial/ ethnic groups, which ultimately enabled white success, stifled dissent and demoted the life chances of all other individuals. Furthermore, this legislation was implemented with the full force of the state and caused widespread devastation, human rights abuses and resulted in thousands of deaths (International Defence and Aid Fund, 1988). At the heart of this was the will of the Afrikaners to safeguard their identity. By ensuring that political and economic power was in white hands, the *volk* could be protected and Afrikaner heritage, culture and language preserved (Giliomee, 1995). It was impossible for apartheid to last forever, however. As the anti-apartheid movement grew in strength and various domestic and international pressures mounted, the apartheid government was eventually forced to accept defeat and strike a compromise with the opposition, the ANC. Thus 1994 marked a momentous turning point in South African history. Apartheid was dead, but the effects of the regime have lived on and continue to shape all aspects of contemporary life in the post-apartheid period.

Primarily as a result of the country's history, socio-economic inequalities remain widespread in South Africa, and these inequalities continue to be shaped by race. In education, the large majority of impoverished black learners in rural areas and townships continue to attend the most under-resourced and poorly performing schools in the country, severely limiting their chances of breaking out of a cycle of poverty and improving their quality of life (Bloch, 2009). The apartheid legacy also continues to affect how people relate to one another in South Africa. Although the state has formally initiated the desegregation of neighbourhoods, schools and all public areas, citizens largely continue to reside and socialise with people who are the same race as themselves in self-segregated spaces (Seekings, 2008). It is partly because of this lack of socio-spatial integration, that desegregated schools have been positioned by government as crucial spaces for allowing young people to come into contact with and negotiate difference, in the hope that tolerance, understanding and respect will ensue. It is worth reiterating, however, that the large majority of learners attend public schools in rural and township areas, like those mentioned above, and that these schools are predominantly mono-racial, which means that opportunities for mixing with diverse others are practically non-existent (Lemon, 2005; Chisholm and Sujee, 2006). Furthermore, even within racially diverse schools, integration remains problematic (Vandeyar and Killen, 2006; Johnson, 2007; Vandeyar and Jansen, 2008). It is evident that race remains significant in South Africa. This is unsurprising given the country's past and how systematically and obsessively a racial consciousness was inscribed into the minds and hearts of South Africans. Furthermore, apartheid has caused enormous psychological scars and many South Africans hold onto deep-seated pain, guilt and even hate because of their past experiences. Although young South Africans, like those who participated in this study, did not live through apartheid, they too are affected by this legacy and are conscious of the many ways in which the past continues to shape the present (Jansen, 2009). Finally, because of the way in which the country was controlled during apartheid, many South Africans are experiencing democracy for the first time. This inexperience needs to be addressed and schools are important places to enhance democracy and promote equal citizenship, which is proving increasingly difficult to do given the harsh realities of South African life, where democratic ideals and values are often flouted (Mattes, 2011).

This chapter has aimed to situate the research topic within its historical context and to demonstrate the significance of the past in shaping all aspects of contemporary South African life. There are different inter-related aspects to the apartheid legacy, and the discussion has attempted to identify a number of these that have a bearing on post-apartheid nation-building efforts, and are useful to provide a context for understanding the learners' perspectives and experiences. In particular, the socio-economic imbalances, socio-spatial divisions, psychological scars and 'civic deficit' all affect the ability of South Africans to unite in solidarity in the 'new' South Africa. The following chapters explore these issues further, and in Chapters Five to Eight, the important perspectives of learners are examined, which are vital to consider when reflecting on nation-building debates and the potential of national unity in the future.

Chapter Three

Building a South African nation: The role of education and school spaces

3.1 Introduction

In post-apartheid South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) has taken the task of building a successful, united nation seriously. The previous chapter introduced the legacy of apartheid and discussed its destructive effects on broader society and on the education sector. Given the enormity of the challenges that lay ahead, the incoming government adopted a strategic, multi-faceted approach to nation-building. It was essential to promote a new national identity around which citizens could cohere, but equally important, the government needed to address socio-economic imbalances head on. With regard to the former, the state opted to promote a form of civic nationalism, whereby the rights, values and equal citizenship enshrined in the 1996 Constitution form the basis of an inclusive, non-racial national consciousness (Moodley and Adam, 2000). Given the rich social diversity in South Africa, as well as the country's turbulent history of identity-based conflict, it was also important that the state promote a respect for diversity (Kiguwa, 2006). In order to further cement this new identity, the state has created a range of new national symbols and it has used both the media and sporting events to encourage patriotism. In terms of addressing socio-economic imbalances, the government recognises that reconciliation and redress go hand in hand (NPC, 2011). Thus efforts to both reconcile citizens, as well as redress socio-economic inequalities have formed a crucial part of the state's nation-building strategy. Despite these efforts, nation-building remains an unfinished project and a number of challenges continue to undermine national unity, including South Africa's fragile democracy, persistent socio-economic inequalities, as well as the deeply-engrained racial consciousness and social divides that pervade South African society.

It is within this context that education is positioned to help realise nation-building imperatives. Through the teaching of citizenship education, the formal curriculum plays a vital role in both increasing political literacy, but also in building national cohesion by helping

learners address the past, understand and appreciate one another's differences and unite under a common South African citizenship (Department of Education, 2001b). School spaces are equally important to consider, particularly in relation to their institutional cultures through which learners implicitly learn particular values, attitudes and social norms (Gumbert, 1987). Since many schools are socially diverse spaces, young people also come into contact with and need to negotiate difference on a day-to-day basis. Although this interaction has the potential to encourage meaningful contact (Valentine, 2008), the social context of schools, as well as shifting peer relations and identities, can generate the opposite effects. In recent years, there have been an increasing number of geographical studies that have sought to highlight the role that school spaces play in (re)producing identities, whether they are disabled, gendered or racial identities (see for example Thomas, 2005; Evans, 2006; Holt, 2007). These studies draw attention to the mutually constitutive nature of space and identity, whereby school spaces can be viewed as particular nodes embedded in broader networks of socio-spatial relations, which ultimately act to create and reproduce both youth identities and the meaning of these spaces (Massey, 1994; 2004; 2005).

This chapter relates issues of education in South Africa to theories of nation, citizenship education, spatiality and race in order to lay the conceptual ground for the rest of the thesis. The chapter begins by discussing the ANC's approach to nation-building since 1994, highlighting some of the challenges that they face with regard to fostering national unity in particular. The second section of the chapter turns to explore citizenship education in different contexts and how schools aim to realise nation-building imperatives via the formal curriculum. An emphasis is placed on citizenship education in postcolonial and post-conflict societies, such as South Africa. The importance of the institutional context of schools is also considered, as this is influential in shaping how successfully citizenship education is delivered and received within classrooms. The final section of the chapter explores theorisations of diversity, integration and meaningful contact, as well as of the social and spatial construction of identities in school spaces. Given that race emerges as an important theme throughout this project, this final section also considers the (re)production of notions of race and racial identities in some detail.

3.2 Nation-building in post-apartheid South Africa

Despite common-sense perceptions, nations are not age-old natural entities and instead are modern social constructs that have been created and reproduced for various socio-political reasons (Gray, Delany and Durrheim, 2005). In any socially diverse context, and particularly in countries characterised by social divisions, nation-building is indeed an "ambitious experiment" (Boyce, 1999, p.231). A central question posed is how one can build a sense of nationhood that accommodates the diverse cultural, gendered and class identities (among others) that constitute any country. In post-conflict and highly unequal societies, this question becomes more complicated. In response to the challenges facing the post-apartheid state, the 1994 government embarked on an overt and multi-faceted nation-building campaign aimed at rectifying past imbalances, building national cohesion, and promoting a new national identity based on equality, democracy and respect for diversity.[18] This section serves to reflect critically on the ANC's strategy, before the subsequent sections discuss the role that education and school spaces play in this regard. It is important to describe how the ANC have approached nation-building and to identify some of the key debates in order to situate the research topic. In particular, Chapter Five presents the learners' perspectives on their nationality and national unity in the country, which are useful to reflect upon in light of the issues raised in this chapter. Similarly, some of the central challenges undermining efforts to build a united nation that are presented here are taken up critically throughout the thesis.

[18] It is worth drawing attention to a shift in the approach to nation-building between Nelson Mandela's presidency and the presidency of Thabo Mbeki, who succeeded Mandela in 1999. Whilst Mandela's era was characterised by a nation-building discourse focused on reconciliation and unity, Mbeki shifted this focus to a decidedly more 'Africanist' discourse. Despite being criticised for glossing over apartheid inequalities based on class, race and gender, and for engendering a false sense of security, the discourse used by the Mandela administration was important symbolically as it helped South Africans imagine a connection across their differences and forge a sense of belonging. In Mbeki's revised 'Africanist' discourse, South Africans are asked to imagine themselves simultaneously as South Africans and Africans (Blaser, 2008). Although not dealt with in detail in this thesis, it is worth pointing out that this discourse, although created to include all South Africans, has left some minority groups feeling excluded, as they perceive the Africanist agenda as an exclusively "*black* agenda" (Kiguwa, 2006, p.325). When Jacob Zuma became president in 2009, the ANC's nation-building discourse reverted back to the rhetoric of the Mandela administration. Zuma and his government recognised that minority groups in particular had begun to feel marginalised by Mbeki's narrow focus on Africanness, and thus the current government has attempted to revive Mandela's emphasis on reconciliation and inclusive patriotism (Kotzè, 2008).

3.2.1 Creating new national identity: civic nationalism and 'unity in diversity'

Producing a new identity for the post-apartheid nation was an important goal for the incoming ANC government. In debating national identities, scholars typically make the distinction between nations that adopt an identity based on 'civic' features and those whose identity relies more on 'ethnic' attributes. In this respect, Smith (1991) compares how nations and national identities emerged in the west, as opposed to other areas such as Asia and Eastern Europe. According to Smith (1991), national identities in the western 'civic' model share a number of characteristics. Firstly, a nation has specific boundaries, which have historical and cultural significance to their respective populations. Secondly, nations in this model are defined by their political structures, the set of laws that govern society and their enforcement agencies. In this model, a nation's identity is thus partly attributed to the civic rights and responsibilities of its citizens, and notions of equal citizenship. Smith (1991) argues further that in the western model, the legal equality of members of the political community presupposes some level of common values and traditions in the population. Typically it is through educational institutions and the media that mass socialisation occurs to create this 'common public'. In comparison, Asian and Eastern European concepts of nation and national identity tend to focus more on cultural or ethnic linkages. In this 'ethnic' conception of the nation, ancestry is essential. Even if a citizen moves to another country, they cannot escape their nationality, or national identity, which is ascribed to them at birth (Smith, 1991). Despite these differences, Smith (1991) argues that most national identities are comprised of aspects of both models to varying degrees, which may shift in emphasis over time and space.

Given the history of South Africa and that South Africans hold multiple, diverse identities, the post-apartheid state opted to forge a new national identity akin to the 'civic model' identified above. Thus in response to the apartheid 'ethno-nationalism', the ANC governments have attempted to promote civic nationalism in the post-1994 period (Kiguwa, 2006). This approach is similar to what Jürgen Habermas (1996) has referred to as 'constitutional patriotism'. Liberal theorists such as Habermas have argued that solidarity between citizens can be forged through a commitment to a common set of values, democratic institutions and a binding constitution (Chipkin and Ngqulunga, 2008). Even though such an approach may lack the 'emotional bonds' of ethnic nationalism, citizens in the former nations

are able to demonstrate the same level of allegiance to the state as in the latter cases (Moodley and Adam, 2000).

Crucial to this approach within the South African context is the 1996 Constitution and, within this, the Bill of Rights. As the National Planning Commission's (NPC) 'Nation-building Diagnostic' (2011, p.2) states:

> "The aim was to use the Constitution as a foundation for the building of a new national identity through a common citizenship and equal rights, and the avoidance of ethnically defined federalism. Together with national symbols such as the new national flag, the Constitution and its values are the foundation of a new South African nation… Embedded in the Constitution are shared values and a vision of a non-sexist, democratic, non-racial and prosperous society. This provides a common identity and, indeed, a common destiny for South Africans".

Hence despite their differences, the people of South Africa are encouraged to hold a common South African identity founded on the shared values enshrined in the Constitution, which are further defined in the NPC's Report (2011, p.15) as the "binding factor" which will unite South Africans.

The creation of a range of new national symbols has also played, and continues to play, a crucial part in promoting and reproducing the new South African identity and fostering unity (Bornman, 2006). The new national flag was first used on 27th April 1994 and is widely recognised, both locally and abroad, as a symbol of optimism and reconciliation in the 'new' South Africa. Although the state professes that the colours on the flag have no official meaning, the v-shape, which flows into a single, horizontal band is said to symbolise the coming together of diverse peoples as one united nation (Bornman, 2006). The new national anthem is another example of a post-apartheid symbol geared to unite citizens. The current anthem was created by combining two older South African anthems. The first is *Die Stem*, which was the official apartheid anthem sung in Afrikaans or in English ('The Call of South Africa'). The second is *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*; the unofficial national anthem that was sung by the majority of the population in resistance to apartheid. The current anthem combines the two and is sung in five national languages (SAinfo, 2011). On the 27th April 2000, South Africa also formally adopted a new national coat of arms and motto. The figures on the image of the

coats of arms are of the Khoisan, a term used to refer to the earliest inhabitants of South Africa. The national motto *!Ke e: /xarra //ke* comes for the /Xam language, which was once spoken in the Northern Cape by the Khoisan and it is officially translated as 'diverse people unite', or 'unity in diversity' (Barnard, 2004). Finally, new national holidays have also been created in a bid to encourage reconciliation and unity. In 1996, for example, the 24th September was proclaimed 'Heritage Day'; a public holiday set aside to celebrate South Africa's rich diversity and heritage. More recently the holiday has been re-branded as 'National Braai Day',[19] as braaing increasingly becomes a symbol of South African culture that all citizens enjoy and engage in (Stinson, 2009).

In any nation-building endeavour, it is important that notions of the nation and of national identity are reproduced and made convincing to the population. The promotion of national symbols can play a valuable role in this. The nation as an 'imagined community' is based on a range of cultural fictions, which are given meaning and importance through their everyday enactments and reproductions, for example, singing the national anthem or watching national sport teams[20] (Anderson, 2006). These practices allow people to imagine unity with others. They evoke emotion, which gives the impression that nations are natural and have always existed. Some social theorists have focused specifically on the everyday and more mundane ways in which nations and national identities are (re)produced. In this vein, Billig (1997, p.8) puts forward the concept of 'banal nationalism', which refers to the "collection of ideological habits (including habits of practice and belief) which reproduce nations as nations". Although Billig (1997) refers specifically to the reproduction of nations in the west, his arguments can be applied to nations in other parts of the world too. Banal nationalism is evident in the everyday discourses and practices of societies. In politicians' speeches and newspapers, for example, citizens are exposed to ideas about their nation and the nations of

[19] A braai is the South African term for outdoor, open fire cooking, or a barbeque.

[20] It is also important to highlight the role that sport, or "athletic patriotism" has played in nation-building in post-apartheid South Africa (Stinson, 2009, p.37). Sport in South Africa has proved to have much unifying potential and the state have embraced South Africa's hosting of international events such as the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the 1996 African Cup of Nations and more recently the 2010 Football World Cup, as opportunities to promote the country and foster national pride (Stinson, 2009). The 1995 Rugby World Cup was particularly important. Whereas rugby had traditionally been a sport dominated by white, Afrikaners, Nelson Mandela's attendance at the final match (which South Africa won) famously wearing the Springbok captain's rugby jersey, played an important role in augmenting national pride and promoting an image of South Africa, both locally and abroad, as a reconciled nation moving forward from a painful past (Evans, 2010).

others. This is similarly evident in the pervasiveness of national symbols, such as the flying of national flags. This banal nationalism exists as if it is natural. Nations, nationality and the order of nations have become taken- for- granted notions, which are reproduced through the continuous acts of flagging up nationalities (Billig, 1997). In the South African context, the national flag has been "banalized" and is reprinted on all sorts of items, such as car bumper stickers, t-shirts and caps. At sports events, fans often paint the flag on their faces and many businesses also use images of the flag to promote sales (Bornman, 2006, p.385). By being constantly exposed to images of national symbols, such as the national flag, South Africans are continually reminded of their national identity and belonging in South Africa.

A second element of the state's approach to constructing a new national identity for South Africa relates to the celebration of the country's diversity. What is particularly important about adopting a civic nationalism approach is that it allows citizens to hold and celebrate multiple identities, whilst simultaneously demonstrating an affinity to a national identity. As mentioned previously, this is particularly pertinent in the South African case, given that South Africa is a highly diverse country with a long history of identity based conflict. Furthermore, research indicates that South Africans value their ethnic and cultural identities, which provide them with an important source of self-esteem and belonging (Ramsamy, 2006). Thus adopting a civic nationalism approach, whilst simultaneously promoting diversity, or multiculturalism, was deemed far more appropriate to the post-apartheid context.

Essentially multiculturalism emphasises that different cultural groups exist and that all should be treated equally. In this way the approach promotes diversity and cultural tolerance (Kiguwa, 2006). Whereas in the past, social differences were emphasised and used to separate the nation, in the new democratic South Africa, the Constitution urges all citizens to embrace their diversity in a bid to forge national solidarity. Not only is this multicultural approach evident in the Constitution, but it is also evident in the state's efforts (with help from the media) to portray South Africa as the 'Rainbow Nation'. The metaphor of the 'Rainbow nation', coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, describes the 'imagined community' that constitutes the South African nation and "projects the image of different racial, ethnic and

cultural groups being united and living in harmony" (Bornman, 2006, p.384). Evidence of the state's attempts to promote 'rainbowism' can be seen in the institutionalisation of 11 official languages, as well as in the creation of institutional bodies to protect minority rights, such as the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (Ramsamy, 2006). Equally as important as celebrating diversity and promoting a new unified national identity is the work of reconciling citizens. Recognising this, the Constitution reiterates the importance of 'healing past divisions' and fostering unity to ensure a successful, democratic future (Republic of South Africa, 1996a). The following section looks at two ways in which the post-apartheid state has attempted to do this.

3.2.2 Healing past divisions

Soon after the democratic transition, the government created the 1995 Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act no. 87 in an attempt to begin to heal the wounds of the past. The Act called for the establishment of, and set out the agenda for, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The core aim of the TRC was to promote national unity and reconciliation by exposing as many gross human rights violations, which took place within or outside of South Africa between 1960 and 1994, as possible. In order to compile a complete picture of these atrocities, the Commission was tasked with obtaining the motives and views of both perpetrators and victims. By telling their stories, it was hoped that dignity could be restored to victims and empathy and forgiveness may follow. In order to encourage perpetrators to come forward and publicly confess their crimes, the Commission was also empowered to grant amnesty to perpetrators (Republic of South Africa, 1995). The Commission was viewed as a means to 'bridge' together the divided nation and it was one of many "institutional 'tools'" that were created by the government to promote unity and reconciliation (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1999, p.48). Others 'tools' include the Land Claims Court, the Constitutional Court and the Gender and Youth Commissions.

A lesser known way in which the state has attempted to reconcile citizens is through the reassessment and reinterpretation of history and historical narratives. This is particularly important in the South African context for two key reasons; namely that the country has experienced a particularly traumatic history, and that for centuries the recounting of history was done from a white perspective, effectively ignoring the important contributions of other

South Africans.[21] As such, the NPC (2011) Report highlights the role that history plays in nation-building and in this respect it stresses the importance of the negotiated settlement. According to the report, the 1994 compromise that brought apartheid to an end is a valuable starting point for the history of the "new" South Africa:

> "A united nation, able to set aside its differences, to work together for the common good, is surely within the country's grasp. The singular reason for this optimism is that despite their violent and divisive history, South Africans did come together to negotiate a peaceful settlement that ended apartheid and ushered in democracy. At the centre of nation-building is a usable past, the creation of a national history. The starting point for the "new" South Africa's history is that the country's people managed to walk away from the precipice of war and bloodshed, to create peacefully through negotiation, a democratic society" (NPC, 2011, p.1).

Finally, it is important also to highlight the central function that addressing the socio-economic inequalities caused by the apartheid regime has for reconciliation efforts.

3.2.3 The twin goals of reconciliation and redress

Even before the 1994 elections, the ANC leaders understood that without eradicating socio-economic inequalities, reconciliation would never be fully achieved (Nieuwenhuis, Beckmann and Prinsloo, 2007). This goal has remained at the forefront of the state's nation-building agenda throughout the 1990s to the present period. In May 1998, in a statement on reconciliation and nation-building made to the National Assembly by then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, the speaker referred to South Africa as consisting of two nations; a rich, white nation and a poor, black nation. Criticism of this statement aside,[22] Mbeki was essentially highlighting the gross socio-economic inequalities that plague the country, their racial component, as well as the extent to which this negatively impinges on reconciliation and nation-building efforts. The Constitution makes provisions for affirmative action because addressing apartheid inequalities is recognised as paramount. The Reconstruction and

[21] It is important to point out that many civil society organisations and ordinary South Africans have also initiated projects aimed at overcoming the trauma of South Africa's past and creating new historical narratives that include previously silenced voices. This is particularly important with regard to the voices of black women, whose experiences have been the most marginalised (even within the TRC) (McEwan, 2003). In this respect, McEwan (2003) describes the *Amazwi Abesifazane* ('Voices of Women') Memory Cloth Programme, which facilitated the inclusion and empowerment of rural and urban women in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) to create artworks depicting their experiences of apartheid. Not only was this project cathartic for these women, but it also contributed to their realisation of full citizenship, in the sense that their belonging, social standing and historical agency was recognised.

[22] Moodley and Adam (2000, p.64) critique the former Deputy President's 'two nations' speech, arguing that "He [Mbeki] implicitly denies the success of black empowerment by racializing class".

Development Programme (RDP),[23] as well as other pieces of legislation such as the 2001 Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act and the 1998 Employment Equity Act, have continued to make way for affirmative action to ensure that redress takes place (Hammett, 2008). These policies have faced two key criticisms, however. Firstly, critics point out that they have not been sufficient in generating substantial change for the thousands of black South Africans who remain impoverished and unemployed. Secondly, they are criticised for creating feelings of marginalisation and exclusion among minority groups. Herein the tension between ensuring equity and redistribution on the one hand, and realising inclusivity on the other, is revealed (Hammett, 2008). In the NPC's (2011) Report further evidence can be found to demonstrate that the state is clearly aware of the 'delicate balance' that needs to be struck between redress initiatives and reconciling citizens. Although important to highlight here, these issues are taken up in more detail in Chapter Five.

This is not the only challenge facing the post-apartheid state with regard to building a united and successful nation, however. A second challenge relates to the difficulty that South Africans have had in moving away from race and the pervasive racialisation of society. Indeed the racial categories of the past are so engrained in the South African psyche that they now appear to most as "common sense" or a "fact of life" (Posel, 2001, p.109). Despite adhering to non-racialism, critics such as Marè (1999), Kiguwa (2006) and Alexander (2007) have pointed out how extremely difficult it has been for the state to move beyond using racial categories of the past. Government affirmative action policies, like those mentioned above, use these same racial categories, thus reifying these markers of difference even further. It is also important to reiterate the psychological scars caused by the apartheid regime, which are also race-based. Indeed the persisting racial consciousness and related psychological scars that characterise South African society is a theme that, although raised here and discussed in the previous

[23] On coming into power, the ANC government launched the RDP as their core economic policy. Decidedly pro-poor, the RDP was geared towards addressing apartheid imbalances. Under pressure from both domestic and international forces, however, the new government decided to change the direction of their macroeconomic strategy and in 1996, the neoliberal Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy was introduced. Critics argue that this shift has negatively affected the entire country, whereby budget cuts and marketisation approaches have continued to widen the gap between the 'haves' and 'have-nots', thus undermining the ability of the state to forge a common national consciousness (Singh, 2007).

chapter, is returned to throughout this thesis because of the profound effect race has on achieving national unity.

Although the Constitution, its values and common citizenship are said to form the basis of a new national identity and national unity, some critics argue that, within the South African context, it seems unlikely that civic nationalism alone will be sufficient to encourage cohesion and solidarity (Chipkin and Ngqulunga, 2008). This is especially true when one considers how fragile democracy is at present. As suggested in the previous chapter, it is essential that the government do more to ensure that the Constitutional rights and values are lived and experienced in everyday life. This entails addressing the inequalities that plague the country, as well as addressing widespread political corruption. Only when democracy is fully achieved will citizens feel more inclined to cohere and develop the 'deep, horizontal comradeship' of which Anderson speaks. At present there are too many problems in the country for citizens to unify (Marè, 1999).

The final set of criticisms worth mentioning briefly here, and discussed in more detail in Chapters Six and Eight, are the criticisms levelled against multiculturalism. Critics have argued that this approach is perhaps not the best alternative for South Africa given that social divisions in the country, which exist along ethnic/cultural/racial lines, are so entrenched. Emphasising difference does not necessarily mean critically questioning the underlying power dynamics at play (Kiguwa, 2006). Nor does this perspective encourage a view that accepts differences as socially constructed and thus open to manipulation and change. Adopting this view would allow South Africans to appreciate the workings of power and give them more freedom to cross cultural boundaries and create new identities for themselves that challenge negative stereotypes (Kiguwa, 2006). Given the state's commitment to nation-building and the various challenges that hinder the realisation of this imperative, schools have been identified as key sites to help strengthen democracy and build national cohesion.

3.3 Nation-building and the role of education: formal curricula and institutional contexts

Education plays a central role in nation-building in many countries. Not only do formal curricula aim to provide young people with the necessary knowledge that they need to participate productively in their societies, but through citizenship education young people are provided with the social, moral and national orientations that they need to prosper in their respective states. There are many differences between the approaches to and the challenges that confront citizenship education in established western democracies and in fledging ones such as South Africa. Similarly, in societies that have experienced a history of conflict, citizenship education often takes on additional responsibilities, such as helping to bridge social divides. It is not only important to consider formal citizenship education curricula, however, as the institutional context in which such education takes place is also vitally important to reflect on. In particular, it is crucial that school spaces are conducive to the teaching and learning of democratic values and virtues, as well as to bridging social divides. In Chapter Six, some of the issues presented in this section are applied to assess the extent to which the two participating schools are creating conducive spaces to fulfil nation-building imperatives, particularly those related to unifying the South African nation. The discussion here is also useful to situate the exploration of the formal curriculum and its citizenship education focus area in Chapter Eight.

This section begins by defining citizenship education and briefly introducing some of its key characteristics. A set of interrelated goals of citizenship education are then identified and are critically discussed in relation to the post-apartheid context. This discussion further highlights the importance of context and draws attention to some of the problems that arise when the objectives and values of citizenship education are contradicted both within education institutions (for example, in educators' attitudes or school management cultures), but also in broader society.

3.3.1 Citizenship education

Citizenship education refers to the broad socialisation of individuals into their social and political communities. Through citizenship education, individuals learn about the history and political system of their nation, as well as the social structures and cultural values of their society (Gumbert, 1987). Given that national identities, political ideologies and concepts of citizenship are socially constructed, it is imperative that political knowledge, values and traditions are adapted and transmitted from generation to generation (November, Alexander and van Wyk, 2010).

There are many different public and private actors and agencies involved in citizenship education, including the state, the family, the church and the media to name but a few (Gumbert, 1987). Education plays a particularly important role in this endeavour. States also engage with citizenship education at different levels. Some states adopt direct approaches, where citizens' minds are actively engaged and particular political and social ideas are promoted. Other states adopt indirect approaches, which apply more covert means to change citizens' behaviour in what is considered to be positive ways (Gumbert, 1987). Likewise in schools, citizenship education can be approached directly as part of the curriculum, or indirectly by drawing on government policy that outlines certain values to be promoted in educational institutions (Staeheli and Hammett, 2010).

The final characteristic of citizenship education worth mentioning is its political nature. Citizenship education is fundamentally about power and control. In order to maintain a particular type of society, certain values, beliefs and behaviours have to be reproduced over time, and it is important to reflect on who has the power to promote certain values and impose these values onto others. Some Marxists, for example, have argued that civic education reproduces social hierarchies and inequality, by reproducing the dominant ideologies of the upper classes through the schooling system and the media (Gumbert, 1987). Althusser (1993) makes a similar argument and draws attention to the state's use of various 'Ideological State Apparatuses', including the church, family, media and the school, in order to maintain political and economic power. For Althusser (1993), the school is one of the more important apparatuses. Although schools may appear to be neutral spaces, wherein young people are taught skills and knowledge that will 'free' or 'empower' them, Althusser (1993) is far more

critical. He argues that teachers who in fact use their skills to educate children for liberation (that is, to understand the nature of the 'system' which oppresses them, and then to challenge or change the 'system') are in a small minority. Instead most teachers and schools tend to reproduce dominant ideologies, social positions and unequal divisions of labour, as was evident in apartheid schools, which were discussed in the previous chapter (Althusser, 1993).

From the literature, it is possible to distinguish a number of central aims or goals of democratic citizenship education, namely to teach political literacy and values education, as well as to nurture social cohesion through promoting a national identity. As mentioned previously, in post-conflict societies, education is also often geared to help heal social divisions. Given that all of these goals are fundamentally connected, an effort is made here to discuss them critically in relation to one another, highlighting the importance of school contexts in realising these objectives.

3.3.2 Teaching political literacy and values education

Democratic states are responsible for teaching their citizens to be politically literate. In democracies, this is done in line with a nation's democratic politics. Thus each citizen should learn about the laws of their country, including their legal rights and responsibilities. Citizens should also understand how their government is structured and how their national institutions function (Archard, 2003). This is vital in both established democracies in the west as well as in South Africa, where apartheid left citizens with little experience of democracy and yet equal citizenship is the cornerstone of post-apartheid national belonging and identity. For a democracy to function optimally, however, it is not enough for citizens to merely be politically literate. The survival of a democratic political system also requires that citizens develop particular civic characteristics (Macedo, 2000).

A civic character can be defined as "the set of dispositions and skills that motivate and enable an individual to effectively and responsibly participate in the public sphere in order to serve the common good" (Berkowitz, Althof and Jones, 2008, p.402). To participate effectively, citizens need to acquire certain skills, such as critical thinking and reflexive skills, so that they are subsequently motivated and empowered to act. Moreover, citizens also need to internalise particular moral dispositions. In a liberal democracy, certain values such as

freedom of speech, tolerance, equality and liberty are prioritised and actively promoted. Developing a democratic civic character can thus be seen to consist of two interconnected parts, namely developing civic virtues and values. Aside from political literacy, these two aspects of civic character are essential to ensure that any democracy can function optimally (Macedo, 2000; Berkowitz, Althof and Jones, 2008).

Within the post-apartheid context, fostering the civic virtues and values needed to strengthen democracy forms a crucial part of citizenship education. Both the 'Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy' and the Revised National Curriculum Statements (RNCS)[24] clearly state their commitment to values education and the teaching of political literacy. Both documents, for example, highlight the importance that learners be educated about the Constitution, its founding values and the Bill of Rights. Teaching young citizens to be politically literate means more than merely teaching them about their democracy and the Constitution, however, and instead it also involves encouraging learners to develop particular virtues, such as critical thinking, that will ensure the longevity and success of South Africa's democracy.

These two related goals are also important in postcolonial and post-conflict societies, where teaching political literacy and values education can serve additional functions, such as fostering a sense of national unity across difference. This is indeed the case in South Africa, where the Constitutional values are positioned as the 'glue' needed to bind citizens together. As Prof. Kadar Asmal, writing in the 'Values, Education and Democracy' Report,[25] states:

[24] The 'Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy' (or the 'Manifesto' as it is hereafter referred to) is a document that was created by the Department of Education (DoE) in 2001 to put forward a democratic citizenship agenda for South Africa. The 'Manifesto' was influential in the process of revising the national curriculum in 2000, and thus features strongly in the RNCS, which came into force in December 2001 (Department of Education, 2002a). The 'Manifesto' and the RNCS are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Eight of this thesis.

[25] The 'Values, Education and Democracy' Report is the product of the DoE's initial exploration into the role of values in post-apartheid education. Using the Report's findings and recommendations, the government commissioned further research and engaged in widespread public participation initiatives, from which the 'Manifesto' was produced a year later (Department of Education, 2001b). This document is also discussed further in Chapter Eight.

> "There cannot be a nation, there cannot be a democracy unless our education and processes of knowledge production and utilization actively internalize values of equity, tolerance, multilingualism, openness, accountability and honour. There must be a bond that holds the parts together" (Department of Education, 2000, p.4).

Fienberg (1998, p.32) argues that this has been a feature in American society too, whereby Jefferson is said to have believed that virtues, such as reason and autonomy, are both part of individual citizen's characters, as well as "the traits that together formed a "people" and created an American identity".

Despite these objectives, teaching democratic virtues and values may be complicated in multicultural democracies. Take for example the democratic value of civility. Civility essentially refers to treating people with dignity (Kymlicka, 2003). In a multicultural context, people from different cultural, religious and social backgrounds live and work together. Even though these people might harbour prejudices against each other, in a democracy, both the state and other civilians are obliged to treat those different from themselves equally and with respect. Kymlicka (2003) argues that because civility also promotes individual autonomy, some groups, such as conservative religious groups, may find the requirements of civility threatening. Conservative religious groups might not want to tolerate beliefs that are in contradiction to their own. In this context, these groups may not want to mix and endorse opposing views, as mixing might lead to one questioning one's own values and identity. In turn, religious leaders might see this as a potential threat to the preservation of their own way of life. The emergence of faith schools to cater for specific religious groups can be seen to be a response to this (Kymlicka, 2003).

In South African schools, research also points to situations where values, such as democracy or respect, are interpreted differently by educators. In some cases, these interpretations are in tension with the Constitutional vision. Mncube and Harber (2010), for example, interviewed a sample of educators in order to explore (among other things) how these educators understand democracy in their schools. Their results reveal that different educators hold different opinions. Whilst some argue that it is a good idea to democratise school spaces, others argue that democracy is actually compromising the education system negatively. For example, providing School Governing Bodies (SGB) with too much power can

sometimes lead them to engage in corrupt activities. Similarly, giving learners too much power can in some cases cause them to become unruly and disrespectful. Hammett and Staeheli (2011) also worked in a range of South African schools in order to explore how 'respect' is understood and practised in schools, within the context of citizenship education. The authors interviewed different stakeholders involved in education, including educators. Similar to the results of Mncube and Harber's (2010) study, Hammett and Staeheli (2010) found that different actors have different understandings of respect and in some cases these understandings are in tension with how the value is positioned within the Constitution and education policy. Respect is always imbued with power relations and because many educators were taught during the authoritarian apartheid era, respect is sometimes understood narrowly as 'respect for authority', without this respect being reciprocal. Some educators also complain about the lack of respect amongst learners, particularly with regard to a so- called 'rights culture', which they argue has developed by focusing too much on learners' rights, without stressing that these rights come with responsibilities. Clearly these contradictions and tensions have negative implications for how effectively citizenship education curricula will be taught and received within schools.

In the case of postcolonial states, the western-orientated, democratic values may also be interpreted differently by different cultures. Wainaina, Arnot and Chege (2011) argue that in predominantly rural African nations, citizenship does not refer to a single political community, nor does it apply solely to the relationship between the individual and the state. Instead the authors highlight the "dualities of citizenship" that are at play in these contexts. Here tensions between 'individual/community' and 'rights/responsibilities' are evident, as citizens must simultaneously promote and protect values, practices and obligations to both the state and to their communities, "This puts humanity at the centre of nation building or *active citizenship*" (Wainaina, Arnot and Chege, 2010, p.181), which the authors argue is vastly different to the individualistic western concept of 'active citizenship' and has implications for how citizenship education is taught within the country.

Evidence of these tensions can also be found within the South African context. McEwan's (2005) research, for example, reveals that black, African women also typically conceptualise citizenship in ways that are in tension with western, individualistic

understandings. For many of these women, citizenship is "culturally defined by familial and communal attachments" thus, like Wainaina, Arnot and Chege's (2010) point above, these women view citizenship "not simply as a relationship with the state, but as a relationship with other people" (McEwan, 2005, p.982). Similarly, Schoeman (2006) provides empirical evidence to draw attention to some of the ways in which international literature on citizenship is sometimes in tension with the ways in which South African educators understand related concepts. Schoeman's (2006) research highlights that African concepts of good citizenship tend to be more communal than typical western conceptions, and thus some of the educators that participated in the study perceived communitarian characteristics as being the most important to being a good citizen. For these educators, good citizenship was therefore linked to responsibilities to the community and acting in ways to promote the welfare of others.

In postcolonial contexts, western-orientated values may also challenge traditional African values. Wainaina, Arnot and Chege (2010) argue that in the case of Kenya, liberal, western notions of democracy (for example, freedom of speech and movement) are in tension with the patriarchal nature of Kenyan society. As a result, teachers are cautious about challenging gender practices, for example, by encouraging girls to talk in class, when female assertiveness is not encouraged at home or in the broader community. Similar findings were revealed by Harley et al. (2000), who worked with a sample of educators in six schools in the KZN province, South Africa. The authors argue that although new government policy is clear about the democratic 'norms and standards' to which educators must adhere, there is a significant mismatch between policy and reality. Policy dictates that educators should promote gender equality and critical thinking, but for some educators this goes against their personal beliefs. With regard to teaching critical thinking skills, some educators argue that they fear that teaching learners to think critically and develop their own opinions might cause them to challenge their parents or elders' views, or to adopt values that are in tension with the community in which they live (Harley et al., 2000). As such, the effective teaching of citizenship education in these classrooms is compromised.

This links to a further challenge associated with promoting democracy and democratic values. Problems arise when the values being promoted in the classroom contradict the realities of learners both inside and outside of their schools. This is relevant in all

democracies, and is particularly significant in impoverished and socially divided contexts like South Africa. In order for learners to internalise democratic values and practices, these need to be experienced in everyday life. Schools that educate young people effectively for democratic citizenship are those that are managed democratically and are able to create conducive spaces for teaching and learning democracy. Likewise, in post-conflict societies, learners are more likely to internalise the values of tolerance and equality if they experience these values in their schools.

Unfortunately this is not always the case. Wainaina, Arnot and Chege (2011) draw attention to a study conducted by the Institute for Policy Analysis and Research in Kenya, which reveals that despite emphasising democracy in school environments, Kenyan educational institutions are still subject to autocratic rule, whereby students are denied the right to express themselves and open dialogue is avoided. The authors argue that these authoritarian structures and cultures actually encourage non-tolerance (Wainaina, Arnot and Chege, 2011). Niens and Chastenay (2008) have put forward a similar argument based on their research in schools in Northern Ireland and Quebec. The authors argue that the political participation of students in these schools may be hindered by the schools' contexts. The authors highlight that schools in both regions are often hierarchical institutions where pupils' involvement in decision-making is merely tokenistic, thus compromising the ability of these students to internalise a crucial aspect of democracy.

In a similar vein, November, Alexander and van Wyk (2010) argue that in some South African schools, principals do not have the capacity to create democratic environments. In instances where principals have taught, or have been taught, during apartheid, they may not have internalised the necessary democratic virtues and values themselves in order to successfully nurture them within their schools (November, Alexander and van Wyk, 2010). Furthermore, Harley et al.'s (2000) study points to the high levels of corporeal punishment that is still being practised in many South African schools, despite it being outlawed in 1996 with the South African Schools Act (SASA). In some cases, community members and SGBs support the use of corporeal punishment. This is linked to the apartheid legacy, which encouraged a mentality of control (by force if necessary). This mentality has proved difficult

to shift and is at odds with the roles, norms and standards found in government policy, which ultimately calls for educators to act democratically and transform from 'control to leadership'.

It is not only the internal school environment that is important, however, and the contexts outside of schools are equally so. Indeed the space of the school is intimately linked to other spaces of experience, such as the spaces of home and community. As Bickmore (2008, p.44) argues, "There is no neutral space: schools conduct this peace and conflict education in the context of the structural and physical violence that surrounds and infiltrates them". Therefore, promoting and teaching democratic values, such as equality, non-racism and non-sexism, becomes problematic in societies that are plagued by massive income inequalities, racial abuse and gender violence. These issues are part of the daily realities of many South Africans, and it is evident that these realities contradict the values and ideals that underpin the Constitution. Banks (2004, p.9) refers to this as "the citizenship education dilemma".

In this respect, a number of studies conducted in South Africa have drawn attention to the problems facing teaching citizenship education, and in particular in promoting democratic values, when the values and content being taught is contradicted in everyday life (Harley et al., 2000; Hammett and Staeheli, 2011). Moodley and Adam (2004), for example, draw attention to the ways in which the Constitutional values are contradicted in the 'public curriculum'. The 'public curriculum' refers to the ways in which politics is conducted in a society. The effectiveness of the 'public curriculum' influences the involvement of citizens in the political sphere. According to Moodley and Adam (2004, p.159), the South African public curriculum, "contrasts with the school syllabus and triggers cynicism and alienation from politics instead of active engagement". Widespread political controversies and corruption have left South Africans feeling alienated and disillusioned with politics. Similarly, widespread inequality, crime and abuse have left South Africans somewhat ambivalent towards values education. Consequently, scholars argue that only when democratic values are realised by students, in other words when they are learnt through experience (in all contexts), will democratic citizenship education be truly effective (Banks, 2004).

3.3.3 Fostering national unity and reconciliation

Fostering national unity between citizens is another central goal of democratic citizenship education. Given that most of today's modern democracies are pluralistic societies, this goal takes on added significance. Through global processes of migration and immigration, states are becoming increasingly diverse, and because diverse peoples hold multiple identities and affiliations there is concern that this plurality compromises the ability of citizens to identify with the nation. If citizens feel alienated, or they feel like their own cultural attachments and values are not taken seriously by the state, they are not likely to commit to, or promote, a shared national identity (Banks, 2004). Schools are therefore important sites in which young people of different backgrounds are encouraged to develop the necessary sentiments to bind them to one another "through a commitment to the nation" (Fienberg, 2009, p.33). As such, they are encouraged to forge national solidarity within the 'imagined community', which can help instil "transversal loyalties" that go beyond social differences and ensure social cohesion (Niens and Chastenay, 2008, p.521).

The development of "superordinate identities" is also valuable in post-conflict contexts as a way of addressing ethnic divisions and tensions (Niens and Chastenay, 2008, p.521). Often past or continuing conflict is related to identity politics and thus differences matter in these societies. Hence in post-conflict contexts, efforts to promote a common national identity often take place in conjunction with efforts to reconcile divided citizens. In South African schools, promoting a common national identity and reconciling young people, whilst simultaneously encouraging a respect for difference, is in line with the state's multi-faceted approach to nation-building discussed above. Here again the democratic values that underpin the Constitution are vitally important in shaping a new national consciousness, and thus a deliberate attempt has been made to incorporate core values, such as democracy, social justice, human dignity and equity into the different Learning Areas. As the RNCS for Grades R-9 states, "The promotion of values is important not only for the sake of personal development, but also to ensure that a national South African identity is built on values different from those that underpinned apartheid education" (Department of Education, 2002a, p.8). National solidarity is particularly important in post-apartheid South Africa, where citizens need to come to terms with the past and work together, in their diversity, to build a successful country. In this respect, Prof. Kadar Asmal further calls on all South Africans to embrace their diversity to

help forge solidarity, “we must draw from those infinite qualities common to our diverse language, cultural and religious traditions that will enable us to craft a new identity that defines us as a nation” (Department of Education, 2000, p.4).

When examining the ten core values outlined in the ‘Manifesto’, the role of education in reconciliation and building a new national identity is evident. ‘Reconciliation’ is in fact the tenth value identified in the ‘Manifesto’ and in the document it refers to healing the scars of the past and moving forward as a society committed to democracy, equality and human rights (Department of Education, 2001b). Furthermore, the ‘Manifesto’ points out that to foster a common identity between all South Africans, it is imperative that citizens learn about and understand one another in order to forge bonds of friendship and trust (Department of Education, 2001b). There are a number of ways in which schools can promote a common national identity and heal social divisions. In terms of the recommended strategies to promote reconciliation, the ‘Manifesto’ puts forward a number of suggestions. One of these is that art should play a bigger role in the curriculum, as art is able to transcend cultural and language barriers and it can be a useful tool to allow learners to share and appreciate different things about one another (Department of Education, 2001b). Similarly, the ‘Manifesto’ calls for sport to be used to build social bonds and nurture nation- building in schools. Like art, sport transcends social and language barriers, and can foster a great sense of teamwork and commonality. Of course, solidarity can only occur in a society where everyone is treated fairly and equally. Thus strategies such as ensuring equal access to education, promoting anti-racism in schools and freeing the potential of both girls and boys are noted as imperative in the ‘Manifesto’ if South Africa is ever going to emerge as a unified nation. The ‘Manifesto’ also identifies human rights education as a prerequisite for good citizenship and nation-building. In this regard, the document advocates that learners should be taught about the Constitution, their social rights, as well as the rights of others, all of which is covered within various Learning Areas in the formal curriculum. The final strategy outlined in the ‘Manifesto’ worth mentioning is the ‘nurturing of a new patriotism’, or ‘the affirmation of our common citizenship’. In order to boost patriotism, the ‘Manifesto’ suggests that schools sing the national anthem and fly the national flag (Department of Education, 2001b).

Another common means to achieve reconciliation and promote national unity is through the teaching of history, as a nation's historical narrative embodies much of its perceived identity. As mentioned previously, creating such narratives is not politically neutral. As a government comes into power they may use their authority to reinterpret and promote a version of history that suits their social, cultural and political aims. In the process, other alternative interpretations may be overlooked or deliberately excluded (Zajda, 2009). Similarly, although common historical narratives can act as powerful tools in nation-building, it is important to be aware that ongoing problems and tensions are not eliminated by attempting to bury conflict in such narratives, and in fact "it only makes the political grounds for addressing them more difficult to identify" (Staeheli and Hammett, 2010, p.669). Bickmore (2008) makes a similar point, warning that if conflict in the past is not dealt with directly, the youth will be ill-prepared to deal with the reality of 'inter-group' conflict in their societies.

Within the South African context, the history curriculum has a crucial role to play in nation-building efforts. As mentioned in the previous section, the post-apartheid government recognises that by redefining the past and promoting inclusive historical narratives, reconciliation and unity may be fostered. Hence, putting more emphasis on history in the curriculum is also identified as important in the 'Manifesto', whereby history is seen as a vital subject to teach learners about their shared past, to build reconciliation and to ensure that the same atrocities are never repeated (Department of Education, 2001b). Similarly in the DoE's (2001a, p.35) guidebook for principals and educators entitled: 'Educating for Our Common Future: Building Schools for an Integrated Society', history is described as a subject that "provides opportunities for young people to engage critically with the past and to develop a multi-faceted understanding of historical events", as well as providing a direct route to "dealing with the issue of race in South Africa".

It is evident that fostering national unity is an important goal in multicultural democracies, as well as in countries that have experienced histories of conflict. Indeed achieving a sense of national unity and solidarity is important in its own right, but is also intimately linked to the goals mentioned previously. Promoting a shared civic identity is fundamental for building a successful nation and for ensuring a healthy civic life. Citizens

who do not feel a sense of belonging to their nation, or who do not feel a sense of commonality with their fellow citizens, are less likely to participate either socially or politically (Ross, 2007). It was discussed previously that in many different contexts, the promotion of democratic values forms part of the identities of nations, including South Africa, and that values education can also play an important role in promoting cohesion and reconciliation. In order for citizenship education to be successful, however, it is vitally important the schools create conducive, democratic spaces in which the values and virtues being promoted are reflected in school management structures and are actively practised within schools.

3.4 Fostering meaningful contact in school spaces

In school spaces, young people are also confronted with difference on an everyday basis. In some cases, these interactions generate positive outcomes, such as changed attitudes, reduced prejudice and the creation of new identities. In other cases, contact with difference may cause social withdrawal, reproduce negative stereotypes and heighten social tension (Allport, 1978). It is useful to highlight the importance of space here. Not only does space play a central part in how identities are negotiated within schools, but the institutional context of individual schools also matters to how educators and learners interact and experience life in their respective institutions. Furthermore, a relational understanding of space can help one appreciate how spaces outside of school boundaries both affect and are affected by what occurs, and what is possible, inside those boundaries (Massey, 1994; 2004; 2005). In post-conflict contexts, such as South Africa, is it particularly valuable to consider the role and potential of diverse school spaces in enabling learners to challenge their perceptions and identities, as well as to foster meaningful contact across racial divides, which in turn can help strengthen national cohesion. The concepts presented and discussed in this section are therefore useful to Chapter Seven where the (re)production and contestation of learners' identities and notions of race are interrogated.

3.4.1 School spaces and the relational construction of social identities

Identity is a complex term that has been theorised differently over time within western social science disciplines. During the postmodern turn in the 1990s, the essentialist understanding of

identities was challenged and theorists began highlighting their social construction, whereby identities are now conceptualised "not only as temporally and spatially variable but as intrinsically plural and contradictory" (Martin, 2005, p.99). The multifaceted nature of identities is important. It is now appreciated that an individual's identity is constituted out of many different aspects, including their gender, race, sexuality and class, to name a few. Identities are also multiple in the sense that individuals are able to express many different identities simultaneously. Similarly, individuals may choose to adopt different identities at different times and in different spaces for particular reasons. The term 'intersectionality' has been developed to account for the nature of this multiplicity (Hopkins, 2010).

An appreciation of the relational construction of identities also characterises contemporary social science literature. A relational understanding of identity acknowledges that identities are always formed in relation to others. This understanding highlights the significance of the self/other binary in the construction and reproduction of identities. In this view, notions of 'self' are always constructed in relation to perceived commonalities or differences with others. It is also important to point out that the self/other binary is hierarchical, whereby attributes of the 'self' are positioned as being superior to the assumed qualities of the 'other' (Said, 1978; Cloke, 2005).

Given the hierarchical nature of the self/other binary, identities are always political. As discussed above, the self/other binary relies on setting boundaries to define 'us' as distinct from 'them', which ultimately leads to social exclusion. There are material consequences of this line of thinking, whereby people and places can be excluded or marginalised. The role of power in the construction of identities is therefore fundamental. By adopting a relational approach, identities are also seen to be fluid and shifting, as they are constantly being negotiated and re-negotiated (Sibley, 1995; Jackson, 2005). They can thus be read differently in different 'time-spaces', which in turn produces different outcomes (Panelli, 2004).

Identities also crucially have a spatial dimension and uncovering the complexity of this relationship has been particularly interesting for human geographers. With this in mind, this study employs Massey's (1994; 2004; 2005) concept of relational space. Thinking about space relationally involves reconceptualising space as a product of social relations. Crucial to this

understanding is an appreciation of the mutually constitutive relationship between society and space. Social relations are multiple and diverse. In their everyday lives, people forge economic, political and cultural connections and relationships. Moreover, these connections are established at a variety of spatial scales, from the global to the local level. A relational understanding views space as constituted out of these social interrelations. As Massey (1994, p.2) puts it, "the spatial is social relations 'stretched out'". The possibility of making social connections and relationships is endless. Thus space, which is constituted out of these social relations, is also multiple and dynamic, always in the process of becoming (Massey, 1994; 2004; 2005). Massey (1994, p.3) also draws attention to the meaning, symbolism and power that pervade all aspects of social relations and therefore space as well, "since social relations are inevitably and everywhere imbued with power and meaning and symbolism, this view of space is as an ever-shifting social geometry of power and signification".

A relational understanding of space also has implications for notions of place and place identities. Traditionally place and space have been conceived of as binary opposites, each with a set of defining features (Bondi, 2005). Place is typically perceived to be grounded and fixed, as a bounded site with a distinguishable identity. Space, on the other hand, is conceptualised as infinite, neutral and objective, the "abstract outside" (Massey, 2004, p.9). A relational understanding challenges notions of place because this understanding appreciates that space is constituted through social relations that stretch beyond the boundaries of places. Given this understanding, places are more adequately conceptualised as particular nodes within a broader network of social exchanges and interactions. According to Massey (2004, p.6) places are best thought of as "meeting places", or points of intersection in the web of social interrelations that constitute space. Consequently a relational understanding makes it difficult to hold onto the notion of fixed place identities. Places instead have multiple and contradictory identities, which have to be negotiated at the various intersections. The uniqueness or identity of particular places should not be understood then in terms of the imagined boundaries that are imposed onto space, but rather in terms of the "specificity of the mix of links and interconnections to that 'beyond'" (Massey, 1994, p.5).

Adopting a relational view of school spaces is important to this study. Rethinking school spaces as porous, and as constituted out of social relations that stretch beyond the school

boundaries, has important implications for the relationship between space and youth identities. Using the concept of relational space, the empirical research provides a lens through which to interpret the everyday experiences and identities of secondary school learners in South Africa. This interpretation focuses on the ways in which learners actively shape their identities through their interaction and connections within the different spaces that they inhabit. In turn, this understanding provides some insight into the potential for school spaces to produce identities that will support social cohesion, not just at the 'local' school level, but also in ways which transcend these boundaries to unify South Africans at the national scale.

Despite the importance of studying school spaces, in western contexts schools have typically received less attention from geographers than other institutions, such as hospitals and asylums (Collins and Coleman 2008). While the space of schools is somewhat neglected, the last decade has witnessed an increasing interest in the geographies of education. There are two significant and related themes that emerge from the literature.

First is the recognition of the mutually constitutive relationship between school spaces and social relations, perceptions and identities. Linked to this, much of this research adopts a relational concept of space that appreciates how schools spaces are intimately linked to other spaces of experience, such as the home, neighbourhood and nation (see for example Holloway, Valentine and Bingham, 2000; Ansell, 2002; Valins, 2003; Thomas, 2005; Evans, 2006; Newman, Woodcock and Dunham, 2006; Holt, 2007). Both Philo and Parr (2000) and Collins and Coleman (2008) draw attention to how institutions (including schools) are being reconceptualised relationally. Instead of seeing institutions as fixed entities that shape people and places, they are now seen to both transform and be transformed by them. Institutions are not bounded spaces, but rather are constituted out of networks of resources, knowledge and power that operate on various spatial scales.

This links to a further, related theme. It is precisely because institutions such as schools are dynamic, "precarious accomplishments", or entities that emerge only through practice, that they are open to change and transformation (Philo and Parr, 2000, p.518). Similarly, social relations and identities within these spaces can be challenged and transformed. A number of studies have drawn attention to the different ways in which positive transformations have

occurred within school spaces, whether these changes take place consciously or inadvertently. In Holloway, Valentine and Bingham's (2000) study, for example, the authors seek to explore how institutional cultures within schools shape how children use information and communication technologies, as well as their attitudes towards these technologies. The results of the study reveal that institutional cultures have important affects "both a space through which gendered difference in boys' and girls' attitudes to and use of computers are (re)produced and an arena through which gender and sexual identities are constructed and *contested*" (Holloway, Valentine and Bingham, 2000, p.630, emphasis added). Similarly, Ansell (2002) conducted a qualitative study in rural secondary schools in Zimbabwe and Lesotho with a number of young girls and boys in order to explore the importance of school spaces in (re)producing gendered identities. Her study focuses on two discourses that emerged most frequently in conversations about gender and gendered identities, namely, discourses of 'culture' and 'equal rights'. Ansell (2002) shows how these two discourses sit uneasily together in the girls' accounts as they attempt to make sense of their lives. Whereas in school spaces the girls used the discourse of 'equal rights' in discussing their future imaginations, in reality, outside of school, the everyday material realties of these girls lives may result in them never achieving equal rights. Besides highlighting how spaces of school are linked to wider social relations in other spaces, Ansell (2002) also draws attention to the agency of students, in that students are never passive consumers of knowledge and instead interpret and use this knowledge in different ways, and sometimes not as teachers or schools would want or anticipate.

Like these studies, this research also seeks to explore the role of school spaces in (re)producing, and in particular *challenging*, learners' identities. Transforming racial identities and negative racial stereotypes is especially important within the post-apartheid context. Due to the significance of learners' relations in school spaces, the following section explores a range of other concepts and theories that are also useful to understand how learners negotiate difference and under what circumstances meaningful contact may be achieved.

3.4.2 Social diversity and making meaningful contact

In many countries around the world integrating schools is seen as a step in the right direction for building understanding, respect and cohesion between diverse and/or divided people. In

order for meaningful contact to ensue, it is important that the interactions between individuals change values, attitudes and behaviours beyond specific moments to ultimately produce a "more general positive respect" for others (Valentine, 2008, p.325). Allport's (1978) 'contact hypothesis' is useful when thinking about the nature of contact between diverse individuals and the circumstances under which particular types of contact may reduce prejudice. Many scholars have applied Allport's theory to their research in schools within diverse and/or divided societies. These studies have outlined some of the challenges that confront engendering meaningful contact and they have also expanded upon the conditions under which such contact can be successfully achieved (see for example Kosic and Senehi, 2009; McGlynn, 2009).

In his book 'The Nature of Prejudice', Allport (1978) discusses various types of contact between individuals of different races, in order to examine whether contact can reduce prejudice and under what circumstances. This is an important point. Merely assembling diverse people together is not enough to reduce prejudice, challenge stereotypes and encourage friendly relations. In some cases, contact may even reinforce prejudice and ill-feeling. Thus the nature of contact or interaction between people matters (the type of contact and the duration of contact), as does the context of the contact (the spaces of contact, as well as whether the contact was voluntary or forced, competitive or cooperative), and finally the nature of the people themselves is significant (the status of individuals, their life situations, personalities and initial prejudices).

To support his arguments, Allport (1978) discusses research that explores contact and prejudice in different spaces, including residential areas, workplaces, schools and camps, to name a few. Overall, he argues that integration has the potential to reduce prejudice, although in cases of 'casual contact', prejudice is often reinforced. 'Casual contact' is superficial contact, for example, passing someone of difference in the street. In these instances, prejudice is often reinforced because people carry pre-determined intolerances against others and harbour certain stereotypes. When they are surrounded by people who are different (say, in a crowded street), they are more likely to fixate on the individual/s who reflects their prejudice. The many others who challenge their prejudice are ignored or overlooked (Allport, 1978).

Allport (1978) also discusses ‘acquaintance’ contacts. Generally this type of contact is less superficial than ‘casual contact’ and therefore it has the potential to help individuals overcome prejudice. In this respect, Allport (1978) discusses intercultural education and the ways in which such education assumes that by teaching children about difference, as well as acquainting them with difference (through ‘trips’, role-playing and experiential learning), prejudice will be lessened. Research has shown that both approaches can have some positive effects in increasing tolerance and friendly attitudes.

These effects, however, are not absolute. In particular, the personalities of people are noteworthy. Less amicable people are less likely to be tolerated no matter what race they are, whereas other individuals have characters that resist change. In the latter cases, one needs to consider the background of the resistant individual. To support his argument, Allport (1978) cites a study conducted with a group of young boys who went on a multicultural camp for a number of weeks where they ate and played together. Before and after the camp they were tested to establish their level of prejudice and whether it shifted over time. The results revealed that almost the same number of boys showed decreased levels of prejudice as those whose levels of prejudice increased. Generally the boys who had strained relationships with their parents, difficult home environments and aggressive personalities were least likely to reduce their prejudices. This does not disqualify the role that wider societal structures also play in (re)producing negative stereotypes and prejudice however (Allport, 1978).

Allport (1978) further highlights the fact that knowledge about others may not lead to a change in attitude. One may learn at school that there is no biological difference between race groups, for example, but this does not necessarily mean that individuals’ attitudes will change more positively towards other races. Similarly, ‘equal-status’ contact also has its limitations. Even in situations where different individuals are of the same economic class or occupation, their interaction with one another, despite being on an equal social footing, may not be effective in challenging deep-set perceptions and habits. On the contrary, Allport (1978) argues that contact between diverse peoples that aims to build these people as a team has the best chance of reducing prejudice.

Valentine (2008) draws on Allport's (1954) 'contact hypothesis' to support her arguments regarding how individuals can forge a civic culture out of difference in increasingly diverse urban areas. Although Valentine's (2008) work refers to cities, her arguments are equally applicable to school spaces. Many schools, including the two schools that participated in this project, are socially diverse and are tasked with forging a common civic culture in the face of this diversity. Valentine (2008, p.326) uses empirical evidence based on research conducted in the United Kingdom to argue that mere contact between people is not enough to produce respect for difference, rather, in some cases, people might share the same social space but lead "parallel lives". There is a spatial dimension to this as groups of people may define their own territories, for example, the Jewish community in North London, or the gated estates in Johannesburg. In other instances, groups of people might attend certain schools or social clubs where they can interact with people of a similar religion or culture. Thus instead of spatial proximity producing positive encounters, it can have the opposite effect, whereby individuals and groups become defensive of their identities and seek to socially and spatially segregate themselves from difference (Valentine, 2008).

Close proximity with difference can also lead to prejudices becoming more hardened. Drawing on her own research in the West Midlands in England, Valentine (2008) argues that in some cases people become more prejudiced when brought together, especially in contexts where personal or community security comes under economic or cultural threat. In hard economic times, Valentine (2008) found that some white participants in her study blamed immigrants for taking their jobs and putting financial strain on the state. She highlights various narratives of economic and cultural injustice, victimhood and parasitism that were used by a group of participants. These narratives provided these participants with an outlet to express and justify their prejudice against others. In cases where spatial proximity with difference is in fact hardening prejudice, anti-social behaviour might occur. This behaviour could range from rudeness to others, to physical violence towards particular groups (Valentine, 2008).

Like Allport (1978), Valentine (2008) also questions the potential of moments of meaningful connections to be sustained and scaled up effectively. Whilst one negative encounter with difference often causes individuals to make broad negative generalisations about others, the opposite is true for single positive encounters, which are more likely to be

seen as a once off. Valentine (2008) argues that this is partly attributed to the fact that in most instances, social encounters do not effectively challenge history and socio-economic inequalities, which are often the root causes of prejudice. Narratives that draw on history or inequality are deeply ingrained in people's minds and are thus more difficult to shift. Often people feel justified in their feelings and do not even see themselves as being prejudiced.

In summary then, the 'contact hypothesis' states that particular types of close and sustained contact with diverse others can promote positive attitudes towards difference, whereas the absence of such contact can foster negative attitudes, stereotyping and prejudice (Gibson, 2004). Referring back to Chapter Two, the nature and extent of inter-racial contact in post-apartheid South Africa is introduced. Generally contact between diverse South Africans remains limited, despite post-1994 policies that have resulted in the formal desegregation of residential areas, schools and public spaces. Research shows that substantial racial isolation exists in South African society, especially among black South Africans living in rural and townships areas, whose everyday worlds are devoid of white people (Gibson, 2004). Although the workplace is the most common site for inter-racial encounters, evidence suggests that contact at work does not contribute to fostering more healthy attitudes towards race, most likely due to the hierarchical power dynamics that structure such encounters in these spaces (Gibson, 2004). Unsurprisingly, South Africans continue to harbour distrust and suspicion of others and adhere to negative racial stereotypes (Roefs, 2006). None of this bodes well for nation-building endeavours in the post-apartheid period. On a more positive note, Gibson's (2004) research does indicate that when diverse South Africans are able to make meaningful and sustained contact with one another, inter-racial reconciliation is sometimes achievable. Although this contact may not necessarily produce desirable outcomes, the point is that it provides opportunities for this to become possible.

This is all the more reason why desegregated schools offer a unique and vital opportunity for young South Africans to make contact with one another in meaningful ways. As discussed above, the management practices of schools, as well as the attitudes of educators and principals, have a fundamental role in influencing how learners respond to citizenship and values education, but also to how they negotiate difference and (re)produce their identities. Thus Chapter Six explores the extent to which school spaces are conducive to providing

learners with opportunities to challenge their identities and negative stereotypes, as well as build meaningful friendships that have the potential to overcome social divides. Chapter Seven takes this analysis a step further by applying the conceptual ideas discussed here to explore how learners produce, reproduce and challenge their racial identities and notions of race within school spaces. Finally, Chapter Eight explores the role and ability of the formal curriculum to foster cohesion and respect across difference.

3.4.3 Race and racial identities in South Africa

Like other axes of identity, the concept of race is no longer understood as a fixed, biological given. Instead it has come to be conceptualised as a social construct that has emerged historically, often for political reasons (Panelli, 2004). As a consequence of the complexities of race, it is not enough nowadays to merely critique the 'naturalness' of the concept and instead attention has shifted to understanding the changing meaning and continued significance of race (Hall, 2000). Human geographers have contributed to recent research on race and ethnicity in a number of ways. Not only have they explored the discursive construction of ethnic and racial identities and the power dynamics at play in producing, negotiating and challenging these identities, but they have also documented the social and spatial processes of racialisation and shown ways in which we can resist or oppose these discourses (see for example Dwyer, 1999; Nayak, 1999; 2008; Thomas, 2005; Dwyer and Bressey, 2008).

In the South African context, racial discourse and racial discrimination persist and can be seen to be evolving even though the racial categories of the past have been shown to have little ontological/biological purchase. Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011) argue that traditional theories of racism, and contemporary theories of 'modern racism', do not adequately assist in understanding the context of race in post-apartheid South Africa. During apartheid, the concept of 'racism' was much more applicable and useful than it is now. 'Racism' provided a useful analytical tool for studying colonialism and apartheid, and for the mobilisation against the latter. In contemporary South Africa, society is far more complex and hence modified theoretical perspectives are needed to interpret people's experiences and subjectivities. For example, "Redress and anti-racism come into conflict with each other in transformation policies that discriminate on race grounds to produce social equality. New

black elites have emerged that sometimes exploit marginalised black people" (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011, p.23).

Under these circumstances, the binary charge of oppressor and oppressed is not as simple to identify as it was in the past. Similarly, charges of overt racism have become more obtuse, as racism is no longer as explicit as it was during apartheid. Indeed it may be evident so subtly that no reference to race need be made, "More often, it is implicit, as we come away from situations with a sense of unease, fear or suspicion, wondering whether our actions or treatment by others was influenced by race" (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011, p.24). Seekings (2008) makes a similar argument. Drawing on various surveys and studies on race and race relations in South Africa, he points out that although evidence of explicit racism may have declined in the post-apartheid period, new, more subtle manifestations of racial discrimination have emerged:

> "Rather it reflects the persistence of racial discrimination in a softer sense, that is, in terms of social preferences. South Africans may not be hostile to racialised others, but prefer to live and generally socialise with culturally similar neighbours, and for their kin to marry within racial (that is, cultural) groups rather than outside them" (Seekings, 2008, p.22).

The notion that new forms and expressions of racism are evident in the post-apartheid context is also relevant in Ansell's (2004) work. Ansell examines 154 written submissions to the South African Human Rights Commission on the topic of racism in the country. These submissions were written by members of the South African public as part of the consultative process leading up to the 2000 South African Conference on Racism. When analysing these submissions, the author highlights not only the wide variety of ways in which black and white South Africans define racism, but also to the volume of black participants in particular who speak of new, more subtle forms of racism in the country. Ansell (2004, p.14) notes that this involves "hiding, disguising, or coding white anti-black racism in ways that are more culturally and politically palatable". In contrast, many white participants defined racism in terms of 'reverse apartheid' or 'anti-white racism', where many submissions complained of how white people are now the subjects of victimisation and discrimination, mostly in terms of employment prospects. The problem with so many definitions of racism, and in particular with newer more subtle forms of racism, is that, as discussed in Chapter Two, this makes racism far

more difficult to identify and act against. Thus in situations where black people may be unsure whether they are being racially discriminated against, this can lead to what Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011) refer to as 'dilemmas of interpretation'. The dilemmas can be psychologically troubling.

In contrast to previous theories of racism, which specified the content of racism and then tried to apply it to particular contexts, the concept of 'race trouble' is grounded in empirical reality and thus is far better positioned to help one understand the nature of race and racism in the post-apartheid period. Using the concept of 'race trouble', no definition of racism is pre-determined and instead each situation is considered from the perspective of the individuals involved. Drawing from Foucault's (1972) work on discourse and Butler's (1990) theory of performativity, 'race trouble' focuses primarily on the everyday, mundane practices through which racial hierarchies and stereotypes are performed and reinforced:

> "We thus propose that social change can be informed by analyses of ongoing racial practices that are undertaken by people as they go about their ordinary lives: as people participate in forms of social life arranged around ideas of race, they are constituted as racial subjects in more complex and nuanced ways than can be captured by labels such as 'racist' or even 'modern racist'" (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011, p.2).

Although they do not address space directly, Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011, p.199) highlight the importance of the 'contexts' in which 'race trouble' takes place:

> "The history of racism under colonialism and apartheid means that we today continue to participate in forms of social life that are structured by race. This participation in social life is always practical, interactive, unfolding in real time and located in real social and material contexts. We have labelled these dynamic and mutually constitutive practices and contexts of social division 'race trouble'. They are multiple and disparate. Some are fleeting and idiosyncratic…"

In all these contexts people are positioned as raced subjects and this can be troubling for all people in different ways. Stereotypes are mobilised to help make sense of situations, yet these can change from one context to the next. Given that the practices in each context may draw on different repertoires and be interpreted differently, each context needs to be studied in its own right. In Chapter Seven both the concept of 'race trouble' and the literature on the new forms of racism described above are drawn upon in order to explore how learners conceptualise race

and understand race relations, both within their schools and within the country more broadly. By garnering these views, as well as exploring how learners are constructing, negotiating and challenging their racial identities in schools spaces, this study aims to reflect on what the research findings may mean for efforts to foster national unity in South Africa.

3.5 Conclusion

In South Africa, the ANC governments have adopted a broad and multi-faceted approach to nation-building. Through promoting a new Constitution and its founding values, as well as 'unity in diversity', the state has attempted to forge a new national identity around which the country's diverse citizens can cohere. Cemented through the (re)production of a range of new national symbols, as well as through the unifying power of sport and the media, the ANC governments have worked hard to generate a common national consciousness among the country's socially and economically fragmented population. Due to the high level of fragmentation, the successive ANC governments have recognised the importance of initiating a number of policies and processes aimed at both reconciling citizens and addressing apartheid based socio-economic imbalances. Despite these efforts, there are a number of reasons why building a united South African nation has proved incredibly difficult and the apartheid legacy has undeniably had a negative effect on the ability of South Africans to unite under a common citizenship. Not only do socio-economic inequalities breed resentment and prevent citizens from reconciling, but as became evident in the previous chapter, South Africans still continue to live, learn, work and play in largely segregated areas. Furthermore, racial tensions and misunderstandings are rife and the fact that corruption is so widespread in the country does little to improve the situation. Instead corruption has been shown to undermine the public's trust in state institutions as well as in democracy as a political system. In Chapter Five, these issues are taken up again to explore national pride and unity in South Africa from the perspectives of some of the country's learners. In turn their responses are considered in light of what they could mean for the broader debates outlined in this chapter regarding nation-building in the 'new' South Africa.

Schools have also been tasked with the important responsibility of contributing to nation-building endeavours. Through citizenship education, young South Africans are

educated about their nation and they are prepared for life in their democracy. This has been a particularly important objective in South Africa given its fragile democracy. Besides ensuring that citizens are politically literate, citizenship education also aims to inculcate citizens with particular values, as well as to encourage solidarity among diverse citizens, usually by promoting a common national identity. In South Africa, and other post-conflict societies, these objectives are made more complicated, as communities are often divided and scarred by past conflict and violence. Thus, in these contexts, citizenship education is also often geared towards assisting with national reconciliation efforts. A number of challenges confront citizenship education in both pluralistic democracies but also in post-conflict contexts and South Africa is no exception. The Constitutional values play a pivotal role in promoting both a new national identity, but also in fostering reconciliation and national unity. Yet, as this chapter shows, these values can be variously interpreted and can contradict the personal value systems of educators and principals. Similarly, the promotion of certain values can be at odds with the value systems of communities and the realities of life both within and outside of schools. These issues form a particularly problematic obstacle for citizenship education in South Africa, and in Chapters Six and Eight, these debates are explored in greater detail.

This chapter has also sought to draw attention to the ways in which young people's interactions, relations and cultures also play a part in building national unity, primarily through the (re)production of identities and notions of race. Despite the ending of apartheid and the supposed transition to a non-racial society, race in South Africa continues to matter. Moreover, as the literature suggests, notions of race and racism are changing and in contemporary South Africa these concepts are understood and manifest in very different ways to the past. Chapter Seven explores these issues in some depth to examine the extent to which the case study schools are providing learners with productive spaces in which they are able to make meaningful contact, by exploring how learners' everyday interactions shape the construction and transformation of their identities and understanding of race and racism. Given the limited amount of quality inter-racial contact that is currently taking place in the country, multicultural school spaces are thought to provide unique opportunities for young South Africans to engage with difference, challenge prejudice and build friendship and trust. This is vitally important to building national cohesion in South Africa. Yet, as the literature suggests, contact with difference can have varying outcomes, some of which are positive and

some of which are not. Thus it is important to consider the conditions under which meaningful contact is most likely to occur. This is especially important when one recognises that the outcomes of such contact have ramifications that extend outside of school boundaries. Drawing on the concept of relational space, Chapter Seven thus also considers the ways in which spaces of home, community and nation are shaped by, but also shape, the everyday interactions of learners in their multicultural school spaces. Prior to considering the empirical findings in relation to the concepts and theories outlined above, the following chapter presents an overview of the research methodology and methods used in this project and introduces the two case study schools that participated in the research.

Chapter Four
Engaging young South Africans in Participatory Research

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines how the empirical study was undertaken by describing and justifying the research methodology and methods used both to produce and interpret the primary data. The fieldwork took place between October 2009 and August 2011. Two public, English medium secondary schools were selected to participate.[26] Both schools are co-educational and socially diverse. The schools were sampled from within the eThekwini municipal region,[27] in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) province, South Africa. Different samples of Grade 8 to 12 (14-18 year olds) learners from each school participated in the project.

A Participatory Research (PR) approach was adopted in this study as the most appropriate methodological approach to engage with young people in an inclusive, democratic and anti-hegemonic way. Obtaining the perspectives of young South Africans is an important activity in itself, and the emphasis on learners' voices in this project adds to its novelty. Adopting a PR approach thus provided opportunities for the learners to play an active role in how the data were produced and analysed (Breitbart, 2003). The various qualitative and PR techniques employed in this study form part of a multi-method approach, which helped enrich the data set and give greater insight into the complexities of the learners' lives and identities (Hemming, 2008).

This chapter begins by providing a brief overview of PR, highlighting some of the criticism that has confronted these approaches and how proponents of PR have responded. The following section describes how the logistics of the empirical fieldwork were organised and how the two participating schools were selected. Following this, the two schools are described

[26] In order to protect the identities of the two schools, I have used pseudonyms. Thus throughout this project they are referred to as Buxton High School and Spring Vale High School.
[27] In terms of the 2000 Municipal Systems Act (No.32 of 2000), the boundaries of the then Greater Durban Metropolitan Area were redrawn and the area was renamed the eThekwini Municipality. The city, however, is still widely referred to as Durban (Republic of South Africa, 2000a).

in greater detail and an overview of the primary data is presented. The chapter ends by explaining how the analysis and interpretation of the data were undertaken, along with a reflection on some of the epistemological and practical limitations of the study.

4.2 A brief overview of Participatory Research

The roots of participatory approaches can be traced back to development and community projects initiated in India in the 1930s and in Latin America in the 1950s. Since then the use of participatory approaches has spread across the globe, and a number of variations have been developed to suit particular contexts and research objectives (Guijt and Shah, 1998). Despite the variation in PR approaches, what they have in common is a commitment to including local and marginalised people in research and decision-making that affects their lives (Pain and Francis, 2003). Equally important is a critical view of power. By focusing on local participation and collaboration in knowledge production, PR approaches and techniques attempt to subvert traditional power hierarchies that tend to dominate research encounters. Participatory approaches also often strive for social transformation, and research that adopts such an approach typically endeavors to help excluded or marginalised groups initiate change in their lives and/or communities (Pain and Francis, 2003).

Over the years, the popularity of PR has grown and research practitioners have experimented with new approaches and techniques. To develop these, practitioners have drawn from various theoretical sources, including feminism and postcolonialism. These theoretical approaches have been influential in helping PR practitioners think critically about issues of power, subjectivity and reflexivity in research processes (Sanderson and Kindon, 2004). Drawing from these perspectives, the value and legitimacy of local knowledge has come to be appreciated, and local people are now viewed by PR practitioners as competent and reflexive agents capable of contributing to the production of knowledge (Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007). Thus it important to point out that PR presents a new approach to knowledge production, based on a different epistemology. It is not merely a new set of research methods (Kesby, Kindon and Pain, 2005).

Given their democratic principles, commitment to social change and innovative techniques, increasing numbers of human geographers have begun to adopt participatory approaches in their research (Pain and Francis, 2003; Pain, 2004; Kesby, Kindon and Pain, 2005; Pain, Kindon and Kesby, 2007). Whilst human geographers have certainly benefited from embracing participatory approaches, it is also important to draw attention to the ways in which they have contributed to the debate and development of PR. In particular, applying a spatial perspective has allowed geographers to make a unique contribution (Kesby, 2007; Pain and Kindon, 2007). In this respect, geographers have drawn attention to the ways in which space, place and participation are mutually constitutive (Pain, Kesby and Kindon, 2007). Applying a relational perspective has also helped geographers deepen their understanding of the potential positive and negative effects of power in PR. This in turn has allowed them to respond to criticism of these approaches.

Indeed as PR has become more widespread, it has generated criticism, particularly as it has been applied in development circles. Some of the strongest criticism has come from Cooke and Kothari (2001), who call for a deeper reflection on the workings of power and discourse within the current participatory development 'orthodoxy'.[28] Drawing on the work of Michel Foucault, Cooke and Kothari (2001) argue that if power is not adequately understood and theorised within participatory development projects, then practitioners are in danger of reproducing social inequalities and reaffirming unequal power relations, despite their good intentions.[29] Linked to this critique, Cooke and Kothari (2001) also draw attention to the meta-narratives of modernist thought that position western knowledge as authorative and the only legitimate source of knowledge about the world and the non-west. They suggest that many PR practitioners and project managers naively hold certain assumptions about power, culture and knowledge that are Eurocentric and potentially dangerous (Cooke and Kothari, 2001).[30]

[28] For further criticism of the poor practice of PR in development see Chambers (1995) and Nelson and Wright (1995).
[29] Similarly, Hailey (2001) and Guijt and Shah (1998) argue that participatory development becomes problematic when PR practitioners fail to consider the internal power relations that structure local societies, for example with regard to internal gender and class relations.
[30] See Mikkelson (1995) for further examples of potential dangers of uncritically adopting a Eurocentric perspective in development projects, particularly in relation to the importance of appreciating cultural differences, as well as being sensitive to the deployment of particular terms and techniques within research settings outside of the west.

Similar to the concept of power, the concept of 'empowerment' has also faced substantial criticism. A key feature of PR in development is that local people should be 'empowered' to use their knowledge to generate solutions to their problems, or to change their environments. Empowerment of local people is stressed, especially in cases where the research participants are marginalised in their communities (Henkel and Stirrat, 2001). The assumption is that by giving local people a voice they will become empowered, although it is important to point out that this is not always the case. Some critics have argued that these approaches wrongly assume that the researcher can create a situation wherein participants are empowered (Pain, 2004). In addition, these assumptions tend to ignore the many ways in which participants can empower themselves (Leyshon, 2002). Other critics have questioned what exactly researchers and practitioners are 'empowering' people to do. In some cases, PR development projects aim to teach people how to participate in the global economy, or in development, in ways that maintain the status quo and stifle dissent (Henkel and Stirrat, 2001).

In response to these criticisms, geographers have attempted to demonstrate how post-structuralist notions of power may also be used to strengthen the argument for participatory approaches (Cameron and Gibson, 2005; Kesby, 2005; Kesby, Kindon and Pain, 2007; Kesby, 2007). Many of these authors also draw on the work of Foucault, who conceptualises power as an effect that is "brought into being in a specific context as a result of the interplay of various communicative and material resources" (Kesby, Kindon and Pain, 2007, p.20). Unlike Cooke and Kothari (2001) who focus primarily on the negative outcomes of power dynamics in PR, geographers such as Kesby, Kindon and Pain (2007) have drawn attention to instances where power is a positive effect of the research process. Essentially the authors problematise the power dynamics at play in any research encounter and highlight that these varying effects may take place simultaneously and will shift continuously throughout the research process.

Human geographers have also responded to critiques of the use and/or pursuit of empowerment in PR, "The theoretical tiredness of the term empowerment stems not only from attempts to distance and distinguish it from power, but also from the tendency to conceive of it in temporal rather than spatial terms" (Kesby, Kindon and Pain, 2007, p.23). Kesby, Kindon and Pain (2007, p.23) argue further that empowerment must also be thought of as a dynamic and shifting "*effect* that results from the deployment of certain resources (such as participatory

techniques)", rather than a 'commodity' that is usually concentrated in the hands of experts or facilitators, to be distributed throughout the group (Kesby, 2005; 2007). Like power, empowerment must be understood as being fluid and subject to change in different contexts and at different times. Thus for empowerment effects to have some sort of stability they need to be actively reproduced over time and across different spaces. For this reason, Kesby (2007, p.2823) argues that "empowerment is best understood as a continuous performance…not something that can be indefinitely 'achieved'". Space is important here because it is the context (or resource) in and through which these performances take place.

Furthermore, understanding the dynamics of power and empowerment in a spatial sense means appreciating that the boundaries between spaces are unstable and overlapping. In a PR context, the official spaces of participation are intimately connected to other spaces of experience, such as the participants' homes and communities. Thus experiences, identities and power relations that exist in one space affect other spaces, including in the PR group space (Cornwall, 2004). If the home is structured according to gendered relations of power, these relations will affect the interactions between men and women in the PR group, both defining and redefining the active participation of different individuals. This understanding is important for thinking through the transformative potential of PR, as empowerment effects are seen to come about in particular spaces and can effectively change in different spaces (Kesby, Kindon and Pain, 2007). Thus in order for the empowerment effects to be sustainable over time and between different spaces, the resources that went into creating those effects "will need to be constantly redeployed and normalized" in broader society (Kesby, Kindon and Pain, 2007, p.24). Understanding the spatiality of empowerment may go some way in helping PR practitioners devise ways in which to do this in order for empowerment to be re-performed and changes to be realised in other spaces of everyday life (Kesby, 2005; 2007; Kesby, Kindon and Pain, 2007).

4.3 Participatory Research with children and young people

Participatory approaches are now also used more frequently in research involving children and young people. This shift has been brought about largely in line with broader changes within the children's rights movement and in how children and childhood are conceptualised within

the social sciences. On a global level, the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) was significant because it advocated that children should have a say in decision-making processes that affect their lives (Thomas and O'Kane, 2000; Crivello, Camfield and Woodhead, 2009). In the social sciences, conceptions of childhood now see it as a dynamic, social construct that varies in time and space, and children themselves are seen as actively playing a role in negotiating and renegotiating these constructs (Matthews, Limb and Taylor, 1998; Hopkins, 2006). Previous conceptualisations of children as 'innocent' or 'becoming' left children without a voice in decisions that affect their wellbeing (Langhout and Thomas, 2010). Nowadays children are commonly perceived to be competent social actors, and experts on their own lives, who have the right and abilities to play an active part in the research process (Thomas and O'Kane, 1998; 2000; Aitken, Lund and Kjørholt, 2007; Langhout and Thomas, 2010). Furthermore, engaging with young people can be highly rewarding and can greatly benefit research projects, as the inclusion of young people's perspectives ensure a better chance of project success, and their input can also be theoretically enriching (Cahill, 2007a). To deal with this shift, many social scientists embarking on research with children have turned to participatory approaches and techniques. As mentioned previously, participatory approaches have the potential to democratise the research process, by giving a voice to the research participants and shifting power away from the researcher. In research with children, this is particularly important because of the unequal power dynamics between children and adults (Grover, 2004).

Despite the advantages of using participatory techniques to engage in research with young people, it is important to adopt such methods and approaches critically. Participatory methods, such as diagramming techniques, come with their own challenges and in some cases these sorts of methods are not the most appropriate to use. Drawing from their own research experiences, Alexander et al. (2007) highlight various ways in which individuals in a group may relate to different aspects of the research context. In some cases, for example, participants may feel intimidated by participatory diagramming techniques; in other instances, participants may find such methods patronising. Given that participatory methods often focus on visual and oral ways of communicating, those who prefer written forms of expression might also feel marginalised.

Further challenges arise because PR methods are undertaken in a group context. When working in groups, it is crucial to acknowledge that individual perspectives may become hidden and if the produced data is not adequately interviewed, participatory methods, such as diagramming methods, also stand at risk of simplifying complex social realities (Alexander et al., 2007). In a similar vein, Ansell et al. (2012) draw attention to a number of epistemological, ethical and methodological challenges that confronted their use of participatory techniques to explore the effects of AIDS on young people's livelihoods in rural Malawi and Lesotho. In particular, the authors found that in some cases (and for various reasons) the collective knowledge generated in group contexts produced generalised and normative accounts, which contradicted empirical realities and were not entirely based on personal experiences. In light of their findings, the authors stress that researchers should carefully consider the relationship between epistemology and methodology, whereby participatory techniques might not always be the best (or most ethical) means to generate particular types of knowledge (Ansell et al., 2012). Finally, the power dynamics of any group are also important to consider because they shape how participants partake in activities and respond to one another (and to the researcher), which ultimately affects the knowledge produced. Gender, race and individual personalities (among others) can affect responses (or the lack therefore) and behavior in multiple ways in any research encounter (Alexander et al., 2007).

Thus it is also important to emphasise that research is not inherently participatory if it adopts participatory methods. The approach or methodology behind the use of the methods is vitally important, and it is equally important that the researcher remain reflexive throughout the research process (Kesby, Kindon and Pain, 2005). Gallacher and Gallagher (2008) make a similar argument by drawing attention to a number of problematic assumptions that researchers make when uncritically engaging with young people using PR techniques. Instead of naively assuming that participatory techniques will achieve ethical and epistemological validity, the authors urge researchers to adopt a position of 'methodological immaturity', which acknowledges the fallibility of all research, researchers and research encounters (Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008). In light of this, the following section assesses the extent to which this project was undertaken in a participatory manner.

4.4 Adopting a Participatory Research approach

Ideally in a PR project, the research participants are involved in all aspects of the study, from the development of the research objectives, through to the production and interpretation of the data. In this way the participants are able to set the research agenda and have some control over how the project proceeds and how their responses are represented (Brietbart, 2003). Indeed the success of PR projects is measured not only on quality of data produced, but also on the extent to which participants are involved in the process and have developed new skills or knowledge (Kesby, 2000; Pain and Francis, 2003; Pain, 2004; Pain and Kindon, 2007). To assess how successful this participatory project was, I first reflect on the extent to which the learners participated in the project. Secondly, I consider the outcomes of the project, in terms of what new knowledge was gained and what changes could potentially be initiated in the two case study schools.

Different levels of participation exist in different projects, and even within a particular project the level of participation may shift as the project progresses. Participation is a negotiated process and in some cases participants may not want to participate, and this should be respected (Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007). To account for these variations, different scholars have devised typologies in order to distinguish between deeper, more meaningful participation and lesser forms of participation, such as consultation and co-option. Hart's (1992) 'ladder of participation' serves as a 'typology' for thinking about the level of participation of children and young people in research projects (see Figure 4.1). The first three rungs represent 'non-participation'. In projects where these rungs apply, children or young people are typically co-opted into participating, with little or no knowledge of, or input in, devising the research objectives. In these instances, young people are given no feedback on the outcomes of particular projects, nor do they have a say in how the data are analysed or disseminated (Hart, 1992). The top four rungs represent varying levels or 'degrees of participation'. In these sorts of projects, children or young people are better informed about the project focus and intentions, and they are able to choose whether they would like to participate (and to what extent). Here the opinions of the participants matter and they are given opportunities to set research agendas and direct projects. In the top two rungs in particular, adults take on a more supportive role (Hart, 1992).

Using Hart's (1992) ladder as a guide, I would position my project on the sixth rung: 'Adult initiated, shared decisions with children'. This is because, firstly, the participants were not involved in establishing the broad focus of the study. The project aim and objectives were developed in light of the literature review and for the purpose of attaining a Doctoral degree, which imposes particular constraints on participatory project design. However, I was careful to make sure that the learners that I worked with were clear about all aspects of the project, including the focus and rationale, how their schools were selected, what they would be required to do, how their information would be used, as well as issues of confidentiality and anonymity. These issues were reiterated to the participants at various stages of the research, both verbally and in writing. As such, the learners were able to make an informed decision regarding whether they would like to take part or not. Participation in the study was completely voluntary and the learners' involvement was negotiated with their parents/legal guardians.

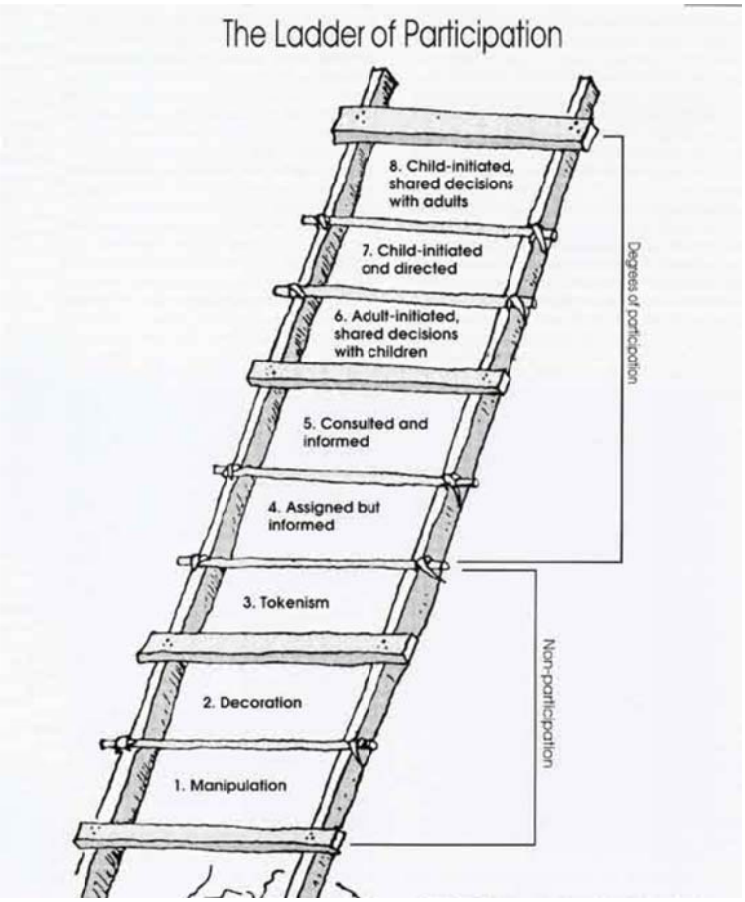

Figure 4.1: The ladder of participation (Hart, 1992, p.8)

Although the broad focus was already established at the beginning of the project, I attempted to involve the research participants in all other aspects of the research process as far as possible. With regard to the production of the empirical data, learners were given some opportunities to select particular research methods and formulate research themes, as discussed subsequently. It is important to highlight that even though the learners' involvement in selecting the methods and research themes was limited, the nature of the techniques used helped maximise their participation in collectively producing the data. Furthermore, in order to ensure that the data production process was as participatory as possible, I made an effort to build a rapport with the participants and to create a safe environment where they would feel comfortable to express their opinions and debate issues with others. Throughout the research process, I remained reflexive of my positionality and continuously assessed the appropriateness and effectiveness of the research questions and activities. As such, I made an effort to embrace the principles and epistemology of PR.

Not only did the participants have some involvement in how the data were produced, but, as discussed subsequently, they were also involved in the analysis and interpretation of the data. Their participation in this aspect of the research process took place both within the fieldwork period, but also in the third phase of the analysis and interpretation process, whereby I returned to the two schools to provide separate feedback presentations to the educators and learners. During the latter presentations, the learners were provided with an opportunity to critique and question my interpretations and to add anything that they felt was important. It is worth pointing out that van Blerk and Ansell (2007) advocate that researchers should move a step beyond providing feedback, and actively include the participants in the dissemination of the findings too. In this way the authors argue that research is more likely to initiate change. Due to time and resource constraints, however, it was not possible for me to directly involve the learners in the dissemination of the results in this project, and instead I provided each school with an electronic copy of my thesis once it was complete, as well as summary reports of the findings.

The success of PR projects depends not only on the level of participation, but also on the extent to which the participants developed new skills or acquired new knowledge. Like many participatory projects, the changes and benefits produced in this project are more difficult to

identify and be certain of, and in particular, effects on individuals are always more difficult to recognise and evaluate than more visible effects on policy and practice. In the final 'Activity Afternoon' sessions, I asked each group to evaluate the sessions in an attempt to determine if the participants felt that the sessions were worthwhile and /or beneficial. Clearly some of the learners had gained and/or learnt something from the sessions. Andile,[31] for example, noted that he enjoyed the photovoice/scrapbooking task. He had taken most of his pictures at a remembrance ceremony for his grandfather, who had passed away some years earlier. The ceremony was an important cultural affair. Many relatives, friends and neighbours were invited and a cow was slaughtered. When describing the photographs, Andile took great pride in explaining his cultural traditions to our group, some of whom knew little about his Zulu culture:

> "I think I achieved something when I did the ceremony for my grandfather. I've never seen him. He passed away when I was 10 years old. I never knew him. But I learnt something from the photos. That was nice. And I enjoyed teaching everybody" (Andile, black male, Grade 9, Spring Vale High School).

Sharing personal stories and experiences with others also resulted in some of the learners re-evaluating their lives and their perceptions of others. Some learners, like Amanda, realised that all people have problems and face hardships; no matter how 'perfect' their lives appear:

> "You know when you come to school and you look at everybody else and you do, you think that everybody else's life is perfect compared to yours… Then you come to sessions like this and you listen to other people's stories and you actually realise that everybody has their problems and although they don't seem that hectic to everyone else, they might be hectic to you. So what I got out of this was basically that you're not alone in your life…you're not alone in the sense that you're not the only one battling" (Amanda, white female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

For a few learners, like Daniel, the sessions also prompted a level of critical self-reflection. A handful of learners described how they had learnt more about themselves, their prejudices, strengths and weaknesses. Daniel's reflections are particularly revealing:

[31] In order to protect the identities of the learners in this study, I have used pseudonyms.

> "I was an emotional wreck after like two sessions because I realised so much about myself that I like really didn't know and I was…it was like counseling for me actually. I think in a way it's helped me because I've changed a lot, even if you guys don't notice it. Like some of my attitudes towards certain people… I realise… 'cause I was…yes…yes...no...um… I don't want to offend you. I was semi-racist before this thing and it was partially my fault and then also the way I was brought up, but it was more my fault. I mean like if I had a whole lot of black guys next to me in assembly, I would shuffle along, away from them. I'm sorry…but I'm just…I know now…I realised that basically we actually are all the same. And they are just different because of where they come from. And that's about it… Most of all I grew up. My view on life changed" (Daniel, white male, Grade 9, Buxton High School).

Thus, in light of these examples, I can be sure that at least some of the participants enjoyed our interactions, changed their views and gained new knowledge. In terms of the results of the study and how these will be used, it is worth pointing out that both principals were interested in the results and took away printed copies of my feedback slides to study further and discuss in their next subject meetings. I was particularly impressed by the fact that the Life Orientation (LO) Heads of Department in each school expressed an interest in my findings on LO. Although I cannot be sure as to how the principals and educators will use the findings, if at all, at least there were positive indications that some of the issues would be discussed again at a later stage. In order to avoid raising false hopes and expectations on the part of the learners, I was careful to explain that although both principals had said that they were interested in the results of the research, this did not mean that changes in their schools would automatically materialise. I explained, however, that I was committed to getting their views (both positive and negative) across to the school staff as accurately as possible.

4.5 Fieldwork preparation

To prepare for the empirical research, I first compiled a list of potential schools that could participate in the project using the South African Department of Education (DoE) school database. Given that I was interested in working with two schools that fit fairly specific criteria, I used a purposive sampling technique to create a list of potential institutions (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007). I selected two schools to widen my sample and to compare some of the differences and similarities between two institutions that have undergone processes of desegregation. To begin with, I identified all the public, secondary schools that are located within the eThekwini Municipality and that are English medium and co-educational. Given that this project focuses on rather complex and emotive issues, I decided it

would be more appropriate to work with an older group of learners. Since I also wanted to access the views of male and female learners, I selected schools that are co-educational. It was also important that the schools are English medium because this is my first language and I did not want to rely on an interpreter. Often subtle nuances are lost in research where the researcher and the participants do not speak the same language (Valentine, 2005). Finally, I wanted to work with schools within the eThekwini municipal region because this is my home town and it was convenient to base myself in an area that I am familiar with.

Once I had created a shorter list of potential schools, I began an online investigation of each option. To further narrow down the search, I decided to focus on selecting former 'Model C' schools because they are amongst the most desegregated and racially diverse schools in the country (Soudien, 2004).[32] I thus looked at each school's website and focused on purposively selecting schools that appeared to be racially diverse, both in respect to their learner and educator bodies (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007). This was important given the focus of this study, which aims to explore the role of schools in providing learners with productive spaces in which they can strengthen national unity. Working in racially diverse schools thus provided a valuable opportunity to access a wide range of perspectives and explore how diverse learners are interacting with one another and negotiating their identities, as well as allowing me to assess the extent to which these schools are working towards, and/or responding to, the challenges of creating inclusive learners environments, in which learners can interact with others in meaningful ways and overcome racial divisions. In making my final selection, I looked at each school's history, motto and policies. In particular, I tried to identify schools that have an interesting history and that mention issues of diversity, integration and transformation in their official documents. From this search, I compiled a final list of six potential schools.

After obtaining ethical clearance from the relevant institutions (see Appendix 4.1), I phoned the first two schools on my list and introduced myself and the study. As both of the initial school principals agreed to consider allowing me to conduct research at their institutions, I emailed them an introductory letter (see Appendix 4.2). Fortunately both the

[32] The particular limitations posed by the selected school sample are discussed subsequently in this chapter (see pages 127-128).

initial schools that I contacted agreed to participate in the project and I then set up individual meetings with the principals to discuss the research further.

During these initial meetings, I reiterated the focus of the study and how I had selected their particular schools. I also answered any questions the two principals had about the research project. I further explained the PR methodological approach and methods to be adopted in the study. In line with the methodological approach, I invited each principal to suggest issues that they would perhaps like me to investigate in my study within the ambit of the research focus. I also explained that I would provide regular feedback as the research progressed. Neither of the principals had any specific issues that they wanted me to address and both were satisfied with, and interested in, the focus of the project.

In these meetings, we also discussed the logistics of the empirical study, including when to conduct the research, which grades to sample and how I would gain access to the learners. I requested, and was given permission, to briefly introduce my study to the Grade 9, 10 and 11 learners during a school assembly.[33] I explained to both principals that I intended to produce a number of 'Information Packs' for interested learners to take home with them (see Appendix 4.3). Each pack further explained the aims, purpose and benefits of the research, as well as how learners would be selected and what would be required of the participants. Ethical issues concerning the dissemination of the results, confidentiality and anonymity were also covered. The packs also contained an information letter for the parents/ legal guardians of the learners. These letters contained the same information mentioned above and were translated into Afrikaans and isiZulu. By providing 'Information Packs', learners were able to discuss the study in an informed way with their parents/guardians, and jointly decide whether they would like to participate in the study or not (Thomas and O'Kane, 1998). The packs contained declarations for both the learners and their parents/guardians to sign, should both parties agree to take part. Finally, a short questionnaire was also included in the packs. This questionnaire was to be filled out by the interested learners. They were required to state their name, grade, gender, race/ethnicity, place of residence (suburb only), contact number and any specific dietary requirements. On the final section of the questionnaire, learners could indicate if they

[33] See section 4.7.2 for further detail on how I later introduced the study to my Grade 8 and 10 LO samples. Section 4.7.3 provides further detail on how I introduced the study to the two Grade 12 male learners at Buxton High School, and how I gained consent from them to participate in the project.

wanted to take part in the 'Activity Afternoon' sessions, the interviews or both. They could also indicate which afternoons they were free in both the first and second school terms. This information was necessary to help with sample selection.

On separate occasions, I then met the educators and learners of both schools to introduce the project. For all of these meetings, I prepared a powerpoint presentation to help introduce the research aim and objectives, benefits of participating in the research, as well as the proposed methodological approach, research methods, sampling techniques and the logistics of the fieldwork. With regard to the sampling procedures, I explained to the learners that because of time and resource constraints, I would unfortunately not be able to work with all the volunteers who wanted to take part and I apologised in advance for this. It was important for me to stress that participation in the study was completely voluntary and that no learner would be discriminated against in any way if they did not want to take part. In the presentations, I also explained issues surrounding obtaining consent from learners and their parents/guardian, how the results would be disseminated and how data confidentiality and anonymity would be attained. After my presentations, I answered any queries that the educators and learners had.

4.6 The two study sites: Buxton High School and Spring Vale High School

Buxton High School and Spring Vale High School are both established secondary schools located within the eThekwini Municipality (see Figure 4.2). Established in 1976 and 1955 respectively, both schools were initially created as 'white only' schools to service the local white residential areas during apartheid (Principal of Buxton High School, 2010; Principal of Spring Vale High School, 2010). As discussed in Chapter Two, in the early 1990s, the then Education Minister gave all 'white' public schools the option of adopting a Model A, B or C status, based on parental vote (Hofmeyr, 2000). Presented with the three options, both schools opted for the 'Model C' status and opened their doors to learners of all race groups.

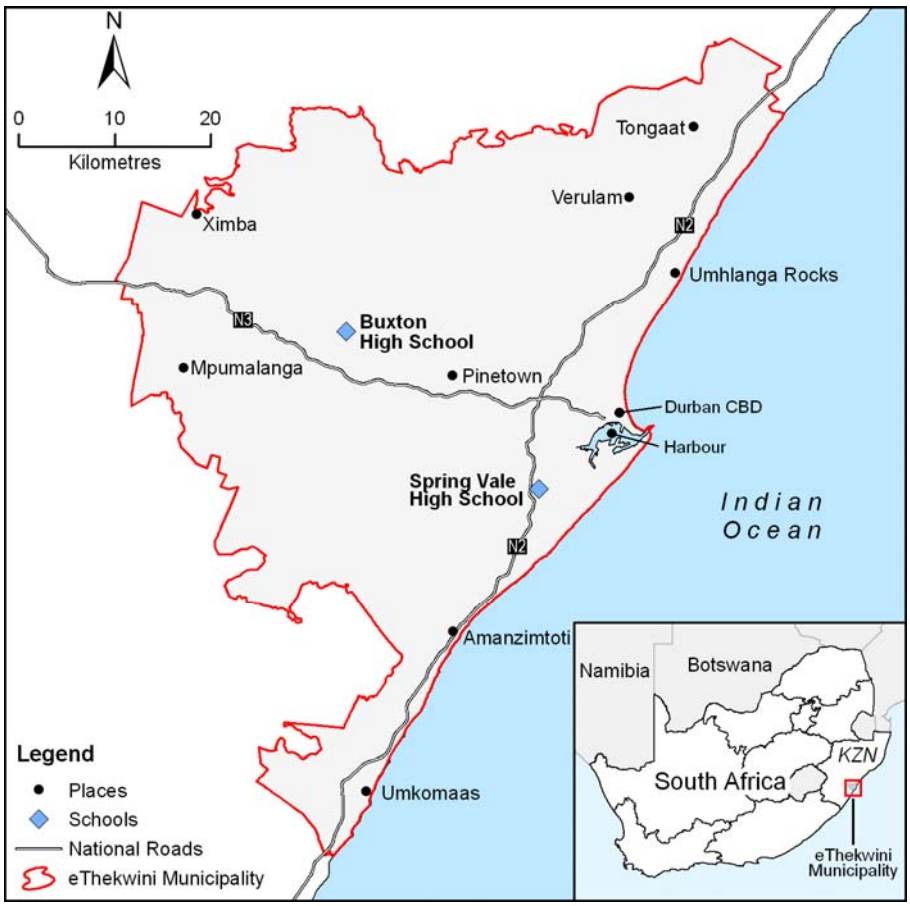

Figure 4.2: Map showing the location of the two case study schools within the eThekwini Municipal region (Sokolic, 2011)

In the post-apartheid period, both schools have desegregated further and this process has been affected by broader changes in the schools' previously 'white' catchment areas. In the case of Buxton High School, the school still attracts learners from the immediate middle class suburbs; however, whilst still being predominately 'white', these areas have seen an increase in the number of wealthy black families moving into the vicinity, who send their children to the school. Buxton High School also borders a number of rural areas and thus many poorer, black learners who reside in these areas also attend the school (Principal Buxton High School, 2010). According to school records, in 2010, Buxton High School's learner body was made up of 65.3% white learners, 29.6% black learners, 4.7% Indian learners and 0.4% coloured learners (Principal of Buxton High School, 2011).

Spring Vale High School has always prided itself on being a 'community' school and it also continues to enroll learners who reside in the immediate area. During apartheid, predominantly white, working class families lived in the local area, but in recent years these demographics have changed substantially. Today more middle class, black families have moved into the vicinity from the surrounding townships, and many of the white residents have moved away and settled in other areas (Principal of Spring Vale High School, 2010). The principal explained that the school has never kept a breakdown of the different race groups enrolled at the school because they do not like to differentiate between learners on the basis of race. From working in the school, however, I would estimate that in 2010, approximately 75% of the learners were black, whilst coloured, Indian and white learners made up the other 25%. The principal agreed with my estimates in our formal interview (Principal of Spring Vale High School, 2010).

Like many former 'Model C' schools, the two schools are among the better performing schools in the country. School fees play an important role in ensuring that both these schools are able to maintain their high standards and facilities. Both schools set relatively high school fees in relation to many of the other public, secondary schools in the municipality. Although there are some parents of learners at both institutions who are unable to pay the entire school fee, in both cases the schools have been able to collect the large majority of fees owed to them (Principal of Buxton High School, 2010; Principal of Spring Vale High School, 2010). Using the generated fees, both schools have excelled in academic and other extra-mural activities. Over the years, the Senior Certificate Examination pass and exemption rates at both institutions have been impressive and well above the provincial average (Principal of Buxton High School, 2010; Principal of Spring Vale High School, 2010).[34] In 2009, both schools were also rated as two of the top 100 secondary schools in the country, based on their Senior Certificate Examination results, with an emphasis placed on the Mathematics and Science grades (Govender, 2009). Many learners from both schools have also excelled in sporting and cultural activities, of which a variety of alternatives are on offer to learners, including hockey, rugby, soccer, netball and cricket, to name a few, as well as numerous art and cultural

[34] The Senior Certificate Examinations (commonly known as the 'Matric' exams) is the final set of examinations written by the Grade 12 learners before they are able to move into tertiary education or employment.

activities and societies (Principal of Buxton High School, 2010; Principal of Spring Vale High School, 2010).

Thus it is worth pointing out that in both schools, the learners come from diverse social backgrounds. Not only do learners reside in different areas (from townships, to suburbs, to rural districts), but they also differ in terms of culture, ethnicity, mother-tongue language and religion. Wealth differences between learners are also evident in both institutions. Although most of the learners come from middle class families, poorer learners (including orphans) also attend these schools. Indeed, the diverse social mix that characterises the two case study schools provided a valuable opportunity to explore how learners negotiate difference in shared social spaces, and how schools are working towards becoming inclusive institutions that encourage meaningful interaction.

4.7 Primary data collection

The primary data for this study consists of data that were produced by different samples using a variety of research techniques, including participatory diagramming techniques, a debate and a photovoice/scrapbooking task. Data were also produced from a set of semi-structured interviews, which were conducted individually with learners, the two school principals and a number of educators at both of the schools.

There are various advantages to using the range of methods that were employed in this study. Firstly, because not all participants may be comfortable with expressing themselves verbally, the visual and tactile nature of the diagramming and photovoice techniques presented more inclusive alternatives that allowed these individuals to participate more fully (Matthews, Limb and Taylor, 1998; Kesby, 2000; Dodman, 2003; Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007). As Pain and Francis (2003, p.46) point out, visual techniques are useful because they are able to "transcend cultural, language and literary barriers". In particular, taking photographs allowed the learners to creatively represent their own lives in ways that were not framed by my questions and language (Young and Barrett, 2001). Participatory diagramming activities, and the photovoice activity, are also fun and this is useful when working with young people or children (Leyshon, 2002).

Having the learners take photographs also provided me with deeper insight into their everyday lives and experiences, within the spaces that they inhabit. Both the pictures and the data produced from the diagramming exercises further helped generate valuable discussion, and in the case of the photographs, evoked strong emotions (Chambers, 1997; Kesby, Kindon and Pain, 2005; Alexander, et al., 2007). In this sense the task was extremely useful because I might not have been able to access these feelings and stories had the learners not engaged in the task (Leyshon, 2002; McIntyre, 2003; Joanou, 2009; Fargas-Malet, et al., 2010). Similarly, using a photovoice technique, the learners were treated as experts on their lives and this had the potential to shift power within the research process (Krieg and Roberts, 2007; Packard, 2008).

Furthermore, all the techniques employed, including the semi-structured interview technique, benefitted this study in that they are flexible and could be adapted to suit the research context as well as the interests and capabilities of the participants (Pain, 2004; Alexander, et al., 2007; O'Kane, 2008). Unlike structured interviews that pose a series of standardised questions in a specific order, semi-structured interviews follow a more informal, conversational format (Dunn, 2000; Longhurst, 2003). By talking through issues in an informal manner, I was able to probe the complexities of the learners' views and they were given the freedom to describe their feelings and experiences in their own words (Dunn, 2000). This flexibility not only provided me with a deeper, more nuanced understanding of the research topic, but it also made room for the learners' voices.

Given the participatory nature of the methods used, creating the data was a collaborative effort. In the case of the discussions based on the diagramming and photovoice data, the participants were able to share their views with others and learn from one another (Kesby, 2000; Pain and Francis, 2003). In conversation with the learners within the 'Activity Afternoon' sessions, LO lessons and in the interviews, I was able to challenge my interpretations and assumptions, and similarly the learners were able to ask questions and reflect on their responses (Dunn, 2000; Hoggart, Lees and Davies, 2002). Thus together we were able to co-construct an understanding of the different research themes (Valentine, 2005).

Primary data in the form of education legislation, curriculum documents, policies and reports were also consulted. These sources helped me better contextualise post-apartheid education, understanding how citizenship education is approached, and identify the core laws, values and principles that guide education. Documents from the two schools, including their annual school magazines, policies, admissions records and prospectuses were also obtained.[35] These sources provided important contextual information on each school, including their histories, demographics, insights into how they are managed, as well as the vision and values that each promote. Table 4.1 below summarises the samples and the various research techniques that were used in both schools.

4.7.1 The 'Activity Afternoon' sessions

In each school, I organised six 'Activity Afternoon' sessions. Each session was two hours long and I provided refreshments for mid-session breaks. Tables 4.2 and 4.3 below provide an overview of the dates of the sessions at both schools, as well as the research techniques that were used and, where appropriate, the themes that guided the different activities.

To select my samples, I used the information provided on the questionnaires inside the learners' 'Information Packs'. Given that it was important that I work with both male and female learners from different race groups, I used a quota sampling technique to select my samples (Parfitt, 2005). I first divided the volunteers into groups (or strata) according to their gender and race. I then considered the availability of the learners to select the final samples. Many learners had other extra-mural and sporting commitments in the afternoons, and thus I worked around their schedules to ensure that I could set up two socially diverse groups to work with (see Table 4.4).

At Buxton High School, out of a total of 18 initial volunteers, I managed to put together a group of eight racially diverse, female participants that were available on the same afternoon. Only one male learner volunteered to take part in the study. On his questionnaire, he had indicated that he would be willing to take part in the 'Activity Afternoon' sessions or the interviews. Given that there were no other male volunteers to recruit, I asked him for an

[35] In order to ensure anonymity, detail regarding the schools' magazines, policies and admission documents, as well as the details of the schools' websites will not be revealed in the reference list at the end of this thesis.

interview. I assumed that he would be uncomfortable working in an all-female group. Once I had met with the group of girls, however, a number of them knew the male volunteer and asked me if he could join the group. Apparently he had spoken with some of the girls (who were also in his registration class) and he did not mind being the only boy in the sessions. I therefore contacted him and he joined us in the second session. In this group, we then had a total of nine learners.

At Spring Vale High School, out of a total of 32 initial volunteers, I managed to put together a group of nine racially diverse learners, five of whom were female and four were male. A total of seven male learners volunteered to take part in the project. All seven had indicated on their questionnaires that they would be willing to take part in either the 'Activity Afternoon' sessions or the interviews. Fortunately four of the seven were available on Friday afternoons, and thus I selected female participants to fill the different diversity quotas based on their availability on Fridays (Parfitt, 2005). I interviewed the remaining three male volunteers. Although I could have recruited more female participants, I decided to limit the sample to four because I did not want the female participants to far outnumber the male participants, making them feel uncomfortable. As it turned out, in our initial session, two of the boys did comment that they would have liked more male learners to be included in the group.

I was given a number of reasons why the boys at both schools were not as enthusiastic to take part as the girls. Both schools have very demanding sporting and extra-mural programmes and the majority of learners take part in more than one activity. The boys, in particular, are committed to sports such as rugby and soccer, which have intensive training and match schedules. These activities take place after school and thus many of the boys were too busy to take part (Principal, Buxton High School, 2010). Some of the learners also suggested that perhaps the boys were too embarrassed to volunteer, as the research required participants to talk about their feelings and identities. I got the impression that some of the boys felt that my project was too 'feminine' and that they were concerned about what their friends would say if they took part. It was primarily because of the lack of male volunteers that I decided to approach the school principals about possibly using some LO classes to produce more data. In this way, I was guaranteed access to a larger male sample.

Table 4.1: An overview of the research methods and samples used in this study

	'Activity Afternoon' Sessions			LO lessons			Interviews		
BUXTON	**No. of sessions**	**Sample**	**Research methods**	**No. of lessons**	**Sample**	**Research Methods**	**No. of interviews**	**Sample**	**Research methods**
	6	8 females, 1 male	Debate, painting, photovoice/ scrapbooking, brainstorming and discussion	2 Grade 8 lessons	8 females, 7 males	Ranking and scoring, brainstorming and discussion	8 learner interviews	6 females, 2 males	All interviews were semi-structured
				3 Grade 10 lessons	14 females, 2 males	Ranking and scoring, brainstorming, discussion and analysis	3 staff interviews	1 interview with the school principal and 2 educator interviews	
SPRING VALE	**No. of sessions**	**Sample**	**Research methods**	**No. of lessons**	**Sample**	**Research Methods**	**No. of interviews**	**Sample**	**Research methods**
	6	5 females, 4 males	Debate, painting, photovoice/ scrapbooking, ranking and scoring, brainstorming and discussion	2 Grade 8 lessons	14 females, 14 males	Mapping, brainstorming and discussion	10 learner interviews	5 females, 5 males	All interviews were semi-structured
							4 staff interviews	1 interview with the school principal and 3 educator interviews	

Table 4.2: The 'Activity Afternoon' sessions at Buxton High School

Session Date	Activities and research techniques	Themes
Session 1: Introductory Session (9th March 2010)	• 'Icebreaker' tasks • 'Hopes' and 'Fears' posters • Ground Rules poster • Brainstorm identity themes • Decide on activities for future sessions	Identity themes: • Gender, ego, ethnicity, friends, class, media, pressure, religion, intellect, views, school, careers, experiences, identity changes, responsibilities, social background, sexuality, morals, environment, politics, interests, family, age and culture
Session 2: Identity Session One (16th March 2010)	• Recap of last week's session • Finalise photovoice/scrapbook themes • Discuss photovoice/scrapbook task • Debate	Photovoice/scrapbook themes (Identity): • Family/background, friends, environment/background Debate theme: • Sexuality
Session 3: Life at School Session One (23rd March 2010)	• Recap of last week: Debate • Painting	Painting themes: • Buxton High School, Inclusion/exclusion at Buxton High School, Diversity at Buxton High School
Session 4: Identity Session Two (13th April 2010)	• Discussion on the experience of taking the photographs • Create the photovoice/scrapbook posters	
Session 5: Identity Session Three (20th April 2010)	• Photovoice/scrapbook reflections	
Session 6: Evaluation Session (4th May 2010)	• Session evaluations	

Table 4.3: The 'Activity Afternoon' sessions at Spring Vale High School

Session Date	Activities and research techniques	Themes
Session 1: Introductory Session (12th March 2010)	• 'Icebreaker' tasks • 'Hopes' and 'Fears' posters • Ground Rules poster • Brainstorm identity themes • Decide on activities for future sessions	Identity themes: • Who are you?, yourself, sports, dancing, friends, do you believe in yourself, music, country, looks, school, name, personality, height, writing, values, goals, age, gender, what you like, mxit, girls, culture, money, family, religion, emotions, experiences, actions, politics, race, sexuality, style, dictator, cars, past life, career
Session 2: Identity Session One (19th March 2010)	• Recap of last week's session • Finalise photovoice/scrapbook themes • Discuss photovoice/scrapbooking task • Debate	Photovoice/scrapbook themes (Identity): • Race and culture, friends, sport, religion, gender, family, emotions, past life, free time, who am I?, environment Debate theme: • Gender
Session 3: Identity Session Two (16th April 2010)	• Discussion on the experience of taking the photographs • Create the photovoice/scrapbook posters	
Session 4: Life at School Session One (23rd April 2010)	• Photovoice/scrapbook reflections • Ranking and Scoring activity	Ranking and Scoring theme: • Likes/Dislikes about Spring Vale High School
Session 5: Life at School Session Two (30th April 2010)	• Recap: Ranking and Scoring • Painting	Painting themes: • South Africa, Diversity at Spring Vale High School
Session 6: Painting reflections and Evaluation Session (7th May 2010)	• Painting reflections • Session evaluations	

Table 4.4: Participants that took part in the 'Activity Afternoon' sessions

Buxton High School		**Spring Vale High School**	
Female participants	**Male participants**	**Female participants**	**Male participants**
Mbali (Black, Grade 9)	Daniel (White, Grade 9)	Nomusa (Black, Grade 9)	Andile (Black, Grade 9)
Ayanda (Black, Grade 11)		Lindiwe (Black, Grade 9)	Jacob (Black, Grade 9)
Nosipho (Black, Grade 11)		Gugu (Black, Grade 11)	Bongani (Black, Grade 10)
Nolene (Indian, Grade 10)		Amari (Indian, Grade 10)	Dube (Black, Grade 9)
Kate (White, Grade 11)		Kim (White, Grade 10)	
Amanda (White, Grade 10)			
Romy (White, Grade 9)			
Jenny (White, Grade 10)			

The first introductory session

The first session in both schools was an 'introductory session'. In these sessions, we focused on getting to know one another, discussing the aims of the study and setting the agenda for the following sessions. In the final part of the first sessions, we brainstormed how the groups conceptualise 'identity' to help generate themes to guide the activities undertaken in upcoming sessions. To aid this task, we used a large, blank poster as a 'graffiti wall'. The learners took turns writing up points on the wall. Once we had exhausted the list of themes, I helped the group think about what sort of activities they would like to engage in. This was an important part of the research process, because by allowing the learners to select activities, they were given the opportunity to select options that they were comfortable with and interested in (Alexander, et al., 2007). In order to help the learners decide on tasks, I made a couple of suggestions. Table 4.1 shows the techniques that each group selected.

The debates

I decided to use debates in order to explore how learners felt about different aspects of identity. I thus devised four themes that reflected four different facets of identity; namely gender, nationality/xenophobia, race and sexuality. The four topics were; 'A woman's place is in the home', 'Foreign refugees and asylum seekers should not be allowed to settle in South Africa', 'Affirmative Action should be scrapped' and 'Same sex relationships should be made illegal'. In both instances, I first described the way in which the debate

would be structured and I randomly divided the groups into two smaller groups. When presenting the topics to the Buxton High School group, the learners were unanimous in voting to debate the 'sexuality' topic. The Spring Vale High group, on the other hand, selected to debate the 'gender' topic. After selecting a topic, I gave the groups approximately 10 to 15 minutes to prepare their arguments. We then held the debates and used posters to summarise each groups' position. At the end of the debates, we had a more general discussion, where I asked the participants how they really felt about the topic and the arguments that were raised.

The painting task

Given that we had decided to explore identity through the scrapbooking activity, I used the painting exercise to explore the learners' feelings about their schools. To do this, I devised three themes for each school, which I hoped would help generate a lively debate. Overall the painting activity took much longer than I had anticipated. Given that I completed this exercise with Spring Vale High School after Buxton High School, I created only two themes for the former school and used bigger groups to ensure that the task would be completed quicker, leaving more time for discussion. Each group randomly selected a card on which a theme was printed. Once the paintings were complete, I interviewed the groups and asked them to explain what they had painted and what the images and symbols represented. I encouraged others in the group to ask questions and ensured that there was enough time to discuss the issues that arose fully.

Plate 4.1: A painting to represent the theme of 'inclusion/exclusion at Buxton High School'

The ranking and scoring activity

The learners at Spring Vale High School also engaged in a ranking and scoring exercise to investigate how learners feel about their school. Before beginning the task, it was important to create a list of features that the group liked and disliked about their school. To do this, I divided the group up into two smaller groups and provided each with coloured pens and paper. I asked each group to list as many 'likes' or 'dislikes' as they could think of. Once they had completed the task, I displayed the posters and we looked at each list in turn. At this point, individuals could add to the lists if they wanted to. Once we had created two exhaustive lists, I asked two volunteers to write the points on two ranking and scoring sheets that I had prepared. The ranking and scoring sheets had a number of blank columns on them, wherein the volunteers could list the 'likes' and 'dislikes' raised. Once the sheets were complete, we stuck them up on the wall and I explained the ranking procedure to the group. Each individual was allowed to vote eight times (four votes per poster). I explained that the learners should vote for the features that they felt most strongly about. The learners did not have to use all eight votes on eight separate features. If there was one particular feature that they felt very strongly about they were permitted to use two or three or all four of their votes for that point. To vote learners were given pens and asked to mark a cross in the relevant columns. Once the ranking procedure was complete, I asked two volunteers to tally the scores. We then sat down as a group to discuss each point and the scores that each had received. In some cases, learners had objections to the priority (or lack of thereof) of certain issues and during our discussion we were able to debate the opposing views.

The photovoice/scrapbooking activity

Before beginning the photovoice/scrapbooking task, we used the 'graffiti walls' to help generate some themes to guide the activity. I encouraged the learners to think about what sorts of photographs they would like to take and how these images would represent who they are. Once we had decided on the themes, I handed out the disposable cameras, notebooks and pens. I asked the learners to use the notebooks to record some details on the photographs that they chose to take; for example, I asked the learners to explain what was in each photograph, how each image made them feel (positive and negative), why they took the image and how the photograph reflects their identity. I also asked the groups to create a caption for each photograph.

Each disposable camera took 24 exposures. I explained to the groups that I would appreciate it if they took 12 photographs for the project and the other 12 could be taken for their personal use. It was also necessary to discuss some ethical issues relating to the

exercise. I explained that it was important that the identity of their schools remained anonymous and I asked the learners to try and avoid taking pictures of their school buildings or themselves or others in their school uniforms. I also explained to the groups that it is essential that they ask permission from any people that they photograph. I noted that they would need to describe why they were taking the photographs and what would happen to the images. I reassured the learners that no one's identity would be revealed, but it was still important that the people being photographed give their permission.

After the photographs had been taken, I conducted a group interview in both schools to find out how the learners had experienced the task. It was important for me to find out if the learners had enjoyed taking the photographs and if they had experienced any difficulties with the activity. After these group interviews, the learners set about sorting through their photographs and deciding which ones they would use for the scrapbook posters. Using the materials that I provided, the groups then created their posters. In the following sessions, I interviewed each learner about their photographs and encouraged others to ask questions and join into the subsequent discussions.

Plate 4.2: A photovoice/scrapbook poster created by a learner at Buxton High School using the 'environment/background' theme

The final evaluation sessions

For the final sessions, I brought the learners take-away meals of their choice as a way of thanking them for their participation. During these last sessions, it was also important that I got some feedback from the learners as to how they had found the sessions overall. The evaluations were informal and we sat in groups and I asked each participant to explain how they felt about the sessions, which activities they had enjoyed the most and the least, and

whether there was anything that could have been done to improve the sessions. I also asked each participant what they felt they had learnt from taking part (if anything) and whether they had found the sessions worthwhile. After the evaluations, we played a game that I had brought with me. It was important that I ended the sessions in a relaxed manner. At Buxton High School, we also used this final session to visit the library to display the paintings that the learners had created. The group at Spring Vale High School did not wish to exhibit their paintings.

4.7.2 The Life Orientation lessons

In order to gain access to more male participants, I organised with the school principals and LO educators to work with a number of LO classes. Given that I did not want to inconvenience the schools, I agreed to allow the LO educators to determine which classes I could work with. An overview of the LO data are presented in Table 4.5 below. Each LO lesson was between 40-50 minutes in length. Due to the limited time that I had with each class, I decided prior to meeting the learners what I wanted to cover with each group and what methods I would use to achieve this.

Before undertaking the lessons, it was important that I gain consent from the learners and their parents/guardians. To do this, I produced a detailed information letter for both parties (see Appendices 4.4 and 4.5).[36] I also met each class before the allocated lessons and briefly introduced myself and the project, and answered any questions. I stressed to each class that participation in the project was voluntary and if they did not want to take part, or their parents/guardians would not allow them to take part, they would go with their class educators to the media centre to complete other work. All the educators had agreed to do this prior to my meeting the classes. At the end of each lesson, I thanked the participants with a chocolate.

[36] I once again translated the parent/guardian information letter into isiZulu. I did not provide an Afrikaans translation as I had done for the original 'Information packs', because at this point I had worked in both schools for some time and I realised that very few learners spoke Afrikaans as a mother tongue language.

Table 4.5: An overview of samples, research techniques and themes used in the LO lessons

Schools	Date and number of Lessons	Sample of learners	Research techniques	Themes
Buxton High School	2 Grade 8 lessons (31st May and 1st June 2010)	8 females (7 white, 1 coloured), 7 males (6 white, 1 black)	Ranking and scoring, brainstorming and discussion	Things I like about South Africa; Things I dislike about South Africa; Things that bring South Africans together; Things that keep South Africans apart
	3 Grade 10 lessons (28th May, 1st June and 2nd June 2010)	14 females (11 white, 3 black), 2 males (2 white)	Ranking and scoring, brainstorming, discussion and analysis	Likes/Dislikes at Buxton High School; Lesson time, Break time, Sports and extra-mural activities and Everyday interactions
Spring Vale High School	**Date and number of Lessons**	**Sample of learners**	**Research techniques**	**Themes**
	2 Grade 8 lessons (20th and 21st September 2010)	14 females (12 black, 1 white, 1 Indian), 14 males (12 black, 2 white)	Mapping, brainstorming and discussion	School spaces: Feelings and Experiences

Buxton High School: Grade 8 LO class

Of a total of 28 learners in this class, 15 learners returned their reply slips in time and agreed to participate in the study. In the first lesson, the learners engaged in a brainstorming and ranking and scoring exercise to explore how they feel about South Africa, and in particular, unity in South Africa. First I divided the group into four smaller groups and gave each a blank 'ranking and scoring sheet' with empty columns and some coloured pens. Each group was given a theme that they would need to brainstorm. In order to ensure that all the groups had a chance to list ideas on all of the sheets, I gave each group approximately five minutes to list as many ideas on their sheet as possible.

After five minutes, we rotated the sheets and the groups were given another five minutes to review what had been listed by the previous group, and then add any more ideas

that they could think of. We repeated this process until all four groups had a chance to add to all four lists. Rotating the sheets quickly was effective because it kept the learners on their toes and helped hold their interest. After all the lists had been consulted, I displayed each on the wall separately and we went through the points individually. If there was any overlap between issues, this was dealt with, and if any learners had any more ideas these were added. Discussing each idea was useful because it allowed me to take note of what learners meant by the listed points and I was able to clarify points that were contested by others in the class.

In the second period, we finished consolidating the lists and I explained to the group how the scoring procedure would work. The learners were given an opportunity to vote for the issues that they felt most strongly about on all four lists. Each learner was given 16 votes (four votes per poster). To vote, learners were required to mark an X in the relevant columns, and like the ranking and scoring activity discussed above, the learners could distribute their votes as they pleased. By doing this the learners could demonstrate the importance of each of their choices relative to the others. After the voting was over, I asked four volunteers to tally the scores. We then discussed the top three issues on each poster as a group.

Buxton High School: Grade 10 LO class

Of a class of 33 learners, 16 returned their reply slips and agreed to take part in the project. In the three periods that I had with this LO class, we engaged in two different activities. For the first task, I aimed to explore how learners felt about their school. To do this I displayed two sets of posters on the wall with empty columns. One set of posters was for learners to list what they liked about their school and the other was for learners to list their dislikes. I asked two volunteers to write down the various points as the group called out issues. Once the lists were complete, I explained the ranking procedure. As in the previous example, the learners were given eight votes (four per poster) and they were able to distribute their four votes as they pleased. Volunteers then tallied the scores. In the beginning of the second lesson, we discussed and debated the results as a class. I then explained the second task for I had brought with me four sets of quotations that I had received from the ‘Activity Afternoon’ sessions and individual interviews at the school. The quotations represented four themes that had emerged and been contested in the research to date. The themes revolved around integration and race relations at the school. Before beginning the task, I took some time to explain to the group that I wanted them to

help me debate the themes in order to allow me to gain access to a wider set of views, and that essentially they would be assisting me in interpreting the data.

To undertake the task, I divided the group into four smaller groups and gave each a theme, a blank poster and coloured pens. Under each theme, I used two opposing quotations from the data. The groups were given the remainder of the period to brainstorm the quotations, noting if they agreed or disagreed with the perspectives and why. The groups could jot down key words or draw pictures to represent their views (see Plate 4.3). In the final period, I asked each group to present their evaluations and we discussed the issues raised together as a class.

Plate 4.3: A brainstorming poster created by a group of Grade 10 learners at Buxton High School depicting issues related to the 'break time' theme

Spring Vale High School: Grade 8 LO class

Of a class of 31, 28 learners returned their reply slips and agreed to take part in the study. With this LO class, I aimed to use a participatory mapping exercise to explore how the learners conceptualise and feel about their school spaces. Unfortunately the task was not as successful as I had hoped, and consequently I have decided not to use the map data in this thesis. I divided the group up into five smaller groups and each was given coloured pens and some A3 sheets of paper. I asked the groups to draw a map of their school, including the different buildings and facilities, such as the sports fields, library and school hall. Once the maps had been drawn, I gave each group a set of stickers and a map key. There were four different coloured stickers on the key and I asked the groups to use a different colour sticker to identify on their maps the places/facilities that they liked and disliked, as well as any prohibited spaces and possible spaces that they felt unsafe in. The task was

unsuccessful primarily because the learners struggled to draw the maps. By the end of the first lesson, the groups still had much work to do to complete their drawings. Thus in the beginning of the second session, I attempted to discuss the maps even though the groups had not completed their final versions. Given that the maps were incomplete, the discussion was compromised. In the end we were able to discuss some of the learners' feelings and experiences at their school, however, without much reference to the maps.

4.7.3 The interviews with the learners

I initially aimed to interview six male learners and six female learners at each school, from different racial backgrounds (see Table 4.6). The relatively small sample is justified given the qualitative nature of this study, where an "illustrative" rather than a "representative" sample was preferred (Valentine, 2001b, p.46). The limited number of interviews conducted was thus deemed sufficient to produce enough data to adequately address the research objectives, particularly since the interviews formed only one component of the project's multi-method approach.

To define my samples, I used the information provided on the short questionnaires inside the 'Information Packs'. Given that the number of girls who agreed to participate in the study was much higher than the number of boys, I used different sampling techniques to select my male and female participants. To select a group of racially diverse female participants, I used a stratified random sampling technique (Parfitt, 2005).[37] First, I divided the female volunteers into different groups (or strata) according to their self-identified race. I then randomly selected learners from within each stratum to take part.[38]

Organising the male interviews was slightly harder. Due to the limited number of male volunteers, I used a purposive sampling technique and included all the volunteers in my samples (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007). To recruit more male volunteers, I then attempted to use a snowball sampling technique (Valentine, 2005). In the 'Activity Afternoon' sessions, I asked my two groups if they could perhaps ask their friends and

[37] At Buxton High School, no Indian or coloured female learners volunteered to take part in the interviews, and at Spring Vale High School, no Indian females and only one coloured female volunteered to participate in the interviews. Indian and coloured learners are minorities in both schools. In the 'Activity Afternoon' sessions and the LO classes, I was able to diversify my samples and access the views of learners from different racial groups.

[38] Although I succeeded in interviewing six female learners at Buxton High School, I managed to interview only five female learners at Spring Vale High School. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, I struggled to get hold of many of the volunteers on the contact numbers that they had provided. There were also some volunteers who later changed their minds about taking part. Due to time constraints, I eventually settled on five interviews, as I felt that this was sufficient given the rich data set that was produced from the 'Activity Afternoon' sessions, the other interviews and the LO lessons.

classmates if anyone would like to be interviewed. Unfortunately neither of these attempts yielded any results. I also made a second appeal for male volunteers in both schools' daily notices, which are read out to all classes at the schools once a day. This was also unsuccessful. After these attempts failed, I decided to employ a volunteer sampling technique to recruit more male participants (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007).

At Buxton High School, I asked an LO educator to make an appeal for male participants in her classes on my behalf and at Spring Vale High School, I enlisted the help of the school counsellor to do the same. I gave both educators some spare 'Information packs' to give to any interested learners in order to obtain their informed consent, as well as their parents/guardians. With the assistance of these two educators, I was able to recruit two more boys to interview at both schools.

To conduct the interviews, I prepared the semi-structured interview schedule by drawing up a list of themes and questions derived from the theory and the data produced in the 'Activity Afternoon' sessions (see Appendix 4.6). Before conducting each interview, I began by introducing myself and the research project, as well as going through various issues related to consent and confidentiality. Each interview was approximately 45 minutes to an hour in length. By taking care to create a safe, non-intimidating space for learners, the majority of participants appeared relaxed during the interviews and opened up to share their thoughts and experiences.

Table 4.6: Interviews conducted with learners at Buxton High School and Spring Vale High School

Buxton High School			
Female learners	**Date interviewed**	**Male learners**	**Date interviewed**
Sibongile (Black, Grade 10)	22nd April 2010	Musa (Black, Grade 12)	7th June 2010
Bandile (Black, Grade 11)	5th May 2010	Gerald (White, Grade 12)	8th June 2010
Ntombi (Black, Grade 9)	3rd June 2010		
Anne (White, Grade 10)	6th May 2010		
Samantha (White, Grade 9)	2nd June 2010		
Debbie (White, Grade 10)	14th September 2010		
Spring Vale High School			
Female learners	**Date interviewed**	**Male learners**	**Date interviewed**
Khanyi (Black, Grade 11)	3rd May 2010	Mandla (Black, Grade 11)	21st April 2010
Sylvia (Coloured, Grade 9)	29th April 2010	Phumlani (Black, Grade 10)	16th September 2010
Jayshree (Indian, Grade 11)	28th April 2010	John (Coloured, Grade 10)	19th May 2010
Jackie (White, Grade 9)	26th May 2010	Preben (Indian, Grade 11)	21st September 2010
Beth (White, Grade 11)	18th May 2010	Kevin (White, Grade 11)	21st May 2010

4.7.4 The interviews with the school principals and educators

I conducted a single interview with both school principals at the beginning of the school year, before the bulk of the fieldwork was underway.[39] I interviewed the principal of Buxton High School on the 5th February 2010 and the principal of Spring Vale High School on the 15th February 2010. I purposively selected the two principals to interview because of their positions of authority in their schools and their extensive knowledge of their institutions (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007). The purpose of these interviews was primarily to gain background information on each school. These interviews also provided me with an opportunity to collect some important school documents, such as each school's prospectus, application forms and codes of conduct.

I also interviewed two educators at Buxton High School and three educators at Spring Vale High School (see Table 4.7). Given that this study focuses primarily on

[39] Although I only conducted a single interview with both principals, I met each principal numerous times throughout the fieldwork period to discuss the progress of the research.

learners' perspectives, the number of interviews with educators was limited. In both schools, I thus focused on interviewing LO educators and one interview at each school was with the school counsellors. A combination of purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to select the samples (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007). I initially approached the school counsellors for interviews because they are closely linked to the learner body and understand many of the issues at the schools. Both counsellors had also been involved in teaching LO at their institutions and this was helpful in allowing me to question them about the subject and its role in citizenship education. With the help of the counsellors, I was able to contact and interview three more LO educators.

Before beginning the interviews, I asked the principals and educators to sign a letter of consent to give their permission to take part (see Appendices 4.7 and 4.8). I prepared a semi-structured interview schedule to guide our conversations (see Appendix 4.9 and 4.10). Each interview was approximately 45 minutes in length.

Table 4.7: Interviews conducted with educators at Buxton High School and Spring Vale High School

Buxton High School	
Educators	**Date interviewed**
Miss Dunston (LO educator)[40]	24th February 2010
Mrs. Lancaster (LO educator and school counsellor)	24th March 2010
Spring Vale High School	
Educators	**Date interviewed**
Mrs. Winston (Former LO educator and school counsellor)	26th May 2010
Mr. Smith (LO educator)	3rd June 2010
Mr. Basset (LO educator)	4th June 2010

4.8 Data analysis and interpretation

Participatory analysis is typically an iterative process, whereby ideas and interpretations are developed and challenged throughout the project, and a collective understanding is generated (Kesby, 2000; Cahill, 2007b). The data produced in this study were analysed and interpreted in three phases both within South Africa and in the United Kingdom. During the first phase, in the 'Activity Afternoon' sessions, LO lessons and individual interviews, data were produced and interrogated, and interpretations were co-constructed. In this first

[40] Pseudonyms have been created to disguise the real names of all the educators who participated in this study.

phase, the participation of learners was vital. As a facilitator, I had the opportunity to challenge my assumptions and understanding, and similarly the participants were also able to challenge their views and opinions.

During these different research encounters, I also recorded various aspects of the process using different methods. Data produced from the diagramming and photovoice activities was photographed and photocopied. I also tape recorded most of the discussions and debates that we had during the 'Activity Afternoon' sessions. Where discussions were recorded, I also made notes, focusing specifically on non-verbal aspects of the research encounter, which would not be evident from later listening to the audio recordings. Given the number of learners involved in the LO class activities, I did not think it would be practical to tape record the discussions and instead I took notes during the lessons. With regard to the interviews, I both recorded all of our conversations and made hand-written notes.

After each research encounter, I transcribed and annotated the data as soon as possible, noting down the time, location, demographics of the groups and the seeming mood of the participants (Norton, 1998). Kitchen and Tate (2000) argue that it is crucial that this first step produces 'thick' description, because it forms the basis of the analysis. It was equally important to note the situational context of the meetings (Kitchen and Tate, 2000), as well as the political-temporal context in which the research took place (Visser, 2001). Finally, I reflected on the data production process itself, and in particular on the appropriateness of my questions and the activities (Dunn, 2000). These notes helped me improve my facilitation skills and the activities in future sessions and classes.

During the second phase of analysis, I used a qualitative, interpretive approach (Kitchen and Tate, 2000; Crang, 2005). The first step in this phase was to organise and code the data set. Once all the data had been transcribed and annotated, I carefully read through my transcripts and research reflections, noting any points that stood out as important or interesting. Crang (2005) describes this process as 'open coding'. These notes formed the basis of an initial set of codes, which helped me sort through and classify the data. This list of codes was developed further as I worked my way through the research material. This process was iterative and many of my initial codes were broken down or merged as appropriate. Kitchen and Tate (2000) describe this process as 'splitting' and 'splicing' the codes, and it is important to ensure that the final list of codes is exhaustive. As I developed this list, I also began to create a set of 'theoretical memos', which reflected

more sophisticated themes, patterns and connections that I had begun to identify (Crang, 2005). As there are many ways to interpret data, these latter memos were negotiated in relation to the research objectives and the theoretical framework (Kitchen and Tate, 2000). Once the list of codes was finalised, I began to sort the data.

To undertake this step, I created two separate word processor documents, one for Buxton High School and one for Spring Vale High School. I listed the codes on each document and then I went through the electronic copies of the all the transcripts and reflective notes and I copied and pasted relevant sections and quotations onto the two documents, under the appropriate codes. I made sure that I recorded where each copied section/quotation originated from, so that I could return to the original transcripts to contextualise the information as necessary.

In the final step of this phase of analysis, I attempted to explain the perceived trends or patterns that had emerged from the analysis process so far. By coding and classifying the data in the previous steps, particular links and relationships became apparent within the data set. The created codes were useful tools to organise the research material, but on their own they were insufficient to explain the data (Crang, 2005). Thus the final step of this phase constituted a relatively intuitive process, whereby I inferred meaning or interpreted the data in light of the literature review (Kitchen and Tate, 2000). The theoretical memos created in the previous steps were useful in helping me formulate my final arguments.

On completion of the second phase of analysis, I wrote up draft reports on the findings and in July 2011, I returned to South Africa to provide both schools with feedback. Providing feedback to the participants was essential for two reasons. Firstly, it was important and useful for the participants to see what became of the information that they gave (Hart, 1992). Secondly, it allowed me to further challenge and confirm my interpretation of the data, before finalising my thesis and disseminating the findings (van Blerk and Ansell, 2007). I gave a feedback (powerpoint) presentation to the educators of Buxton High School on the 29th July 2011 and to the educators of Spring Vale High School on the 12th August 2011. These reported the results for individual schools. As both principals were responsible for scheduling these meetings, there was a good staff turnout at both. Fortunately both principals also gave me approximately 45 minutes to speak, so I was able to cover a significant portion of my findings. There was also time to discuss the issues that I had raised.

The feedback presentations to learners took place at Buxton High School on the 19th August 2011 and at Spring Vale High School on the 24th August 2011. Each presentation was approximately an hour and a half in length, which allowed sufficient time for me to present my findings and to receive feedback. In order to ensure that I had as many of the original participants present, I negotiated afternoons when the least sports and extra-mural activities were scheduled. In both cases, this was Friday afternoons. Despite the fact that not everyone was able to make it to the presentations, 12 learners attended the Buxton High School meeting and 20 attended the Spring Vale High School meeting. In both cases a number of learners left the feedback sessions early because of transport issues or other commitments. I left printed copies of the presentation slides at both schools for learners that were unable to make it to the meetings, but who were interested in the findings.

At the start of both learner presentations, I briefly reiterated the focus of the study and explained the research methodology. I also explained the purpose of the feedback presentations. Not only was I keen to see all the participants again and let them know how the project had progressed, but it was also important to hear their views on my interpretations and to challenge any findings that they felt were wrongly represented. For this reason, I prepared individual presentations for each school, based on the data that were produced in their respective institutions only. The presentations were conducted in an informal manner, and rather than reserve all the questions for the end, learners frequently commented on particular issues as they were raised. In both schools, the learners also seemed generally quite happy with how I had interpreted and represented their views. After the presentations, I sent an email to both school principals giving them feedback on how the learner presentations went. Finally, I provided both schools with summary reports of my findings in October 2012 and I also sent both institutions, as well as the KZN DoE, an electronic copy of the thesis in December 2012.

4.9 Critical reflections

There are various epistemological and practical limitations to this study. Firstly, it was important to consider issues of positionality and how these influenced different aspects of the research process. England (2006, p.289) states that, “positionality is about how people view the world from different embodied locations”. As a consequence of the researcher’s intimate role in the research process, it is impossible to produce objective knowledge claims about the world. The interpretation of data is inherently subjective and the results produced represent a set of partial, situated truths (England, 2006). This presents a

particular epistemological problem to researchers who aim to produce legitimate arguments and represent the views of the research participants as accurately as possible. In this respect, critics have argued further that it is difficult for researchers to understand and represent the lives of individuals from different racial or cultural backgrounds, or to obtain an 'insider's view'. In a socially diverse context, such as in this study, difference is felt more acutely (Skelton, 2001). This is particularly important in the post-apartheid context where race and cultural markers are significant. Besides being ethnically different to many of my research participants (as a white South African), I was also older and in a position of authority as an educated academic. These differences had implications for how the data were both produced and interpreted.

It is important to point out that the debates on the 'insider-outsider' binary have developed in complexity in recent years. Social scientists nowadays recognise that the binary is not as stable and fixed as was first presumed. Instead difference and identity are understood to be relationally constructed (Crang, 2003). Identities are negotiated throughout the research process, and in a research context the researcher may shift numerous times between being perceived as an insider or an outsider (Visser, 2001). Some critics have also argued that because qualitative methods produce subjective interpretations they lack rigour and validity. These criticisms have since been silenced by social researchers who have convincingly pointed out that all research is in fact subjective and is shaped by the researcher's values and perspectives (Ley and Mountz, 2001).

In this study, I made an effort to reflect on my positionality as critically as possible. In particular, I was sensitive to the fact that I viewed the data through a particular theoretical lens and with a particular set of research questions in mind. I also employed qualitative, interpretive techniques to explore meaning and identity as fully as possible, with the participation and input of the research participants. It is important to note, however, that it is not possible to achieve a level of "transparent reflexivity" (Rose, 1997, p.311). Rose (1997) argues that no amount of critical reflection can enable the researcher to fully know the self and the research context, and the effects of both on the research process. In order to address issues of power, an attempt was made to conduct the project in a participatory, collaborative way, where the subject-object distinction was played down as far as possible. It was also important to establish a rapport with the learners that participated in this study so that they felt that their voices were heard and that their participation was valued (Grover, 2004).

In terms of reflecting on the group dynamics in this study, as mentioned previously, I worked with multi-racial groups of both males and females. In order to promote respect and maximize the opportunities for all learners to feel comfortable and participate, I tried to mediate sensitive discussions as best as possible. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, in the 'Activity Afternoon' sessions, I worked with the two groups at the start of the first session to devise a set of ground rules to guide our time together. These rules included the importance of respecting diverse views and listening to the opinions of others. Despite my efforts to remain sensitive to the needs of the diverse PR groups, I acknowledge that there may indeed have been instances where particular learners felt uncomfortable participating or raising their concerns because of the power dynamics within these groups.

There are a number of limitations posed by the selected school sample that are also worth reflecting and expanding upon. Firstly, it is important to point out some of the implications of conducting this study in KZN, which has a higher concentration of both Indians and ethnic Zulus than elsewhere in the country, and fewer coloureds than other provinces such as the Northern and Western Cape. This has implications for the applicability of the findings outside of this province. The KZN province also has a unique history, and as mentioned in Chapter Two, much of the internal conflict between 1990 and 1993 took place in KZN between rival ANC supporters and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters (many of whom are Zulu loyalists). Although the conflict between these two groups is not as acute as it was during the 1990s, this history and ongoing tension undoubtedly shape efforts at integration within the province and the views of people living therein.

Secondly, former 'Model C' schools are in a minority in South Africa. Although they are among the most racially diverse and better performing schools in the country, there are many more schools in South Africa that are mono-cultural, under-resourced and with poor performance records (Soudien, 2004; Chisholm and Sujee, 2006). Thus the opportunities that are available to learners in the two case study schools, both academically and socially, may very well be limited in the large majority of schools across the country. The learners at Buxton High School and Spring Vale High School interact with different people on an everyday basis. In some cases, these interactions foster friendship and in other cases tensions are played out. Nonetheless this exposure to difference provides these learners with the opportunity to challenge their views and contradict negative stereotypes. Moreover, despite coming from diverse backgrounds, many of the learners at the two case study schools are among the more financially secure in the country, and by attending two

top performing secondary schools, they are arguably more likely to have self-confidence in themselves and their future prospects. This was reflected in the overall confidence in which the participating learners were able to articulate themselves and critically reflect on the research questions. Thus, as a result of the social mix and socio-economic standing of these institutions, it is impossible for me to say whether learners at mono-cultural and/or impoverished schools would respond in the same way to the research questions, including how they feel about race relations or national unity in South Africa. Therefore, although the results of this study may be comparable to studies conducted in other former 'Model C' schools, I would suggest that further research be undertaken at schools with different socio-economic circumstances in order to compare the findings presented in this thesis.

Finally, it is worth commenting on the sample of learners who volunteered and were selected to participate in this project. As discussed earlier in the chapter, obtaining male volunteers proved difficult and because of this I had to expand the research design and attempt to access more male voices through the LO lessons. In addition to this issue, it is also worth briefly reflecting on the characteristics of the participants themselves. Whilst a number of participants in both schools were clearly high achievers (for example, a number of participants are in the top academic classes and are, or aspire to be, student leaders), this was not the case with the entire sample. In the LO lessons, I worked with different academically graded classes and in the interviews and 'Activity Afternoon' sessions, I also had the opportunity to work with diverse groups (including a few learners who had reputations as troublemakers). Thus I feel that I was able to obtain the views of an adequate range of different learners at both schools.

4.10 Conclusion

A PR approach was selected as the most appropriate approach to use because of its democratic, inclusive and anti-hegemonic principles, and because of the usefulness of PR techniques in engaging with young people. Given that this project focused on the identities, experiences and perspectives of secondary school learners, it was vital that learners be actively involved in the project, both in the production and interpretation of the data. The selected methodological approach helped guide me through this, by assisting me in developing ways in which to include young people that were engaging, ethical and reflexive. The various participatory methods that were used in the project were also helpful in shifting power, freeing creativity and allowing the participants to share their opinions and experiences in ways in which they were comfortable. Furthermore, by embracing

multiple methods, I was able to cross-check information throughout the research process and deepen my understanding of the research topic in all its complexity. Thus, through employing a PR methodological approach as well as a range of PR methods, this study successfully produced a rich data set to address the research aim and objectives. The following chapter presents and critically discusses some of the findings that relate to learners' perspectives of South Africa, their nationality and national unity on the country.

Chapter Five

Learners' perspectives on national identity and unity in the 'new' South Africa

Source: Zapiro (2000)

5.1 Introduction

After decades of oppressive apartheid rule, it was imperative that the African National Congress (ANC) government address the devastation caused by the regime and begin transforming and uniting the country. As discussed in Chapter Two, the totalitarian government produced a fragmented citizenry with little experience of inclusive democracy. In addition, the regime left the new government facing widespread socio-economic inequalities, social and spatial divisions and psychological scars, all of which have profound racial overtones. Appreciating the effects of the country's history is essential in order to provide an understanding of the context in which nation-building is currently taking place and in which schools are operating. On coming into power in 1994, the ANC demonstrated their commitment to nation-building by adopting a multi-faceted approach, as discussed in Chapter Three. Given the vast inequalities in the country, it was crucial that redress form a central part of the state's nation-building agenda. Equally important was consolidating South Africa's fragile democracy, encouraging reconciliation and promoting a new unifying national identity, which is founded on equal citizenship and the Constitutional values, such as democracy, non-racialism and respect for diversity. New national symbols and historical narratives have been produced to represent the 'new' South Africa and the state has used these, as well as other initiatives and legislation, to work towards building a successful and united nation. The importance of education in realising

this agenda was, and still is, recognised by the state; this is evident in post-1994 education policy and in the evolving post-apartheid curriculum.

In spite of the state efforts, the fruits of success are slow in coming. Although there appears to be widespread agreement among South Africans that nation-building is an important exercise (Alexander, 2001; Gray, Delany and Durrheim, 2005), and the government has made some progress in expanding political freedoms and reducing segregation and discrimination (National Planning Commission, 2011), a number of formidable obstacles remain. Of particular interest to this chapter is the progress made in reconciling and uniting South Africans as a nation. Despite widespread acceptance of the new national symbols and a relatively high level of civic nationalism displayed among citizens, a united South African nation remains an elusive goal (Mattes, 1999; Grossberg, Struwig and Pillay, 2006). As Moodley and Adam (2000, p.66) argue, "Despite the euphoria of liberation or unity at sports victories, it would be fair to state that a South African nation has yet to be born. South Africa at present constitutes an economic and political entity, but not an emotional one".

This chapter focuses on the perspectives of the learners who participated in this study, exploring how they feel about South Africa and their national identities, as well as their views on national unity. As highlighted in Chapters One and Four, it is vitally important to engage with young people in research that affects their lives and experiences, and garnering the views of the 'born frees' in this project provides a novel contribution to literature on nation-building in post-apartheid South Africa. Providing a broad analysis of learners' perspectives on national identity, belonging and unity in the country also creates an important platform for more detailed discussion of the role that education plays in these nation-building efforts, which is undertaken in subsequent chapters. As argued throughout this thesis, education has a crucial function in efforts to build a united nation, therefore understanding the views of young people on related issues, who are attending schools, provides a useful starting point to better understand the challenges and opportunities confronting schools in attempting to realise national objectives. The chapter begins by examining feelings of national pride as a means to gain some insight into learners' feelings towards their country and nationality. Smith and Jarkko (2001, p.1) define national pride as "the positive affect that the public feels towards their country as a result of their national identity. It is both the pride or sense of esteem that a person has for one's nation and the pride or self-esteem that a person derives from one's national identity". The second half of the chapter presents the learners' perspectives on national unity and explores how their

views relate to nation-building initiatives and debates, as well as to their future imaginings of South Africa and their place in it.

5.2 Proudly South African? National identity and pride in post-apartheid South Africa

In order to explore learners' attitudes about South Africa, their nationality and national identity, various individual learners, as well as groups of participants, were asked if they are 'Proudly South African' – a phrase borrowed from a well known 'buy local' campaign that was launched by government, the business sector, organised labour and various community organisations in 2001, and which is still successfully operating today. The campaign aims to instil pride in local goods, companies and services, and to encourage South Africans to buy local or home-grown products. This in turn is hoped to have positive economic spin-offs. A distinct logo featuring the South African flag is evident on associated products and the campaign continues to have much media coverage (Proudly South African, 2010).

In conversation with learners, it became apparent that many have mixed feelings about their country and their national identity. Whilst approximately a third of the learners that I spoke to are proudly South African and have much praise for South Africa, the majority are more ambivalent and presented reasons why they are both proud, but also ashamed, of the country and their association with it. The relatively high level of ambivalence expressed by the learners is particularly interesting in light of recent research. A number of large surveys carried out since 1994 reveal that South Africans of all races generally exhibit high levels of national pride and this has remained fairly consistent since the democratic transition.[41] According to some of the latest survey figures, as published in the 2010 Development Indicators Report, the large majority of respondents surveyed between 2003 and 2009 said that they were proud to be South Africans. Although national pride can be seen to decrease in times of economic crisis, overall the figures have remained optimistically high. In 2003, for example, 84% of respondents claimed to be proudly South African. Although this figure fluctuated over the subsequent years, in 2009, 75% of respondents displayed feelings of national pride (National Planning Commission

[41] See for example Mattes (1999), Klandermans, Roefs and Olivier (2001), Bornman (2006) and Grossberg, Struwig and Pillay (2006). When analysing some of these surveys along racial lines, black South Africans tend to demonstrate marginally stronger feelings of national pride than their white counterparts, who tend to exhibit the weakest feelings of pride. Typically the sentiments of Indian and coloured South Africans fall somewhere in between these figures (Bornman, 2006; Grossberg, Struwig and Pillay, 2006). Despite these variations, national pride appears to have remained high among all South Africans since 1994.

Secretariat and the Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation, 2010). Similar studies conducted with young South Africans yield comparable results. Mattes and Mniki's (2007) 2002 survey of university students revealed that 83% were proud to be South Africans. Similarly, Boyce (2010) draws on 2005 survey data to demonstrate that national pride among the youth[42] was uniformly high and slight differences between the views of the different race groups are deemed insignificant. The following section critically explores the learners' perspectives on national pride in light of relevant literature. A number of significant and interlinked themes emerge from the data and are discussed below.

5.2.1 Relational identities and civic pride: the role of the state and the 'international gaze'

As mentioned above, approximately one third of the learners that I spoke to said that they are proudly South African. These learners provided various reasons for their sense of pride in their country, including South Africa's natural beauty, vibrant atmosphere, diversity, as well its history, unity and potential. A number of learners also expressed a level of civic pride, by embracing the various post-apartheid national symbols. As I was conducting my empirical research during the 2010 football World Cup, which was held in South Africa, some learners also expressed their pride to be hosting the event.

With regard to the natural beauty of the country, South Africa's warm climate, attractive beaches and varied landscapes were identified as features that instil national pride. Other learners mentioned that they are proud of South Africa's vibe – its friendly people, diversity, opportunities and exciting atmosphere. Many of the learners, like Samantha, Debbie and Sibongile, who cited these reasons for their pride in the country, drew comparisons with other countries in order to highlight why they believe South Africa is a beautiful, warm and exciting place worthy of being proud of:

> "I love South Africa. I've been to England a few times and um… the people have just been like…whoa…like grumpy, like 'Get into your subway and just go to work, go to school'. They rush down the stairs and just push you. Ja, I think South Africa itself, like the climate, it's scenery, it's just a beautiful country and I'm very proud of it" (Samantha, white female, Grade 11, Buxton High School).

> "I'm very happy I'm South African. I would hate to be an Australian or an American. I like South Africa 'cause there's people from everywhere, you can do anything. It's just…it's crazy, like the South African vibe, it's just insane" (Debbie, white female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

[42] According to the National Youth Commission Act (no. 19 of 1996), a youth in South Africa is defined as a person aged between 14 and 35 years (Boyce, 2010).

> "I love my country. There's no place like home. The people here…I've travelled, I've been to England, I've been to Europe, I've been…I've seen different people, how they are. South Africa is the only country where you walk past, you don't know the person 'Hello, how are you?' 'I'm good' 'Ok bye' 'Bye'. On the bus, you can't say you rode a bus from Durban to Cape Town and you spoke to no-one on the way. In England I rode a bus all the way to Heathrow, all the way to Birmingham, speaking to no-body on the bus. Even though there is such crime, people here are lovely, they are full of character" (Sibongile, black female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

In Chapter Three the relational nature of identity construction was discussed and all identities, including national identities, were shown to be constructed through processes which foster sameness, but also difference, with others. It is evident that many of the learners conceptualise South Africa and their national identities in relation to how they perceive other countries, whether these perceptions are derived from actually traveling to other places, or from what they hear from other people and/or through the media. Crucially, this relational construction works both ways, in that for some learners, how other countries perceive South Africa also matters to their conceptions of self. Consider the quotation below from Ntombi who, along with a couple of other learners, mentioned being proud of the country's history, and in particular, how South Africans were able to overcome apartheid and unite to usher in a new democratic era:

> "I'm a woman who is proud about my country. I mean throughout all the things that we've been through, like colonization, apartheid and everything, we were able to get through all that stuff, work together. But by other countries, which I don't know their names, but I've heard about them, they still have this thing against each other, they don't know how to work it out, you know, together. So I'm proud of my country, I mean we now have a black president. We have black doctors, Indian doctors, so it's all good. And like everyone is interested, like internationally, is interested about our history" (Ntombi, black female, Grade 9, Buxton High School).

The last sentence of this quotation is revealing and supports the argument that many learners perceive their nation and nationality by taking into account how the nation is reflected in the media. In 1994, the international image of South Africa was transformed. All around the world people watched and celebrated the democratic transition. Apartheid was overcome and Nelson Mandela became an international icon. Evans (2010) draws attention to the powerful role that the media played in the mid-1990s in nation-building. In her article, she focuses on three televised 'spectacles' – the release of Mandela from prison, his inauguration and the 1995 Rugby World Cup – to demonstrate how a particular image of the newly democratised country was projected both locally and internationally. All three 'media events' received widespread coverage around the world (indeed Mandela's release from prison is widely considered to be one of the most memorable

moments ever televised live), and they were interpreted by local and international media bodies in different ways. Despite these differences, these events functioned as powerful displays of the country's new national image, one forged from reconciliation, rebirth, humanity, freedom and victory over adversity. The broadcasts were successful in portraying the new nation as stable and unified, which had positive spin-offs both in terms of nation-building but also in terms of allaying the fears of foreign investors. Evans (2010) describes how the live broadcast of these events is akin to Anderson's (2006) view on the link between the rise of nations and the advancement of print capitalism. Indeed the visions of celebration, social harmony, forgiveness and reconciliation that came to characterise these broadcasts created a sense of nationhood in South Africa that had not previously existed. Although these images were extremely powerful, critics have argued that they were too celebratory and uncritical, and they tended to overlook the deep divisions within society. This is a criticism that is addressed again later in this chapter. For now it is important to highlight how within South Africa itself, citizens were urged by the state to take pride in the negotiated transition and the new symbols of a united and non-racial South Africa. This is evident in the following extract from the Department of Education's (2001b, p.10) 'Manifesto':

> "What comes to people's minds, elsewhere in the world, when they think of South Africa? Is it the high crime rate? Possibly. The diminishing rand? Perhaps. Charlize Theron? Lucky Dube? Lucas Radebe? Indeed. Nelson Mandela? Certainly! His is an iconic status we should not take lightly. We should also remember, and cherish, the observation of the writer and intellectual Edward Said, who reminded the Saamtrek[43] conference that, to outsiders, South Africa "really is a light unto the nations" for "having come through the liberation struggle into a new society". We are the global benchmark for dialogue, for crafting a condition of freedom and equality from a conflict that seemed fatally irreconcilable, for talking ourselves out of the dead end of despair".

For Ntombi, the 'miracle' of the negotiated settlement is a reason to be proud of the country. It is interesting to note that this particular aspect of the country's history is also vitally important in the state's reinterpretation of new historical narratives for South Africa, as discussed in Chapter Three. The emphasis on the negotiated settlement as a source of pride is evident in the national curriculum, thus is it possible that Ntombi could have picked up on this at school. As the results of the following sections make clear, however, this aspect of the country's history is not always acknowledged, and instead the

[43] The Saamtrek Conference took place in 2000 and was attended by various stakeholders, including educators, government officials, academics and the public. The aim of the conference was to debate the issue of values in education and it formed part of the development of the 'Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy'. Saamtrek is an Afrikaans word that means "drawing or pulling together in the same direction" (Department of Education, 2001b, p.1).

oppressive aspect of the history of apartheid is for the majority more significant, particularly in terms of undermining unity in the nation.

Finally, the rich social diversity of the country is also esteemed by some learners. For learners like Bandile and Musa, being part of the multicultural 'rainbow nation' is important and appreciated. Bandile's views also exhibit a level of civic pride, in that she is proud of the country's 11 official languages, enshrined in the Constitution:

> "I'm very actually [proudly South African]. I find that we as a nation, we are very privileged to have such a variety of things, like in terms of race, culture, languages, people and… it's just, I don't know, it just, that just makes me like feel proudly South African" (Musa, black male, Grade 12, Buxton High School).

> "Definitely! [proudly South African] I just love South Africa and its diversity. Especially that we have 11 official languages. I would love to learn to speak them all" (Bandile, black female, Grade 11, Buxton High School).

Civic pride was also expressed by a number of other learners. During one of the 'Activity Afternoon' sessions with the Spring Vale High School participants, the group was asked to paint a picture based on the theme of 'South Africa'.

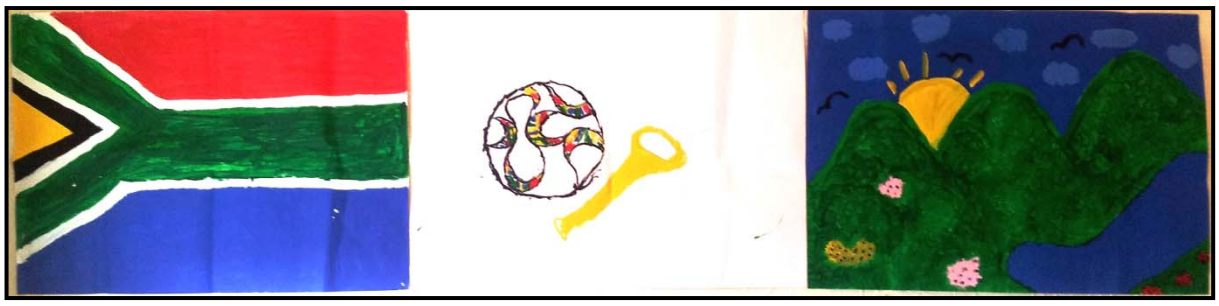

Plate 5.1: A painting to represent the theme of 'South Africa' as interpreted by a group of learners at Spring Vale High School

One of the participants in this group, Amari, described the painting as follows:

> "I thought it was a good idea to choose the flag because of all its colours and I think we are a multicultural country. And I thought that the ball was a good idea because we are hosting the World Cup and I'm proud that we are able to do it" (Amari, Indian female, Grade 10, Spring Vale High School).

Thus it is evident that some of the learners appear to have accepted, and are proud of, their national symbols, such as the new flag. Indeed the various post-1994 ANC governments have promoted these symbols in the hope that they will unite the nation. Raising awareness

of the country's national symbols also forms part of the formal curriculum, and in particular the Life Orientation (LO) curriculum, which is discussed in Chapter Eight. Therefore, it is unsurprising that many learners not only recognise their national symbols, but have in fact embraced them as representing South Africa and their nationality.

Besides representing a level of civic pride, the painting depicted above also illustrates that some learners were proud of South Africa's hosting of the 2010 football World Cup. The third image in the poster represents the natural beauty of the country, which is valued by some learners, as discussed above. It is interesting to note that Grossberg, Struwig and Pillay (2006) attribute the seemingly high levels of national pride in the country to the nation-building ideologies promoted by the state and through the media; examples include popular slogans such as 'the rainbow nation' or the South African Broadcasting Commission's *Simunye* ('we are one') campaign, as well as the sporting achievements such as the 1995 rugby World Cup and the iconic imagery of Nelson Mandela. The authors argue that despite being a fragmented society, South Africans "have developed a rapid sense of civic nationalism, and this could have been supported through nation-building ideologies" (Grossberg, Struwig and Pillay, 2006, p.59). The authors caution, however, that "such symbols of nationalism do not actually make a nation" (Grossberg, Struwig and Pillay, 2006, p.58). As the ensuing discussion makes clear, this view is supported by caveats articulated by the learners in this study.

5.2.2 "I'm proudly South African, but..."

Despite these positive accounts, many other learners have mixed feelings about their attachment to and pride in their country. Several suggested that they are ashamed of their nationality and when asked to discuss the reasons for this, criticism of the current government was raised in almost all instances. A handful of learners mentioned their concern about the high levels of crime in the country and a couple of learners also highlighted poverty, unemployment, corruption and the large number of orphans as reasons why they are not completely proud of South Africa, or to be called South Africans. The general focus on the government and the current leaders as a source of shame for many learners, of all race groups, is an interesting result. The research reveals two key areas in which many of the learners feel the current leaders are letting down the nation. The first relates to race and the perceived racism of the state. Learners of all race groups were concerned about recent racist remarks made by influential politicians in the media, especially the inflammatory remarks made by former ANC Youth League (ANCYL) president Julius Malema. For other learners, the racism of government is perceived to

extend into policy, whereby affirmative action and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) initiatives are viewed by some as exclusionary. Although many of the latter concerns were expressed predominantly by white and Indian participants, who, as will be discussed subsequently, are increasingly feeling marginalised by such initiatives, discourses of 'apartheid reversed' were also expressed by a handful of black learners.

Before providing evidence of some of the learners' concerns in this regard, it is worth briefly explaining the political events in the country at the time that this research was conducted in order to account for the frequency in which Malema, in particular, was brought up in conversations. Research of this kind is essentially a snap-shot and the contemporaneous concerns and context cannot be divorced from the opinions that are expressed by participants. At the time the empirical research was conducted, Eugene Terre'blanche, the leader of the notorious Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) party was murdered on his farm. The AWB is infamous for its racism and it openly embraces neo-Nazi notions of white supremacy. On 27th March 2010, Terre'blanche was murdered by two of his farm labourers and the event sparked much outrage within South Africa (Anon1., 2010). The story dominated the media and it opened many old wounds. To further complicate issues, Julius Malema, the then president ANCYL,[44] had recently been criticised by several civil rights groups for reviving an old struggle song with very controversial lyrics. The contentious song is entitled *Ayesaba Amagwala* ('The cowards are scared') and one of the offensive lyrics *dubul' ibhunu,* translates from isiZulu to 'shoot the *boer*'[45] (Anon2., 2010). Groups such as the AWB and Afriforum[46] were upset about the song, especially since Malema had made a number of recent public appearances where he had sung it. The groups accused Malema of hate speech and inciting racial violence, and later Afriforum laid a formal complaint against Malema with the Equality Court. The case was then transferred to the South Gauteng High Court (Anon2., 2010).[47] The opposing groups highlighted the high number of farmers who have been murdered on their farms in recent years and some blamed the song for the death of Terre'blanche. In conversation

[44] Since the completion of fieldwork, Julius Malema has officially been suspended from the ANC for five years and asked to step down as the ANCYL president. On 11th November 2011, an ANC disciplinary committee found Malema guilty of undermining party leadership and sowing divisions within party ranks. He was also found guilty of bringing the ANC into disrepute by publicly denouncing the government in Botswana in ways that conflicted with ANC policies (Anon3., 2011). Malema subsequently appealed the ruling but was unsuccessful and on 24th April 2012, the ruling party's National Disciplinary Committee of Appeals announced that Malema's expulsion was to be upheld (Bauer, 2012).

[45] *Boer* is the Afrikaans word for 'farmer'.

[46] Afriforum is a non-profit organisation that offers a forum for minority groups to participate in public debate and action (Afriforum, 2012).

[47] On 12th September 2011, the South Gauteng High Court ruled that the song constituted hate speech and singing it was prohibited. Malema and the ANC subsequently attempted to appeal the ruling, but they lost an application for leave to appeal directly to the Constitutional Court in November that year (Child, 2011).

with learners, this incident was often brought up spontaneously and it invoked a great deal of emotion. Although the learners were not particularly sympathetic towards Terre'blanche, many were angry about Malema's behaviour and the racial tension he was inciting:

> "I am proudly South African at times. There are times when I really hate being South African like when issues… like at times the ANC conflict and stuff, Julius Malema. At times I hate being South African, like when he made that song about the boer and stuff. I don't understand why he would go back to the apartheid years and speak about stuff like that when society, our grandparents and stuff have been fighting so much for the freedom and he tends to go back and make a song based on racism" (Khanyi, black female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

> "A bit of both [pride and shame]. I don't like it because of president Zuma, who says we must all come together and then we get that idiot Malema, who says all these things. And that's why I don't like our country" (Kim, white female, Grade 10, Spring Vale High School).

For other learners, like Kevin, feelings of national pride are weakened by negative perceptions of government affirmative action and BEE policies, which are viewed by some as privileging certain groups over others:

> "I'm kind of proudly South African. I think South Africa has a lot to offer. Then there's people like Julius Malema, that's just going backwards. And the whole BEE thing, I think that's also empowering one and not the other. I just think that we are not going anywhere. We are going the opposite way. But I am proudly South African, just I think the government needs to do a few things, but ja" (Kevin, white male, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

A handful of participants also spoke of the shame that the government and current leaders bring to the nation in the eyes of the wider world, through their perceived racism and immoral behaviour. This links again to the relational construction of identities discussed above and the role of the media in contributing to how learners construct notions of the South African nation to which they belong:

> "In most cases [I'm proudly South African], yes. But sometimes I am ashamed of being a South African. Like with this trouble with Julius Malema. It's horrible and the fact that Zuma has so many wives. I think that's just setting a horrible role model and example and I worry what other countries must think of us" (Jayshree, Indian female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

> "I would definitely say that I'm not proudly South African, 'cause you see it's really a mixed feeling of shame, like what you see on TV and everything. You look at Jacob Zuma and Julius Malema and all of this. Now you think about it and you say that these people are representing our country, who we are. Now if you want to go to another country and study or anything, they gonna say 'Oh South Africa'. They gonna think about the bad things that

> happened, so it really brings a bad name to you when actually you've done nothing wrong. So I think that these politicians that are representing us, to say that I'm proudly South African, after what they have done and how they are acting, I really can't say that I am" (Preben, Indian male, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

> "South Africa is a nice country to stay in because of all the race groups, but I also think that there is a lot that can be improved in South Africa. For example, we need a new leader as our current politicians are bringing a negative light on the country, especially in the eyes of the rest of the world… like when Jacob Zuma goes overseas and says bad stuff about the country, you don't like want to associate yourself with this country because he's telling like things that are not even what's really happening here. He's making the country seem worse than what it is" (Beth, white female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

Jayshree's views on Zuma are interesting and reflect the perspectives of a number of (predominantly white and Indian) learners who expressed a dislike for the traditional cultural practices of Zuma, especially his polygamous lifestyle. These practices are not shared by all cultural groups in South Africa and in some instances they do not accord with the vision of a modern, democratic and progressive nation that some learners have. It is interesting to draw attention to the possible connections between the role of the media and the current feelings of shame that some learners feel towards the government and the nation. In particular, it is useful to reflect on how the media depictions of South Africa, and in particular the ANC, have shifted since 1994. Many South Africans, including some of the learners in this study, are proud of the things that have made the country famous internationally. Whereas the images of the country were positive during the transition, the images being projected now are less optimistic. The mainstream media in South Africa is generally quite pessimistic and highly critical of the ANC. The learners are exposed to these negative media reports, which have led some learners, like Debbie, to reflect on the current ANC leadership in a critical light:

> "Honestly, with Jacob Zuma, not very well [the future of South Africa]. It depends who is in power. I think they had very strong leaders, but for some reason they took a hike south and now we've got very poor leadership going on and you can't really…like the same with a school, you can't have a strong school, with good sportsmanship if you have a horrible principal, it just doesn't work. I actually think that hopefully things will change. I believe that South Africa will realise at some stage that we need a wake up call, cause this is my home,I'm proud of it being my home and I know that even if there is a bad leader, if there is a strong party following it, then maybe it can change and go well cause I know that the ANC do a lot of good, even though they are totally rubbish half the time. They do do some good, so I'm sure that somewhere along the line, someone is going to get a slap wake up call and something will go right" (Debbie, white female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

The ANC leaders today have a lot to live up to in order to fill the shoes of the likes of Mandela. One could argue that it is possible that the nation at large is experiencing an anti-climax of sorts, as the current leaders feel the weight of their predecessors' success. In his

address at the 5th Wolfe Memorial Lecture in 2004, entitled 'Are we living the dream deferred?', Mark Gevisser, a highly respected South African journalist, raised this important issue. In his address, Gevisser reflects on 10 years of democracy in the country and explores the effects of the 'miracle' transition on both the 'national psyche' but also on the political psychology of Thabo Mbeki, the then president of South Africa. Essentially Gevisser draws attention to the national discourse surrounding the transition, which implied that there was an end point, 'a pot of gold', which could and must be reached. This discourse was inspirational and motivating, but at the same time it put immense pressure on both the government and the public to realise this dream (Kudla, 2004). This links to Evans's (2010) criticism of the powerful televised 'spectacles' referred to above, which created the illusion of a racially united nation, yet this 'dazzling' imagery overlooked the legacy of apartheid and obscured the challenges facing the country. In a similar vein, Gevisser argues that:

> "in the shadow of "Mandela Exceptionalism" South Africa really was the world's favourite fairytale. However, "along comes Mbeki and holds up a different mirror that the one Mandela showed, not the miracle nation, but a troublesome country, grim with poverty, grubby with politics'" (Kudla, 2004).

With President Zuma's succession, the depiction of South Africa as the 'miracle nation' is even farther away from the present realities. Gevisser argues further that this tension between hope and reality has placed 'psychic distress' on the population:

> "There is a tangible belief in the national discourse that this dream could come true, that indeed it must. While this belief and hope gives great motivation and inspiration to this fragile country, the same belief puts great pressure on citizens, miracle-makers and wizards alike, to make the dream a reality. There is a seeking of the redemption of the hopes thrown up [by the] struggle and promised during the negotiated settlement, and this, said Gevisser, places 'Psychic Distress' on a population plagued by the 'National Discourse of Redemption'" (Kudla, 2004).

Returning to the perspectives of the learners highlighted above, what is also interesting about their responses is that it appears for many, the state and the nation are inseparable. Obviously the ANC government represents the nation to the wider world, and as discussed above, the media have played a role in this, but perhaps the overt role that the ANC has adopted, and continues to adopt, in nation-building can also help explain this conflation. The 'new' South Africa was essentially born in 1994 when the ANC took power. The ANC has since actively spearheaded the nation-building process and thus cannot be seen to be independent of the nation as some of the learners understand it. Similarly, the government has been a strong voice in promoting the Constitution, equal rights, democracy, and so on,

and thus it seems understandable that the state is intimately implicated in the notion of the new nation. However, whilst on the one hand the state can be seen to be promoting the Constitution and its values, it is also seen by some learners as undermining these efforts at different points. As discussed in Chapter Three, the Constitution and its values are positioned by the state as the bond or 'glue' to bind citizens, yet it is also the ANC that is frequently criticised by learners for not creating the necessary conditions for these values and rights to be fully realised. As many of the quotations above illustrate, for some learners, the government itself is seen as a divisive force, which contributes to feelings of shame and marginalisation. Given that the state and the nation are so closely linked, how the state is perceived has implications for learners' feelings towards the nation and national identity, but it also affects their feelings towards national unity.

5.3 National unity in post-apartheid South Africa

National unity refers to feelings of being united as a nation. This unity, or feeling of "deep, horizontal comradeship", is fundamental to the concept of a nation, as is evident in Anderson's (2006, p.7) description of a nation as an 'imagined community'. This sense of solidarity is an important element of what makes a nation a nation and this is arguably what is missing in South Africa. In South Africa, national unity cannot take place without reconciliation. Unless South Africans are able to confront their history and come to terms with its emotional (and material) legacy, then cohesion as a nation is unlikely to happen. Coming to terms with the past also means coming to terms with 'race'. Indeed the various post-1994 ANC governments have attempted to bring South Africans together under a new united and non-racial identity, largely through efforts to promote reconciliation and redress, an appreciation of diversity and a 'civic nationalism', based on equal citizenship and the Constitution (Kiguwa, 2006). As discussed in the previous section, a level of 'civic nationalism' may have been achieved, but the state still has far to go to reconcile and cohere society (Moodley and Adam, 2000). Not only are these goals worthwhile to achieve in themselves, but a cohesive society also has positive economic benefits, for example, more trust exists in cohesive societies, which in turn can lead to less corruption, more investment and better functioning public-private partnerships (National Planning Commission, 2011). Furthermore, for some scholars social cohesion is considered to be an essential component for the functioning of a healthy democracy (Grossberg, Struwig and Pillay, 2006).

Regarding learners' views of national unity in South Africa, it became clear from our conversations that there was agreement that, at present, South Africa is not unified. All bar one of the learners suggested that feelings of solidarity between South Africans are low and they cited a number of different factors that they believe contribute to this. These factors can be organised into three inter-related themes. The first relates to the pervasiveness of a racial consciousness in South Africa, with its roots in the country's history. Linked to this, the second theme considers the influence of the older generations on young people's attitudes and experiences, and the final theme focuses on the delicate balance between redress and reconciliation. A handful of learners cited crime, corruption and poverty as hindrances to national unity, but the large majority of participants identified factors that relate to these three themes, as well as their connection to the state as a divisive force. As the discussion below illustrates, these negative feelings have clear implications for nation-building, particularly in cases where a number of learners said they have considered emigrating in the future. Although there was consensus that the country is not unified presently, many learners did have hope for the future. Most felt that they are more critical, integrated and 'colour-blind' than their parents and that over time South Africans will be able to look past their differences and unite as a nation.

5.3.1 The pervasiveness of a racial consciousness

The apartheid past emerged as an important force that many learners feel is dividing people in South Africa. Even though the learners did not directly experience apartheid, they appreciate and live with the effects of its destructive legacy. One of the most important aspects of this legacy is the pervasiveness of a racial consciousness, which affects all levels of South African society. Every day young people are confronted with race and all the emotions, discrimination, fears, stereotypes and exclusions that go with it. For the large majority of learners in this study, race, with its roots in the country's past, was identified as the most significant obstacle to unifying South Africans. The sheer pervasiveness of this racial consciousness is reflected in the variety of related issues that the learners identified. Not only are some conscious of racial labelling, as Ntombi's views below indicate, but many like Debbie, also highlight the level of suspicion that exists between the different racial groups in the country. Many of these issues relate to the different elements of the apartheid legacy discussed in Chapter Two.

> "And the other thing is that here in South Africa, we look at each other in our races not the personality, the person in him or herself. Let's say I pass by, you know, one wouldn't say 'This girl passed by me', they would specify the race, that it's a black girl that passed by me" (Ntombi, black female, Grade 9, Buxton High School).

> "I don't think South Africa is that united. I think the World Cup has actually helped to unite South Africa, but it's not that united because there is still very big issues with races and everything…. I think everyone is proud to be South African, but they're still not that diverse and they're still not that fine with other cultures and other races. They're happy that they are born in this place, because of all the options they have, but they're still wary about other people and what's going on" (Debbie, white female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

For other learners, such as Amari, the level of racism and racial discrimination in the country is also a significant factor in preventing the nation from becoming cohesive:

> "Some of us are fine, but I think it could get better [unity in South Africa]. You do get those racist people in South Africa still. I think it's like apartheid is still there" (Amari, Indian female, Grade 10, Spring Vale High School).

Gerald highlights another more ominous feeling towards race relations in South Africa, which several learners share, that the different race groups in the country are 'out to get one another'. Clearly the wounds of the past still have some way to go to fully heal:

> "You know cause just walking on the streets, it's just you don't feel safe. Like the other day, I was followed by a taxi and they were shouting at me and like it was at night time and I like honestly thought that night I was going to die. And that wasn't like the first time that has happened either and, ja, I think that some of them are out to get the white people and like some white people are out to get blacks. I don't think…like everyone doesn't mix. I think definitely if we resolve the racial issue things will change a lot in South Africa" (Gerald, white male, Grade 12, Buxton High School).

These perceptions mirror results obtained from other research and surveys. According to Roefs' (2006) research, racist perceptions and suspicions between South Africans are worrying. Her survey results revealed that white people are most negatively perceived in terms of racism (80% of black and 65% of Indian/Asian respondents claimed that whites are racist). On the other hand, 69% of the white respondents and 63% of the Indian/Asian respondents agreed that black people are racist. Although Indian and coloureds were generally regarded as the least racist, 54% of black respondents agreed that Indian/Asians are racist. Clearly these results show the extent of mutual distrust between citizens. Similarly, the 2010 Development Indicators Report also presents some concerning results. The report presents results from surveys undertaken between 2000 and 2010. Subsequent to the height of good race relations in 2000, whereby 74% of respondents agreed that race relations were improving, the number of people who were of a similar opinion has fluctuated over the subsequent years, reaching a low 46% in 2010. According to the report:

> "This could be signalling an urgent need for a sustainable nation building exercise that will focus primarily in bringing the races closer thus building towards a non racial, non sexist

> society; united in its diversity" (National Planning Commission Secretariat and the Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation, 2010, p.57).

South Africans may be socially segregated because of the country's past, but many also remain spatially segregated. As discussed in Chapter Two, this is yet another element of apartheid's destructive legacy, which some learners picked up on. The limited inter-racial mixing and persistence of segregated spaces is for learners like Preben and Jayshree a key issue in explaining the lack of unity in the country:

> "At certain times you see like, if you go to shopping malls and certain areas, people are friendly and welcome you. They're not so much into racialising against certain people. But then certain places that you go you can see that people do keep on about races. Let's look at areas, for example. You see that, take Chatsworth, that's just Indians. You wouldn't see a white person come, and if they did people would be saying 'Why you staying in Chatsworth? It's only for Indians' and something like that. And I don't believe that's the attitude that people need to have. It's just a place to stay and who you socialise with is who you socialise with…" (Preben, Indian male, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

> "I think [the country is] not very unified at all. There is a lot of segregation and stuff everywhere you go, like even in malls where different race groups tend to shop in particular places. You don't really see people interacting with each other" (Jayshree, Indian female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

For learners like Phumlani, coming to a multi-cultural school is important, simply because it provides him with the opportunity to meet different people, which, in turn, he believes will benefit the country:

> "I think that the diversity [at Spring Vale High School is an asset], because the majority of people are still living in areas which are specific race dominated. So I think that for one to interact with different races is essential for the development of one as a human and to fit snugly into our society. So I think that is very important" (Phumlani, black male, Grade 10, Spring Vale High School).

From the above discussion it is clear that the apartheid regime created a consciousness of race that continues to structure the way that South Africans think and act. It has also caused pain and suffering that have proved difficult to forget. Linked to this, many learners also draw attention to the negative influence of the older generations' views and behaviour. Learners describe how older people, who lived through apartheid, suffer from a range of psychological and emotional traumas associated with the past. The learners also recognise that many of the older generations continue to hold on to racist perspectives and attitudes, which they pass on to their children. These psychological scars, introduced in Chapter Two, have a negative effect both on home and community life and limit the possibility of cohesion across difference.

5.3.2 The weight and influence of the older generations

There are a number of issues that the learners highlight as important with regard to the influence of the older generation on unity in the country. As discussed in Chapter Two, having grown up and been educated during the apartheid regime, many older South Africans are still plagued with a range of negative emotions such as anger, fear and denial, which inhibit national unity. Given that young people interact with older people on a daily basis, they too are exposed to the emotional baggage of their parents and older associates:

> "I think we're far [from being a united nation]. Because there's people… 'cause you know there's just, the older generation, you know, if you were given privileges and now all of a sudden they are taken away from you, you feel mad and angry about it. Because we still have lots of racism, some people are still shooting each other" (Sibongile, black female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

> "I guess like still going back to the apartheid, they still feel like you know they've got this personal vendetta against people of other races because of that, like we have been disadvantaged before and now you must be disadvantaged. So it's the attitude" (Jayshree, Indian female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

> "My dad says that he was never affected by apartheid. I've argued with him. He said he's never seen it. He stayed here, he's very old. So he's like been through the whole process but he says he has never been affected. He had black friends, Indian friends. 'Cause we had to do an oral, I think in English, and I asked him questions and he just didn't give me any answers" (Kevin, white male, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

Clearly, learners have an understanding of a range of psychological scars that endure amongst people who lived under apartheid. Sibongile, for example, highlights both the level of persistent ill-feeling that exists between different race groups, but also a sense of the 'white troubles' that Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011) refer to as 'feeling marginalised'. As discussed in Chapter Two, many older, white South Africans are struggling to deal with their loss of power and privilege in the post-apartheid period. Jayshree's views are interesting because they raise the issue of 'personal vendettas' or revenge, which hints at the complexity of emotions that South Africans feel as a result of their past experiences. Finally, Kevin's response also raises some interesting concerns. He expresses frustration at his father's denial about apartheid. Although the apartheid state did attempt to shelter white South Africans from the harsh realties of 'separate development', as Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011) point out, in contemporary South Africa, many older South Africans continue to attempt to disassociate themselves with the past, or deny their knowledge or involvement in the system, in order to avoid the 'stigma' associated with being white in South Africa, as well as the 'white guilt' that is difficult to bear.

In addition to the emotional fallout from the past, many participants also draw attention to the ways in which the older generations influence young people's attitudes and views. For many learners, this is also a significant contributing factor to the perpetuation of racial divisions and discrimination in the country. This relates to Jansen's (2009) concept of 'knowledge in the blood', which is useful to help explain how emotional knowledge of the apartheid years is transmitted from one generation to the next by parents and adults in society. Thus in homes, schools and communities, the racial prejudices of the older generations are exposed to the younger generations. In some cases, the youth may be negatively affected by this influence and they too may take on the stereotypes, fears and resentments of the past. An awareness of this is evident amongst some of the learners:

> "I think it's like from our background, like family, how they're educated. Um…how they educate their children, like to get the country together. Cause some people are not racist, but they are forced by their families. Cause I went to Heaton High[48] to play netball last year and then…um… usually here the schools, they like, mostly black girls playing netball, so we were like playing and then…you know in netball there is like more touching and everything, like pushing. So this [white] mother of this child was like 'Don't touch her, don't touch her' you know. Ja, it's funny hey, she's like 'Don't touch her, don't touch her' and all this kind of stuff. So a lot of times it comes from the parents. Cause if they don't encourage you to be positive and to interact with different races" (Ntombi, black female, Grade 9, Buxton High School).

> "Ja, it's all up to the parents really. They like 'Watch out for the white man' or 'Watch out for the black man. He's going do this to you'" (Kevin, white male, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

> "Just a little bit of a change [in building unity], but I think we learn from our parents and if they suffered through apartheid, I think it gets passed onto us" (Amari, Indian female, Grade 10, Spring Vale High School).

In some cases, the attitudes of parents and older guardians amount to more than perpetuating negative stereotypes and fears, however. Racist parents and/or guardians may actually prevent their children from mixing with different races, whether this is in terms of friendships or dating. In this way the potential for building cohesion in the country is limited:

> "I think it will dilute [racism in South Africa]. Put it this way and please don't take offence to this, but I'm sitting in a room now with one, two, three black people. Thirty, forty years ago that would never have happened. But at the same time, I'm not going to invite you guys to my house because my parents probably wouldn't let you in the gate. I don't think that the friendships and the relationships between white people and black people will ever fully mend because there is always a racist thing somewhere" (Amanda, white female, Grade 9, Buxton High School).

[48] A pseudonym has been given to this school to protect its identity. The school is a co-educational secondary school in close proximity to Buxton High School and thus the two institutions often play sports matches against one another.

> "My mom would be perfectly happy if I dated a black woman, but my father would disown me and kick me out the house. I think it's the males, it's the white males [who are racist]" (Daniel, white male, Grade 9, Buxton High School).

Finally, many learners also noted that these racist attitudes and behaviours on the part of the older generations also spill out into the political realm. As discussed in the previous section, the majority of learners are critical of government and particular political leaders, who they feel are preventing South Africans from coming together:

> "Like obviously from what I've seen. I haven't been all over South Africa. Not everyone has still like, in terms of unity, not everyone is united and has become one as a nation. There are still those individuals that still believe in the past. And there's obviously those influencing people that are going against it or trying to bring it back and then like trying to make it a visa versa kind of thing, so…Malema is obviously a very good example, he is trying. He was saying…like I know his one statement was like 'kill the boer' or something like that and I've heard that people have been rattled by that and especially like Afrikaners…Because we obviously come from a school, or an area, where we mix with everyone and we know obviously in that space of time we should be able to like see what we each feel. And like obviously when some idiot, like Julius Malema, will go and say, we should be able to say 'You know what, what you are saying is wrong because I'm not living a life where I am having problems with the white people. We are living like the time of our lives and we are enjoying it'" (Musa, black male, Grade 12, Buxton High School).

> "I don't think South Africa is that united. I think the World Cup has actually helped to unite South Africa, but it's not that united because there is still very big issues with races and everything. And apartheid is always brought up and now more than ever with leaders singing songs that relate back to, and remind everyone of the past, which is total rubbish. I mean surely what's the point of that. So I think that has also brought…since the apartheid has been risen up again, it has also driven the country apart. So let's hope this World Cup gets better reviews" (Debbie, white female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

Despite the factors that are identified as preventing South Africans from unifying, some learners did express hope for the future. These more positive sentiments are discussed later in the chapter, but it is clear from the quotation above that some learners, like Debbie, were hopeful that the World Cup would offer a more positive image of South Africa, and act as a unifying force to counteract the damage caused by divisive politicians like Malema.

5.3.3 A delicate balance: affirmative action or 'apartheid reversed'?

The final theme that emerged as significant in learners' responses relates to the ANC's affirmative action policies and the role that they are perceived to play in undermining national unity. It is interesting that many of the learners who reflected critically on the state in this regard also linked perceived racial discrimination back to the country's troubled past. The leaders in government lived through apartheid and many fought to bring about the regime's demise, but for some learners, racial prejudice is thought to continue to

consume the minds and motives of government. In this respect, the discourse of 'apartheid reversed' emerged as a recurring theme when learners spoke about the government's economic policies. Many learners feel that economic policies such as BEE and affirmative action amount to institutional racism. Learners from all race groups argued that policies based on race and not ability are unfair. Thus the government is seen by some to be acting in ways which, contrary to its nation-building objectives and rhetoric, are fuelling tensions between South Africans and are driving them further apart:

> "It's looking bad. It's almost as if they didn't have like apartheid. I see this country as like apartheid in reverse. In such a way that white people are being discriminated against now. If you go into a company and you're black and there's another white person there, they might discriminate against the white person because of apartheid and I mean I find it so unfair because apartheid happened to our grandparents and stuff, why discriminate now when everyone has got a chance to start afresh and have like another opportunity. I find it so unfair that at times they don't choose the best person for the job, they chose the person on the basis of the races, of the race. And that money they get, that BEE, it's so unfair too. Although I'm black, I don't like, I don't enjoy seeing other races being discriminated against" (Khanyi, black female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

Whilst the quotation above comes from a black learner, white and Indian learners were far more vocal in their criticism of affirmative action and BEE, predominantly because they perceive themselves to be the victims of such policies. The displeasure of these learners was particularly noticeable when they spoke about their futures and whether they saw a future for themselves in South Africa. Whilst the data from this research reveal that some learners are optimistic about the future of South Africa, the majority are ambivalent and a few are outright pessimistic.[49] For the large majority of these learners, the future of the country depends on the state of government and political leadership. As illustrated in the previous sections, many learners are critical of the current government and fear that if the current incumbents stay in power South Africa's future may be compromised. For learners like those cited below, the future of South Africa and their future within the country does not look promising. Again the government, corruption and affirmative action emerge as key concerns in their future imaginings:

> "I'm really hoping that we can solve all the problems, but like from what I see now I don't see it improving, cause there's just so much corruption and like BEE, I don't think that's right at

[49] This high level of ambivalence differs from some larger surveys that have been undertaken in recent years to explore young people's feelings about the future of South Africa and their futures within the country. Research conducted by Boyce (2010) and Steyn, Badenhorst and Kamper (2010), for example, indicate that the large majority of young people (of various socio-economic backgrounds and racial/ethnic groups) are optimistic about their futures in the country. On the other hand, Mattes and Mniki's (2007) survey data reveal that young people are less optimistic about particular aspects of the future. For example, 80% felt that the HIV/AIDS pandemic will worsen in the future and only 47% felt that national economic conditions will improve.

all, cause I mean they say we supposed to be all equal but then they giving more advantage to the black people. Because I mean like we are all striving to be equal but then they do that. And that just creates a reverse" (Gerald, white male, Grade 12, Buxton High School).

"We are not granted the same opportunities. It's black people and then we are second, but they are still given preference. Recently I tried to get a bursary to study at PriceWaterhouseCoopers and I was told that I couldn't get it because Indian applicants need six A's to qualify. Black applicants only needed an average of 65% and they didn't even need to get an A for accounting. White applicants had to pass even stricter admission requirements. I find this unfair. I think that stuff like that really shouldn't be based on race. It should all actually matter on your intelligence. I just think this whole thing is so corrupt…it's not earning your way. This is the kind of thing that makes young South Africans move away and look for other job opportunities abroad. Jobs and opportunities should be given to people on the basis of ability alone and not race" (Jayshree, Indian female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

"After matric I am going to study zoology at the University of Cape Town. After that I hope to emigrate to Australia. There is a lack of job opportunities in South Africa in my field, whereas Australia has a world renowned aquarium where I would like to work one day. And also because here there are a lot of BEE companies, so in a few years' time it's just going to get worse for white people to try find a job, especially if you've got all the qualifications for it and then they employ somebody who is black and has got nothing" (Beth, white female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

"That is a big concern [employment opportunities]. I think it's a concern of every single person. And these days, I'm not like being racist or anything, but you think about BEE and such things in companies, they seek more African people and I think that we all deserve a chance, you know. I know that some companies you have to have so many BEE people in your company and then I don't think that's really fair. I think if you've got the marks and you work hard in the company, then I think that you deserve the job, regardless of your race, colour, gender or anything like that" (Preben, Indian male, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

These perceptions are concerning in terms of nation-building efforts, especially given that some learners feel so excluded that they are considering leaving the country to forge a future somewhere else.[50] Given that the learners that partook in this study largely belong to the middle classes, and attend two of the better performing schools in the country, most will have the opportunity to study further or travel abroad after school. If these learners do

[50] It is worth pointing out that approximately half of the participants (of diverse race groups) that I spoke to about their future imaginings mentioned that they have considered leaving South Africa in the future. Although few wish to settle abroad permanently, many spoke of wanting to further their studies outside of South Africa, where they perceive the standard of education to be higher. Some also mentioned possibly working abroad for a couple of years before returning home. The main reasons that those wishing to emigrate permanently gave related to future employment prospects and perceptions of a better quality of life overseas. These findings support certain trends in recent survey data. For example, Steyn, Badenhorst and Kamper (2010) found that whilst 8.8% of the young people that they surveyed wished to settle abroad permanently, 32.7% hoped to work overseas and then return to South Africa. Those wishing to leave permanently cited career and financial reasons as determining factors. Similarly, Mattes and Mniki (2008) found that whilst 21% of the university students that they surveyed expressed a desire to emigrate, the majority of these students did not consider permanently leaving the country. The authors identify a range of factors that increase the emigration potential of young people, including family encouragement, financial resources and the prospect of a better life overseas.

decide to emigrate, this will further contribute to the country's 'brain drain' and their valuable skills will be lost, which in turn has negative implications for the ability of South Africa to address its skills deficit and ensure that the goals of transformation and nation-building are met (Mattes and Mniki, 2007).

A number of other studies have also identified similar negative perceptions of affirmative action policies on the part of minority groups in South Africa (Cornelissen and Horstmeier, 2002; Hammett, 2008). Drawing on his research with coloured educators, principals and learners in the Western Cape, Hammett (2008) argues that affirmative action policies are creating a culture, or sense, of 'un-entitlement' among the coloured population. Although state policy formally adopts an inclusive approach, whereby all formerly disadvantaged groups are meant to benefit from these policies, in reality, some perceive these policies to benefit black South Africans alone. According to Hammett (2008, p.653), feelings of active exclusion from socio-economic opportunities are linked to notions of citizenship:

> "Government attempts to create an equitable citizenship are therefore brought into tension by these perceptions of inequitable treatment and active exclusion from equal enjoyment of citizenship benefits. The challenge remains for the government to ensure that all citizens both have *and perceive* they have equal access to citizen rights... [A] perception of *un-entitlement* may develop when practices and policies are seen as resulting in an active exclusion from life opportunities, socio-economic citizen rights and claims to belonging and citizenship".

Not only are these race-based policies causing minority groups to feel excluded, but they are also producing "unwelcome psychological features", whereby black people in positions of power are stereotyped as incompetent 'tokens' who are undeserving of their jobs (Alexander, 2007, p.216). This issue is also referred to in Chapter Two, where Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011) discuss different elements of the 'stigma' attached to black South Africans, one of them being precisely this stereotype of being 'tokens'. Perceptions like these serve to deepen and perpetuate racist attitudes and behaviour. Furthermore, feelings of exclusion can have an effect on how individuals behave. In Hammett's (2008) study, some educators reported that coloured learners are typically the most ill-behaved learners at school. They attributed this to the fact that these learners feel apathetic. They feel that they do not have the same chances of getting into university or getting jobs as their fellow black citizens, and this de-motivates them.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the government is aware of the 'delicate balance' that they need to strike in terms of addressing past socio-economic imbalances on the one hand, and helping unite the nation on the other. Yet judging from the responses of the learners cited above it appears that there is a distinct lack of awareness, or acknowledgement, that the structural effects of apartheid persist and because they affect the life chances of previously disadvantaged communities, they need to be rectified. A number of studies have explored how different population groups feel about affirmative action policies in post-apartheid South Africa (see for example Friedman and Erasmus, 2008; Durrheim, 2010). Blaser (2008, p.137) comments on a survey conducted in 2001 by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, which found that more than 50% of white respondents rejected the idea that historically based reparations should be paid by businesses, the government or white South Africans, "In short, a majority of white South Africans do not see the need for any reparations and/or redress at all". On the other hand, the majority of black participants supported the idea that reparations should be paid by business, the state and the white public. In a related study, McKinney and van Pletzen (2006) conducted research in 2001 in a predominantly white, Afrikaans-medium university in South Africa, whereby they taught and examined lessons on apartheid provided to a sample of learners. When referring to materials that dealt with apartheid, the authors noted three common attitudes that the learners displayed towards the past, the first of which is relevant to the argument presented here. Learners tended to place apartheid in the historical past, which they saw as detached from (and therefore irrelevant to) the present. This was partly attributed to the fact that many wanted to avoid confrontation around issues dealing with the past, largely because this was intimately connected to a number of unresolved issues that the learners had with the country's history and how this linked to their identities as young, white Afrikaners. The authors argue, however, that these attitudes have negative implications for how young people perceive initiatives that seek to rectify past imbalances in the present period. Thus, it is possible in this study, with respect to the white learners' responses at least, that they too do not have the psychological or emotional strength to face up to the harsh realities of the past, how they have indirectly benefited from this, and what this means for their identities as white South Africans.

With regard to the views expressed by Indian participants, these feelings and opinions could be linked to broader views on the part of minority coloured and Indian communities that the ANC government is increasingly prioritising the needs of the black South African community, and that their role in the struggle against apartheid is being overlooked. In Hammett's (2008) study cited above, he too found evidence that some

respondents felt that their voices and participation in the history of the country were being made invisible. These participants argued that the government has prioritised the suffering of blacks during apartheid and the role that blacks played in overthrowing the regime. This was thought to be at the expense of the role that other groups played, which Hammett (2008, p.665) argues could lead to "perceptions of active exclusion from these histories and therefore from claims on citizenship and citizen rights".

A number of scholars have noted that the state's 'race-based' approach to redress is contradictory, or at least problematic, in light of the ANC's commitment to 'non-racialism' (Marè, 1999; Ramutsindela, 2001; Kiguwa, 2006; Alexander, 2007; Blaser, 2008). Despite being a founding value during the struggle and in the post-apartheid period, it has proved extremely difficult for the successive ANC governments to move beyond the racial categories of the past. Although promoted with good intentions, Marè (1999) argues that 'non-racialism' cannot avoid the trappings of 'race thinking', and often is merely interpreted as the absence of racism. In attempting to create a 'non-racial' society, race is often explicitly or implicitly highlighted. Similarly, Ramutsindela (2001), Kiguwa (2006) and Alexander (2007) argue that the ANC should do more to critique and question the contradictions of 'non-racialism' in their thinking and policies. As Alexander (2007, p.217) argues:

> "'Non-racialism' is the founding myth of the new South Africa…the political class has not yet begun to understand all the implications of this slogan. Some, evidently, *have* done so but most continue to act in a manner calculated to perpetuate racial identities and to manipulate the popular mind by using the term to signify no more than a 'myth' in the usual meaning of the term. Theirs is in fact a *multi*-racial paradigm…"

Alexander (2007) argues further that the state is in a powerful and important position to make the changes that are needed to abolish 'race thinking'. Crucial to the author's argument is a relational understanding of identities. Individuals hold multiple identities and can mobilise or conceal these at different times and in different spaces, for various reasons (Valentine, 2001a; Jackson, 2005). Thinking about identities in this way is relevant to the South African context, in that racial identities are equally shown to be unstable and thus open to change. Alexander (2007) argues that the state is in an important position of power to encourage such shifts by setting precedents and creating the templates from which the population will react and respond. To attempt to shift these perceptions, scholars like Alexander (2007) and Marè (1999) have suggested that the state alter the discourse of redress, and instead of making these policies explicitly race-based, rather express them in other social terms. As Marè (1999, p.258) argues "social (not class specific) disadvantage,

is sufficient to address the immense demands for redress within this society", without falling back onto old apartheid racial categories. By framing disadvantage in terms of income/economic standing/wealth/class, the same groups will still be targeted but less use of racial terms might help reduce racial tensions and help the broader public move away from racial stereotyping and associating employment opportunities with racial advantage/disadvantage (Hammett, 2008).

It is clear from the learners' responses discussed above, that some are interpreting redress policies as institutional racism. These learners appear to lack an understanding of (or cannot face up to) the need for such policies and instead view them in terms of 'reversed apartheid' or racial discrimination on the part of government. This is clearly not the type of perceptions that the government has intended to generate, especially given the dire consequences that such thinking has for nation-building efforts. This vindicates the arguments of scholars highlighted above, and it appears that if the state could indeed couch redress policies in terms of socio-economic and class-based inequalities, then this may well go some way to improving young people's attitudes towards such policies, as well as towards the government, race relations and their part or belonging in the 'new' South Africa.

5.3.4 Positive views of the future

Despite acknowledging that cohesion between South Africans is low, the large majority of learners feel that the situation is changing slowly and for the better. Many participants describe how their generation is more integrated and 'colour-blind' than the older generations and that this provides some hope for the future:

> "I think they pass it [racism] on down the line to their children. I think the more the youth learn to like co-operate with each other, the more better things will get. And I think it'll just take time. I definitely think that nowadays the youth are like better integrated with each other" (Gerald, white male, Grade 12, Buxton High School).

> "So they're not [unified], maybe it's because of the generation difference that causes this hysteria, but they [the older generation] don't see, they've accepted the other races ok, they might not discriminate against them but you can still see that like… you don't see them blending as much as the teenagers like, for example, the teenagers of this school blend. You don't see them blending with the other races. They might laugh at them, smile at them and stuff, but there's not that blend that we have now, the younger generation has. But as long as our grandparents are still alive, it [national unity] might take longer. I'm not saying I want my grandparents to die, but it might take longer" (Khanyi, black female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

> "This generation that I'm in I would say is colour blind, but the older generations, they like do still find problems" (Jackie, white female, Grade 9, Spring Vale High School).

What is especially important to note here is that some learners recognise their agency in terms of helping to heal the wounds of the past and unify the nation. There seems to be a level of consciousness among some of the youth of a responsibility to the country and its future. Not only are some learners, like Sylvia and Musa, actively challenging the views of their parents or of politicians, others are embracing their responsibilities as the future generation to help make South Africa a better, more unified place to live:

> "We are not really [unified]. We are getting there. I feel that we will be the people to actually come together and say 'Hey you know what, don't judge according to colour'. Because we did not experience apartheid, we only read about it in books and so we are in a better position to unify" (Sylvia, coloured female, Grade 9, Spring Vale High School).

> "I think there is going to be a lot of positive things that will be said about South Africa in the next 10 years. Only…well…obviously like us as the youth, if, in the next 10 years obviously we will be the next generation of adults or and so in a way it's like for us to actually, you know, uplift and uphold our name as South Africans. And yes we do get our stupid idiots like Julius Malema and whatdawhatda and people who are actually bringing the nation down, but I mean, people like us youth should be able to fight this and withstand and go against what is being negatively said and what's, whoever is trying to destroy South Africa, and try and make it a better place for everyone" (Musa, black male, Grade 12, Buxton High School).

> "It is actually up to us, I mean how we feel and we like have this burden like passed down from these other people's generation. And it's up to us to not pass it on to our children. Otherwise we can never expect this is going to end" (Romy, white female, Grade 9, Buxton High School).

> "Um…because I want to pursue like acting, or drama or media of some sort, I've always wanted to stay here and go to the acting theatre here. Cape Town would be cool. But I'd like to grow the industry here [in Durban], I don't want to go overseas. Because then it gets harder as well. And also I just want South Africa to be, to stop being known as like the country who had apartheid or…like I just want it to become like really awesome and people to notice that it's really awesome. So, I'm just staying here. Raising a cool family here. Braaiing on Sundays, that kind of stuff" (Samantha, white female, Grade 11, Buxton High School).

Thus it is clear that many learners are both aware of the obstacles that inhibit national unity at present, but also of the role that they are able to play in making the necessary changes to help unify South Africans. Not having grown up during apartheid, in some respects these learners are free from the psychological scars of their parents and the older generation. Even though this baggage clearly does weigh down on them, many of them are able to take a step back and reflect critically on the past and the many ways in which it continues to shape the present. It is through such reflection that some see hope and opportunities to make a difference and rectify past wrongs, or as Sylvia puts it, the youth are in a 'better position to unify'. Of course, schools have the potential to move this

process along and Khanyi hints at the differences between what the youth are able to do and experience now as compared to the older generations. For learners like Khanyi, being able to mix with diverse others at school is valued and is seen to have positive effects on building understanding and ultimately contributing to cohesion. In the following chapters of this thesis, the role of education and school spaces in promoting national unity is discussed in greater detail and the positive potential of schools to contribute to these efforts is analysed critically.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter discusses learners' views on national pride and national unity in post-apartheid South Africa. Although the wider public accept nation-building as necessary and most South Africans, including many of the learners that participated in this study, display a level of civic nationalism and pride, much more is needed to unite the country. Although some learners are clearly 'proudly South African', which is reassuring, the fact that the majority present far more ambivalent responses is a reason for concern. Indeed the factors that contribute to these learners' feelings of shame and uncertainty are remarkably similar to the reasons learners provide as to why they feel South Africa is not a unified nation. These reasons relate to three interlinked themes; race, the apartheid past and perceptions of the state.

With regard to race, the learners identify a wide range of problematic issues. As discussed in Chapter Two, one of the most resilient legacies of apartheid has been the pervasive racial consciousness that structures all facets of South African life. The learners are keenly aware of the multiple ways in which race shapes their everyday experiences, thoughts and actions. From persistent 'race-labelling' to self-segregation and outright racism, the learners are unanimous that race is one of the major obstacles to realising a united nation and it is also a key factor that undermines national pride. Furthermore, even though the learners did not directly experience apartheid, they are confronted with, and need to negotiate, the emotional and psychological baggage that their parents and the older generation still carry with them. As introduced in Chapter Two, and expanded upon in this chapter, these psychological 'race troubles' take many forms, ranging from distrust, to hate, to guilt and denial to name a few. Many learners are keenly aware how the older generations influence the attitudes and behaviour of the younger generation by perpetuating negative stereotypes or, in extreme cases, forbidding young people from making meaningful connections with different groups. As older adults, politicians are also

viewed by many of the learners as equally unable to come to terms with the past. In this respect, many learners berate politicians, like Julius Malema, for engaging in racist rants and sowing divisions between South Africans. Equally, government redress policies are interpreted by some as 'apartheid reversed' and/or institutional racism. Thus it appears that despite successive governments' efforts to master the 'delicate balance' between redress and reconciliation, some learners either do not understand the need for redress, or cannot face up to the elements of the past that have necessitated such initiatives in the first place. For many learners, all of these inter-related issues are generating feelings of shame (and for some marginalisation), as well as pessimism regarding their future imaginings. They are also crucially compromising efforts to build national unity.

Some learners also appear to be conflating 'state' and 'nation'. Whilst a state in the literature is defined as a legal and politically centralised unit, which is responsible for governing and maintaining order in a given society (Gellner, 1997), a nation, on the other hand, denotes a type of community to which individuals have a sense of belonging (Seton-Watson, 1977). In the South African context, it is understandable as to why some learners might view these two concepts as inextricably linked. This is precisely because of the overt role that the post-1994 state has played in nation-building. The 'new' South Africa as we understand it today did not exist prior to 1994 and instead the ANC has done an immense amount of ideological work to create and promote a new national identity and encourage citizens to buy into, and invest in, the 'imagined community' of the so-called 'rainbow nation'. The media has played an important role in this and the government has used the media to help foster a sense of nationhood and commonality that it is hoped will be strong enough to overcome the fractures created by apartheid. However, as the above discussion demonstrates, the media have simultaneously played a role in highlighting the divisions, inequalities and contradictions that have exposed the 'rainbow nation' as a mere myth. Whereas, during the transition, the nation was reflected in a positive light and South Africans were able to bask in the pride of being depicted internationally as the 'miracle' nation, the euphoria was soon replaced by reality of the challenges of the apartheid legacy. These challenges paint a very different image of the nation in the local and international media. In many ways, unable to live up to unrealistic expectations, one could argue that many South Africans are indeed depressed and frustrated, particular at the perceived inadequacies of the current government. Recognising that perceptions of the state and perceptions of the nation are intimately connected need not be viewed entirely pessimistically, however. As scholars such as Marè (1999) and Alexander (2007) have noted, the state is in an important position of power to set new precedents. By confronting

race head on and redefining affirmative action policies in terms of social inequalities, rather than apartheid based racial categories, much headway could be made in improving South Africans' perceptions of both the state and the nation, and simultaneously creating a more genuine sense of national belonging.

Of course, the findings presented here also have implications for education policy and practice. Education and schools have an important contribution to make in realising the dream of a united South African nation, and understanding learners' perspectives on the nation, their nationality and national unity provides some insight into the opportunities and challenges that schools are faced with in terms of uniting a diverse and divided citizenry. In particular, the fact that the overwhelming majority of participating learners feel that the country is not unified at present, and that race and the apartheid past are key factors hindering national unity, demonstrates the seriousness of the challenge that education and schools need to address. In this context, the ensuing chapters explore the possibilities and potential of schools in confronting these challenges and fostering cohesion in the post-apartheid period.

Chapter Six

Working towards integration: Creating democratic and inclusive schools

6.1 Introduction

There are various ways in which the post-apartheid governments have attempted to make use of education and schools to address nation-building imperatives. In order to rectify the apartheid legacy and allow equal access to quality education for all, the post-1994 governments have introduced new policy and legislation to overhaul the apartheid system. As introduced in Chapter Two, the 1996 Constitution and the 1996 South African Schools Act (SASA) are particularly important as they set out a new vision and set of values for education in the post-apartheid period. The directive is clear. Educational institutions that cater for the poorest sections of society are to receive a greater portion of funding and support, and all schools are required to transform into democratic and inclusive spaces that do not discriminate on the basis of race, ability, religion, language or socio-economic standing. Whilst the formal curriculum continues to undergo significant overhaul to realign it with social transformation and nation-building objectives, the state has also hoped that desegregating and democratising schools will be influential in shaping how learners come to negotiate difference and overcome social divides.

Indeed desegregation and integration are often seen as synonymous processes and it is presumed that by merely placing learners together in the same social space, integration will necessarily follow. This is not the case, however. Whilst desegregation can be referred to as a somewhat "mechanical process which involves simply establishing the physical proximity of members of different groups in the same school", to achieve integration one needs to question the institutional arrangements, cultures and attitudes prevalent within schools, as well as the quality of contact that takes place between learners, their peers and the adults in their respective institutions (Vally and Dalamba, 1999, p.22).

As discussed in the previous chapter, race and the apartheid past pose formidable obstacles to national unity in the country, which affects all spheres of South African society. That said, one would imagine that the multi-racial and better resourced schools would be in the best position to deliver the formal curriculum effectively, as well as provide conducive spaces for learners to mix with different others and build meaningful relationships. Given that South Africans still tend to segregate themselves in residential

and leisure spaces, diverse schools are particularly important as they exist as one of the few spaces where 'unity in diversity' may be fostered. As a result of post-apartheid policy, a significant level of desegregation has taken place, including within the two case study schools that participated in this project. Nevertheless, integration in post-apartheid education has proved far more difficult to realise, especially since the state has largely left individual schools and their School Governing Bodies (SGB) responsible for how they manage integration in their institutions (Vandeyar and Jansen, 2008). This chapter explores the progress made towards integration in the two case study schools, focusing on the extent to which the schools are functioning as democratic and inclusive spaces, which have adapted to meet the needs of their diverse learner bodies. There is more to integration than ensuring inclusivity, however, and the following chapter focuses on the everyday interactions between learners and their peers, as well as with the educators in their schools. This discussion draws on the findings presented in this chapter to further explore the extent to which meaningful contact is being realised and to identify the challenges to this. The role of the formal curriculum in fostering 'unity in diversity' through citizenship education is discussed in Chapter Eight.

This chapter begins by exploring the patterns and progress made in desegregating and integrating schools across South Africa. An effort is made to highlight some of the key trends that have emerged from recent research on these important topics. With regard to integration, scholars have devised and applied a range of approaches in order to assess the level of integration that is taking place in post-apartheid schools. These approaches and assessment criteria are described in order to provide a basis for analysing the extent to which the two case study schools can be said to be well integrated, in terms of providing learners with inclusive spaces that are conducive to the internalisation of democratic values, thus helping augment national cohesion. In this respect the ethos, practices and attitudes of principals and educators at each school are considered, as well as how the learners themselves feel about their respective institutions.

6.2 Patterns and progress in desegregating schools

As a result of post-apartheid policy initiatives, schools across South Africa have opened their doors to all learners and a significant level of desegregation has taken place. The patterns of desegregation are far from even, however, and research indicates that desegregation varies between schools and across the nine provinces (Chisholm and Sujee, 2006; Johnson, 2007). Despite these variations, a number of trends can be discerned from

the available research.[51] Before outlining these trends, it is important to point out that statistical evidence on the desegregation of schools since 1994 is limited. Despite the governments' commitment to desegregating schools, national statistics that reflect the changing demographics of educators and learners are difficult to come by. Although the Department of Education (DoE), and more recently the Department of Basic Education (DBE), have collected some information on the race of learners and educators in schools, subsequent reports do not appear to disaggregate this information on a racial basis (Chisholm and Sujee, 2006). Furthermore, not all schools or provinces collect information on the race of their educators and learners and thus researchers have to rely on quantitative surveys and studies (see for example Vally and Dalamba, 1999; Soudien and Sayed, 2003; Sujee, 2004; Chisholm and Sujee, 2006), as well as on qualitative research that explores desegregation and integration in South African schools (see for example Battersby, 2004; Lemon, 2005; Chisholm, 2008).

A review of the existing research reveals a number of interesting patterns. One of the most prominent trends is summed up by Lemon (2005, p.92) who points out that, "Considerable educational desegregation, as measured by the changing racial composition of schools, has certainly occurred since 1994, although only in one direction, 'up' the racial hierarchy created by apartheid". In other words, evidence suggests that there has been an increased movement of learners from former black (Department of Education and Training, DET), Indian (House of Delegates, HOD) and coloured (House of Representatives, HOR) schools to former white schools (House of Assembly, HOA) where the standard of education is perceived to be better (Soudien, 2004; Lemon, 2005; Johnson, 2007; Vandeyar, 2010).[52] What is important to point out here is that in some cases, the increased enrolment of black learners into former HOA schools has precipitated a 'white flight', leaving these schools with a majority black demographic (Lemon, 2005; Vandeyar, 2010). Similarly, black learners from former DET schools have also moved in significant numbers to former HOD and HOR schools, and in some cases now also make up the majority of the learners in these institutions (Vandeyar, 2010). In fact, some studies have revealed that in certain provinces, the number of black learners enrolled in former HOD

[51] The following discussion is limited to public (in other words, non-private) schools in South Africa primarily because the two case study schools in this study are public institutions and because these institutions cater for the large majority of learners in the country (DBE, 2011b). Whilst significant levels of desegregation have taken place in public schools, Lemon (2005) suggests that in private institutions, desegregation is more limited.

[52] This is particularly true of the English medium schools. Research shows that Afrikaans medium schools have experienced less desegregation as language creates a barrier to the enrolment of learners of different race groups (Soudien, 2004; Sujee, 2004; Lemon, 2005; Johnson, 2007).

and HOR schools is far greater than the number of black learners enrolled in former HOA schools (Vally and Dalamba, 1999; Chisholm and Sujee, 2006). By contrast, white learners appear to have largely remained within the former HOA schools, although some evidence indicates that wealthier parents have moved their children out of public institutions into independent schools (Sujee, 2004; Johnson, 2007). Indeed Carrim and Soudien (1999) describe a 'knock on effect' in school migration, whereby as black learners move into former HOD and HOR schools, wealthier Indian and coloured parents move their children into former HOA schools, which in turn causes some middle-class white parents to move their children into private schools. It is interesting to reflect on the fact that no parallel movement in the opposite direction is evident. In other words, the desegregation of the former DET schools, which cater for the large majority of learners in the country, is yet to take place. As such these schools remain racially exclusive and are typically among the poorest and worst performing schools in the country (Soudien, 2004; Sujee, 2004; Lemon, 2005; Chisholm and Sujee, 2006).[53] The opportunities available for meaningful integration to take place in these institutions are thus severely limited.

Furthermore, despite changes in learner demographics, representivity among educators and SGB members appears to be changing at a much slower pace, whereby the racial profiles of educators in former HOA, HOD, HOR and DET schools remain largely unchanged from how they were in the past (Soudien and Sayed, 2003; Soudien, 2004; Sujee, 2004; Nasaree, 2005; Johnson, 2007; Nkomo and Vandeyar, 2008, Vandeyar and Jansen, 2008; Bray et al., 2010; Vandeyar, 2010). The lack of transformation with regard to educator demographics means that in many instances there is a significant mismatch between the language and cultural backgrounds of educators and their learners (Vandeyar and Killen, 2006).

This unidirectional movement up the apartheid racial hierarchy is understandable given that schools further up the old hierarchy are perceived to better resourced and able to provide a better quality education (Sujee, 2004; Vandeyar and Jansen, 2008). The use of the word 'perceived' is important, as in reality many of these schools are situated in poor areas and now enrol a large number of learners who are unable to pay school fees. As a result the standards have progressively dropped. Nevertheless, this perception exists and in

[53] Despite being racially exclusive, many of these schools (particularly in urban areas) are ethnically diverse and enroll learners from different African ethnic groups, as well as learners from neighbouring African countries (Chisholm, 2008).

some cases it is justified. Thus parents, who are eager for their children to have the best possible education, often have to make huge sacrifices in order to enrol their children into these schools. As discussed in Chapter Two, changes in education legislation have allowed public schools to establish SGBs, which are able to set a school fee for each school. Typically the top performing schools set relatively high fees in an attempt to attract wealthier families and maintain education standards. Poorer families are sometimes forced to travel far distances and scrape together monies to ensure that their children can attend these schools and get a quality education (Battersby, 2004). Due to the socio-spatial effects of apartheid, for poorer black learners, this sometimes means travelling to Indian, coloured and white areas to attend schools in these vicinities (Vandeyar, 2010). Although government legislation states that no child should be prevented from attending a state school because of a lack of funds, fee exemption is difficult to monitor and many schools are able to circumvent this legislation and avoid allowing entry to learners whose families cannot afford to pay. Some of the ways in which SGBs do this is by restricting their catchment or feeder areas to the local vicinity and/or charging high school fees. Some schools may also insist on dealing only with parents, which may exclude black children who live with grandparents or other relatives (Lemon, 2004). In other instances, particularly in Afrikaans medium schools, restrictive language policies effectively exclude particular learners and, in other cases, schools have been known to 'bus in' white learners from outside their catchment areas in order to avoid enrolling local black learners (DoE, 2001a).

As a result, these practices continue to reproduce inequalities in the country and have created new patterns of inclusion and exclusion in education, whereby, according to Lemon (2004, p.269), "Class rather than race is now the main determinant of educational opportunity". Indeed many critics, such as Chisholm (2008, p.230), have commented on "the failure of marketization and the introduction of user fees as a strategy for desegregation and redress". Thus although the Constitution enshrines equal education for all and purports a rights-based discourse with an emphasis on democratic values, realising these aims 'on the ground' has proved more difficult, especially in the current economic climate and in relation to the country's macroeconomic policy (Ahmed and Sayed, 2009). In defending their decision to embrace a market-based approach, the state argued that this route was essential for keeping up standards and preventing middle class parents from removing their children from the system and putting them into private schools. The government has also claimed that the policy will help improve equitable access into quality schools. Although the former has been successful, the latter has not and the government

has acknowledged the unintended consequences of their policy decisions in that they have essentially created a two tier system of education in the country (Ahmed and Sayed, 2009).[54] Vandeyar and Jansen (2008, p.11) make a similar point, arguing that South Africa effectively has two education systems, "a small, high achieving system for the racially mixed middle classes and a large, under-performing one for the black poor".

Studies that track desegregation trends are important and provide useful insight into how far the country has come in terms of democratising schools and providing access to previously disadvantaged learners. There are limitations to this sort of research, however, and additional research is necessary to help one understand what is actually taking place in these desegregated spaces. Therefore, the following section turns to explore recent research on racial integration in post-apartheid schools.

6.3 Trends in racial integration in South African schools

Whereas desegregation refers to physically bringing diverse learners together in schools, integration, particularly within the South African context, means more than this, as Nkomo, Chisholm and McKinney (2004, pp.1-2) point out:

> "Integration is not merely about changing the racially exclusive demographics of learner and educator bodies – what we might refer to as desegregation – although it is this too. By integration we mean schools changing to meet the needs of all children enrolled, fostering meaningful interaction among learners in the classroom, on the playground and in extramural activities, as well as instilling a human rights culture. In the context of South Africa, school integration is also not confined solely to race, important as it is, but should seek to address other prejudices such as ethnic parochialism or chauvinism, gender inequality, xenophobia and other intolerances that are inimical to the spirit of the Constitution. It means seeking to construct curricula, texts and pedagogies that are informed by a democratic ethos. It requires teachers, school managers and communities that are equipped to promote a democratic school environment. In short, it is about *inclusivity* and *social cohesion*, in contrast to the division and fragmentation that characterised apartheid society and education".

[54] In an attempt to reduce these inequalities, the state has recently amended the National Norms and Standards for School Funding (2006), which came into effect on 1st January 2007. Under the new amendment, the government has declared a number of the poorer schools in the country as 'no-fee' schools. Given that parents whose children attend these schools generally cannot afford to pay even a small fee, the state has increased its spending on the schools to compensate. In addition to this, the new amendment stipulates the degrees to which poorer learners attending fee paying schools should be given fee exemptions (Ahmed and Sayed, 2009). Although there has been some praise of these developments, critics like Motala (2006) argue that one must remain critical of increased government expenditure per capita in education because when you take into account the fees generated from fee charging schools, the inequalities between the wealthiest and poorest schools remain stark. Similarly, Ahmed and Sayed (2009) point out that 'no-fees' does not necessarily amount to no expenses, as transport and uniform costs, for example, still need to be paid for, even by poor parents.

Different studies have explored and assessed integration in South African schools by referring to a variety of approaches, some of which include separation-under-one-roof, assimilation, accommodation or multiculturalism, as well as a range of more progressive approaches, such as productive diversity, anti-racism and cosmopolitanism. In order to assess schools according to these various approaches, different studies have drawn from a range of criteria to make their arguments, including assessing school policies and institutional cultures, as well as examining teaching methods and learners' attitudes and experiences (see for example Enoch, 2004; Nasaree, 2005; Vandeyar and Killen, 2006; Johnson, 2007; Nkomo and Vandeyar, 2008; Vandeyar, 2010). Providing a brief overview of some of these approaches is useful for the following section, which assesses integration in the two case study schools by examining their institutional contexts and practices, as well as the perspectives of principals, educators and learners.

Before discussing these approaches in light of recent integration trends in South Africa, it is worth reiterating that not all schools in the country have, in fact, desegregated. This applies not only to the large majority of poorer, black schools located in rural and township areas, but also to a smaller number of conservative Afrikaans medium schools that still cater predominantly for white, Afrikaans speaking learners. As mentioned previously, language is an exclusionary factor in the latter schools, which is sometimes compounded by the costs of attending such schools. In Vally and Dalamba's (1999) study, for example, 15 schools within their sample were almost completely white. These schools tended to be Afrikaans medium schools in conservative areas, with high schools fees and an ethos alien to difference.

Research on desegregated former HOD, HOR and HOA schools, however, reveals a variety of approaches to integration. Despite this variety, one of the most important themes to emerge from recent research is the saliency of race. Although many schools have formally desegregated, race remains a contentious issue. For example, within many desegregated schools, learners tend to self-segregate by choosing to befriend and interact with those of the same race group as themselves (Vally and Dalamba, 1999; Tihanyi, 2003; Nasaree, 2005; Vincent, 2008). Thus, not only is overt racism and discrimination prevalent in some schools, but more subtle forms of racism exist too, as introduced in Chapter Three of this thesis.

Starting with an approach that represents one of the least integrative models evident in some schools across the country is the 'separation-under-one-roof' approach. This

approach is particularly evident in some former Afrikaans medium schools that have subsequently become dual medium (mostly under pressure from the Education Department and due to falling enrolments). In a study undertaken by Bray et al. (2010), the authors comment on a dual medium former HOR school in their sample, which at a secondary school level separates their learners according to language. Thus coloured learners are taught together in Afrikaans and isiXhosa speakers are taught together in English, which effectively segregates learners on both linguistic and racial grounds. Johnson's (2007) research also identifies a dual medium school that effectively segregated learners into different classes according to language (and ultimately race), whereby black learners have classes in English and white learners have classes in Afrikaans. Although examples of schools adopting such an approach are relatively rare, they do exist.

Slightly less harmful, although in no way ideal, is the 'assimilation' approach. Unfortunately this remains the dominant approach to integration in desegregated schools across South Africa (Vally and Dalamba, 1999; Soudien, Carrim and Sayed, 2004; Vandeyar and Killen, 2006; Johnson, 2007; Vandeyar and Jansen, 2008). Chisholm and Sujee (2006, p. 142) describe assimilation as "a process in which power relations determine that a subordinate group accommodates to and is accommodated by a more powerful group". In schools where this approach is adopted, the hegemonic culture and ethos of the dominant group is regarded as superior and it remains intact. No effort is made to change the policy and practices of the institution to integrate alternative cultures. Those who differ from the norm may experience feelings of marginalisation and alienation and are forced to change or give up their own identities and cultures in order to succeed. In this approach, there is no room for difference and educators and management teams remain mono-racial (Johnson, 2007). With regard to this approach, Soudien (2004) notes three differentiations of assimilation. First he refers to 'aggressive assimilation', which occurs in schools where newcomers are openly resented and acts of violence and intolerance are evident. Second is 'assimilation by stealth'. In this model, newcomers are subsumed into new 'non-racial' identities that are never challenged. Third is 'benign assimilation', which is similar to the multicultural approach discussed next, whereby there may be an attempt by schools to acknowledge others and be inclusive, however, these attempts are often superficial and no effort is made to challenge the status quo. The approach thus still amounts to assimilation.

Research on schools that adopt an assimilation approach also often draw attention to the persistence of racial attitudes and discrimination in schools as the hegemonic

institutional cultures resist change (Vally and Dalamba, 1999; Soudien, 2004; Nasaree, 2005; Vandeyar and Jansen, 2008). Thus in many former HOA, HOR and HOD schools, newcomers are expected to adapt to the ethos and practices of these schools, which remain unchanged from how they were in the past. In some schools studied, the ethos remains deeply chauvinistic and authoritarian and both principals and educators' attitudes have not adequately transformed to match the demographic changes that have taken place. In many of these studies, the principals appear committed to tolerance, but do nothing to change the structures of their schools to suit the new pupils, nor do they address race or racism in their schools. In some schools, principals and educators speak of their fears that newcomers will reduce the standards of the schools. Others espouse a 'colour-blindness' perspective, which is aligned to an assimilation approach (Vandeyar, 2010). Adopting this view, principals argue that they do not keep records of the racial demographics of learners because all learners are equal and that there is no racism in their schools. For some critics, adopting this perspective is actually an attempt to hide the underlying racism in their schools, including institutional racism (Vandeyar, 2010).

The next approach worth highlighting, which is slightly more aligned to true integration, is the 'multicultural' approach, or what Johnson (2007) refers to as 'accommodation'. According to Johnson, 'accommodation' is similar to a multicultural approach, whereby differences are tolerated with the view to erase them and the hegemonic culture of the school remains intact. Within this approach, like the assimilation approach detailed above, the educators and management teams remain mono-racial. Soudien (2004) argues further that within a multicultural approach, especially within the South African context, the complexities of race and racial hierarchies are overlooked. Without actively challenging the hegemonic culture of schools, multicultural approaches are in danger of reproducing inequalities and 'business as usual' (Soudien, 2004). Soudien (2004, pp.103-104) argues that many types of multiculturalism are in fact variations of assimilation as they "are rooted in the presumption that the dominant culture is an unquestionable good. The incoming children might be allowed to perform in their so-called native guises for special occasions, but they operate under the protection of the dominant culture". According to Vandeyar (2010, p.354), multicultural approaches that acknowledge the presence of different cultures are also in danger of reproducing stereotypes and patronising attitudes. This understanding of school integration is predominantly:

> "based on the premise that racism is a result of prejudice and ignorance that can be eradicated by merely promoting personal contacts, cultural exchange, understanding and

> provision of information. Multiculturalism opts for a position that says, *"I know you are different and that's nice"*. It does not interrogate the whole issue of power dynamics".

Research reveals that some schools in South Africa are promoting a multicultural approach, whereby tolerance and cultural harmony are promoted and discrimination is understood to be a manifestation of ignorance (see for example Vally and Dalamba, 1999 and Tihanyi, 2003). A common example of a multicultural approach practised in schools is the existence of 'cultural days', where learners of different cultures bring items and symbols of their various cultures, such as traditional food and costumes, to show and share with other learners. Although well intentioned, there are a number of problems with such practices, as Nayak (2008, pp.280-281) points out:

> "Although well-meaning in their intention, these colourful demonstrations tended to construe ethnic minorities as inhabiting a culture that is set apart, different, exotic and self-contained. This fixed presentation of 'culture' reifies difference and suggests that multiculturalism exists outside the mainstream and is essentially about non-white Others".

In the South African context, it is both the cultures of minority groups (such as Indians) and majority groups (such as ethnic Zulus) that are made to appear fixed and exotic during 'cultural days'. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter Three, the underlying assumptions of such practices view culture as unchanging, which leaves no room for learners to create new identities. In this way, 'cultural days' present a superficial and unrealistic view of cultures as homogenous and cultural differences as natural. This in turn may lead to the reproduction and deepening of negative stereotypes.

At the opposite end of the spectrum are a range of approaches that various authors have described as representing more ideal forms of integration. Johnson (2007) puts forward the notion of 'productive diversity', which he argues, when achieved, amounts to true integration. Schools that adopt this approach embrace diversity and different ways of knowing are used to learn and problem-solve. Educators and management teams are diverse and participation in the school by parents and communities is achieved. Other authors, such as Soudien (2004), have argued that schools that adopt 'anti-racist' approaches are also more successful in achieving ideal integration, particularly within the South African context. Anti-racism is defined by the DoE (2001a, p.36) as:

> "the deliberate fostering of the awareness that racism is bad for all individuals, and that it impoverishes the social, economic and cultural life of a community. Learners should know this, whether there are a mixture of racial groups at a school or not. Anti-racism is promoted via the school management practices and policies and the curriculum".

Thus, in this model, racism, racial hierarchies and power are directly challenged (Soudien, 2004). A final approach that is associated with more progressive models of integration is 'cosmopolitanism', which Kaldor (2003 in Vandeyar, 2010, pp.346-347) argues:

> "opens up the way for new conceptions of the world that transcend traditional boundaries by offering people a way to think about their own identity and how they may formulate a more conciliatory view of the 'other' beliefs and cultures. Cosmopolitanism combines a commitment to humanist principles and norms, an assumption of human equality, with a recognition of difference, and a celebration of diversity".

Recent studies on integration in South African schools have drawn attention to examples of 'best practice', in other words, desegregated schools that are integrating diverse learners in more innovative and democratic ways (see, for example, Nkomo and Vandeyar, 2008; Vandeyar and Jansen, 2008; Vandeyar, 2010). In Vandeyar's (2010) study, for example, educators showed signs of adopting more progressive approaches to teaching that recognised difference and integrated a diversity of views and ways of knowing into daily classroom practices. In a similar vein, some educators in this study took pride in creating inclusive classrooms, which were warm, inviting and created a sense of belonging for all learners. By incorporating learners' lifeworlds into lessons, speaking critically about culture and difference, using 'edutainment' teaching styles, highlighting commonalities and human values, encouraging participation and selecting class leaders fairly (among others practices), these educators' approaches reflect more progressive models of integration (Vandeyar, 2010).

Finally, it is important to note that these approaches must be viewed critically in the sense that schools may be aligned to different approaches at different times and in different spaces, and also when judged according to different criteria. Assessing the extent to which the two case study schools are creating inclusive and democratic spaces by referring to these approaches thus acts as a guide only.

6.4 Assessing integration in the two case study schools

As discussed earlier, integration concerns both "*inclusivity* and *social cohesion*" (Nkomo, Chisholm and McKinney (2004, pp.1-2). The remainder of this chapter focuses on the former and explores the extent to which the case study schools are inclusive, democratic spaces where learners are happy and feel that their needs are met. Although a number of

important themes regarding the cohesion between learners emerge in this discussion, these issues are taken up in greater depth in the following chapter.

Before embarking on this analysis, it is worth reiterating that both schools have experienced a significant level of desegregation since the early 1990s. As introduced in Chapter Four, in 2011, Buxton High School's records reflected that the school's learner population consisted of 65.3% white learners, 29.6% black learners, 4.7% Indian learners and 0.4% coloured learners (Principal of Buxton High School). Whilst the learner profile in this school has experienced some change, the racial profile of the educators has not diversified as significantly; the large majority of educators (including the school principal, both deputy principals and most of those in management positions) are white (Buxton High School website, 2012). At Spring Vale High School, the race of the enrolled learners is not recorded, but from working in the school, I would estimate that in 2010 approximately 75% of the learner body was black, whilst whites, Indians and coloureds made up the other 25%. As mentioned in Chapter Four, these estimates were confirmed by the school principal in our formal interview (Principal of Spring Vale High School). Although the educator profile has not changed as dramatically in this school, the racial transformation of educators, including at a higher management level, has undergone significantly more change than at Buxton High School. In 2012, approximately 60% of the educators at Spring Vale High School are white, whilst the rest are Indian, black and coloured. Furthermore, many non-white educators hold management positions and whilst the principal of the school is white, the deputy principal is black (Spring Vale High School website, 2012). Despite their differences, both schools have experienced changes significant enough to warrant making changes to their institutional cultures, values and practices. The following section describes some of the ways in which the two schools have changed to meet the needs of their diverse learners. The discussion then turns to explore the learners' perspectives of their schools. The chapter concludes by bringing the identified issues together in a critical analysis of the ways in which the two schools are approaching diversity and creating inclusive environments.

6.4.1 Institutional cultures, values and school practices

In order to explore how both schools have adapted to their changing demographics, the following discussion draws from the interview data, as well as an analysis of various school documents. Examining the mission statement of Buxton High School, emphasis is placed on developing learners' potential and providing them with a "holistic education", which will enable them to contribute productively to society and the economy. Building

constructive relationships with parents and the wider community is also valued, as is creating an environment conducive to encouraging "the growth of spiritual and social values". It is clear that the image the school portrays to the outside public is important, and learners are encouraged to respect their school uniform and take pride in their school. Although this vision and aim are somewhat generic, the school code of conduct reveals an approach more sensitive to diversity. Herein it is evident that the school is committed to creating a safe environment in which no learner is discriminated against for any reason. As such, the code of conduct states that each learner has the right to be treated with respect "regardless of personal, cultural, racial and religious differences" and that any form of discrimination, including racism, sexual harassment and bullying, will not be tolerated and may lead to suspension (Buxton High School Code of Conduct, 2010).

Similarly, Spring Vale High School also prides itself on being able to meet the educational aspirations of the community, by creating a space where all learners feel comfortable and are able to develop to their potential. The school's mission statement describes the institution as a "non-racial" and "non-sexist" "centre of excellence", which aims to provide a well-balanced curriculum to enable learners to adapt successfully in a changing society (Spring Vale High School website, 2012). Like Buxton High School, Spring Vale High School takes a tough stance on discrimination. The school's code of conduct states its aim to create a "safe" and "harmonious" environment where learners can "develop a sense of pride" in their school and interact with each other "with minimum conflict and misunderstanding". In the document, racism and bullying are categorised as Grade 3 offences, which can be punished by community service, counselling, suspension or expulsion, depending on the severity of the act. Learners and parents are also required to sign a contractual agreement in the code of conduct, wherein two of the points are; "I will respect the diversity of religions and cultures at the school" and "I will not make myself guilty of racial discrimination" (Spring Vale High School Code of Conduct, 2010).

Promoting and instilling values is also important to both schools. The principal and educators at Buxton High School, for example, pride themselves on promoting equality, whether it be in terms of selecting student leaders or in the selection of sports teams, as Miss Dunston (LO educator, Buxton High School) points out, "Also in sport, it doesn't matter who you are, what matters is your sporting ability". The principal of Buxton High School further notes how teaching broad values in the school helps prepare learners for a future in South Africa where they can contribute to the country:

> "We teach integrity, honesty and loyalty- broader values. I certainly do believe that despite what children may do when they leave here, we are preparing kids here to live a life in South Africa…Sadly some schools, I think, are preparing kids for a life overseas, for example by doing Cambridge exams and the South African exams. There is nothing wrong with South African state exam and Buxton High School assumes that kids will go on to contribute to South Africa".

Values are also central to the functioning of Spring Vale High School and the school has four core values to guide teaching and learning, namely; respect, integrity, compassion and commitment (Spring Vale High School Code of Conduct, 2010). For the principal of Spring Vale High School, the promotion of values is crucial to learners' development, particularly since many come from problematic home environments:

> "Values are something that is very close to our heart here at Spring Vale...We believe very strongly that our children lack a lot of guidance. Many are from absentee families, so in term of values we make it part of everyday life, not just because it is government policy, but because we believe it is what individuals need to succeed in society. So at end of last year we picked four values to focus on this year that were linked to honour; integrity, commitment, compassion and respect. We try and mention one in each assembly and we also have posters around the school to try and bring values into everyday life. So, for example, when a teacher was injured on duty, some children sent her notes and we pointed out that this is an example of showing compassion. We try to live it".

The principal further highlights how the values of non-racism and non-sexism are realised in the everyday practices in the school, for example, in the selection of prefects and the head boy and girl:

> "We do believe in our mission statement of trying to prepare learners for the adult world in a broad sense, and the values are in there e.g. non-sexism, non-racism. So, for example, our prefects, we don't choose a given number or according to race/gender. The children apply and we choose the best group. We do have a head boy and a head girl, this year it was very skewed to girls, but we always say to them; awards, recognition and everything is done on who you are and your achievements. We live our values in everyday life".

Promoting democratic values is an important part of creating inclusive school spaces. However, it is also useful to examine the nature of the subjects, initiatives and sports and extra-mural activities on offer, in order to determine the extent to which they reflect the needs of all learners. In 2000, for example, Buxton High School changed their curriculum so that all Grade 8 and 9 learners are now required to take isiZulu as a subject; thereafter they are able to select either isiZulu or Afrikaans from Grades 10 to 12. The principal of Buxton High School is aware of the importance that learners are taught to speak isiZulu (given that it is the majority language of KwaZulu-Natal) and he complimented the Head

of Zulu in improving the school's ability to teach and examine in the language. The positive consequences of this are that now "white kids are choosing to do Zulu rather than Afrikaans as second language to Matric" (Principal of Buxton High School). In 2006, the school also opened an in-house unit for learners with special needs (Buxton High School Prospectus, 2010). The school also often hosts different types of seminars and activities to engage learners, parents and the broader community. More recently the school has hosted seminars on teenage stress and suicide, for example, as well as rape. The school also manages various outreach initiatives, such as the 'Pay it Forward' programme, whereby parents and learners are encouraged to donate old and/or no longer used sports equipment, which is then given to players who cannot afford the kit. Goods are also given to other needy children in the surrounding community. Finally, Buxton High School also has an active Trust, which has a Learner Sponsorship Programme that funds learners from economically disadvantaged backgrounds, as well as helping ensure that high standards in academics, sports and cultural activities are maintained (Buxton High School website, 2012).

In line with the school's aim to provide a holistic education, Buxton High School offers a wide range of sports and extra-mural activities, including more unusual options such as debating and public speaking, hiking, mountain biking, fishing club, djembe drums, art club, catering and gardening club. In describing the sports and extra-curricular activities available at the school, the principal of Buxton High School notes that the SGB has made an effort to adjust the programme to accommodate greater cultural diversity, "We have soccer now and have had it for a long time (10 years). Netball is very strong and we also have volley ball".[55] The principal also comments on the establishment of a Hindu Students' Society, which has grown in popularity:

> "Last year a teacher asked to form a Hindu Students' society. We do not have a large Indian population at the school because there are no nearby Indian areas…The society started and they had first Hindu evening this year. Because of the small group of Indians in the school, we have almost paid lip-service to the community; at Diwali they hold a special assembly. Now the Student Society is encouraging broader membership and involvement, for example, those who want to learn about Hinduism".

Not only does the school now host an annual 'Hindu evening', but it also hosts an annual 'Zulu evening'. At these events, learners of different cultures and religions display their traditional foods, dress and dances, as well as share their beliefs with others in the school.

[55] Soccer and netball are popular among black learners and volleyball is popular in the Indian community and thus attracts Indian learners.

Annual ‘Cultural evenings’ are also practised at Spring Vale High School, and according to both principals, these activities help diverse learners learn from one another and feel included in their schools.

Like Buxton High School, Spring Vale High School has also initiated various programmes to benefit their diverse learners. The school is involved in is the ‘Inkanyezi Project’, for example, which is part of the Zenex Foundation Learner Development Programme. This is a five-year project, which began in January 2009, with the aim to support learners and schools to raise the quality of passes, and in particular to increase the number of black, Indian and coloured learners that achieve university entrance passes, with a special focus on Mathematics and Physical Science. The programme also funds educator training at the school. The school has also recently installed a permanent team building skills and development course. The installation allows all learners to enjoy various skills and team building activities. The course teaches teamwork, communication and leadership skills, and it also helps learners overcome their fears and take on new challenges, for example, through wall climbing activities and archery. The facilities are also made available to other local schools for their leadership courses and Life Orientation (LO) lessons (Spring Vale High School website, 2012).

Spring Vale High School also offers its learners a wide variety of sporting and cultural activities, including rugby, soccer, netball, hockey, volleyball, chess, art club, engineering club, lego league and dance to name a few. The school also has a Hindu Students’ Society to cater for the Hindu community in the school. In order to ensure that all learners benefit from the sport and extra-mural programme, learners are required to participate in a minimum of two activities per year. The principal of Spring Vale High School also points out that the activities are selected to cater for the diverse tastes and preferences of all learners:

> “With sports there are certain sports that appeal to certain groups more than others. Volleyball appeals to Indian children more, but it’s not only Indians who play. We are not going to force children to play certain sports, we don’t have any quota systems with sport. The majority of the volleyball team is Indian, the majority of basketball team is black. Cricket has decreased and is not as popular, it’s not as exciting as the other sports, but all other sports are alive and well”.

Similarly, the principal is proud of the school's long history as a 'soccer school'(soccer is traditionally a black sport in South Africa, with only small numbers of working class white boys tending to play):

> "This area has also always been traditionally a soccer playing area, other schools were rugby playing schools, this school has always been a soccer school, and with the multiculturalism it has kept that nature".

Thus, it is evident that both schools are attempting to adapt to their changing learner bodies. Some of these efforts are encouraging and positive, whilst others deserve more critical attention. Before applying a critical analysis, it is worth considering how the learners feel about their schools, with specific reference to how they feel about diversity and inclusion within their schools.

6.4.2 "There is something for everyone at this school": learners' perspectives on diversity and inclusion

According to the large majority of learners that participated in this project, the two schools are doing a good job at promoting equality and providing a quality, holistic education. Although different learners describe different aspects of their schools that they value, the most praise was given to the standard of education, access to opportunities, the variety of sport and extra-mural activities and the quality of teaching. Many learners describe their schools as having a 'good vibe' and many also appreciate the friendly educators and learners at their schools. Overall I got the impression that the majority of learners are proud of their schools and feel they are enjoyable spaces to be in. A couple of learners in both schools pointed out how ex-pupils return to their schools; a sign that school spirit is high and that learners feel a sense of belonging to their schools, which continues even after they leave:

> "The sense of pride. This school is amazing. We've got people that like still come to the school and visit after they've left the school. The come back and thank the teachers. Like my teacher, these other boys came to thank him for what he has done. He's changed their lives" (Gugu, black female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

It is also clear that many learners value that their schools are socially diverse. Learners explain that they enjoy meeting different people at school, making new friends and broadening their thinking by being exposed to different cultures, beliefs and viewpoints. For other learners, diversity at school is an asset because it prepares them for a life in modern South Africa. By interacting with different people at school, learners are

able to better understand one another, which some feel will lead to greater acceptance and build unity in the country and possibly even in the wider world:

> "It's diverse, like there's many races and stuff. So it's kind of different from other schools… it's very mixed. It's your chance to meet different people of different races" (Mandla, black male, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

> "It's good it's diverse, because you know how to interact with certain like of people, not just different kind of races but this kind of person is this one from this home, from this home and stuff like that. So you, it expands the mind. You don't think narrow, you think broadly" (Sibongile, black female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

> "Well the thing you always hear is that the children are the future, so if you think about it every school is building a society for tomorrow. So I believe that if you can incorporate people of different races coming together in school, then they gonna take that trait out there with them into the real world. And when they do that then that's gonna bring, maybe not only South Africa, but the whole world together" (Preben, Indian male, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

The fact that South Africans continue to largely live and socialise in segregated spaces adds to the uniqueness of diverse schools such as these. As one of the few spaces where learners are able to interact with difference, schools are particularly important in helping to foster meaningful contact, which, as Preben proposes, may have the potential to unify citizens of South Africa and possibly the wider world. Given this positive feedback, it is perhaps unsurprising that the large majority of learners at both schools feel included in their schools. Most learners feel as though they are part of their school community and that they belong. Again the multiple opportunities, friendly and supportive educators and fellow learners are emphasised:

> "Yes [I feel included]. The school… like if you're new to the Grade, people will be there to meet with you and welcome you. It's really like a family, if you get to know everyone, well like most of the people in the school, then they won't make you feel left out or anything. Basically you get to know your grade and you go up with your grade and then you get to know all the younger grades as well" (Jackie, white female, Grade 9, Spring Vale High School).

> "Yes, I think so [feel included]. I think like basically there is something for everyone at this school, which is awesome, I think. Like the Hindu people, there is a Hindu Society, where they used to be quite excluded…I feel pretty included because I do a lot, like drama people and artists, there's always art shows going on. There's even chess tournaments and all of this stuff going on. So no matter what you do there is something for you" (Debbie, white female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

Some learners did stress, however, that it is up to individuals to make themselves feel part of the school by getting involved in activities, taking opportunities and making an effort to get to know people:

> "I really do [feel included] 'cause I spend most of my life here. I mean I'm here from Monday to Friday because of school. I go home at like maybe five, half past five 'cause of my sport every day, even Friday. And then on Saturday I'm playing a sport, whether volleyball or hockey…I'm here from like Monday to Saturday so I feel involved. And it's not…I think I actually went that extra mile and got myself involved 'cause like the opportunities are there and you, if you can't make use of those opportunities then you will feel left out. So it depends on the person, if they don't want to get involved, or they don't want to partake in anything, then they will feel left out and they won't be part of the community in the school" (Khanyi, black female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

Likewise, the majority of learners are also appreciative of the fact that everybody is treated equally in their schools. For example, sports coaches select teams on merit alone and prefects are seen to be selected democratically. The learners feel that they have access to equal opportunities and this is important:

> "Our school, ja, Buxton High…ja, we do unite. Because you just see, like in our Deputy Heads [prefects], there's… every race is represented. So it's not only 'Ah the white people are only making it', it's not only this colour group, everyone is represented. You just see in the prefects. You see on the sports field, like the black people who are captains because they can run fast. It's this person, it's this person. It's based on merit, but anyone who wants to achieve, can achieve… And even in the classrooms, even though some teachers have favouritism, but you know, you can't come late and you not getting anything. You gonna come late, even with the favourites- shame, you gonna get detention" (Sibongile, black female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

Some learners also praise their school principals for being strong, fair leaders. At Spring Vale High School, the multi-racial school principals also impress some. Providing all learners with equal opportunities allows for everyone to have a chance at success. As such, in these diverse spaces, many black learners have excelled in sports, academics and cultural activities and have set good examples to their peers. The existence of black excellence helps combat some of the negative stereotypes that continue to persist in wider society regarding the incompetence and inadequacy of blackness. In this respect, some of the learners draw attention to the fact that by coming to a multi-racial school, they have begun to question some of their previous assumptions about others:

> "Our classes are very mixed in terms of academics. It's not just, like our Maths classes, it's not just going to be the white people. It's going to be a few black people, a few Indians, and a few white people. I can't say coloureds because we don't have many coloureds at the school. But I mean, like in our English classes, um…we've got some brilliant English speaking girls that can, with pen and paper, they can write you one of the most amazing essays and they can come first in class. And they're in the 'A' class and they are black

> students and they are beating some of the actual white students and in the lower classes you get the white okes,[56] that are getting beaten by the black okes" (Musa, black male, Grade 12, Buxton High School).
>
> "You actually get to see that not all smart people are necessarily Indian and not all stupid people are necessarily black (Sylvia, coloured female, Grade 9, Spring Vale High School).

Given that it is important that schools are open, democratic spaces, where diverse learners are treated equally and feel a sense of belonging, the learners' responses are encouraging and bode well for assessing integration in the two institutions in the subsequent discussion.

6.4.3 Integrated spaces? A critical assessment

The above discussion flags up a number of positive values, practices and initiatives that are taking place within the two case study schools. In many ways, these institutions have been successful in creating inclusive and democratic environments. The ethos of both schools reflects an appreciation of the individuality of each learner and both schools are committed to developing learners' potential. A tough stance on discrimination (including racial discrimination) indicates that the schools are serious about ensuring that all their learners feel included and are treated equally despite their differences. Indeed it is evident that the principals and educators of both schools attempt to nurture a 'family' or 'community' atmosphere within their respective institutions. Values play a crucial part in this and both principals, as well as a number of educators, stress the importance of not only promoting democratic values, such as respect and equality, but also of ensuring that these values underpin school practices. Thus, in both schools, it is important that learners understand that recognition, whether it be in academics, leadership roles or on the sports field, is based on merit alone. By providing learners with a diverse range of sports and extra-mural activities, both schools have also been successful in ensuring that learners' tastes and preferences are accounted for. Diverse religious societies exist in both schools, as well as initiatives to support poor and/or previously disadvantaged groups. This is further evidence that both institutions are attempting to address the diverse needs of their learner bodies.

The fact that the large majority of learners that participated in this study value their schools and feel that they are doing a good job is a significant result. Clearly the schools' efforts to create inclusive and democratic environments are working as most learners feel a sense of belonging in their schools and appreciate that they are given equal opportunities to

[56] 'Okes' is a local, colloquial term for 'guys'.

succeed. Similarly, the large majority of learners are proud of their schools and feel that their needs are met by their respective institutions. Finally, providing all learners with equal opportunities has resulted in academic and sporting excellence among learners of all race groups. This is significant because, as the findings indicate, it has the potential to challenge negative stereotypes and allow learners to create new identities. Thus, in this way, these encouraging outcomes have further positive implications for life outside of schools, in terms of how learners relate to one another in other spaces of experience. As discussed in Chapter Three, it is also crucial in the post-apartheid context that schools are conducive to the internalisation of democratic values. In order to strengthen South Africa's fledgling democracy and to counter-act the negative apartheid legacy, it is essential that schools exist as democratic spaces that include learners in all their diversity. The discussion above serves to demonstrate some of the headway that the two case study schools have made in this regard.

Despite these optimistic findings, there are a number of areas where both schools could improve further. Firstly, like many desegregated schools across the country, the changes in the racial profile of learners in the case study schools has not been matched with an equal change in the racial profile of the educators (Soudien, 2004; Nkomo and Vandeyar, 2008, Vandeyar and Jansen, 2008; Bray et al., 2010). Although Spring Vale High Schools has a far greater diversity of educators than Buxton High School, both schools could diversify their educator bodies further. Given that the majority of learners in Buxton High School are white, having a majority white educator body appears understandable, and little problems should arise in terms of language or cultural backgrounds between these groups. However, clearly the school could do more to firstly increase the number of non-white learners at the school to better reflect national population ratios, and secondly, to increase the number of non-white staff at the school, particularly in leadership positions. There is also the question of why the educators remain majority white in both schools. Although I did not directly ask the principals about this, Mrs. Winston raises an interesting point in that she argues that black learners and parents want white educators because they are perceived to be the most qualified and hardworking:

> "We had a couple of Zimbabwean teachers and the kids didn't like them. Also because they couldn't speak Zulu and they couldn't…their accent, they couldn't understand what they said. And they said they came to Model C schools to get white teachers, they don't want black teachers (she laughs) and Indians too, they don't want Indians. Their parents pay for them to come here for white teachers. They are still in that mind of kind of white superiority" (Mrs. Winston, former LO educator and school counsellor, Spring Vale High School).

This response is interesting on many levels, the self-stigmatisation on the part of the black learners and parents being one. This relates back to Durrheim, Mtose and Brown's (2011) black 'stigma', whereby in some cases, black people internalise negative stereotypes and view themselves or other blacks negatively, which can create a number of unwanted psychological consequences. The quotation also hints at possible xenophobia on the part of some learners and parents. In the South African context, xenophobia, particularly directly at individuals from other African countries, is widespread. This is compounded by the socio-economic inequalities in the country and the perception that immigrants are taking scarce employment opportunities from local people (Kiguwa, 2006). Despite these views, it is important that post-apartheid schools transform their staff profiles. As mentioned above, it is important for black learners to interact with positive black role models in order to challenge negative racial stereotypes and build self-esteem. Having a diverse teaching staff is also an asset that will help initiate changes in the schools to allow them to adapt to the needs of learners more effectively. Finally, there is also a cultural element to this, in that educators whose home language and/or cultural background are different to their learners are less likely to be able to relate to their classes (Vandeyar and Killen, 2006). Mrs. Winston comments on this and is quite reflexive of her position as an older, white educator who now teaches predominantly black learners:

> "Sometimes teachers take the 'white is right' attitude for granted and presume that their students will be familiar with traditional western stories, like Cinderella. However, the students grew up with different stories and folk tales that the teachers are unaware of. Culturally there is a significant gap between some students and teachers" (Mrs. Winston, former LO educator and school counsellor, Spring Vale High School).

Secondly, although the schools are clearly adopting a number of progressive practices, there are other examples of attitudes and approaches that align more to multiculturalism. As discussed earlier, multiculturalism emphasises that different cultural groups exist and that all should be treated equally. In this way the approach promotes diversity and cultural tolerance (Kiguwa, 2006). Whilst it is commendable that learners are treated equally in both schools, it is important to remain sensitive to the power dynamics that underpin societies. In the South African context, underlying power dynamics are closely associated to race. In this respect, it is problematic that neither school has any 'anti-racist' initiatives in place. Given the importance of race in South African society, as outlined in Chapters Two and Five, this is a major shortcoming. In light of the discussion in the following chapter, it becomes even more evident why such initiatives should be implemented. As Soudien (2004) argues, by overlooking the complexities of race and

racial hierarchies, multicultural approaches are in danger of reproducing inequalities and 'business as usual'. As evident from the earlier discussion, multicultural approaches are also dangerously close to assimilation approaches, and Mrs. Winston's quotation above hints at the possibility that some educators at the school still uncritically accept the founding 'white' ethos to be unquestionably good, even though the school now has a predominantly black learner body.

Another problematic element of multiculturalism evident in both schools' approaches to integration relates to their 'cultural evenings'. Hosting such events, although well intentioned, has the potential to entrench negative cultural stereotypes (Nayak, 2008). In particular, presenting different cultures through food, dress and dance, for example, is superficial in that it ignores how cultures change over time and space, and how they develop and evolve through sharing with other cultures. Thus, as argued in Chapter Three, it is more productive to view cultures as socially constructed hybrids (Kiguwa, 2006). Recognising this is crucial in providing learners with opportunity to create new identities for themselves and appreciate their commonalities, which in turn will go further to augment national unity.

The final issue that needs to be discussed relates to the principals' responses regarding the sporting options that they provide in their schools. First of all, it is worth reiterating that sport in South Africa is racialised. Although the post-apartheid governments have been attempting to transform traditionally 'white' sports such as rugby and cricket, for example, this is an ongoing effort and it will take some time for the identity of these sports to change, as well as the racial make-up of national teams (Desai, 2010). Likewise, as mentioned above, soccer is commonly thought of as a 'black' sport and volleyball is popular within the Indian community. Growing up in South Africa, the learners are aware of these social distinctions and play a part in reproducing them. Thus, it is not surprising that within their schools they choose to play sports that they identify with, and that by providing these sports, principals feel that they are boosting inclusivity within their schools. As microcosms of broader society, racialised identities and norms play out within school boundaries. However, by adopting a relational understanding of school spaces, as outlined in Chapter Three, one is able to appreciate the role that schools can play in challenging social identities and norms, the consequences of which can have positive outcomes for wider society (Massey, 1994; 2004; 2005). Instead of uncritically accepting that different learners prefer particular sports, perhaps schools should be doing more to break down the socially constructed barriers to integrated sports teams, especially given

the potential of sport to evoke a sense of teamwork, common purpose and solidarity. This issue is taken up again in more detail in the following chapter, where race and identity are explored in greater depth in relation to integration and the potential of schools to foster meaningful contact.

6.5 Conclusion

Clearly the two case study schools are working well in some areas, whilst there are other practices and approaches that need rethinking. In terms of the positive findings, the two schools have been successful in nurturing a sense of pride and belonging in their institutions. By promoting and instilling democratic values, providing a high quality education and diverse extra-mural activities, both schools are contributing to producing well-rounded citizens that are prepared to participate constructively in society. The overwhelming majority of learners are also satisfied with their schools and appreciate that they are spaces where everyone is treated equally. In this context, some have clearly been able to make diverse friends, build their self-esteem and challenge negative stereotypes. This is an important finding because, as discussed in Chapter Three, the context in which contact takes place matters (Allport, 1978). By ensuring that schools are welcoming and inclusive spaces, meaningful contact is more likely to be achieved, and this is vital if schools are to contribute to strengthening national unity. Imbuing schools with democratic values that are practised and experienced on an everyday level is also vital for the longevity of democracy. Given the fragility of democracy in the country at present, and how significant it is to post-apartheid nation-building efforts, internalising democracy and democratic values is of the utmost importance. In this respect, given the relational nature of school spaces, the positive values, connections and experiences that are being forged within school spaces have the potential to initiate broader changes in society. These encouraging findings are also important in terms of contributing to the emerging literature on ‘best practice’ in integration in South African schools. As discussed in Chapter One, this is one of the valuable contributions of this thesis. Although there is room for improvement in both cases, it is crucial to draw attention to areas where schools are succeeding, as these insights are useful to other desegregated schools in South Africa, as well as to schools in other parts of the world that are attempting to deal with a history of conflict and/or social divisions.

Of course these findings also reveal a range of problematic issues with regard to how the two schools are approaching integration. Drawing on the approaches and criteria

discussed earlier in the chapter, it is evident that some of the schools' practices are closer aligned to a multicultural approach. This sort of approach is confronted with a number of important criticisms, including its failure to adequately account for the workings of power in society and for adopting a rigid concept of culture that can potentially reproduce negative stereotypes and patronising attitudes. In light of these criticisms, the two schools could become better integrated institutions by further diversifying their educator bodies, adopting anti-racist initiatives and rethinking how they conceptualise culture. Indeed, in order for schools to be successful at helping augment national cohesion, more effort needs to be made to encourage learners to acknowledge the commonalities between South Africans, and to not neglect the critical role that race and power still play in South African society.

What is also important to reiterate at this point is that nurturing democratic and inclusive school spaces is only one part of realising integration. Although essential to creating conducive spaces wherein meaningful contact is more likely, more is needed to encourage learners to understand one another, bridge divides and forge relationships. The issue of school sport touches on some of the problems of not taking integration efforts a step further. Providing a range of sporting activities to learners is admirable, but if learners are choosing to participate in these activities in racially segregated ways, then the ability of sport, and indeed schools, to break down social barriers is being undermined. As discussed above, the racialisation of sport is a broader societal issue that learners have grown up with and have come to accept as reality. This, once again, demonstrates the fluidity of space, in that schools will always be influenced by social norms, attitudes and identities that are circulating and being reproduced in wider society. However, the task of schools in the post-apartheid context is to attempt to overcome some of the more negative norms, attitudes and identities that are preventing learners from uniting. The issue of meaningful contact is explored further in the following chapter, drawing primarily on the perspectives of learners.

Chapter Seven

Making meaningful contact: Race and identity inside school spaces

7.1 Introduction

In order for socially diverse schools in South Africa to become truly integrated, it is important that learners are encouraged to forge meaningful connections with each other in ways that break down social barriers and divisions. As argued in the previous chapter, creating democratic school environments where learners feel included is important, and in some cases learners are benefiting from these efforts by building solid friendships and challenging stereotypes. However, as participation in sporting activities illustrates, unless more is done to encourage learners to challenge their thinking and cross social boundaries, then the potential of schools to foster meaningful contact is limited. This chapter explores the extent to which meaningful interactions are taking place within the two case study schools, by focusing on how learners are negotiating difference and (re)producing and challenging social identities and norms. Given that race emerges in this thesis as an important aspect of South African life that undermines national unity, the influence of race and racial markers of difference on everyday interactions is examined.

Before exploring the nature and quality of contact taking place in the two case study schools, it is worth reiterating that no formal government policy on social integration exists. Thus, although Departmental guideline documents have been created,[57] individual schools are largely responsible for determining how to best integrate their institutions within legal and Constitutional parameters. In the absence of a specific Departmental directive, both case study schools have opted to allow integration to occur "naturally" within their institutions, with no direct intervention. For both principals, this is considered the best approach, which they argue is producing slow but positive results. Although some progress is being made, and in many ways the conditions within the two schools are conducive to fostering meaningful contact, the findings reveal a number of problematic issues that are undermining integration, and thus the ability of schools to realise national nation-buildings imperatives. This chapter focuses on two problematic ways in which learners are negotiating difference within their schools; firstly, by segregating themselves

[57] See for example the Department of Education (DoE)'s (2001a) 'Educating for our Common Future: Building schools for an integrated society: A guidebook for principals and teachers'.

according to perceived similarities and differences with others, which are primarily race-related, and secondly, through the use of humour. These two responses are discussed below in relation to a number of inter-related themes.

7.2 "Birds of a feather…": Normalising segregation and personal choice

Sharing the same social space does not necessarily translate into meaningful contact able to foster respect for difference and change individual values, attitudes and behaviours in the long term. Instead, as discussed in Chapter Three, people may share the same social space but lead "parallel lives" (Valentine, 2008, p.326). Moreover, spatial proximity can produce negative effects, whereby prejudices are hardened. In such contexts, individuals may also become defensive of their identities and seek to socially and spatially segregate themselves from difference. These insights are useful given that in diverse school spaces, the majority of learners tend to prefer to befriend, and generally associate with, other learners that they perceive themselves similar to. There are a number of ways in which learners explain such patterns of behaviour, all of which reveal the significance of race (and its links to the past) as well as spatiality.

When asked about diversity and integration, the issue of friendship groups was almost always raised by learners. In this respect, learners explain that although some friendship groups are socially diverse, and everyone gets along well in class, at break times most people tend to sit in racially defined groups. For the large majority of learners, this does not amount to racism or an animosity towards difference. Instead, for some, this behaviour is viewed as 'natural' or 'normal'; something which has always been the case and is thus acceptable. Many learners argue that people 'normally' or 'naturally' gravitate towards those who they are similar to, whether it is in terms of race, religion, language or culture. In this respect, they argue that individuals are more comfortable around those who they can relate to, or those who they have shared interests with:

> "They naturally gather that way. You would normally go with people that you are in common with, that you have common interests with… I get along with everyone in my class and there are only three black people in my class. I get along with everyone and we're friends with everyone, but you'll just hang out with the people mainly of your race" (Mbali, black female, Grade 9, Buxton High School).

> "It's always been like that here [segregated friendship groups]. You will get the odd people that will go and it will be very mixed, where it will be Indians and coloureds and whites and blacks and then they'll also obviously be like where there's just black guys and then

> there's black girls and then there's…I don't know… like maybe they'll talk to each other during class, sometimes maybe during break, but I mean most of the time it will be like those odd groups… It's not racism. It's not like the black okes are going to be looking at those okes and like, you know… 'If you look at me I'm going to go beat you up or something because you're white'. They really don't mind. I mean a white oke can just go and walk in between them and be like 'What's up?' or they'll joke around, because they're all friends and I mean, they just laugh about that stuff. So it's nothing serious" (Musa, black male, Grade 12, Buxton High School).

These findings support trends in recent literature, whereby researchers conducting studies in desegregated South African schools have similarly found that learners tend to re-segregate themselves within school boundaries (see for example Vally and Dalamba, 1999; Tihanyi, 2003; Nasaree, 2005; Vincent, 2008). In these studies, learners provide similar reasons to explain their behaviour. These explanations, as reflected in the two quotations above, raise a number of important issues. Firstly, it is clear the extent to which the racialised nature of South African society is affecting how learners interact with difference inside of school spaces. As discussed in Chapters Two and Five, the apartheid legacy of socio-spatial divisions continues to have a profound effect on present day South Africa, whereby South Africans still tend to live and socialise in racially segregated spaces. Racial divisions are in many ways such a deeply engrained part of South African life, that they are largely accepted uncritically as 'normal' or 'natural'. Within schools spaces, it appears that these socially constructed boundaries are being (re)produced, as many learners accept and justify these racialised norms and behaviour patterns.

A second issue to draw attention to relates to how perceived commonalities between individuals are connected to racial identities. Although learners note a number of cultural and/or ethnic factors that one could potentially share with their peers, such as religion or language, for example, segregation manifests along (and is often expressed in terms of) racial markers of difference. It is interesting to reflect on how this connects to the state's multicultural approach to nation-building. In this respect, the post-apartheid governments have tended to focus on culture and ethnicity, rather than race, as primary signifiers of identity through their multicultural approach (Kiguwa, 2006). As discussed previously, multiculturalism is criticised for constructing cultural differences as static and unchanging. In this respect, cultural differences are conceptualised as similar to racial differences; both are perceived as natural and hence resistant to change (Kiguwa, 2006). In the post-apartheid context, many scholars have highlighted further problems associated with the blurring of boundaries between concepts of culture and race, in that "biological heredity" or racial differences are now commonly "replaced by cultural differences" in everyday discourse. In this way racism may be expressed by individuals without directly referring to

race; rather perceived cultural differences and deficiencies are instead noted (Moodley and Adam, 2000).

Thirdly, it is evident that these patterns of behaviour are problematic for integration. The fact that many learners mention that they get along with classmates, and engage in group work without any problem, suggests that learners are exhibiting a tolerance for difference as opposed to a deeper understanding and appreciation of difference. Without challenging social barriers, this sort of interaction does not equate to meaningful contact. As Phumlani indicates below, due to underlying tensions between race groups, befriending those from your "normal race group" is also safer in the sense that you have a better idea where they are coming from:

> "As much as you can call someone your friend, you are always more comfortable with the people you can relate with. And usually you can relate to your friends but people of the same races, it's just…although you might not be friends with someone of the same race as you but because they are of the same race it allows you to relate, because the language barrier is something. And being with your perceived friends, for example, if you were to be with an Indian friend or a black friend and you are white, there is that 'Ok you can't go to a certain topic because things could get a bit emotional'. But I mean when people are with their normal race groups, there is a lot more free flowing and more forgiveness takes place than it would with different races, if you were to be with different races. But I believe that of people hanging out with different races it's not racism and it's going to take a long time because I think someone just naturally goes to who they look like. Ja, but in the classroom, it's usually a different story" (Phumlani, black male, Grade 10, Spring Vale High School).

This response supports the arguments made in Chapters Two and Five, concerning the level of mutual distrust that exists between race groups in South Africa. Largely due to the country's history, negative racial stereotypes and suspicions continue to circulate in broader society. Without sufficient opportunities to interact with diverse others, these stereotypes and suspicions cannot be challenged. Unsurprisingly, these attitudes and emotions are also present in school spaces and without encouraging learners to forge genuine connections with one another, there is a danger that they will be reproduced and undermine integration.

It is also interesting to point out that in justifying how learners tend to self-segregate at break time, the school principals and educators engage in similar arguments. Learners' behaviour is accepted uncritically and attributed to cultural commonalities and shared interests. For some, this behaviour does not reflect negatively on integration, as learners exhibit no outward animosity for others and are able to get along and work together well if necessary:

> "I feel that our school is doing well in terms of integration. In class and at breaks, learners still sit in groups together with the same cultures or race. That's also understandable. But if they have to work together in groups, they have no problem" (Miss Dunston, LO educator, Buxton High School).

> "That is, I think, the nature of human beings. I think you stick to your own kind. I went to an all girls school, obviously it was all white in my day, but nobody told you who you could be friends with. It just happened and I was Jewish and all the Jewish girls sat together. And all the Portuguese girls were a group and a couple of Greek girls, they were a crowd of friends. And so you do, you just stick to your own kind, but it wasn't a force 'You will not sit with others'. People will gravitate towards their own kind" (Mrs. Winston, former LO educator and school counsellor, Spring Vale High School).

> "I do often discuss with the kids groups at break time. You'll find a lot of black girls sit together, you'll find a lot of black boys sit together, you'll find a lot of Indians… It normally does come up every year. They'll say 'But Sir at break time look at all the different groups, isn't that like apartheid or whatever'. And it comes up, it's come up every year that I have been teaching in almost every grade. And we discuss with them that it's not because of race, it's not because of cultural issues, it's because of what they are used to. They'll say 'Listen I sit with black girls because I'm a black girl myself. It's not that I don't like white people, it's just that I share and I have more in common with black girls. If you're an outsider coming to South Africa and you came to a school in this new democracy and then you saw how everyone sits separately, you would think…even in the staff room, the Indian ladies sit together, the guys sit in one corner, the Afrikaans people sit in one corner. It's just because you are comfortable with the same people. It's not a race issue at all" (Mr. Smith, LO educator, Spring Vale High School).

Mr. Smith's response is interesting because it reveals that a number of learners in the school are curious and reflexive regarding the way their peers interact with one another. Given that this is how broader society functions, it is understandable that both learners and some educators like Mr. Smith feel that it is 'normal' to mix with those they perceive to be similar to themselves. Whilst the wider South African context must be taken into account when trying to understand such attitudes, it is equally important to remain critical. For example, studies that explore the rise of gated communities in South Africa as a form of self- segregation, or the rise of faith schools, problematise this attitude by suggesting that perhaps such behaviour it is not 'normal' or even ideal (Oldfield, 2004; Lemanski, 2006; Seekings, 2008). Rather, adopting the position that segregation is 'normal' or 'natural' can mask true feelings of prejudice or fear, as the subsequent discussion highlights.

A second notable way in which learners explain their self-segregating behaviour is by describing it in terms of personal preference or 'choice'. Once again, racism is denied and personal choice regarding who to befriend and associate with is instead related to perceived commonalities with others:

> "As a person you choose who you want to hang out with. Just because I'm black and I'm not hanging out with a white person doesn't mean that I'm kinda like being racist or anything" (Ntombi, black female, Grade 9, Buxton High School).

> "It's not racism, it's kind of based on the interests you share, like if we are from the same religion and same race, we kind of have more interests in common than someone else. But you do see people with other race groups, that's not a problem. In class we are just one group, it's just at break you kind of have that choice to kind of sit with your friends, you know, that are your race because you have more interests with them. It's nothing about racism or anything like that. Its interest based" (Preben, Indian male, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

> "I think if you want to be like friends with like different races or anything, it's your choice. Like at breaks times they'll have like their own group and if you want to approach them, you're more than welcome…um…but I mean, like everyone just keeps to themselves really. I think they just feel comfortable with each other, around their own like races and all that. I mean I don't think they are like trying, or we are trying to do it personally to like make war" (Gerald, white male, Grade 12, Buxton High School).

In all of the above responses, it is useful to reflect on the learners' assertions that their behaviour is not related to racism. Like Gerald, it appears that many learners associate racism with its overt forms, such as inter-racial violence. Given that overt racism was so prevalent under the apartheid regime, and that incidents of overt racism still occur in contemporary society, it is perhaps understandable that many learners feel that racially segregated friendship groups do not reflect racism as it is widely understood. These discourses link to the arguments presented in Chapter Three. Here Seekings (2008, p.22) argues that fewer incidents of overt racism in the country do not mean that race relations have drastically improved or that discrimination is not taking place, rather:

> "it reflects the persistence of racial discrimination in a softer sense, that is, in terms of social preferences. South Africans may not be hostile to racialised others, but prefer to live and generally socialize with culturally similar neighbours, and for their kin to marry within racial (that is, cultural) groups rather than outside them".

Furthermore, on closer inspection, it appears that learners' behaviour is often policed by both peers and adults in society, in ways that also suggest underlining fears and prejudice. It this way, crossing socially constructed boundaries can produce both positive and negative outcomes.

7.3 Crossing social boundaries and the policing of identity

In the case of friendship, a handful of learners admit that race is significant in who individuals befriend and feel confident interacting with. Some of these learners point out

that it is not always easy to approach or join different groups at break times. Not only is there a fear that the new group might ridicule or reject you, but there is also a possibility that one's own racial/ethnic group might pass judgment:

> "I think it's fear of not knowing 'Will they like you?', being cool… I think it's the fear of not knowing what they would actually do or what they would actually like" (Sylvia, coloured female, Grade 9, Spring Vale High School).

> "Like what are those people gonna say if I sit with them. Those people looking at me. Say if like if I had to sit with black guys, then those like the other coloured guys are gonna be looking at me like 'What's wrong with you?' and stuff like that. You will be judged. Like you trying to be like them" (John, coloured male, Grade 10, Spring Vale High School).

Similarly, those learners who are willing to cross social boundaries and date someone who is racially different from themselves also face judgement and policing of their sexuality. Although inter-racial relationships do not occur frequently in the two case study schools, they do happen, and it appears that these types of relationships can cause a significant amount of tension. Largely emanating from the history of apartheid, where sexual relations and marriage between different race groups was outlawed (and considered morally indefensible by the state), inter-racial couples in post-apartheid South Africa are still considered taboo. Inside of schools, these couples are teased and outside of schools, many face opposition from parents and family members. Ayanda, for example, describes her experience dating a white boy at her school:

> "I had friends who were white who were looking at this relationship in a bad eye that I'm black, he's white. His parents had not approved of our relationship either. The situation became so bad that the boy's father removed the boy from the school and they emigrated. Unfortunately, his parents didn't agree with the relationship because I was black and he was white and so it didn't work out" (Ayanda, black female, Grade 11, Buxton High School).

Similarly, Sibongile describes how a white girl was teased for dating a black boy at her school:

> "And then there was a white chick who dated a black guy and all the blacks wanted to hit this white girl because he was the hottest black guy in the grade and they all wanted him and she got him… they were like 'How dare he leave us sisters for that skinny girl'. It was so bad, the girl used to cry all the time… It was serious, because like all the white guys were like to the girl 'What the hell is your problem?'" (Sibongile, black female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

Thus it is clear that race is remains significant in the lives of these young people; it functions as a key marker of difference. Although sometimes denied, there do appear to be

clear boundaries between notions of 'us' and 'them' and there are implications for crossing these socially constructed boundaries. In Vincent's (2008) research in desegregated South African schools, the author also documents particular 'guards' against contact which could potentially lead to integration. In this respect, the author explores the policing of sexuality in terms of the negative reactions of peers and parents to inter-racial relationships. These behaviours inhibit integration in that they ensure that contact does not go too far. That being said, it is also important to draw attention to examples where learners have crossed boundaries in ways that have produced positive outcomes; where identities and social relations are challenged and transformed. For Musa, participating in swimming (considered a 'white' sport) has been a rewarding experience:

> "Swimming is obviously just white people. I did swimming as well. I was like the only black person to do it. I really used to find it funny when the okes used to make a joke, I used to laugh. I used to be faster than some of the okes. It was a whole lot of fun, I used to enjoy it. And my teacher was like, when I started doing it like people started looking at me and like the thing, like swimming, the sport like in general, looking at it differently and they'd be like 'You know swimming is actually swimming, why doesn't everyone do this?'. And then a few black okes went and messed around just for the sake of it" (Musa, black male, Grade 12, Buxton High School).

Musa's experience is encouraging and by participating in swimming he feels that he was able to change perceptions of the sport as 'white'. Moreover, by participating in the sport, it was possible to also encourage other black learners to give swimming a try. Similarly, Khanyi describes how some learners at her school are also 'blending' in ways that transverse 'normal' social relations and challenge sedimented racial identities:

> "At times you see like, if I can say, white people hanging out with black people and you can see that the white person is already like understanding Zulu and stuff, they starting to become like black people or like they understand each other, like even the black person is becoming like the white person, like they blending. And you almost forget that you different, you belong from the different races" (Khanyi, black female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

Although these examples involve individuals who, on their own accord and with no obvious intervention from their schools, are challenging socially constructed barriers, it is worth reflecting on the effect that direct interventions could have to increase these positive interactions and outcomes. The issue of language emerges as a common theme that many learners argue is preventing integration within their schools. As Khanyi's response indicates, learning to speak isiZulu has been significant in allowing diverse learners to bond and understand one another in less superficial ways. As mentioned in Chapter Six, Buxton High School has attempted to strengthen their Zulu Department and it is worth

noting that Spring Vale High School also offers isiZulu as a second language subject. However, in both cases, isiZulu is not a compulsory subject in later grades, and thus learners may opt instead to take Afrikaans to their final Matric year. Multilingualism in post-apartheid South Africa is indeed a topical issue and both the state and scholars such as Alexander (2001) recognise the importance of language in nation-building efforts. In this respect, 'making multilingualism happen' is one of the 'Manifesto's' 16 implementation strategies recommended to help augment values education and the promotion of democracy in schools, "Listening and hearing one another, truly, can only happen by making multilingualism happen" (DoE, 2001b, p.5). According to the 'Manifesto' this has a pedagogical function in that learning is more successful when learners are taught in their mother tongue, but it also has a cohesive function. Similarly, Alexander (2001) argues that although the state has attempted to recognise all 11 official languages, the dominance of English has resulted in the marginalisation of other native African languages. For Alexander (2001) addressing this is crucial for citizens to genuinely understand one another and unify as a nation, but it is also imperative to prevent this issue from becoming explosive in the future, which he argues will undermine nation-building attempts. The following section explores another significant way in which learners (and educators) are negotiating difference within their schools, namely through the use of humour.

7.4 Just a joke? Elusive racism and the crisis of interpretation

The use of humour and racial/cultural banter emerges as a reoccurring theme related to how learners (and educators) negotiate difference. It appears that, on the one hand, some participants argue that joking in this manner helps break down social barriers and is a positive form of interaction, whilst on the other hand, some view this as problematic. For learners like Musa and John, racial or cultural jokes are told in an affectionate way that does not warrant offence:

> "I've never heard of a case [of racism at school], ja so. Not much here, I mean if you're an Indian and you believe in some animal or this guy, it's fine. And with culture, the same thing. Maybe we'll have little jokes about 'Ah you chowing your phutu and this person eating their curry' but I mean it's always a joke" (Musa, black male, Grade 12, Buxton High School).

> "No, everyone is really happy with each other. We all do make fun of each other, but in a joking way, nothing serious. Like we joke about you and we laugh it off. Just playing around" (John, coloured male, Grade 10, Spring Vale High School).

Similarly, many of the educators also pick up on the issue of humour and, in agreement with some of the learners, feel that racial/cultural joke-telling is well-meaning and not intended to be offensive:

> "I don't know if the kids have told you, but I joke with the kids all the time and they joke with me. The kids generally, they know that there are no racist comments. It's just like, it's just jokes. It's like, they'll say something about white people; 'Did you have your Sunday lunch?' or whatever and I'll be like 'Did you kill your sheep this weekend?'" (Mr. Smith, LO educator, Spring Vale High School).

> "But attitudes have changed enormously and the kids joke among each other about race issues and they laugh at the 'curry-munchers' and there's a lot of good humour and nice things about the race differences. It's not always controversial and ugly. There are still lots of gaps because we are different, there's no doubt about it and it doesn't mean that one side is better than the other, but you know, the frame of reference, the cultural differences, the way people live, that's different…And who is right and who is wrong? It's just what you are used to. It is important that we understand and accept these differences" (Mrs. Winston, former LO educator and school counsellor, Spring Vale High School).

Although undertaken in jest, it is interesting to note the use of crude racial/cultural stereotypes in this form of banter. There are two potential problems with this that allow one to question the true innocence of such humour. Firstly, as argued throughout this thesis, the prevalence of multiculturalism in how schools (and indeed the state) approach diversity is problematic in that differences are reified and not critically interrogated. Thus, in this context, where there is little opportunity to reflect on cultural stereotypes and recognise their socially constructed nature, these jokes have the potential to perpetuate inaccurate and harmful notions of self and other and reinforce paternalistic attitudes. The second issue to consider when examining the function of humour in bridging (or cementing) social divides is the wider social context. As argued in previous chapters, South Africa is a fragmented society that remains profoundly affected by its oppressive history. As a consequence of the apartheid past, race, power and inequalities are intimately connected and affect society in various ways. Thus these jokes are not only about superficial differences (as Mrs. Winston suggests) and the context in which this humour is engaged in matters, especially since, as the quotations below demonstrate, some learners feel marginalised and offended by cultural and racial joking:

> "Sometimes they like, if it's like white people discriminating against black people, sometimes it's something like a joke which just passes by and sometimes they are serious, like talking about they're living in shacks and everything like that. Sometimes some people do get hurt. Some don't take it seriously" (Ntombi, black female, Grade 9, Buxton High School).

> "Yes there's lots [racism at school]. Ja, like some teachers like make racist jokes, you know, like I remember this teacher when my sister was here. She came home like angry and pissed off because this teacher was like um…it was her and another white girl and the teacher asked, 'How is your house planned at the bottom, is it a circle or a square?' And then this girl was like, 'A circle…a big circle, I don't know, a circle?' And then he asked my sister, 'How is your house planned?' 'A circle'. And then the teacher was like, 'I'm disappointed in you', saying this to the white girl, and the white girl is like 'Why Sir?' 'No because usually black people live in huts and their houses would be circles and white people are usually squares'. Ja, he thought just because she is white she would say a square because you live in square houses and we live in little huts. Just little racist comments…. It was a joke but why are jokes always insensitive towards black people? Like we don't mind a few jokes if you want to joke about races. Ok joke about races, but don't always be offensive, you know what I mean?" (Sibongile, black female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

Thus whether these jokes are insensitive intentionally or not, some learners are taking offence and getting hurt. What is also interesting is that a perception among some of the black learners exists that it is black people who always end up being the butt of the joke. This once again supports the argument that joking is never free of the wider societal context and thus jokes are always contextualised within relations of power. When people feel (and are) disempowered and disadvantaged relative to others (whether this be economically or culturally), then joke-telling at their expense is not completely innocent and instead can reinforce ill-feeling and undermine the potential of schools to foster cohesion.

Another important, and related issue, concerns the elusiveness of racism in this type of banter. Indeed, when speaking to the learners about racism at school, it became clear that some find it difficult to identify and be sure of potential racism:

> "Not to say it's present [racism at school], but maybe somewhere around it might be. I wouldn't say it's really like sticking out like a sore thumb…you don't really see it out. But it is there, it's not out but it's somewhere. It's floating around" (John, coloured male, Grade 10, Spring Vale High School).

> "I wouldn't say that there is a lot of racism that I have seen, but… I doubt there's racism. Or like I wouldn't say… maybe there is racism but not at such a high level that you have to address it." (Khanyi, black female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

This elusiveness leaves interpretations of racism open. This issue most commonly arises when learners speak about the use of humour. Whilst some learners relay stories of how educators or their peers make racial or cultural jokes, it appears that often the intentions and motivations underpinning such joke-telling are ambiguous. What is interesting is that the element of uncertainty can lead some individuals to question whether their educator or

fellow learner was in fact being racist, or whether they are being oversensitive; was it just a joke?

> "There are some cases of that [racism at school]. Definitely. It's done in jest though, some of the time. Like you know when it's done in jest but then there's just you've just taken a step too far and it's becoming sort of like… underlying racism, but I wouldn't say flat out 'Oh my goodness, you're so racist, kind of thing, at all'" (Samantha, white female, Grade 11, Buxton High School).

As argued in Chapter Two, Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011) point out that traditional theories of racism, and contemporary theories of 'modern racism', do not adequately assist in understanding the context of race in post-apartheid South Africa. Under these circumstances, charges of overt racism have become more obtuse, as racism is no longer as overt or explicit as it was during the apartheid period, "More often, it is implicit, as we come away from situations with a sense of unease, fear or suspicion, wondering whether our actions or treatment by others was influenced by race" (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011, p.24). In this respect, the authors highlight that fact that some black people find it hard to tell whether they are being spoken to or treated in a certain way because of their race. This leads to a predicament where individuals may feel that they are being prejudiced against, but because they do not want to appear over sensitive, or race obsessed, they might let the situation pass. This can negatively affect one's sense of self, in that one may regret not standing up to perceived discrimination. However, to act against discrimination can be equally distressing as this may result in conflict or being labelled oversensitive (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011).

Durrheim, Mtose and Brown's (2011) concept of 'race trouble' is also useful to shed some light on the nature of racism and the crisis of interpretation. As discussed in Chapter Three, the concept of race trouble is empirical grounded and takes seriously the everyday contexts in which notions of race and racial identities are reproduced. Instead of interpreting a situation with a predetermined notion of what racism is, the authors argue that each situation must be analysed from the perspectives of the individuals involved. As people participate in social life, in contexts structured by notions of race, they are "constituted as racial subjects in more complex and nuanced ways than can be captured by labels such as 'racist'" (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011, p.2). Indeed it is quite possible, as Sibongile's experience suggests, that some educators' jokes are underpinned by a more covert, 'hidden' or "coded" form of racism (Ansell, 2004, p.14). However, in other instances, it is more difficult to identify the true nature of such banter. Given that South African society is so racialised, race acts as a frame of reference to interpret

situations that is always close to hand. This is not only an exhausting way in which to interact with the world, but the problem with these new, more elusive manifestations of racism is that because they are so difficult to be sure of and identify, they are equally difficult to address.

7.5 Conclusion

In many ways, the findings presented in this chapter mirror existing trends in related literatures. Like other studies that explore integration in post-apartheid schools, this research reveals that learners tend to segregate themselves along racial lines, and unless they are required to interact directly with one another (for example, in group work), this type of contact is avoided. There are different arguments that learners provide to explain their behaviour. Firstly, some point out that this is simply the way that life is; it is 'normal' or 'natural' for people to gravitate towards those who they perceive that they are similar to. The school principals and some of the educators share similar views. Although learners cite different factors that influence how they perceive sameness and difference (for example, culture, language and religion are significant), because these features are closely linked to race, particularly in the South African context, segregation manifests along racial lines of difference.

This chapter, however, seeks to critically analyse these interactions and their associated justifications. The fact that broader society remains racialised, and that apartheid-based socio-spatial divisions are still significant, undoubtedly affects what learners come to accept as 'normal'. Given the relational nature of school spaces, these social norms, attitudes and behaviour are thus, in many instances, uncritically reproduced. This type of contact is not sufficient to bridge social divides and indeed it is more akin to leading "parallel lives" (Valentine, 2008, p.326). Although learners may display a friendly tolerance towards one another and incidents of overt racism are scare, by not making meaningful connections, it is unlikely that a deeper respect for difference will developed. This in turn limits the possibilities of diverse schools in encouraging meaningful interactions that can have further beneficial outcomes in neighbourhoods, communities and ultimately the nation. That said, within this chapter and in the previous chapter, a number of examples are provided which show learners crossing social boundaries and challenging their identities and societal norms. In these examples, individuals appear to be taking the initiative to participate in different sports and to make friends with diverse others. The fact that the two case study schools offer a variety of extra-mural activities, and that in many

ways they both attempt to nurture an open, inclusive and democratic environment within their institutions, makes these connections more likely. However, as argued previously, conducive spaces do not guarantee social cohesion and it is worthwhile questioning what schools could do to improve integration and realise their potential optimally.

In this respect, more emphasis on expanding language policy within schools would go some way in helping learners understand one another and cohere. Addressing race is equally as important, particularly within the South African context. As suggested in the previous chapter, the fact that the two schools do not have any form of 'anti-racist' programme in place is concerning. The findings presented in this chapter further point to the necessity that principals and educators do not overlook, deny or turn a blind eye to the many ways in which race continues to influence how learners define themselves and others and how they negotiate difference. The fact that overt racism is scare within schools is encouraging but it should not lead principals, educators or learners to believe that race is insignificant or that discrimination is not taking place. Indeed, drawing on the concept of 'race trouble', this chapter reveals a number of new manifestations of racism that are less overt and instead adopt more covert or coded forms. The chapter reveals how, because of the elusiveness and contingency of race constructs, it is increasing difficult to identify and be sure of racism, and instead all South Africans experience various 'troubles' when attempting to make sense of their everyday interactions with diverse others. Evidence of this 'crisis of interpretation' emerges when the learners discuss the use of humour, for example. Whilst some argue that racial and cultural banter helps break down social barriers, others disagree and argue that such humour is underpinned by racist attitudes. The concept of 'race trouble' further helps one appreciate the importance of the broader South Africa context (which is highly racialised), as well as the importance of individual encounters within school contexts and other spaces of experience, in shaping how notions of race and racial identities are reproduced and challenged. Hence it is important that school principals and educators firstly challenge their own understanding and acknowledgement of how race functions to police identities and inhibit contact, and secondly, that they provide learners with opportunities to think critically about these issues too. Without this critical reflection and introspection, it is unlikely that learners will come to appreciate their commonalities, thus strengthening social cohesion. The following chapter explores the role of the formal curriculum, and in particular the Life Orientation (LO) Learning Area, in teaching learners about difference in ways that it is hoped will foster understanding and respect, and ultimately contribute to national cohesion.

Chapter Eight

Teaching and learning for 'unity in diversity' through Life Orientation

8.1 Introduction

Desegregating and democratising schools has been an ongoing priority of the successive African National Congress (ANC) governments. As a consequence of the country's history, vast inequalities and social divisions continue to plague society and, as argued throughout this thesis, education and schools have a crucial function in nation-building efforts, by helping address imbalances and by encouraging young people to work together to build a democratic, non-racial and united nation. As the previous two chapters indicate, however, there is still some way to go to ensure that schools are democratic and inclusive spaces, imbued with the Constitutional values, where diverse learners are encouraged to forge meaningful connections. Although the two case study schools have made some progress in meeting national imperatives, race remains a contentious issue that manifests in different ways to shape learners' attitudes, identities and experiences. Furthermore, adopting a relational understanding allows one to appreciate how spaces outside of school boundaries influence what happens inside of schools. In this way racial attitudes and prejudice, which continue to circulate in homes, communities and broader society, influence the ways in which learners think about difference and interact with diverse others within school spaces. Of course what happens inside school spaces has the potential to either reproduce or challenge these deep-rooted ways of knowing and behaving, which in turn has ramifications for life outside of schools.

Indeed it is the positive potential of schools to nurture democratic and unified citizens that the post-apartheid governments continue to promote. In this context, schools are positioned as vehicles of change and the curriculum is seen to be instrumental to this. This chapter explores the curriculum, and specifically the Life Orientation (LO) Learning Area, which contains a citizenship education focus area. In line with the governments' multi-faceted approach to nation-building, in LO learners are to be taught about their democracy, their Constitutional rights and responsibilities and the value of appreciating diversity in the country, all of which aims to contribute towards strengthening South Africa's democracy and building a united nation. Given the challenges identified in the previous chapters, namely the pervasiveness of race, the burden of the past, the negative perceptions of the state and feelings of exclusion from citizenship, as well as the limited

meaningful contact taking place both inside and outside of schools, it is imperative to consider and assess the role of the formal curriculum in addressing these issues and its effect on national unity. Considering the perspectives of learners is even more important. Firstly because, as mentioned in Chapter One, fewer studies focus on engaging with learners and thus their perspectives are marginalised in related literature. Secondly, learners' views provide crucial insight to better understand what is working and what is not with regard to LO and its role in fostering 'unity in diversity' through citizenship education.

The chapter begins by briefly introducing the post-apartheid curriculum, which is based on an Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) model. Over the years, the pedagogical soundness and implementation of the curriculum has faced substantial problems and criticism. This discussion explores this criticism and examines the governments' attempts to subsequently revise the curriculum. The chapter then turns to introduce LO and its citizenship education focus area. The final sections discuss LO critically in terms of its effectiveness in promoting understanding, respect and solidarity across difference. This discussion draws on relevant education policy literature and the perspectives of the LO educators and learners who participated in this study.

8.2 The post-apartheid OBE curriculum

As discussed in Chapter Two, in the early 1990s, the political landscape in South Africa began to change dramatically. The end of apartheid appeared inevitable and all across the country different groups and organisations began planning what life should be like in the 'new' South Africa (Jansen, 2001a; 2001b). Education was no exception. In fact, this was one sphere of society that needed a drastic overhaul to ensure that it would be able to address the apartheid legacy. In was within this context that a number of different stakeholders, including the apartheid state, the private sector, as well as the liberation and labour movements, began conceptualising and planning for education in the post-apartheid period (Jansen, 2001a; 2001b).

Crucially it was during this time that the trade unions, through the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), stamped their dominance on proceedings and pushed for an OBE model to be adopted in South Africa (Jansen, 1999a). Borrowed primarily from Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America, an OBE approach was radically different from the apartheid education system. Whereas the apartheid system focused on

content, positioned the educator as the authority and discouraged critical questioning, an OBE approach emphasises experiential and applied knowledge, positions the educator as a facilitator to learning and encourages critical thinking and learner participation (Cross, Mungadi and Rouhani, 2002). The labour movement pushed for this approach as it was believed that it was the best option to integrate education and training and thereby secure workers' mobility in society. Furthermore, it was presented as the most feasible solution to address the needs of the economy and produce workers more aligned to changing local and global markets (Cross, Mungadi and Rouhani, 2002). Due to a range of political circumstances, including weak leadership in the Department of Education (DoE) at the time, OBE was eventually accepted as the new model for education. In 1997, the then Minister of Education introduced the new curriculum, termed 'Curriculum 2005' or C2005, into Grade 1 classrooms across the country (Cross, Mungadi and Rouhani, 2002). Proponents of OBE praised C2005 and political leaders noted its importance in nation-building endeavours. Not only would the transformed education system help develop the country and address widespread poverty, but the new curriculum was positioned as an important means through which democracy and citizenship could be fostered and cohesion around a new national identity could be promoted (DoE, 2002a).

The implementation of the new curriculum proved problematic, however, and critics from diverse spheres in society began speaking out against the philosophical and pedagogical soundness of the new model. Regarding the philosophical dilemmas of OBE, critics have highlighted a number of issues, including the applicability of an essentially western model to the South African context (Jansen, 1998; 1999b; Harley et al., 2000; Cross, Mungadi and Rouhani, 2002), the lack of research that supports the key premise of the OBE curriculum, namely that changes made to the curriculum to better align it with economic imperatives will produce a skilled labour force able to boost economic growth and development (Jansen, 1998; 1999a), and that stating particular outcomes at the beginning of the learning process represents an instrumentalist view of education, which positions learning as a means to an end, rather than valuing the learning process as important in itself (Jansen, 1998; 1999b).

In terms of pedagogical issues, critics have raised concerns over the lack of clearly defined content. In the present system, educators are provided with a broad outline of what to teach and they are given the creative responsibility to determine the substantive content (Harley et al., 2000). Given that a strong emphasis is placed on the experiential and indigenous knowledge of learners, the content taught is very much contingent on the

experiences and skills of the class and the educator, as well as the resources available in schools (Jansen, 1998; Cross, Mungadi and Rouhani, 2002). Jansen (1998; 1999b) also takes issue with the way in which OBE and C2005 have been heralded as able to resolve entrenched pedagogical problems emanating from the past; one example being problems associated with authoritarian versus participatory teaching methods. In this respect, many educators have struggled to adjust to the paradigm shift required of them to now become 'facilitators' of learning, rather than merely providing learners with knowledge, as under the apartheid system (see for example Harley et al., 2000; Nakabugo and Siebörger, 2001).

Beside the philosophical and pedagogical criticisms against OBE, critics have also drawn attention to the political context in which it was selected as an appropriate model for South Africa. These criticisms relate to the pressure that the new DoE was under in the mid-1990s to demonstrate that significant transformation was underway. Essentially critics have argued that the 'politics of change' was more important to the state than the quality of education policy, and thus the new curriculum has more symbolic significance politically than pedagogical soundness (Jansen, 1998; Cross, Mungadi and Rouhani, 2002). Linked to this is the criticism that educators, parents and learners had limited participation in the process of devising C2005 and instead the curriculum was designed primarily by a small, largely white, elite. The consequences of this are that many educators do not sufficiently understand the model or C2005, which in turn has negatively affected the implementation of the new curriculum (Jansen, 1998; 1999b).

Further implementation problems stem from the complex and inaccessible terminology associated with OBE and the curriculum. Here critics have argued that the new terminology is vague, obtuse and open to multiple interpretations (Jansen, 1998; 1999b; Cross, Mungadi and Rouhani, 2002). Problems implementing the new curriculum have been further exacerbated by a lack of financial and human resources. Poor planning has resulted in problems with the distribution of teaching materials, such as textbooks, and critics have asserted that educators have not received enough support and training to implement the new curriculum effectively (Jansen, 1998; 1999b; Harley et al., 2000). In this respect, OBE is accused of reproducing apartheid based inequalities, as essentially it works far better in wealthier, previously 'white only' schools that continue to cater largely for the white minority (as well as a growing mixed race middle class) (Cross, Mungadi and Rouhani, 2002). In addition, there have also been criticisms relating to assessment. C2005 advocates continuous assessment and has introduced a much wider range of assessment methods that educators are required to use. Not only are many educators inexperienced and

lacking confidence in applying these new methods, but they also take far more time to undertake than previous modes of assessment, which relied primarily on written examinations (Nakabugo and Siebörger, 2001). More time spent on assessing learners has resulted in already overburdened educators complaining that they now have less time to teach (Jansen, 1998; 1999b).

Partly due to these criticisms and implementation problems, the government initiated a review of the curriculum in 2000. That same year, the DoE simultaneously undertook a 'Values in Education'[58] initiative, the product of which would feature in the anticipated curriculum reforms. The purpose of the initiative was to identify a set of values that should be promoted in schools across the country. The established 'Working Group on Values in Education' subsequently produced a report, entitled 'Values, Education and Democracy', which identified six core values deemed the most important for citizenship education in South Africa, as well as a series of recommendations concerning how to promote these values in schools (DoE, 2000).

In February 2001, the DoE then held a national Saamtrek: Values, Democracy and Education Conference. The delegates drew from the 'Values, Education and Democracy' report and the results of some related school-based research that the Department had undertaken. The conference aimed to draw all the identified issues together and engage with different stakeholders to generate further debate. From all of the above sources and subsequent discussions, the 'Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy' was finally produced (DoE, 2001b). As highlighted in Chapter Three, the 'Manifesto' expands on the values outlined in the initial working report and puts forward a democratic citizenship education agenda for South Africa that is committed to democracy, social justice and equity, equality, non-racism and non-sexism, ubuntu (human dignity), an open society, accountability (responsibility), the rule of law, respect and reconciliation (DoE, 2001b). In order to realise these values, the 'Manifesto' acknowledges that it is essential that they are practised, debated and internalised by learners. Thus the document also presents a range of implementation strategies to guide those involved in education to actively promote the values in different contexts (DoE, 2001b).

[58] This initiative has subsequently been renamed the 'Race and Values in Education' initiative (Swartz, 2002).

In light of the above, the DoE set about revising the curriculum. In December 2001, the DoE released two Revised National Curriculum Statements (RNCS), one for Grades R-9 and another for Grades 10-12 (DoE, 2002a). It is important to point out that the RNCSs did not constitute a new curriculum. Both the old and the new remained committed to the principles and purposes of C2005, including a commitment to the Constitutional values, and both promote an OBE approach. Instead, the revised documents merely aimed to help streamline the implementation of the original curriculum and important changes were made to simplify the OBE terminology, and to create budgets and plans to improve educator training and the production of learning support materials (DoE, 2002a).

Due to continued problems and criticism regarding the implementation of the curriculum, in 2009, the newly formed Department of Basic Education (DBE) announced their plans to undertake a second curriculum review process. Thus the new Education Minister, Angie Motshekga, appointed a panel of experts to guide the second curriculum review. The panel engaged in an extensive public participation process to elicit the views of a wide range of stakeholders, including educators, unions and the public, whose views then featured in their final recommendations (DBE, 2011c). In 2010, largely in response to the recommendations made by the panel, Angie Motshekga announced that the ANC had decided to "phase out" OBE given its "major flaws" and replace it with a new system that better takes into account the realities of the South African education sector (Masondo, Mahlangu and Mclea, 2010). To this effect, the DBE has subsequently initiated a range of short and medium term interventions, including reverting the term 'Learning Area' back to 'subject'. The most significant medium term intervention developed has been the creation of the new National Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS), which are a set of concise curriculum documents designed to replace the existing RNCS from Grade R-12. The CAPS are being phased in gradually between 2012 and 2014 (DBE, 2011c).

8.3 Life Orientation and citizenship education

LO is a relatively new Learning Area that came into being with the launch of the OBE curriculum. Whereas its predecessors - civics, guidance, Physical Education (PE) and religious education – were each taught separately, LO combines these subjects and attempts to teach them holistically (van Deventer, 2009). Drawing from diverse disciplines, such as psychology, political science and labour studies, LO aims to prepare learners for life in a rapidly changing world. As discussed in Chapter Two, citizenship education also aims to socialise individuals into their local social and political communities (Gumbert,

1987). In LO the focus is on the 'self-in-society', and as such the Learning Area strives to endow learners with the necessary knowledge, values and skills to participate meaningfully in post-apartheid South Africa (DoE, 2002b). Although the focus and Learning Outcomes differ slightly between Grades R-9 and Grades 10-12, the emphasis on education for citizenship is clear. In LO, learners are to be taught about their democracy, their Constitutional rights and responsibilities, and the value of appreciating the different cultures and religions in the country. Thus, in line with the state's approach to nation-building, LO promotes 'civic nationalism', the Constitutional values and 'unity in diversity', in order to strengthen South Africa's democracy and build a united nation.[59] As the Grade R-9 RNCS states:

> "The Life Orientation Learning Area aims to empower learners to use their talents to achieve their full physical, intellectual, personal, emotional and social potential. Learners will develop the skills to relate positively and make a contribution to family, community and society, while practicing the values embedded in the Constitution. They will learn to exercise their constitutional rights and responsibilities, to respect the rights of others and to show tolerance for cultural and religious difference in order to build a democratic society" (DoE, 2002b, p.4).

Indeed, as discussed in Chapter Three, not only do the Constitutional values form the basis of a strong democracy, but they are also positioned as the foundation of the new South African identity, and it is hoped that these values will act as 'glue' to bind the diverse and divided South African nation (DoE, 2001b).

In Grades R-9, the LO Learning Area has five associated Learning Outcomes, of which the 'social development' is the most important to highlight, as this is where issues of transformation, diversity, discrimination, the Constitution and human rights are covered. As the Learning Outcome for social development states:

> "In a transforming and democratic society, personal development needs to be placed in a social context so as to encourage the acceptance of diversity and commitment to democratic values. Discrimination on the basis of race, origin and gender remains a challenge for learners in the post-apartheid era. To address these issues, this Learning Area Statement

[59] As in many post-conflict contexts, the History Learning Area also plays an important role in nation-building. Like LO, History across the different Grades is imbued with the Constitutional values and is committed to teaching learners about their human rights in a bid to encourage them to oppose discrimination, including racism. Unlike LO, however, the History syllabus teaches conflict and peace education directly, as well as the rise and fall of apartheid and the democratic transition (DoE, 2002c; 2003b). Although the History curriculum hints at the value of diversity in South Africa, this is not a core focus as in the LO curriculum. The History curriculum also does not focus specifically on citizenship education. Given that I am interested in the role of education not only in combating racism, but also in fostering understanding and solidarity across difference (and the part that citizenship education plays in this), I selected LO as a more appropriate Learning Area to focus on in this research project.

> deals with human rights as contained in the South African Constitution, social relationships and diverse cultures and religions" (DoE, 2002b, p.5).

To achieve this Learning Outcome, learners are required to "demonstrate an understanding of and commitment to constitutional rights and responsibilities and show an understanding of diverse cultures and religions" (DoE, 2002b, p.37). Thus, for example, in Grade 7 the Assessment Standards state that a learner will need to be able to describe the diverse cultures and religions in South Africa and explain how they enrich society. Similarly, in Grade 8, learners need to be able to explain how a democracy functions and how they would promote nation-building in different contexts (DoE, 2002b). In this focus area, learners are also taught about the meaning of various national symbols, thus one of the Grade 9 Assessment Standards requires learners to report "on participation in or planning of the local celebration of a national day" (DoE, 2002b, p.43).

The Grades 10-12 RNCS differs from the Grades R-9 curriculum in that 'citizenship education' is made an explicit Learning Outcome for the later grades (DoE, 2003a). Like the social development Learning Outcome discussed above, the citizenship education Learning Outcome is also concerned with instilling in learners the importance of appreciating cultural diversity and the Constitutional values. Again, topics such as racism, xenophobia, gender discrimination and human rights are covered, as well as environmental education. The Learning Outcome stresses the importance of political literacy and that learners should know and understand democratic processes. To familiarise themselves with these processes, and to get more involved in civic life, the Learning Outcome suggests that learners become involved in voluntary and community upliftment activities (DoE, 2003a).

Thus in line with the prescribed content for this Learning Outcome, the Grade 10 Assessment Standards state that learners need to be able to "participate in a democratic structure", "explain the value of diversity" and "display an understanding of the major religions, ethical traditions and indigenous belief systems in South Africa, and explore how they contribute to a harmonious society" (DoE, 2003a, p.16). Similarly, in the Grade 12 Assessment Standards, learners are required to explain how they would deal with different forms of discrimination, drawing from the Constitution and the Bill of Rights (DoE, 2003a).

Despite being admirable in its vision, goals and values, implementation of the LO curriculum has proved much harder to achieve in practice. There are a number of problems

that emerge during the teaching and learning process. Drawing on recent literature and the empirical data produced in this study, the ensuing discussion explores some of the challenges that face educators in post-apartheid South Africa, in terms of teaching LO and the citizenship education component. The way in which LO is perceived by educators and learners matters to teaching and learning; therefore, the following section begins by highlighting educators and learners' perceptions of LO. The discussion then turns to explore the ability of LO to effectively deliver its mandate to foster the Constitutional values and build cultural understanding, acceptance and even solidarity.

8.4 Praise for Life Orientation

It became evident in conversation with educators and learners that many enjoy LO and value the subject. These findings support recent research, which suggests that significant numbers of educators and learners appreciate LO and perceive it to be an important, or even essential, Learning Area (Rooth, 2005; Theron, 2008). According to the LO educators who participated in this study, the fact that LO teaches essential life skills and provides guidance and support to learners, is the most significant aspect of the Learning Area deserving praise. Miss Dunston (LO educator, Buxton High School), for example, describes LO educators as the 'lay counsellors' in her school and emphasises that LO creates a safe space for learners to ask questions, deal with problems and gain support that might be otherwise be lacking in their homes. Indeed, teaching life skills and providing pastoral support are related and both objectives are represented in official education policy and in the LO curriculum (Republic of South Africa, 2000b; DoE, 2002b). Similarly, many learners who participated in this study express similar praise, in that they value the skills that they acquire in LO and the opportunity that the lessons provide to talk about important issues that are affecting their lives, as Ntombi explains:

> "Because what I like about it [LO] is that it teaches me stuff about life, especially when it comes to becoming successful. It gives me advice on how to aim your goals… and teaches me things that my family, my parents don't teach me" (Ntombi, black female, Grade 9, Buxton High School).

Providing a pastoral function is vitally important given the nature of South African life. Not only do young people have to contend with physical changes, identity conflicts and peer pressure, but in the South African context, many learners also have to deal with the negative effects of exceptionally high levels of crime and physical and/or sexual violence (Theron and Delzell, 2006). The social and moral breakdown of families and

communities is also a pressing concern. Chipkin and Ngqulunga (2008) draw attention to the fact that the majority of violent and interpersonal crimes in the country, such as murder, assault and sexual abuse, are perpetrated by friends and family members, mostly under the influence of drugs and alcohol. Consequently many children grow up without parents or in abusive homes, where they do not have access to the necessary discipline and emotional support networks to develop into self-confident individuals (Bray et al., 2010). In the two case study schools, many of the participants are also from broken homes, have strained relationships with their parents, have been victims of crime and/or sexual violence, and/or have family members who are struggling with alcohol and drug abuse. In conversation with Mrs Lancaster (LO educator and school counsellor at Buxton High School), she noted that most of the learners in her school come from incomplete family environments, or what she refers to as "reconstituted families".

The data and discussion lead to an interesting debate regarding the role of schools outside of the more traditional educational roles. Clearly in the context of social breakdown, the DoE envisions a role for educators and LO in helping learners cope with everyday challenges. These debates also extend beyond South Africa. For example, Ansell's (2008) study explores the role of schools in Lesotho in substituting social reproduction functions previously within the remit of the family, largely due to the devastating effects of HIV/AIDS. Whereas families were previously primarily tasked with caring for children (by providing both physical and emotional care), reproducing labour and social relations (a capitalist function), as well as reproducing social knowledge, skills and values, schools now take on many of these roles. In relation to the pandemic, Ansell (2008) draws critical attention to education policies in several African countries that now focus on the new roles that schools must play in order to adapt to the changing circumstances resulting from the disease, for example, by providing learners with access to welfare, food and psychological support and advice.

In the South African context, schools are also performing functions not traditionally within their remit, such as feeding learners through the National School Nutrition Programme. Similarly, in the schools that participated in this study, not only are some LO educators providing emotional support and advice to learners, as is indicated above, but Buxton High School also have an 'Angel Trust Fund', whereby individuals donate items such as uniforms, money or food to the school which then distributes the goods to learners who need them (Debbie, white female, Grade 10, Buxton High School). Khanyi describes

a similar situation in her school whereby educators and fellow classmates sometimes help donate money towards school functions on behalf of learners who cannot afford to pay:

> "And if there's any money issue and like maybe you need money, as like the poorer students, at times they tend to donate for you if they want to. 'Cause I mean the class is really caring and they understand if you're in a difficult situation. As in when you had to donate R5 or R10 for the Sportsman Breakfast, this annual breakfast we have, and if you couldn't afford to bring that money, you tell your teacher or you tell the students and then they could give you the money or pay for you. So they understand" (Khanyi, black female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

Thus clearly LO is appreciated and enjoyed by many educators and learners, and it performs important educational, social, emotional and in some cases material functions. It is also clear, once again, how the boundaries between spaces overlap, whereby schools are attempting to deal with the negative effects of poor home and family environments by providing a safe space for learners, as well as guidance and support. In turn, it is hoped that learners will develop into well rounded and productive citizens willing and able to participate in broader civic life. Despite the positive role that LO plays in this regard, many of the participants also criticised the Learning Area and highlighted areas that they feel need improvement. Exploring these criticisms is important because the way in which learners and educators feel about LO will ultimately influence how effectively the subject is able to prepare learners for citizenship and belonging in a diverse democracy.

8.5 The Life Orientation stigma

Due to a range of different factors, there appears to be a perception amongst learners, educators and principals that LO is an inferior, 'soft' subject, which need not receive as much attention as other subjects (Rooth, 2005; van Deventer, 2009). This perception was also levelled at LO's predecessors (civics, guidance, PE and religious education) and it appears that it is continuing to stigmatise the new Learning Area (Rooth, 2005). Problems with educator training, lesson content, assessment and LO time allocations threaten to reproduce and entrench these negative perceptions. This ultimately affects the success of the Learning Area in its entirety, as well as its ability to fulfil its commitment to citizenship education and nation-building.

In many schools, the educators in charge of teaching LO have little or no training in the subject (Rooth, 2005; van Deventer, 2009). In some cases, ex-PE, religious education or guidance educators have taken on the role of LO educators under the new system. Partly due to the perception of LO as being academically inferior, educators are often assigned to

teach the Learning Area without having the necessary skills or motivation (Rooth, 2005). In the two case study schools, some of the educators that teach LO also have limited training. Mrs. Winston and Mrs. Lancaster are the school counsellors at their respective schools, and each note that they have attended a short Departmental training course before beginning to teach LO. Mrs. Lancaster is thus the only qualified LO educator at Buxton High School. Miss Dunston is qualified to teach the Social Sciences and had been asked to take LO alongside her other teaching duties. This is the case with the rest of the LO educators at this school. At Spring Vale High School, Mr. Smith and Mr. Basset both studied Sports Science at college and as part of their degrees they completed a module on LO. They too admitted that they are the only two educators in the school who have any formal, university training in LO.

The lack of skilled educators teaching LO has important consequences. Firstly, despite contrary perceptions, LO is in fact a specialist subject. Substantial knowledge is required to teach PE, citizenship education and personal development, amongst others. Due to the nature of LO, sensitive topics are likely to emerge in lessons and thus educators also need particular skills to best teach their classes, such as reflexive skills, conflict management abilities and empathy. Unskilled educators may also lack confidence to address all the Learning Outcomes and hence may focus on areas in which they are confident or interested in, at the expense of other topics. These problems are further exacerbated by the flexibility that the OBE curriculum provides educators to determine their own content, as discussed earlier. As a result, content is not standardised and educators may only teach selective topics. Van Deventer's (2009) research reveals how few schools have educators who are trained to teach PE and, therefore, it is neglected, with serious implications for the health and development of learners. Similarly, Rooth's (2005) study found that in some schools, because educators are unfamiliar with the content related to citizenship education, this focus area is also side-lined. Other educators explained that they minimise or avoid teaching learners about human rights because they fear this will lead to learners becoming ill-disciplined. Culturally taboo subjects like religion and sexuality are also often purposively avoided (Rooth, 2005).

Another consequence of educators' insecurities and inexperience regarding LO is that it may result in them resorting to using 'safer' but ineffective teaching methods, like relying heavily on textbooks, or lecturing to classes (Rooth, 2005). Mrs. Lancaster describes how some educators are "teaching out of a vacuum of knowledge" and, because of their inexperience, may rely heavily on textbooks to produce lessons. She was careful to

point out that this is not as much of a problem in her school as it is in poorer schools across the country, “The teachers don’t have the background or the education or the resources to develop a curriculum for themselves, so they teach a text book” (Mrs. Lancaster, LO educator and school counsellor, Buxton High School).

Relying on textbooks as a teaching aid is particularly problematic if the quality of the textbooks is inadequate. In this study, Mrs. Lancaster and Mrs. Winston complained about the poor teaching materials available to LO educators. When asked her opinion on the LO textbooks available to schools, Mrs. Winston replied that they are “boring”, “one-sided” and “narrow”. Similarly, Mrs. Lancaster also emphasises the apparent narrowness and applicability of the materials. In this respect, Mrs. Lancaster argues that many of these aides are designed for learners in rural schools and thus the context and scenarios presented in the books are difficult for her suburban learners to relate to. Rooth’s (2005) study also picks up on the fact that many educators are unhappy with the quality of the textbooks, and similarly call into question the applicability of the material to different contexts (particularly rural versus urban contexts). Rooth (2005) also draws attention to the many schools that do not even receive textbooks in the country, and thus are teaching without any learning materials whatsoever.

Another consequence of assigning poorly trained LO educators to teach the Learning Area is that some of these educators may become resentful of this and see it as an additional burden being placed upon them. They may find it difficult to take ownership of the lessons and thus will be unmotivated to dedicate themselves to teaching the curriculum (Rooth, 2005). Van Deventer (2009) points out that these negative feelings may be picked up by learners. If learners sense that unqualified and unenthusiastic educators are teaching LO, they may question the value and importance of the Learning Area. In this study, the learners are indeed aware of, and thus reproduce, the negative perceptions surrounding LO, as Mrs. Winston points out, “And a lot of them [educators] are not properly trained and they’re really not particularly motivated. And that comes through, the kids pick that up straight away” (Mrs. Winston, former LO educator and school counsellor, Spring Vale High School).

It is interesting to note that in some cases, the views and values of the wider community may also impinge on what topics LO educators feel comfortable discussing in class. For example, Mrs. Lancaster explains that she has to be very careful when teaching her learners sex education. She notes that the community is very religious (mostly

Christian) and conservative, and that in the past parents had complained when sex education was taught to children younger than the Grade 10 level. Parents argued that these lessons destroy their children's innocence. Mrs. Lancaster disagrees with this view and thus tries to circumvent their complaints as best as she can to still answer learners' sex-related questions. Similarly, Rooth (2005) found that in some cases, educators feel that it is not their place to teach learners about sex, and some fear harm or abuse from parents if they cover these topics. In the context of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in the country, a lack of relevant sexual education can have dire consequences. Rooth (2005) also found that teaching gender equality is sometimes neglected for fear that girls may then begin to disrespect men in their communities, some of which remain extremely patriarchal. This too is problematic given the high levels of gender inequality in the country. This issue links back to the debates presented in Chapter Three regarding the problem of encouraging values education in contexts where broader community values challenge or contradict the values being promoted in schools. This issue also points to the importance of viewing schools spaces as porous and embedded within wider contexts, whereby effective teaching and learning does not take place in isolation and instead wider societal relations and values both shape, and are shaped by, what happens inside classrooms and schools.

In terms of assessing the actual content, many educators have also been experiencing problems. Given that LO's predecessors were not assessed, many educators have little experience in assessing the type of content taught in LO (van Deventer, 2009). Some educators also struggle to understand the DoE's assessment requirements, which focus on different methods from the typical test and examination forms with which educators are familiar (Rooth, 2005).

Finally, in line with LO's low status, it receives considerably less teaching time than many of the other subjects. According to the RNCSs, LO is to be allocated only 8% of teaching time. Already in comparison with other subjects, such as Mathematics and Languages, which are allocated 18% and 25% respectively, LO is marginalised (DoE, 2002a). However, research suggests that in many schools, LO is not even being taught for the allocated time. Rooth's (2005) study reveals that in some schools, LO takes place on Friday afternoons or during lunch hour periods, when children are tired and restless. This also supports the view that LO amounts to 'free' periods. In busy periods, or because of educators' prejudices against the subject, LO is usually also the first lesson to be sidelined for 'more important' subjects (Rooth, 2005). This has consequences for entrenching the LO stigma and further compromising the ability of LO to be taught effectively.

Lack of attention to LO in schools is resulting in negative consequences for the effectiveness of both teaching and learning. In this study, many of the learners pick up on the inferior status of LO, and this has implications for how seriously they take the subject. Many learners feel that LO is a "waste of time" (Grade 10 LO class discussion). In justifying their views, the learners tended to highlight what they believe are problems with the content being taught in LO, but many also mention the way in which the Learning Area is assessed. The learners are fully aware that their grade for LO does not have the same weighting as the grades for their other subjects, which means that many do not feel pressured to give LO their full attention.

With regard to the content of LO, many learners express the opinion that the curriculum is simplistic, lacks detail or simply consists of learning facts, "It's just a learning thing and that's it…it ends there. It's just about learning facts" (Mandla, black male, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School). Other learners describe the content as boring and monotonous, or amounting to general knowledge:

> "I wouldn't say it's general knowledge, but you should know most of it already, you know you should…ok well hopefully you shouldn't know how to put a condom on (laughs), but um…on TV nowadays, you learn lots of stuff about religions and abuse and all of it. So we understand at younger ages (Anne, white female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

> "I enjoy LO, I find most of the time I do learn something. But then, it's… like it can be sometimes, it's more, it can be more like a general knowledge based kind of thing and I mean yes there are like things that we find are very ridiculous in terms of learning about the media, that's one example. Like the teacher will ask you 'What do you think the role of the media is?' and you'll give them a simple answer, like 'Yes they are there to obviously broadcast and do this and do that and whatever' and then it's right and you like 'Ok is that it?' and they'll be like 'Ja'" (Musa, black male, Grade 12, Buxton High School).

Preben agrees with this view and adds that perhaps the topics covered in LO should shift to areas that he perceives to be more relevant to the lives of teenagers today:

> "I don't think it's a waste of time. I think teaching someone life skills is always a good way to go. Life Orientation could look to be a little more interesting. Like they teach us basic stuff that we already know. They need to go into more depth in certain subjects… Ok there's certain topics that I don't actually think we need to focus on, like human rights. Ok fair enough, you need to know about it, but not in depth about it, 'cause it's like basic knowledge. Everybody knows their basic rights. But I think like issues like drugs and smoking we need to really focus on because that's a main aspect that really affects us in the future. And even like sex and teenage pregnancy, that's also a thing you need to focus on" (Preben, Indian male, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

In drawing on learners' responses, Theron (2008) also raises this particular issue and argues that more needs to be done to ensure that the content taught in LO is contextually relevant. After analysing learners' perceptions, Theron (2008) also found a mismatch between the content being taught and learners' priorities, and thus the author argues that learners themselves should be consulted when determining LO content in order to ensure that it is meaningful and useful to their particular needs (including their gendered and cultural needs).

Finally, in terms of content, learners in this research also complain that many of the topics are covered in every grade and that this gets boring and tiring:

> "And sometimes the issues that they bring up are just so like typical of an LO subject, like they've been bringing them up since Grade 6, like you know puberty and girl-boy relationships and how you do this and how you do this and it gets a bit boring after six, five years of it. You just like 'Ag we've spoken about this last year" (Samantha, white female, Grade 11, Buxton High School).

It is clear that attitudes like this towards the subject detract from its ability to contribute constructively positively to nation-building. Many learners are not responding positively to the content and find it uninspiring. Not only does this mean LO is failing to reach out to many learners, but this also contributes to the stigma of LO as an "easy" subject or "a bit of a joke". Some learners added that the way in which LO is assessed also fuels certain perceptions about the Learning Area, and thus affects how seriously learners take it:

> "They [the students] like LO, but like they, the subject, they just think it's easy. It's an A subject, where you get 80s, 90s and stuff. But, I mean, most of us take what we learn in LO into consideration but some people don't. But you can't force them to so... But I think LO is like, they wouldn't take it as seriously as they would take subjects like Biology. Whereas in Bio, they'd put a lot of effort there cause I mean it's a subject you really, really need if you wanna like go into the medical field and stuff" (Khanyi, black female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

> "It is [LO] a bit of a joke. Because its like to us, we…in my group of friends at least … um…we want to get really high marks so that we can get the points to study what we want to study at Varsity [60]… and LO doesn't offer points, all you need to do is pass it. So already people go into class just going 'I just need my 33% and then I'm sorted'" (Samantha, white female, Grade 11, Buxton High School).

[60] 'Varsity' is a colloquial term used in South Africa to refer to university.

Similarly, Gerald describes his experience of writing LO examinations. Given the nature of the subject, many of the answers provided to questions are subjective and opinion-based. It is therefore difficult to do poorly in an examination. This, again, fuels the perception that LO is an easy, unimportant subject that can be passed with minimal effort, "And even in the exams, you don't have to like basically spit out all the stuff you've learnt, you can put your own opinion as long as you back it up. So I don't think anyone pays attention anyway" (Gerald, white male, Grade 12, Buxton High School).

The way in which many learners perceive LO can also lead to bad behaviour in class. It appears that whilst there may be some positives to allowing learners time to relax, have fun and talk about issues in their lives, some learners use these lessons to merely socialise. In some cases, educators may struggle to control the class:

> "The classes that I've been in they haven't really been able to control the class. So I mean, we haven't been…like they'll still teach, but no-one really listens" (Gerald, white male, Grade 12, Buxton High School).

> "LO they don't take seriously. LO, people are like 'LO is mxit[61] time, LO is internet, LO is facebook. LO, no one takes LO seriously. Unless, you know, you do and then the people go 'Ah you so keen beans'" (Sibongile, black female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

In Rooth's (2005) study, many educators also complain about the bad behaviour of learners. Although discipline is a key issue in many schools, and learners might be unruly in all of their lessons, there does seem to be evidence to suggest that learners are more likely to be disruptive in LO lessons because of the continuing perception that the subject is unimportant or a 'free' period.

Hence despite policy-makers' intentions, and the admirable goals LO is positioned to achieve, there are a number of problematic issues that confront the Learning Area and impinge on its ability to successfully deliver its curriculum. The LO 'stigma' not only negatively affects LO in its role in teaching essential life skills and providing learners with much needed personal and emotional support, but it also has implications for the effective teaching and learning of citizenship education. If these problems are not acknowledged and addressed by the current DBE, it is unlikely that the Learning Area will be able to fulfil its function in nation-building, both in terms of teaching political literacy, but also in terms of fostering social cohesion. Given the importance of this latter goal to this research project, the following section explores the role of LO in promoting cultural and religious

[61] Mxit is a mobile telephone social networking service.

understanding more specifically, in order to draw attention to a number of additional areas where this aspect of citizenship education could be further improved.

8.6 Life Orientation and promoting 'unity in diversity'

The underlying assumption of the LO curriculum regarding teaching diversity is that imparting knowledge or facts about the different cultures and religions in the country will lead to increased understanding and reduced prejudice. It is then assumed that this will help learners accept one another, which, it is hoped, will ultimately boost cohesion in the country. The LO curriculum is underpinned by a multicultural approach, which, as discussed in Chapter Three, promotes a respect for difference. In line with this approach (and in conjunction with internalising the Constitutional values), different cultures and religions are to be embraced for their uniqueness and accepted as equal. There are, however, a number of problems with this approach and some of the assumptions that the LO curriculum makes. There are also a number of opportunities and challenges facing LO in promoting 'unity in diversity'.

In conversation with educators and learners, this study found that some participants feel that LO is successfully building understanding and acceptance across difference, whilst others are more critical. In the post-apartheid context, Mr. Basset and Mr. Smith stress the significant role that LO plays in this regard. According to Mr. Basset, LO can help bridge cultural and racial divides:

> "Another thing with LO, you deal with the different race groups, different beliefs, religions and I mean when you discussing things like that in class, some of the learners sit and they didn't know what's going on. They didn't know like some of the belief systems and it actually gets them interested" (Mr. Basset, LO educator, Spring Vale High School).

Similarly, Mr. Smith notes that teaching learners to think critically about the diversity of religions in South Africa can be beneficial:

> "And you know it's hard because they only know sort of Christianity. So when you teach them about Buddhism, they're like 'That's rubbish' and I'm like 'Ja, but there's 14 million people that believe that it's the only religion and that yours is rubbish' and all of a sudden they start to think about different things" (Mr. Smith, LO educator, Spring Vale High School).

Many learners also appear positive about the role that LO is playing in increasing understanding, acceptance and respect. Jayshree, for example, describes how her class has

been learning about the Zulu practice of cattle slaughtering. Through learning about why this cultural group slaughter cattle, Jayshree was able to understand the practice and accept it with greater ease, "We think that it's really bad and stuff but when you actually learn about it then you begin to accept them and understand it better… It teaches you to accept others and it teaches you to accept yourself in a way" (Jayshree, Indian female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School). Phumlani and Preben also provide examples of how LO helps learners understand and accept those who are culturally different to themselves. Phumlani argues that LO can help ease potential tensions between different groups:

> "It has helped. And especially if the learners are going to be inquisitive about what they are learning and ask more questions than are provided in the text. And it does sort of give you a simplistic and general overview of that person's culture, which in turn makes you more understanding of the different traits that people have. I believe it just allows for the smooth running of the school and it lessens, if there is tension between learners, because now you can almost relate to the person and understand where they come from" (Phumlani, black male, Grade 10, Spring Vale High School).

Preben points out how the content taught in LO can also help reduce 'the fear of the other', "It's very useful 'cause like people fear what they don't understand and they like don't accept…so by understanding what other people do and practice, it kind of helps you" (Preben, Indian male, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

Thus, clearly there are some learners in the school who feel that they and their peers have benefited from learning about social diversity. The content appears to be helping raise awareness of diversity in the country, but, according to the majority of the learners, there is much room for improvement. In fact, in some cases, the content taught in LO may be entrenching cultural tensions and prejudices. Teaching facts about different cultures and religions should be approached sensitively to avoid causing anger and/or harm. In conversation with the learners, some participants speak about being teased or mocked because of their cultural beliefs and practices, as Bandile's response indicates. Bandile is a Zulu and as part of her culture she has noticeable scars on her cheeks. She explained that her family made these scars on her face so that her ancestors would be able to recognise her. She described how her class was learning about Zulu culture in LO and her scars came up in the conversation:

> "But the thing is I've noticed that a lot of people are very judgmental…I don't like it. You feel like they are trying to oppress you in some kind of way. They will laugh. If they are talking about it I'll feel kinda, like I don't know, but I won't feel right. It's like maybe they are trying to laugh at me or something like that" (Bandile, black female, Grade 11, Buxton High School).

Andile relates a similar experience. He obtained special permission to wear a traditional Zulu bracelet to school, which is made out of cow hide. This is part of his culture and it was brought up one day in an LO lesson:

> "I think the first time, I think it was last year, no this year, when I came with my Zulu bracelet, everyone was like 'Weird' and calling me a 'Monster'. Some people aren't educated in South Africa about cultures. In my church, in my community, I've been telling them, educating them, about what this thing is for… I educate my friends about these types of things. But people think it is wrong…to kill animals" (Andile, black male, Grade 9, Spring Vale High School).

Interestingly though, in response to these sorts of negative experiences, Debbie explains that learners may laugh about different cultures, but that this is because they are "shocked" and "amazed" by the different practices. For Debbie, the laughter does not amount to offensive teasing:

> "And…um… I think sometimes it helps [build cultural understanding], but other times it doesn't. Like when we talk about religion, some people do get sensitive to the topic and they do get offended by others laughing, 'cause they think they are mocking their culture, but in the meantime they are just amazed. Others are just like shocked, they are not used to hearing things like that" (Debbie, white female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

Whether learners are laughing in a malicious way or not is debatable, however, it is concerning that some learners feel that they are being teased during these classes. Educators have a responsibility to ensure that they teach their lessons in a respectful and sensitive way, and that they encourage their learners to be accepting and open-minded about different ideas. Indeed many learners highlight the role that the 'mentality' of the learners themselves plays in the effective assimilation of the lessons taught in LO. According to learners such as Sibongile and Khanyi, some of their peers are just not willing to learn about others, they are not 'open-minded' enough, or they are simply not interested in the lives of other people. As Khanyi points out:

> "It does help [build cultural understanding] but some people wouldn't like listen that much in LO lessons, so they wouldn't care about the other races, the other cultures and that. 'Cause at times you have to believe in your culture, but be open minded about the other cultures. But I don't think LO actually gets you to do that, at times… it depends on the type of person you are, if you can accept the other cultures and races. And LO tries to get you to do that but at times it doesn't for some people" (Khanyi, black female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

Sibongile associates this bad behaviour and narrow mentality with the learners in her school that are in the lower performing classes:

> "You know, LO classes differ, because I don't mean to like look down on people who are not so like bright, but I noticed when I get sent around to go and deliver stuff. I go to the A class and everyone is like really into it… B class everyone was in to it too. C class some are in, it's like 50/50, some are talking. The D class are like 'Whatever!', it's just a 'I don't care' kind of thing. 'Cause when we were learning about Indians; 'Indians do this', 'I don't give a **** [expletive deleted]'. It's about the mentality of the people" (Sibongile, black female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

These responses lead one to question what the best way is to simultaneously teach learners about difference, but without reifying these differences or marginalising certain individuals. Similarly, it is also important, especially within the South African context, that commonalities between people are highlighted, as this will improve the chances of diverse learners embracing solidarity. As mentioned above, this requires a high level of teaching skills, as well as the creation of safe environments where learners feel respected and are able to share their experiences without the fear of being ridiculed. Given that many LO educators at both schools do not have specific LO training it is questionable whether these educators have the adequate skills and/or confidence to deal with sensitive or confrontational issues that may arise in class when discussing difference. Although this study did not interview many LO educators, those that did participate in the study describe some of the ways in which they approach teaching learners about difference.

In this respect, some educators speak of teaching and promoting the Constitutional values, and also of using various teaching materials to promote a common national identity. Promoting and instilling the Constitutional values, such as equality, tolerance and the value of diversity, is important in encouraging learners to respect one another and refrain from discriminating on the grounds of race, culture, religion, gender, sexuality and so forth. In both of the case study schools, educators use different methods to teach and instil these values in their classrooms. In some cases, educators speak of using a 'define and discuss' method to teach particular values. Other educators describe how they use personal stories or scenarios to communicate particular values to learners. Mrs. Lancaster (LO educator and school counsellor, Buxton High School), for example, often brings in newspaper clippings from the community newspaper, or she draws inspiration from learners' experiences. In addition to discussing their different methods for teaching values, all the educators (and both principals) agree that it is more important that values are practised within schools. Thus, as discussed in Chapter Six, both schools aim to make values a part of everyday life.

In order to promote a common national identity, the educators also engage with various teaching methods. Mr. Smith describes how he initiates projects on the different cultures in the country to stimulate constructive discussion. Mr. Basset explains how he uses Zulu folk tales to engage in cultural debates. Most of the educators also explain that they broach the issue of diversity by incorporating various national symbols into lessons, such as the national flag, motto and coat of arms. Interestingly, Mrs. Lancaster explains how she uses an African myth about a rainbow to teach her Grade 10 classes about 'unity in diversity'. The myth tells the story of a rainbow where all the different colours are fighting to see who is the most beautiful and important. Their fighting disturbs the sun, which comes out to see what all the noise is about. As it shines through, it destroys the rainbow. Later the rain explains to the colours that each one of them on their own is useless, but together they can create "this mystical, beautiful object of the rainbow" (Mrs. Lancaster, LO educator and school counsellor, Buxton High School). Mrs. Lancaster describes how this myth is useful to open up debate regarding difference, in terms of race, gender or age:

> "It's an African legend and we are Africans and I am passionate about the fact that we must celebrate our Africanness… what we are teaching is a philosophy that individual is good and special and right because I am me and you need to understand and know me, but at the same time if I join me to you - we becomes greater than the sum of the two of us" (Mrs. Lancaster, LO educator and school counsellor, Buxton High School).

There are a number of important points to make regarding the above discussion. Firstly, promoting, but also practising the Constitutional values, is a crucial function of LO and citizenship education. Given the examples discussed above, it appears that many educators are committed to instilling these values in their classrooms and within their schools more broadly. This is positive feedback, however, as the subsequent discussion highlights, there are some contradictions in this approach, which suggests that there is more that these schools could be doing to ensure that their institutional cultures do not contradict the values that they are trying to uphold.

The second issue relates to how differences are being taught inside of classrooms. Using the 'rainbow myth' is a progressive example, in that it draws learners attention to both the uniqueness and value of diversity, but also to the common purpose and value of co-operation in the South African context. When teaching diversity, it is essential to be aware of the criticisms levelled at multicultural approaches, some of which were identified in Chapter Three. Even though the 'rainbow myth' offers many positives, Mrs. Lancaster

does not mention how this myth accommodates a discussion of the power dynamics that exist in society, and which continue to reproduce notions that some cultures are superior to others. In this way, the myth almost represents an idealistic interpretation of society. The fact that some learners are being teased about their cultural practices indicates that power and difference matters and within the South African context, given the country's history, it seems all the more important not to overlook the importance of how power operates in society.

A similar caution must also be made in terms of using national symbols to emphasise 'unity in diversity'. Indeed, symbols such as the national anthem and the 'rainbow nation' metaphor reflect the state's desire to accommodate diversity in South Africa. As mentioned above, in line with this multicultural approach, emphasis is placed on the value and equality of different cultures and religions in society, yet one could question to what extent perhaps too much of a focus is placed on difference, and whether these differences are presented as fixed or constantly in a state of flux. Modiba and van Rensburg (2009) examine the Arts and Culture Learning Area and its ability to fulfil its mandate of teaching learners to understand, respect, and be sensitive to, cultural diversity, as well as to value each culture's contribution to society and unity in the nation. They argue that the curriculum fails to adequately engage with the concept of culture and criticise the curriculum's multicultural approach. Instead of adopting a progressive understanding that acknowledges the hybridity and fluid nature of cultures, the curriculum is instead based on an outdated notion of culture, similar to the apartheid understanding, whereby cultures are conceptualised as fixed and static and expressed through food, dress, language and so forth. According to the authors, this view of culture is superficial, incorrect and dangerous. They point out that when culture is narrowly defined or articulated, societal tensions can in fact increase. Similar criticisms can be made of LO and its multicultural approach to dealing with religious and cultural diversity. As mentioned previously, this study did not focus on the teaching practices of LO educators and thus it cannot comment on whether some educators do in fact embrace a progressive understanding of culture. However, as discussed in Chapter Six, there are aspects of the schools' practices (for example the promotion of 'cultural days') that suggest that more could be done to avoid presenting cultures as fixed and homogenous, or in superficial, stereotyped ways.

Another set of problems concerning teaching social difference emerges when the values or belief systems outlined in the curriculum are in tension with the values and belief systems of individual educators, the school ethos and/or the wider community. In this

research project, some of these issues emerged as problematic when teaching 'religion education', which is also part of the LO curriculum across all of the different grades. The right to observe personal religious beliefs and to not be discriminated against on religious grounds is enshrined in the Constitution, and religious tolerance is to be promoted in schools. Whereas 'religious education' focuses on "nurturing a religious consciousness', and is better left to families and religious organisations, 'religion education' aims to provide knowledge about the diversity of religions, moral and value systems that exist in South Africa (DoE, 2001b, p.32). In the context of the Constitutional values, rights and responsibilities, 'religion education' is seen as having a civic function rather than a religious function, and it is hoped that by acquiring knowledge about diverse religions, learners will be encouraged to co-exist peacefully, see themselves as part of a wider community, and view their identities in harmony with others (DoE, 2002b; 2003a). What is important to stress here is that government policy is clear that no one religion may be promoted in public schools at the expense of others (DoE, 2001b).

The two schools that participated in this project occupy a rather contradictory position with regard to religious observance, however. Although both school principals acknowledged that schools are not permitted to overtly promote one religion at the expense of others, they both admitted that their schools largely follow a Christian ethos. The principals justified this in terms of the fact that the majority of children attending their schools are Christian and because both institutions have a long history (pre-dating the current legislation) as Christian ethos schools. That said, both principals in this study noted that they are open to all religions and do not discriminate on religious grounds. Both schools have Hindu Societies in which learners and educators participate, alongside Christian student organisations, and although Christian prayers are sometimes said during school assemblies, both principals explained that learners are not obliged to participate in these practices. The situation is difficult, however, and as the principal of Spring Vale High notes, the school does try to balance the beliefs and priorities of their diverse staff and learner body as much as possible:

> "We do say prayers in the school but to a god rather than to a specific god and we do allow Indian staff and students to lead an assembly during Diwali. We also allow them time off but we don't close the school. We don't close the school for any religious holiday, but staff and learners can apply for leave if they want to. We have tried to make it a non-issue and avoid confrontation. We try work as smoothly as possible and recognise that different cultures need to celebrate different events in different ways. Christmas happens in the holidays so we don't deal with it and we don't close for Ascension Day in April… schools are allowed to take three religious holidays but we don't take any because how do you do it? See if the majority are Christian then we close for Ascension Day but not for Diwali and

> then it's seen as maligning one religion. This is often controversial (Principal of Spring Vale High School).

Although the principal notes that general prayers are said in assembly, judging from the responses made by other educators and learners in the school, it appears that these prayers are more than often Christian based:

> "Religious education is now frowned upon. You don't discriminate and talk religion. You talk general, you can teach about religions, but you don't push a specific religion. You not even supposed to have a prayer at assembly or anything like that. But we still do and anyone who doesn't want to say the prayer just doesn't say it. I mean we've got Muslims, Hindus, Christians, Shembes, we've got all kinds of people here…but to keep a kind of, I don't know, spiritual core we do say a prayer and nobody complains" (Mrs. Winston, former LO educator and school counsellor, Spring Vale High School).

When speaking to learners about their perspectives on religious diversity in their schools, a large majority (including those of different faiths) agree that they are not offended by the Christian ethos of their schools and they find it largely unproblematic. Both Christian and non-Christian learners observe that no-one is forced to say the Lord's Prayer in assembly, for example, if they do not want to:

> "When I had my interview coming into this school they said it is a Christian-based school so we do read out prayers and whatever in assemblies and I was fine with that because I am a Christian… But it's not like in assembly, when you have your interview they tell you that you don't have to bow down your head or whatever and pray if you don't believe in it. They say we do it because the majority of the pupils are Christian, but you don't have to partake in it. If you don't want to, you don't have to. I know there are three girls that are very religious. I think they are Hindu or something like that, either Hindu or Muslim. They don't go to assembly because they don't believe in it. They just don't go to assembly, they go to their registration lesson. So that option is there" (Debbie, white female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

> "I'm Tamil and I wouldn't say it actually affects me 'cause the majority of people are Christian at school, and my family…I think that God is God, so I'm not stereotyping. I know the Lord's Prayer off by heart now 'cause we say it all the time, but I think that's just the way it is. It's just God, they're not saying anything bad about your religion, so I'm perfectly fine with that and if you don't want to say it, you don't say it" (Preben, Indian male, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

Other learners highlight the existence of multi-faith societies and clubs at their schools as a positive indication that religious diversity is respected. A few learners, however, are more critical and feel marginalised by the ethos of their schools. Jayshree, for example, is Hindu and feels excluded at her school because of its emphasis on Christianity:

> "I am Hindu and although the school does not market itself as a Christian school, they do say the Lord's Prayer in assembly and during the daily 'Thought of the Day' the reading

> always comes out of the bible. I feel that this is wrong and they should instead read passages out of different religious books in assembly. Although I am not forced to sing hymns and say the prayer, I feel pressurised to take part just so other people feel more comfortable, and like some people feel like they are forced to say it" (Jayshree, Indian female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

Similarly, in Buxton High School, a handful of learners noted that they do not approve of the way in which particular educators try to impose their religious beliefs onto learners, as Amanda suggests. Amanda relates a story about her Afrikaans educator who, on finding out that Amanda is an atheist, allegedly verbally 'attacked her':

> "And what irritates me is that there are a lot of teachers in this school, teachers especially, who will try and force their religion on to you. My father is an atheist my mother is Christian and so I have studied both sets of views and made my choice, which I believe should be respected by the school and the staff" (Amanda, white female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

In religious and conservative communities, teaching religious education can even be opposed by parents:

> "It's also a fundamental Christian community, that's probably their major intolerance. It's a very strong push here. I get complaints from parents when we teach religion and religious diversity. Some parents complain that I don't teach learners that 'Christianity is right and you will go to hell if you are a Muslim and you don't believe in Jesus Christ'. They feel that I am derelict in not pointing out to children that Christianity is the only choice to make, meanwhile I'm trying very hard to point out to their children that there is more to life than Christianity. There are worlds out there, and excuse me, but who says that you are right? And that the animist on the hills isn't right? And that's one of my pet bug bears. Tolerance is my big issue. I don't need to agree with you but I need to listen to you, I need to understand where you are coming from and I need to agree to disagree with you. I don't have to agree with you and do what you say, but I do need to allow you the space and the time within which to be who you are" (Mrs. Lancaster, LO educator and school counsellor, Buxton High School).

This makes clear that it is not only important that a critical concept of culture and difference is adopted in ensuring the LO is able to encourage respect, understanding and solidarity, but it is equally important that the values of respect, tolerance and diversity are mirrored in the practices and institutional contexts on the schools themselves. Furthermore, viewing schools as relational spaces is helpful in understanding the effects that values held by communities outside of schools can have on what happens inside of classrooms (and vice versa). Indeed teaching values that engender feelings of tolerance and respect for difference is difficult in contexts where, as these examples indicate, these values are being contradicted in other spaces of experience. Mrs. Winston makes a similar argument, which also picks up on some of the themes raised in Chapter Five:

> "I think that was the intention [to instil values through LO]. But again I think in the real world, with all this…you know sports ratios and job reservations, BEE and all that. It kind of puts a lie to all of that. Your Malemas and your whatevers, you know. And I think for kids particularly, when you start having conflicting values thrown at you, then who do you believe? Then you don't believe anybody, you find your own way" (Mrs. Winston, former LO educator and school counsellor, Spring Vale High School).

Finally, one of the most interesting issues to emerge from the data concerning learners' perspectives about LO and its ability to foster understanding and solidarity across difference, is the sentiment that everyday interaction with different people is far more helpful than merely learning facts about others. Learners explain that by attending multi-cultural schools they encounter diversity on an everyday basis. By talking to peers during class or at break times, or by playing sports together, they learn things about one another, which makes the building of meaningful inter-racial friendships more likely:

> "Ja, it helps [LO] a little. But also when you talk to the people of different cultures and races it helps more…it's just like what we are going to do on weekends, because different cultures do different things… because it's like African people go to the farm and then the white people go to like the shopping centre or something" (Beth, white female, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

> "Ja, cause even if you learn in LO about different cultures, you don't really experience or see it. Whereby when you are in a multi-racial school, you see all those things that you have learnt about" (Ntombi, black female, Grade 9, Buxton High School).

Other learners place equal importance on their interaction with different people outside of school, explaining that this interaction has also been helpful in providing insight into the cultural worlds of others:

> "Not really [LO isn't really helpful]. More from what I see and what I've learnt. I've learnt a lot about different cultures and stuff. My step-mom is Indian, so that's why I hang out with Indians quite a bit. I play volleyball (laughs)" (Kevin, white male, Grade 11, Spring Vale High School).

> "I mean not really, cause I mean I've grown up with them [black people] pretty much my whole life and….um…we have a maid so like I'd speak to her about her life and she'd ask me questions about mine and like ja I've just grown up and lived with them my whole life so…" (Gerald, white male, Grade 12, Buxton High School).

Of course, there are a number of problems with some of the opinions highlighted here that lead one to question the quality of inter-racial contact that is taking place both within schools and outside of schools. Indeed, as the previous two chapters demonstrate, integration within the two case study schools leaves much to be desired. Contrary to government policy, which aims to desegregate schools in the hope that positive integration

will automatically take place, this study largely confirms existing research that suggests that more active interventions need to be put in place to ensure meaningful contact is achieved. Left to happen organically, learners tend to self-segregate and reproduce crude stereotypes of others, as Beth's comments about farms and shopping centres demonstrate. However, it is not only within school spaces that the quality of inter-racial contact is questionable. Given the fact that the large majority of South Africans continue to live and socialise in segregated areas, limited meaningful interaction across difference is taking place. Besides education institutions, the workplace is one arena where different race groups do get a chance to engage with one another. However, given the unequal power relations that dominate work place relationships, these interactions can still be very problematic. In the South African context, the history of apartheid further exacerbates this situation, and drawing Gerald's comments, one wonders how possible it really is that he has been able to engage in a meaningful way with his family's domestic worker, or 'maid', as he refers to her. Indeed 'growing up with' black people is meaningless if this is in a context in which they remain the paid labour ('maids' and 'garden boys') for affluent white people. The lack of reflexivity around such issues by learners, or the unwillingness to problematise them, suggests that LO and other initiatives still have a long way to go before they effect meaningful attitudinal change.

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter has reflected critically on LO and its ability to promote understanding and respect for diversity, which in turn is intended to go some way towards encouraging learners to share a sense of belonging and unity despite their differences. Given the devastating legacy of apartheid, the successive ANC governments have recognised the important function that education can play in not only strengthening democracy, but also in fostering national cohesion around a new, non-racial South African identity, one which, in contrast to the past, embraces equal citizenship, democratic values and the country's diverse social heritage.

The findings reveal a number of significant positives about LO. Not only is it providing learners with valuable pastoral support to help them cope with the variety of challenges that they face growing up in South Africa, but some participants also report that they feel they have benefited from learning about different cultures and religions. Despite this positive feedback, far more learners are critical of LO and identify a range of issues that they feel are compromising effective teaching and learning within the Learning Area,

both in its entirety and also in its ability to encourage a respect for difference. Although the LO stigma discussed in this chapter is perpetuated by problems relating to the limited time allocated to the Learning Area, as well as how it is assessed, there are further issues with content, educator training and values education, which have a greater bearing on the ability of the Learning Area to effectively educate for 'unity in diversity'.

The first set of criticisms relates to the content of LO and how it is taught. As discussed above, some learners feel that the content in LO is boring, repetitive and irrelevant to their daily lives. These negative perceptions contribute to the LO stigma and result in some learners not valuing, or becoming dismissive of, what is taught within the Learning Area. This has undesirable implications for all the focus areas of LO, including citizenship education. Moreover, in terms of promoting respect for difference, the effectiveness of merely teaching learners facts about different religions and cultures needs critical questioning. Given the findings of the previous chapters, which highlight the significant role that race continues to play in undermining national unity and compromising meaningful contact both within and outside of school spaces, it is imperative that the curriculum works towards overcoming the various 'race troubles' that pervade South African society. Although this study did not explore how educators are approaching LO content in depth, the multicultural approach underpinning the curriculum, as well as the few examples provided by educators, indicates that one should at least draw attention to some of the criticism levelled against multiculturalism. In this respect, although done with good intentions, teaching facts about diversity, or even drawing on national symbols or the African rainbow myth, must be approached in a critical way. If diversity is going to be taught in a manner that both celebrates uniqueness and commonalities, as well as addresses issues of race and power head on, then educators need to embrace a more progressive concept of culture and acknowledge the connections between race, culture and power within the South African context. Instead of conceptualising culture as static and homogenous, more must be done to draw attention to the social construction of culture and how cultures are always in a state of becoming. In this way learners will be more encouraged to cross cultural boundaries and create new hybrid identities for themselves. On the other hand, if this is not done then there is a danger that differences can be uncritically reinforced, which could lead to the reproduction of social stereotypes and prejudice.

The second set of criticisms relates to the skills and training that educators need to deliver the LO curriculum effectively. It is not sufficient that educators with no experience

or training of LO are given the responsibility to teach the Learning Area. Yet, as research indicates, the perception of LO as being 'inferior' or less important than other subjects has meant that often any available educator is asked to teach LO. On the contrary, the type of issues that the Learning Area covers, including sex education, HIV/AIDS, PE, abuse and rape, as well as content on cultural and religious diversity, requires specialist skills. As the discussion above demonstrates, without the correct level of empathy and ability, educators may be unable to create 'safe spaces' within their classrooms for learners to comfortably share knowledge and experiences, and as a result there is a risk that learners may be teased or ridiculed because of their cultural beliefs and/or practices. Thus, instead of fostering understanding and respect, situations like this could lead to some groups reproducing notions of cultural superiority, whilst those being teased may suffer from the psychological trauma of being considered culturally inferior.

The third problem area concerns values education and how this is best achieved. Although the educators and principals in this study are trying hard to promote the Constitutional values, as well as practice these values inside their schools, clearly more attention needs to be paid to instances where some learners feel marginalised. In the discussion regarding religion education and the schools' Christian ethos, it became apparent that although the majority of learners that participated in this study have no problem with their schools' ethos, some do feel excluded. As introduced in Chapter Three, problems also occur in promoting values that are contradicted outside of schools or in instances where the values being taught in schools are in tension with the value systems of communities. Evidence of the latter issue is also apparent in the Buxton High School example, where some parents in the conservative Christian community object to the school teaching their children about diverse religions.

Finally, it is worth commenting more specifically on the pastoral role of LO. Although LO clearly has an important function to play in this respect, and it is making a difference to the lives of learners, perhaps this is an area where the DBE could focus more attention. Although this particular function of LO is recognised in education policy, an argument could be made that the state needs to invest more time and money into researching how exactly LO could fulfil this function optimally, and to put in place the necessary steps (for example, educator training) to ensure that this Learning Area is able to support learners in the most effective ways. Although not exactly ideal, more needs to be done to acknowledge that, for many learners, schools are one of the few spaces where they are able to gain acceptance, personal advice, and in some cases even food or money to

survive. Amid growing concerns that the social fabric of South African society is in crisis, and that South African youth are increasing becoming both victims and perpetrators of crimes (Burton, 2007), it seems vital that the role and ability of schools to help engage with these problems should be strengthened. Furthermore, pastoral care is vital for educational achievement, especially for more marginalised groups of young people. Thus, in this way, LO has further potential to reduce social divisions, as well as boost feelings of confidence, self-esteem and trust, which can contribute to strengthening national cohesion.

Chapter Nine
Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This thesis is concerned with a country coming to terms with its traumatic history and trying to build a successful, democratic and united nation, and the role of education and schools in making this future possible. In order to address the research aim, the various chapters in the thesis have sort to contextualise the topic, both historically and conceptually, and to explore the associated research objectives, which ultimately reflect various facets of the research topic. The purpose of this chapter is to summarise the key findings of the research and reflect on the aim and objectives outlined in Chapter One, in light of the literature review. Crucial to this discussion is an overview of the broader relevance of the findings and an explanation of the ways in which the research contributes to scholarly understanding. The chapter concludes by highlighting a number of questions that have emerged from the research project, which future research might explore.

9.2 Living with the shadow of the past

Drawing from the discussion in Chapter Two, it is evident why, in the South African case, history matters. It is crucial to understand the country's history simply because of the profound effect it has on all aspects of contemporary life. Not only was the apartheid state a violent regime, but it was also totalitarian and all-encompassing. Essentially the government stopped at nothing to realise its ambition of 'separate development', including the use of indoctrination, extreme violence and force. Rooted in a racist Afrikaner nationalist ideology, the state set about implementing apartheid to ensure white (and in particular Afrikaner) domination. Education formed a crucial part of the state's machinery, and racially segregated and unequal schools acted as tools to reproduce apartheid ideology and secure white socio-economic control. Post-apartheid governments have needed to reform education in order to deal with this legacy, specifically in terms of overcoming the fractures of apartheid through both nation-building and providing opportunities for historically disadvantaged South Africans.

It is important to acknowledge that the apartheid past is recent history. It has only been 18 years since the 1994 election and the formal ending of apartheid. Thus many

people who grew up and were educated under apartheid are still alive; the wounds are still raw and the scale of the problematic legacy is immense. Indeed the damage (social, economic and psychological) that the apartheid state caused has proven difficult to address, and present-day South Africans continue to feel the negative effects of decades of oppressive, totalitarian and divisive rule. This is the South Africa that the youth have been born into and are growing up in. It is a present reality shaped by a history that they did not directly experience, yet as the research here shows, they cannot escape. The thesis findings demonstrate that young people are all too aware of how the destructive apartheid legacy continues to shape their everyday lives and undermine national unity.

The recent Marikana mining protests provide a tragic example to illustrate both the extent of dissatisfaction at the lack of socio-economic transformation and the fragility of democracy in the country.[62] For the poorest sections of the population (who are almost exclusively black) no significant change has taken place since the fall of apartheid. Although hopeful of a new life and equal access to opportunities, the African National Congress (ANC) has not been able to deliver and instead the wealth gap between citizens continues to widen. Consequently, these marginalised groups are becoming increasingly frustrated, and strike action across the country for better wages or basic services represents a people desperate for change and demanding to be treated with dignity. Without overcoming the vast inequalities that exist in South Africa, and their associated frustrations, there is little chance of realising the dream of a united South African nation. Furthermore, the deaths of the 34 protesting miners at the hands of the police, and the fact that the National Prosecuting Authority later charged the miners themselves with the murder of their colleagues, puts democracy in a questionable light. In the context of abject poverty and injustice, democracy is meaningless and there is little room for cohesion. Young people are exposed to these realities. Many young people grow up in impoverished households in areas that have few or no basic services. For these young people the chances of breaking out of the cycle of poverty are slim. These poor conditions are compounded by HIV/AIDS and a variety of social ills that pervade South African society, such as crime

62 On 16th August 2012, a deadly shootout took place between protesting miners and the police at Lonmin's Marikana mine in the North West province. The miners (mostly armed with traditional spears and sticks) were protesting for a better wage and improved working conditions. The shootout, which left 34 miners dead and 78 wounded, sent shockwaves through the country. To add fuel to the fire, shortly thereafter, the National Prosecuting Authority utilised the 'common purpose' doctrine (frequently used by the apartheid state to quell dissent) to charge 270 protestors with murder, attempted murder, public violence and gathering illegally. After much public outrage and pressure on the National Prosecuting Authority from president Zuma, the charges have been temporarily withdrawn pending further investigation (Bauer and Subramany, 2012).

and gender-based violence, alcohol and drug abuse, as well as widespread racism and political corruption. Although many of the young people that I worked with are financially better off than the large majority, and they are fortunate enough to attend two well-resourced schools, they are still exposed to the many challenges of living in South Africa, where democracy and democratic values are continually flouted. Considering that a key tenet of state's new South African identity and basis of unity is democracy, and in particular the Constitution and its democratic values, then it is obvious how contradictions in everyday life are both dangerous for democracy and national cohesion. As such, civic nationalism will not be sufficient to bond South Africans unless they are able to experience democracy and equality first hand. In Chapter Five, the situation is shown to be further complicated as the successive ANC governments' attempts at economic redress, through affirmative action policies, appear to be fuelling feelings of marginalisation, victimisation and a denial of equal citizenship, especially among minority groups. Learners draw attention to the mismatch between state nation-building rhetoric and their perceived realties. Not only do some minority groups feel that the government is excluding them despite the postulated ideal of a democratic 'rainbow nation', but many feel that the racist public remarks made by politicians, such as Julius Malema, are in tension with the vision of national unity.

It is not just the legacy of socio-economic inequality and the fragile state of democracy that is undermining the cohesion that education is charged with helping to build, however. The legacy of socio-spatial divisions and psychological scars, all of which are race related, present further obstacles. Here the role of history cannot be overstated. As discussed in Chapter Two, race was deeply engrained into the South African psyche through apartheid legislation, such as the Population Registration Act that assigned each individual a crude racial category, which in turn determined every aspect of their life. This deep-seated racial consciousness has been one of the most difficult legacies to shift and even though the young people in my study did not live through the regime, they are aware of how significant race is in their everyday lives. Indeed race and the apartheid past emerge as the most important factors that the majority of learners feel are undermining national unity at present. In this respect, the learners draw attention to a number of 'race troubles' that shape their lives and experiences, including the pervasiveness of race-labelling, racial misunderstandings and fears, racial stereotypes, segregation and overt (and covert) racism, as well as the burden of the older generations, who lived through apartheid but have yet to come to terms with the prejudice, negative emotions and psychological scars that they

carry as a result of their experiences. These issues pose further problems for realising 'unity in diversity' through education.

9.3 National identity and unity in post-apartheid South Africa: the voices of South African youth

Indeed one of the key contributions of this thesis is that it engages with young people who are living and attending schools in contemporary South Africa. As mentioned numerous times throughout this thesis, although they are often missing from research, it is vitally important to work with young people through qualitative research (Langhout and Thomas, 2010). Not only are young people in the best position to relate their lives, perspectives and experiences, but engaging with young people can also enhance theoretical and empirical understanding. Adopting a Participatory Research (PR) approach allowed me to engage with learners in inclusive, creative and collaborative ways, through which a number of important findings emerged that would otherwise have been hidden. This engagement is particularly valuable in that I was fortunate enough to work with a sample of the so-called 'born frees'. Whilst most of the existing research on race, racism (Franchi and Swart, 2003; Ansell, 2004; Gibson, 2004; Roefs, 2006; Bornman, 2011) and national pride (Grossberg, Struwig and Pillay, 2006; Boyce, 2010) in post-apartheid South Africa presents the perspectives of adults in society, or of young people who were born within the apartheid period, this research serves to address this gap and provides some interesting points for comparison. In particular, in contrast to the popular media that appears to purport the notion that the post-1994 generation are 'colour-blind' and, without the emotional baggage from the past, are free to realise a truly non-racial South Africa (Macdonald, 2005), these findings reveal the significant extent to which race continues to matter and that the youth are not free from the emotional, structural and socio-economic baggage of the past.

The second research objective of this thesis was to explore how learners feel about South Africa, their nationality and national unity, and to reflect on what their perspectives could mean for broader debates on nation-building in South Africa. In terms of these debates, the research results identify a number of opportunities and challenges. Clearly the optimistic responses provided by some learners are a positive result, which indicates that the country may eventually be able to accept and move on from the past, as some young people recognise the role they can play in assisting with this. For these learners, the key challenges to moving forward as a united nation are race, the apartheid past and their

negative perceptions of the state. In this respect, progress towards strengthening national unity could be improved if the state were to confront race head on. In a position of power (and being so closely associated with the nation), the state has both a responsibility but also an opportunity to encourage South Africans (and especially older South Africans) to come to terms with the psychological scars they carry due to their experiences of apartheid. It is important that this reflection and introspection is undertaken by all South Africans. The fact that many white South Africans do not, or cannot, accept that redress is necessary, for example, is concerning and continues to reproduce ill-feeling between white and black citizens. In a similar vein, some positive headway could be made by rethinking the approach to economic redress initiatives. Clearly these initiatives are necessary, but in their current form they are neither helping the poor, black majority nor are they contributing to reconciliation. Changing the way in which these policies are framed, for example, by moving towards using socio-economic criteria rather than racial criteria, might help boost perceptions of both the government and also of these initiatives, especially among minority groups. Such an approach will also go some way to reduce the over reliance on apartheid-based racial categories (Marè, 1999; Alexander, 2007). Clearly more also needs to be done to improve the life chances of the poor in society, and here education has a particularly crucial role to play. Given that the large majority of black learners continue to attend the poorest, most dysfunctional schools means that currently the education system in South Africa is reproducing apartheid-based inequalities rather than transforming them.

9.4 Relational school spaces and the potential for meaningful contact

A second novel contribution of this thesis is its geographical analysis. In relation to the first research objective, a key insight of this research is that schools must be viewed as relational spaces that are embedded within wider contexts. The above discussion provides a picture of South African society and highlights a number of challenges that confront South Africans, many of which emanate from the apartheid past. This is the context in which schools are operating and attempting to realise national nation-building imperatives. Adopting a relational understanding of school spaces allows one to appreciate that school boundaries are indeed porous and as such social identities, relations and values that circulate and are reproduced in homes and communities affect schools (Massey, 1994; 2004; 2005). As microcosms of broader society, both educators and learners enter school spaces with their own identities, experiences and ways of understanding the world. Inside schools differences are negotiated and social norms, identities and relations are either reproduced or challenged. Given the relational nature of space, what happens inside

schools also has the ability to reinforce or transform norms, identities and relations in spaces of experience outside of the school gates. Indeed realising these more positive effects is exactly what the government hopes that education and schools will be able to do. With this in mind, this thesis set out to assess the extent to which schools are working towards, and/or responding to, the challenges of creating inclusive learning environments, in which learners can interact with others in meaningful ways and overcome racial divisions. In this respect, it was important to consider how learners are interacting with one another in schools spaces, and how they create, (re)produce and negotiate their social identities, with particular reference to the influence of race and racial markers of difference.

In terms of responding to these objectives, the findings of this study support many existing trends. As discussed in Chapter Six, although there is room for improvement within the two case study schools in terms of how they are approaching integration, credit must be given where it is due. Thus this study contributes to a growing body of literature, which identifies schools that are making progress in creating inclusive environments for diverse learners (see for example Nkomo and Vandeyar, 2008; Vandeyar and Jansen, 2008; Vandeyar, 2010), this study has made headway. As the findings show, the majority of learners are proud of their schools and enjoy their time at school. They feel included and appreciate that everyone is treated equally. As a result, learners are able to excel, challenge stereotypes, make new friends and learn from one another. These more positive findings provide an important contribution to the current literature, which more often than not focuses on examples of schools that are resisting change. That being said, race still emerges as an important theme in the case study schools, and creating equal and democratic spaces is not sufficient to achieving well integrated environments. Indeed, this thesis argues that it is also important to have diverse educators working within schools, to remain sensitive to race and power dynamics, and to be cautious of a multicultural approach to integration. Particularly in the South African context, where cultural/racial identities remain significant and are historically loaded, multiculturalism can be problematic in its emphasis on difference and its rigid concept of culture.

Leaving integration to happen naturally is one of the biggest problems in the case study schools as, despite the principals' good intentions, learners appear to segregate themselves along lines of perceived racial difference, and unless they are required to interact with diverse others, this type of contact is more than often avoided. Furthermore, those who do venture to cross social boundaries are vulnerable to judgement from others,

and in some cases peers and adults in society may act to police such behaviour in order to reinforce racially constructed social norms. Equally problematic is the fact that principals, educators and learners alike have come to accept self-segregation as 'normal' and 'natural', as discussed in Chapter Seven. Many learners comment that they choose to befriend individuals of the same racial group, or they choose to play particular sports where their race group is in a majority, because it makes them feel more comfortable. All are adamant that this is not racism. Others quite rightly point out that segregated groups and activities mirror the way that life is. Indeed, reflecting back on the nature of South African society, leading parallel lives is the norm. Drawing on the concepts outlined in Chapter Three, including the concept of 'race trouble', one is able to critically question the true nature of such interactions. As is argued in Chapter Seven, it appears that the nature of racism in South Africa is shifting. No longer is racism as obvious as it was in the past and nowadays more subtle forms of racism are manifest. Choosing to segregate oneself because of personal preference or cultural commonalities can disguise underlying race-based fears and prejudice. Similarly, these more subtle forms of racism make identifying and challenging racism more difficult, and some of the learners in this study attempt to articulate this. The use of humour emerges as an example where hidden racism is questionable and the 'crisis of interpretation' is evident. Both learners and educators speak of the frequency of cultural/racial banter and humour. Although many argue that this banter is good natured and helps to bridge divides, some (and in particular black learners) feel that the jokes are sometimes insensitive and amount to thinly veiled racism, as black people and African culture is almost always the butt of the joke. The concept of 'race trouble' also helps to once again reveal the significance of context in terms of shaping how individuals interpret their interactions with diverse others and how notions of race and racism and reproduced and challenged. These jokes are not made in a social vacuum and instead are made in the context of post-apartheid South Africa, which is pervaded by inequalities and racial hierarchies of power. Thus whilst schools spaces have the potential to bridge divides, challenge prejudice and foster unity, they equally have the potential to cement racial stereotypes, fuel prejudice and reproduce inequalities.

9.5 Learners' perspectives on the role of the Life Orientation in building 'unity in diversity'

In this respect, it was also important to consider the role of the formal curriculum, and in particular the Life Orientation (LO) Learning Area, which has a distinct citizenship education focus area. Within this focus area, LO aims to promote unity by encouraging a

commitment to the Constitution and its values, including a respect for social diversity. A number of important results emerge from the research, which relate to and address the research objective outlined above. Firstly, in support of the existing literature, many learners and educators state that they enjoy LO and value the Learning Area, especially in terms of the life skills and personal support it imparts (see for example Rooth, 2005 and Theron, 2008). In the South African context, LO clearly has a vital role to play in assisting learners to cope with everyday challenges, and in providing them with emotional support that may not be available in their homes and communities.

Although this is an important function of the Learning Area, in terms of building understanding and solidarity across difference, the LO curriculum needs critical revision. Although some learners argue that they have benefited from learning facts about other cultures and religions, the large majority are more critical. Given the multicultural approach that underpins the curriculum, and some of the criticism launched against such approaches, it appears that more critical intervention is needed to assess whether this is the best approach to use within the South African context, given its history of identity based-conflict. Instead of constantly focusing on difference, perhaps more emphasis should be placed on encouraging diverse learners to recognise their commonalities as human beings, as well as their common purpose as South Africans trying to build a united and successful nation. Another way to assist this would be to ensure that a more critical concept of culture is being employed in such teachings. Understanding the social construction of culture makes more room for learners to cross cultural boundaries and develop new hybrid identities for themselves. Furthermore, without adding a critical 'anti-racist' element to the curriculum, which explores the workings of power in South African society, the curriculum is doing South African learners a disservice. This is especially important in light of the results of this study, which suggest that race still casts a profound shadow over all aspects of South African society. Finally, there is room to debate whether LO might provide a conducive space in which learners could be encouraged to address apartheid and the psychological scars that accompany knowledge and emotions related to the past. Although learning about apartheid is covered in the History curriculum, not all learners opt to take history up to their final year of schooling, and more significantly, it is unlikely that one can teach about social diversity, race, prejudice and human rights (to name but a few LO topics) without bumping up against the past. Given that LO is a Learning Area that aims to provide personal and psychological support, perhaps there is room for the Learning Area to expand to include these tough issues which, as discussed above, are clearly still significant in South Africa and are undermining efforts to foster national cohesion.

This last issue relates to educator training, which also emerges as a problem confronting LO. As discussed in Chapter Eight, the stigma of the Learning Area (that it is an inferior or 'soft' subject), has meant that in many schools, LO educators have not received the necessary training to deliver the curriculum effectively. Teaching learners about diversity (as well as sex education, Physical Education (PE), HIV/AIDS and so forth) requires a high level of teaching skills, such as conflict management, cultural sensitivity, reflexivity (among others). As was evident in Chapter Eight, some learners are teased about their cultural beliefs and practices, which suggests that in some cases educators need to do more to ensure that their lessons are not in fact reinforcing stereotypes and notions of cultural inferiority/ superiority. Of course well-resourced schools, like the two that participated in this study, stand a much better chance of ensuring effective teaching and learning than the majority of poorer schools in the country. It is not only the content and training of educators that contributes to the LO stigma, however, and the problems identified with the time allocated to the Learning Area, as well as the way in which it is assessed, will also need to be addressed if LO is to be effective in its entirety, as well as in its function to teach citizenship education. Until these issues are resolved, many learners may continue to view the Learning Area as unimportant and thus not deserving the same amount of time, attention or effort as some of their other, more 'academic' subjects.

Finally, the issue of values also emerges as an important consideration. Whilst schools cannot directly change the realities outside of their boundaries (for example, the high levels of crime, corruption and inequality in society) that are in tension with, or contradict, the values that they are trying to instil within their institutions, they are able to ensure that the values they teach are practised on an everyday level inside their schools. Although the two case study schools are trying hard to do this, and take these issues seriously, as was evident with regard to religion education and the Christian ethos of both schools, perhaps more could be done to ensure that a minority of learners feel more included.

These findings are important not only because they add valuable insight to literature on LO, which, as a relatively new Learning Area suffers from a paucity of critical work (especially with regard to the role of LO in citizenship education and building nation unity), but the findings are also important because they reflect the views of learners. Once again, through the use of a PR approach and techniques, I was able to produce a collaborative understanding of some of the opportunities and challenges that confront the Learning Area in its entirety and in its ability to foster 'unity in diversity'. In this respect,

some of the shortcomings identified by the learners indicate that policy-makers and LO educators have some way to go to enable LO to reach its potential and deliver its national mandate, and indeed their input is vital to consider to improve the curriculum. Given the success of engaging with a PR approach and techniques to garner the insight of learners, I would suggest that more research using related approaches and techniques be employed to include learners in curriculum design, thus ensuring that the LO content is effective and relevant to their lives.

9.6 Concluding comments: broader relevance and avenues for future research

In conclusion, it is important to make clear the scholarly contributions of this thesis and to draw attention to the ways in which the findings may be useful to other post-conflict societies around the world. Firstly, the findings concerning the nature of school spaces and the potential for meaningful contact are useful because they highlight how important it is that schools create inclusive environments for learners, which are conducive to the internalisation of democratic values and to the forging of meaningful relationships. Although creating such spaces is crucial to integration, this thesis argues that more direct interventions are also necessary to encourage learners to bridge social divides and get to know one another. With regard to the curriculum, this study further identifies a number of problems with adopting a multicultural approach to building unity in societies like South Africa, which have suffered traumatic histories and are confronted with diverse and divided citizens. In this respect, this study contributes to existing literatures on multiculturalism and citizenship education by arguing that more emphasis should be placed on highlighting the commonalities between learners, both in terms of their humanity, but also in terms of the shared challenges they face living in a divided nation. Indeed, one of the most interesting reflections to emerge from the evaluation activity in the 'Activity Afternoon' sessions was the learners' realisation that everyone faces similar hardships growing up in South Africa, irrespective of race, culture or class (among others). Working in diverse groups, these learners were given the opportunity to engage with one another and share their experiences. It was through this interaction that learners such as Nolene arrived at such conclusions:

> "And I realised there are people who have problems and I'm not the only one, or like, there are other people who have other problems as well…Like people you can look at from the outside and think they have a perfect life. And now I realise there is something much deeper than that. So I was able to kind of look further than that" (Nolene, Indian female, Grade 10, Buxton High School).

Whilst theories of education and multiculturalism tend to focus on examples from western spaces of education, this study demonstrates the value of conceptualising education and school spaces from a different, non-western context, which speaks back to dominant modes of theorising. South Africa's attempts to deal with difference through schools, whilst still a work in progress and often flawed, has great relevance in contexts without South Africa's unique history, but with similar problems concerning race relations, cultural segregation and racialised economic inequality. Once again, the importance of working with young people in divided contexts is vitally important, and as this research demonstrates, young people have profound insights, as well as analytical capacities, that are capable of speaking back to big questions about education, race, nation-building and so forth in enriching ways.

Finally, by demonstrating that schools cannot be considered other than as relational spaces, linked to homes, communities and broader society, this research contributes to literatures that explore the geographies of education and the role of schools in nation-building in post-conflict contexts. Indeed, adopting a relational perspective has proved vital in understanding the challenges and opportunities confronting nation-building in post-apartheid South Africa, and such a perspective can equally be used to better understanding nation-building efforts in other contexts scarred by conflict and characterised by social divisions. The slow pace of change in other aspects of South African life does not make change within schools any easier, yet this research reveals how important schools are in driving change amidst this backdrop of division and inequality. Thus, in any post-conflict country, having integrated schools in which children are taught to respect each other is limited if they return to segregated neighbourhoods where discrimination is rife. Without fundamental changes in the nature of society and eradicating socio-economic inequality, what can be expected of schools is always going to be limited. That being said, educating young people who can both understand the need to deal with destructive legacies, and who can think beyond racial/ethnic/religious divisions, is part of the process of bringing about fundamental change. Given that some of these young people will be future leaders is reason for hope.

In terms of possible avenues for future research, I would suggest that similar research be conducted in different schools across the country (in other words, not former 'Model C' schools). Indeed, a limitation of this study is that it represents the views of middle class learners attending multicultural, quality schools, which unfortunately are in a distinct minority in the country. Of course, if working in majority black rural or township schools,

the research focus may have to shift slightly as these learners would not be able to comment on integration in their schools, but they may be able to comment on the lack of it, as well as on their feelings regarding national pride, unity and LO. Furthermore, given that there are not many coloured South Africans living in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), a similar study conducted in the Western or Northern Cape (which both have a higher population of coloured residents) might also be useful to garner the perspectives of young people from this section of the population. Finally, given the recent revisions made to the curriculum, it would be useful to track what implications the changes made to the LO syllabus have in terms of teaching and learning for 'unity in diversity' in order to build a united, democratic and successful future for South Africa.

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Appendix 4.1: South African Department of Education ethical clearance certificate (1)

PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
UMNYANGO WEMFUNDO

Tel: 033 341 8610
Fax: 033 341 8612
Private Bag X9137
Pietermaritzburg
3200

228 Pietermaritz Street
PIETERMARITZBURG

INHLOKOHOVISI	PIETERMARITZBURG	HEAD OFFICE
Imibuzo: Enquiries: Sibusiso Alwar	Reference: Inkomba: 0058/2009	Date: Usuku: 21 September 2009

MISS T FLEETWOOD
FLAT 14, POMONA COURT
117 CROMPTON STREET
PINETOWN
3610

PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW LEARNERS AND EDUCATORS

The above matter refers.

Permission is hereby granted to interview Departmental Officials, learners and educators in selected schools of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal subject to the following conditions:

1. **You make all the arrangements concerning your interviews.**
2. **Educators' programmes are not interrupted.**
3. **Interviews are not conducted during the time of writing examinations in schools.**
4. **Learners, educators and schools are not identifiable in any way from the results of the interviews.**
5. **Your interviews are limited only to targeted schools.**
6. **A brief summary of the interview content, findings and recommendations is provided to my office.**
7. **A copy of this letter is submitted to District Managers and principals of schools where the intended interviews are to be conducted.**

The KZN Department of education fully supports your commitment to research: **Social inclusion and integration in post-apartheid education: the everyday experiences and identities of secondary school learners in Durban, South Africa**

It is hoped that you will find the above in order.

Best Wishes

R Cassius Lubisi, (PhD)
Superintendent-General

Appendix 4.1: South African Department of Education ethical clearance certificate (2)

kzn education
Department:
Education
KWAZULU-NATAL

T FLEETWOOD
GEOGRAPHY DEPARTMENT
DURHAM UNIVERSITY

Enquiries: Sibusiso Alwar
Date: 01/06/2010
Reference: 0041/2010

PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW LEARNERS AND EDUCATORS

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1. **You make all the arrangements concerning your interviews.**
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3. **Interviews are not conducted during the time of writing examinations in schools.**
4. **Learners, educators and schools are not identifiable in any way from the results of the interviews.**
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It is hoped that you will find the above in order.

Best Wishes

R Cassius Lubisi, (PhD)
Superintendent-General

...dedicated to service and performance beyond the call of duty.

KWAZULU-NATAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
POSTAL: Private Bag X9137, Pietermaritzburg, 3200, KwaZulu-Natal, Republic of South Africa
PHYSICAL: Office 025, 188 Pietermaritz Street, Metropolitan Building, PIETERMARITZBURG 3201
TEL: Tel:+27 33 341 8610/8611 | Fax: +27 33 341 8612 | E-mail

Appendix 4.2: Introductory letter for the school principals

Social inclusion and integration in South African education: the everyday experiences and identities of secondary school learners in Durban

Dear Mr./Mrs. (name of school principal)

My name is Tamlynn Fleetwood and I am a South African doctoral student currently undertaking a PhD in Human Geography at Durham University in England. My research explores social integration and inclusion in post-apartheid secondary education, and in order to complete my dissertation, I would like to undertake a study at your school.

As you know, social integration is an important priority on the government agenda. Government policy promotes schools as places of inclusion; not only should schools provide quality education, but they should also function to integrate neighbourhoods and to foster social cohesion. I am interested in these issues, and in particular, I am interested in the potential of schools to act as vehicles for social transformation in post-conflict and transforming societies, such as South Africa.

Thus in this project, I would like to explore the everyday lives and experiences of learners in your school. For example, I would like to know how learners feel about their school and how they feel about social diversity at school. I am also interested in how learners define themselves, both at school and within their communities. By conducting this research, I hope to reflect more broadly on the extent to which post-apartheid secondary schools are providing learners with productive 'spaces' in which they can contribute positively to social transformation in South Africa.

I would like to work with your particular secondary school because it has a diverse and multi-cultural student body. Your school thus provides an interesting and valuable case study in which to explore how learners negotiate social difference and experience integration on an everyday basis.

Participation in the research project

This study adopts a Participatory Research (PR) methodology. PR approaches are typically anti-hegemonic and are committed to involving the participants in the research process. Hence your involvement and the participation and collaboration with learners is vital to this project.

In order to gather the information that I require for my thesis, I would like run a series of participatory activity afternoons and conduct a set of individual interviews with a sample of learners in your school. The exact Grade/s that will take part in the project will be negotiated with you, however, it is important that the participating learners have been part of their schools for some time, have made friends and are familiar with their learning environments. If possible, I would like to conduct my fieldwork over the first two school terms in 2010. Thus the new 2010 Grade 8 learners will not be able to participate in the project, because they will have only arrived at their respective schools when the study begins.

The learners that agree to participate in the study will be able to select whether they would like to take part in the series of activity afternoons, or chat to me individually in an informal interview. It will also be possible for learners to get involved in both.

Activity afternoons

I hope to hold approximately six activity afternoons on separate days over the first two terms of 2010. If possible, I would like to hold these sessions directly after school in a venue on the school property. Each session will run for approximately two hours and refreshments will be provided. The exact days and times of these sessions will be negotiated with you, as well as the learners and their parents/guardians. Every effort will be made to ensure that the activities afternoons do not interfere with learners' sport and other extra-mural commitments.

During the activity afternoons, we will work through different participatory games, tasks and discussions. Some of the activities that we will do include, drawing, mapping and taking photographs. In groups, we will share ideas and debate issues regarding learners' identities and feelings about social integration at their school. The participation and input of learners is highly valued in this study, and participants will be given the freedom to set the agenda of the sessions and get directly involved in deciding how topics are approached, how information is collected, and how the ideas generated in the sessions are presented.

I would like approximately twenty-four learners to participate in the activity sessions. Learners who would like to take part in this research, and have received permission from their parents/guardians, will need to fill in a short questionnaire providing their personal and contact details. There will also be space available on the questionnaire for learners to indicate whether they would like to take part in the activity afternoons, the interviews, or both. Because of time and resource constraints, I cannot guarantee that every learner who wants to participate in the project will be able to. Instead, in order to select participants, I will use the information obtained from the questionnaires to randomly select twenty-four learners to take part. The selection process will be designed to ensure that learners of different genders and ethnic groups are selected.

Interviews

I am also looking for approximately twelve learners to interview. The interviews will be held individually and will involve an informal conversation around issues of integration and identity. Like the sessions described above, I would like to hold the interviews on separate days over the first two school terms of next year. The number, dates and times of the interviews will need to be negotiated with you and the learners and their parents/guardians. The interviews will take approximately 45 minutes and will hopefully be held in a venue on the school property. Once again, because of time and resource constraints, I cannot guarantee that every learner who wants to participate in the interviews will be able to. The information provided in the short questionnaires will again be used to randomly select twelve learners from different gender and ethnic groups to take part.

Benefits of participating in the research project

This project offers you and your learners a number of potential benefits. Firstly, the learners at your school will be provided with a range of different opportunities. Not only will the participants have fun and meet new people, but they will also be able to engage in discussions and debates around a wide range of topics, including youth identities, diversity, inclusion and education in South Africa. In this way learners will learn about different viewpoints and share knowledge and ideas with different people. Participation in the study will also help learners develop certain skills, such as communication, presentation and photography skills. Learners will also have the chance to be creative, by contributing to the design of the activity sessions and deciding how the group's views are presented. Finally,

this study will provide the participants with the opportunity to contribute to research on integration in South African secondary schools, the results of which will be reported back both to you and to the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education (KZN DoE).

The results of this study may also be beneficial to you and the school's management committee, as the project aims to provide valuable insight into the experiences and perceptions of learners regarding inclusion and integration. Of course if there are any related issues that you would like me to bring into the research, I will be happy to discuss this with you. By taking part in this study, your school will be contributing to wider bodies of knowledge in geography, education and youth studies. Because the results of this research will be shown to the KZN DoE, your participation in this project may also go some way in informing broader policy in the country.

It is important to highlight that neither the school nor the learners will incur any financial cost arising from this project. The costs of running the project and producing and disseminating the findings will be covered by me entirely.

Dissemination and disposal of the empirical data

The information that the participating learners provide in this project, through our discussions and group work, will be used by me to complete my PhD thesis. However, I would also like to publish the results of this study in academic journals and/or a book, as well as present the findings at both national and international conferences. I also intend to produce a number of research reports, which present the findings of this study to different audiences. Separate research reports will be distributed to you, the school's educators, the learners and their parents/guardians. Finally, a research report will also be compiled for the KZN DoE.

During the project, the gathered information (including possible taped recordings of interviews, interview transcripts, diagrams, photographs and fieldwork notes) will be stored either on my personal computer, guarded with a security password, or in my place of residence. Only I will have access to this data. After the study is complete, I will shred any written notes, drawings, maps etc., delete all of the electronic data and destroy the tapes produced in the project.

Anonymity and confidentiality

Confidentiality is important in this study. Thus in all written and published reports, articles, books and in presentations, learners' names and the name of the school will not be used. Instead I will use pseudonyms to represent the school and the individuals who agree to participate. In this way the identity of the school will be anonymous and the input from learners will remain confidential.

It is important, however, to point out the possible limits to anonymity. Anonymity may become problematic in the production of the reports for you, the school's educators, as well as the learners and their parents/guardians, as learners and staff within the school will know who participated in the study and thus may guess the identities of the participants. Although I can not guarantee anonymity under these circumstances, I can assure you that I am committed to acting respectfully and discreetly. As such, I will try to ensure confidentiality as far as possible.

Voluntary participation and informed consent

It is important to point out that participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you are interested in your school taking part in this project, it is crucial that I explain the project thoroughly and obtain informed consent the participating learners, as well as their parents or legal guardians. Learners who agree to participate will be informed of their right to leave the project at any time should they wish.

Please take some time to think about this research project and discuss it with any interested and important parties. I am available for a face-to-face meeting should you like to discuss the details of this project further. If you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact either me or my project supervisors.

Thank you for your time and I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards

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Appendix 4.3: Learner 'Information Pack'

INFORMATION PACK

Hello!

Thank you for taking the time to find out more about this research project.

Inside this information pack you will find the following:

1) An information letter for learners
2) An information letter for parents/guardians (English, Afrikaans and isiZulu versions)
3) A declaration page that needs to be signed by both the interested learner and their parent/guardian
4) A short questionnaire that needs to be completed by the interested learner

Any learner that would like to take part in this study needs to return the signed declaration page and the completed questionnaire to their school by (date).

I hope that you find this pack useful. My contact details can be found inside the pack, should you wish to contact me with further queries.

I look forward to hearing from you!

Kind regards

Tamlynn Fleetwood

LEARNER QUESTION AND ANSWER SHEET

WHAT IS THIS STUDY ABOUT?

This study aims to explore your identities as young South Africans, both within and outside your school environment. I am also interested in how you feel about your school, and in particular, how you feel about social diversity and integration at school.

WHY MY SCHOOL?

I selected your particular school to take part in this study because of its diverse and multi-cultural student body. Everyday at school you interact with people of different ages, genders and ethnicities. Thus your school provides me with an interesting and valuable opportunity to explore issues around identity, diversity and education.

WHAT WILL PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY INVOLVE?

If you decide that you are interested in this study, you will be able to select whether you would like to take part in a series of activity afternoons, or you may chose to chat to me individually in an informal interview. You could also get involved in both!

WHAT WILL I DO DURING THE ACTIVITY AFTERNOONS?

During the activity afternoons, we will work through different games, tasks and discussions. Some of the activities we could do include drawing/ artwork, mapping and taking photographs. In small groups we will share ideas and debate issues regarding your identities as young, South Africans and your feelings about social interaction at your school. Your participation and input is highly valued in this study, and you will be given the freedom to set the agenda of the activity sessions and get directly involved in deciding how we approach topics, collect information and present the generated ideas.

I hope to hold approximately six activity afternoons on separate days over the first two terms of this year. These sessions will be held directly after school in a venue on the school property. Each session will run for approximately two hours and refreshments will be provided. The exact days and times of these sessions will be negotiated with you and your parents/guardians, should you agree to be involved in this project. Every effort will be made to ensure that the activities sessions do not interfere with your sport and other extra-mural commitments.

I would like approximately eighteen learners to participate in these sessions. If you would like to take part in this research, and you have received permission from your parents/guardians, you will need to sign the declaration and fill in the short questionnaire in your information pack.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN AN INTERVIEW?

During the interviews, each participant will sit with me individually and we will have an informal conversation around some of the issues important to this project. I am interested in your views, experiences and stories. I would like to interview approximately twelve learners during the second school term. The interviews will take approximately 45 minutes to complete and will be held in a venue on the school property. The dates and times of the interviews will be negotiated with those of you who are willing to take part. If you would like to take part in this research, and you have received permission from your parents/guardians, you will need to sign the declaration and fill in the short questionnaire in your information pack.

HOW WILL THE PARTICIPANTS BE SELECTED?

Because of time and resource constraints, I cannot guarantee that every learner who wants to participate in the interviews and activity afternoons will be able to. Thus in order to select the final participants, I will use the information that you provide in the short questionnaires to randomly select the required number of learners. The selection process will be designed to ensure that learners of different genders and ethnic groups are selected.

WHEN WILL I FIND OUT IF I HAVE BEEN SELECTED TO TAKE PART?

I have asked your parents permission to contact you via SMS using the mobile number that you provide on the attached questionnaire. If you are selected for the activity afternoons, I will contact you shortly after I have collected the all of the reply slips. I would like to organise two activity sessions before the end of the first term. If you are selected for the interviews, I will contact you via SMS in the second term when the interviews will take place.

WHAT IF I AM NOT SELECTED AND I STILL WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY?

Unfortunately it will not be possible for all interested learners to be directly involved in the interviews and activity sessions. However, over the first and second terms, I will devise ways in which to include learners that have not been selected to contribute to the project, if they would like to.

WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATING?

This study offers you a number of different opportunities and it should be lots of fun! You will have the opportunity to:

- Meet people and make new friends.
- Engage in discussions and debates about a wide range of topics including youth identity, diversity, inclusion and education in South Africa.
- Learn about different viewpoints, share knowledge and ideas with different people.
- Develop skills: including communication and presentation skills.
- Be creative! You decide how you would like to express and present your views and experiences.
- Contribute to research on integration in South African education that will be reported back both to your school principal and to government. Let your voice be heard!

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE INFORMATION THAT I PROVIDE?

The information that you provide in this project, through our discussions and group work, will be used by me to complete my PhD studies. I would also like to publish the results of this study in academic journals and/or a book, as well as present the findings at both national and international conferences.

I also intend to produce a number of research reports, which will present the findings of this study to different audiences. Separate research reports will be given to you, your parents/guardians, as well as to your educators and your school principal. Finally, a research report will also be handed to the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education (KZN DoE).

Confidentiality is important in this study. During the project, the gathered information (including possible taped recordings of interviews, interview notes, diagrams, photographs and fieldwork notes etc.) will be stored either on my personal computer, guarded with a security password, or in my place of residence. Only I will have access to this information. After the study is complete, I will shred any written notes, delete all of the electronic information and destroy any tapes produced in the project.

HOW WILL MY IDENTITY BE PROTECTED?

In my thesis and all written and published reports, articles, books and in presentations, your real names will not be used and the identity of your school will not be revealed. Instead I will use false names (psydonymns) to disguise the name of your school and represent those of you who agree to participate. In this way your identity will be conceled and your input in the study will remain be confidential. However, hiding your identity may become problematic in the production of the reports for the school principal, educators, parents/guardians and yourselves, as other learners and staff within your school will know who participated in the study and thus may guess the identities of the participants. Under these circumstances, I will still use false names (pseudonyms) and I can assure you that I am committed to acting respectfully and discreetly. As such, I will try to ensure confidentiality as far as possible.

DOES PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY COST ANYTHING?

No! All the costs of the materials used in the research and the costs of the refreshments will be covered by me.

PARTICIPATION IS VOLUNTARY!!

It is important to remember that participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you decide that you would not like to participate, you will not suffer any form of prejudice or disadvantage. If you agree to participate and later change your mind, you are free to leave the project at any time.

It is also important that you discuss this project and your possible participation with your parents/legal guardians. If you would like to be involved in this project please sign and date the declaration on the declaration page. Your parents/legal guardians will need to sign a separate declaration giving their permission for you to partake in the project.

If you have any further queries please do not hesitate to contact either myself or my project supervisors.

Thank you for your time and I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards

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Social inclusion and integration in South African education: the everyday experiences and identities of secondary school learners in Durban

Dear parents/guardians

My name is Tamlynn Fleetwood, and I am a South African doctoral student currently undertaking my PhD in Human Geography at Durham University in England. As part of my PhD, I will be undertaking some research at your child's school. My project aims to investigate social integration and inclusion in post-apartheid secondary education. I am thus interested in exploring the everyday lives and experiences of learners in secondary schools. For example, I would like to know how learners feel about their school, and in particular, how they feel about social diversity and difference at school. I am also interested in how learners define themselves, both at school and within their communities.

I selected this particular secondary school to take part in this study because it has a diverse and multi-cultural student body. Everyday at school your child engages and interacts with people of different ages, genders and ethnicities. Thus this school provides an interesting and valuable case study in which to explore the experiences and views of secondary school learners, regarding integration in their institutions.

What will participating in this study involve?
If your child is interested in this study, they will be able to select whether they would like to take part in a series of activity afternoons, or chat to me individually in an informal interview. It will also be possible for your child to get involved in both.

Activity afternoons
During the activity afternoons, we will work through different participatory games, tasks and discussions. Some of the activities we will do include drawing, mapping and taking photographs. In groups we will share ideas and debate issues regarding learners' identities and feelings about social integration at their school. The participation and input of your child is highly valued in this study, and participants will be given the freedom to set the agenda of the sessions and get directly involved in deciding how topics are approached, how information is collected, and how the ideas generated in the sessions are presented.

I hope to hold approximately six activity afternoons on separate days over the first two terms of this year. These sessions will be held directly after school in a venue on the school property. Each session will run for approximately two hours and refreshments will be provided. The exact days and times of these sessions will be negotiated with you and your child, should you both agree to be involved in this project. Every effort will be made to ensure that the activities afternoons do not interfere with your child's sport and other extra-mural commitments.

I would like approximately eighteen learners to participate in the activity sessions. If your child would like to take part in this research, and they have received your permission, they will need to fill in the short questionnaire in your information pack. This questionnaire requires your child to fill in their personal and contact details. It is important to provide a contact telephone number so that I am able to communicate information to your child regarding the dates and venue of the activity sessions. I would therefore like your permission to contact your child via SMS. There is also space available on the questionnaire for your child to indicate whether they would like to take part in the activity afternoons, the interviews, or both. Because of time and resource constraints, I cannot guarantee that every learner who wants to participate in the project will be able to. Instead, in order to select participants, I will use the information obtained from the questionnaires to randomly select eighteen learners to take part. The selection process will be designed to ensure that learners of different genders and ethnic groups are selected.

Interviews
I am also looking for approximately twelve learners to interview. The interviews will be held individually and will involve an informal conversation around issues of integration and identity.

The interviews will take place on separate days over the second, third and fourth school term. The dates and times of the interviews will be negotiated with you and your child, should your child like to take part. Once again, I would like to request your permission to contact your child via SMS to arrange a time for their interview. The interviews will take approximately 45 minutes and will be held in a venue on the school property. Once again, because of time and resource constraints, I cannot guarantee that every learner who wants to participate in the interviews will be able to. Thus I will use the information provided in the short questionnaires to randomly select twelve learners from different gender and ethnic groups to take part.

How will my child benefit from this project?
This study offers your child a number of different opportunities. Working with other learners, your child will be able to meet people and make new friends. They will also have the opportunity to engage in discussions and debates about a wide range of topics including youth identity, diversity, inclusion and education in South Africa. In this way your child will learn about different viewpoints, and share knowledge and ideas with different people. Participation in the study will also help hone certain skills, including communication and presentation skills. Your child will also have the chance to be creative, by contributing to the design of the sessions and deciding how the group's views are presented. Finally, your child will have the opportunity to contribute to research on integration in South African education, the results of which will be reported back both to the school principal and to the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education (KZN DoE).

What will happen to the information that my child provides?
The information that your child provides in this project, through our discussions and group work, will be used by me to complete my PhD studies. I would also like to publish the results of this study in academic journals and/or a book, as well as present my findings at both national and international conferences. I also intend to produce a number of research reports, which will present the findings of this study to different audiences. Separate research reports will be given to you and your child, as well as to the educators and the principal of the school. Finally, a research report will also be compiled for the KZN DoE.

Confidentiality is important in this study. During the project, the gathered information (including possible taped recordings of interviews, interview notes, diagrams, photographs and fieldwork notes etc.) will be stored either on my personal computer, guarded with a security password, or in my place of residence. Only I will have access to this information. After the study is complete, I will shred any written notes, delete all of the electronic data and destroy any tapes produced in the project.

Anonymity and confidentiality
In my thesis and in all written and published reports, articles, books and in presentations, your child's name will not be used. The name of the school will also be concealed. Instead I will use false names (psydonymns) to disguise the identity of both the school and the learners who agree to participate. In this way your child will remain anonymous and their input in the study will remain confidential. However, anonymity may become problematic in the production of the reports for the school principals, educators, parents/guardians and learners, as learners and staff within the school will know who participated in the study and thus may guess the identities of the participants. Although I can not guarantee anonymity under these circumstances, I will use pseudonyms and I can assure you that I am committed to acting respectfully and discreetly. As such, I will try to ensure confidentiality as far as possible.

Participation is voluntary
It is important to remember that participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you decide that you would not like your child to participate, your child will not suffer any form of prejudice or disadvantage. If your child agrees to participate and later changes his/her mind, they are free to leave the project at any time.

It is important that you discuss this project with your child should they like to participate. If your child would like to be involved in this project, please sign and date the declaration giving your

permission. Your child will need to sign a separate declaration to declare their consent to partake in the study.

If you have any further queries please do not hesitate to contact either me or my project supervisors.

Thank you for your time and I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards

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Ukubandakanyeka komphakathi ezinguqukweni kwezemfundo eNingizimu Africa: izinto ezenzeka zonke insuku, nezinto ezibonakalayo zenzeka kubafundi basemabangeni asesecondary eThekwini

Ngiyakubingela mzali/ mqaphi wengane

Igama lami ngingu-Tamlynn Fleetwood ngingumfundi owenza iziqu zobudokotela (PhD studies kwi-Human Geography) eNyuvesi yase Durham eNgilandi. Lolucwaningo luyingxenye lwezifundo zami, bengifisa ukuthi ngilwenze nani lapha esikoleni senu. Ucwaningo lwami luqonde ukuthola kabanzi ukuthi ngabe kungakanani ukubandakanyeka komphakathi ezinguqukweni kwezemfundo emazingeni aphakeme. Ngilangazalele ukwazi ngezinto ezenzeka nsuku zonke ezimpilweni zabafundi (njengawe nje). Isibonelo, ngifisa ukuzwa ukuthi uzizwa kanjani noma uphatheka kanjani ngesikole sakho, okunye nje ngokuhlukahlukana kwezinhlanga esikoleni. Okunye engifisa ukuthola ukuthi ungichazele ngawe ukuthi ungumuntu onjani uma usesikoleni kanjalo futhi noma ususemphakathi wangakini.

Ngikhethe isikole sebanga lasesecondali ngenxa yokuxuba kwaso kwezinhlanga ezahlukahlkene ikakhulu kubafundi. Ngazo zonke izinsuku nisebenzisana nabantu abahlukahlukene ngokweminyaka, ubulili kanjalo namasiko abo. Ngaleyondlela isikole sakho singinikeza ithuba elihle kakhulu lokuthi ngithole kabanzi ngesipiliyoni sakho kanye nombono wakho ngalesisihloko sokuhlanganiswa kwabafundi abahlukahlukene esikoleni sakho

Yiziphi izinto ezidingekayo ukuze ube yingxenye yalolucwaningo?
Uma ivuma ingane yakho ukuthi uzoba yingxenye yalolucwaningo, izokhetha phakathi kokuba yingxenye yochungechunge locwaningo njalo ntambama noma uzoba yingxenye yalabo engizobabuza imibuzwana ngayedwa. Kungenzeka kodwa ibe yingxenye yakho kokubili ukuba nengxoxo emfushane nami noma ibe yingxenye yalolo chungechunge lwantambama.

Imisebenzi/imidlalo uchungechunge lwantambama
Uchungechunge lwantambama, sizosebenza ngokuthi sibandakanye imidlalo eyahlukahlukene, izinkulumo mpikiswano kanjalo nemisebenzi ethile. Ezinye zezinto zizofaka phakathi ukudwetshwa kwamabalazwe kanjalo nokuthatha izithombe. Emaqoqweni ethu sizoxoxa futhi sibe nenkulumo mpikiswano ngezinto ezithinta thina njengentsha yase-Ningizimu Ne-Africa ngokuthi sizizwa kanjani ngezinguquko ezisithintayo esikoleni sethu.Ukuzimbandakanya kwengane yakho kanjalo nemibono yabo iyothathelwa phezulu kulolucwaningo, bazonikezwa nenkululeko yokuthi bakhe uhlelo lwezinto okuzobe kudingidwa ngazo nanokuthi kwenziwenjani, kanjalo nasekuqoqweni kolwazi ezintweni osekuxoxwe ngazo. Yonke imibono izobe iqondene nesihloko.

Ochungechungeni/ imidlalo yantambama ngifisa ukuthi sibe nezinto eziyisithupha, ezinsukwini ezahlukahlukene ezigamwini ezimbili ezihlukene zonyaka. Loluchungechunge luzokwenzeka nalo ntambama khona ngaphakathi emagcekeni esikoleni. Uchungechunge ngalunye luzothatha amahora okungenani amabili, kuzobakhona nokokuthiba indlala (ukudla). Kuzoxoxiswana nani kanjalo nabazali benu ngezikhathi nezinsuku uma kungukuthi niyavuma ukuba yingxenye yalomsebenzi. Siyozama ngakho konke okusemandleni ethu ukuthi lomsebenzi ungashayisani nezinhlelo zenu zemidlalo kanjalo nokunye enikwenza emuva kokuphuma kwesikole.

Ngingafisa ukuthi ngisebenzisane nabafundi okungenani abayishuminesishangslombili (18) kuloluchungechunge. Uma unesifiso sokuba yingxenye yalolucwaningo futhi usuyitholile imvume kumzali noma kumqaphi wakho, kunemibuzo okufanele uyiphendule eyingxenye yocwaningo lwethu. Kuzofanele ukuthi ufake nemininingwane yakho kanjalo neyokuxhumana. Kubalulekile ukuthi ubenethelephone number khona sizokwazi ukukuphonela ngemininingwane ngengane yakho ngedate nange ndawo esizo sebenzela kuyona, sifuna ivuma yakho khona sizokuphonela ngengane sithumele nomyalezo ngephone. Kukhona nesikhala lapho kufanele ukuthi ukhombise ukuthi ufuna ukuza ntambama noma uze kuzozombili izivivinyo, kodwa ngenxa yesikhathi nezinsiza kusebenza angeke ngakuqinisekisa ukuthi kuyoba yimpumelelo ukudlala indima kukho kokubili. Ngiyosebenzisa imininingwane egcwaliswe kwi-form ukukhetha labo bafundi abazoba yingxenye yocwaningo. Ukukhetha labo bafundi abazoba yingxenye yocwaningo kuzokwenziwa ngendlela

yokuthi kukwazeke ukuthi bonke abafundi bameleke ngokulingana ngobuhlanga kanjalo nangokobulili.

Imibuzo yobuntu ngayedwa
Ngibheke ukusebenzisana nabafundi abalinganiselwa kwabayishumi nambili. Ingxoxo yokubuzana yokwenziwa kumuntu ngayedwa eyobe ihlanganisa ingxoxo encike ekumbandakanyweni kwemfundo kanye nezinto eziyizimpawu. Konke kuyoqhubeka njengalokhu engikade ngikuchaza ngenhla. Imibuzo yomuntu ngayedwa iyoba nayo ngezinsuku ezahlukene isigaba noma itemu yokuqala neyesibili yesikole. Okunye futhi okubalulekile sifuna ivume yakho yokuphonela ingane yakho noma sithumele umyalezo ngephone. Sizo kwazi ukuthi sihlele kahle ukwenza izifundo. Inamba, izinsuku nesikhathi kuyoxoxiswana nalabo abayoba yingxenye yocwaningo. Ingxoxo noma imibuzo ingathatha imizuzu elinganiselwa amashumi amane kanye nanhlanu, iyokuba nayo ezakhiweni zesikole. Ngiphinde futhi ngenxa yesikhathi nezinto ezizodingeka ukwenza lolucwaningo angeke ngenza isiqiniseko sokuthi bonke abafundi abathanda ukuba yingxenye yalolucwaningo bayokwazi. Kodwa ngiyosebenzisa ulwazi engiyoluthola ezimpendulweni zemibuzo ukukhetha abayishumi nambili abayoba yingxenye abobulili obungafani kanjalo nezinhlanga ezahlukene.

Ingane yami izozuzani/ izohlomula ini ngokuba kulolucwningo?
Ukuba yingxenye yocwaningo kwengane yakho kuzoyinika amathuba okwazi izinto ezahlukene. Njengokusebenzisana nabanye abafundi, izokwazana nabanye abantu, ithole nethuba lokuthola abangane abasha, okunye izothola ithuba lokuba sezongxoxweni, inkulumo mpikiswano ngentsha ngalesisihloko sokuhlanganiswa kwezinhlanga kwezemfundo. Ngaleyondlela ke ingane yakho izofunda okuningi, ihlephulelane ulwazi nabanye, izwe nemibono yabanye abantu. Ukuba yingxenye kwengane yakho izofunda indlela entsha yokuxhumana nabanye abantu, indlela noma ukushutha izithombe, izothola ithuba lokukwazi ukuqala izinto nokwengeza ngombono wayo ekuhleleni imihlangano, nokuthi icabange ukuthi kungabe amaqoqo amanye azoyithola kanjani imibono yabo. Ekugcineni ingane yakho izothola ithuba lokuveza imibono enawo ngokuhlanganiswa kwemfundo. Imiphumela yalolucwaningo iyotholakala kothisha nhloko kanye nasemnyangweni yezemfundo KwaZulu Natal (KZN DoE).

Kuyokwenzekalani ngolwazi ingane yami eyolunikezela ngalo?
Ulwazi ozolunikezela kulolucwaningo, ngezingxoxo kanye nomsebenzi ozokwenziwa ngamaqoqo ngizowusebenzisa ukuqedela izifundo zamo, ngifisa ukuthi ngibhale incwadi futhi ngethule izinkulumo emazweni kanye naphakathi eNingizimu Afrikha. Ngalolucwaningo ngiyokhiqiza imiphumela eminingi, ngethule izinkulumo ezindaweni ezahlukene.Imiphumela iyotholakala ngokuhlukana omunye ngiyowunikezela kumzali/ umgadi wengane, abafundisi nothisha nhloko, ekugcineni imiphumela iyonikezelwa kumnyango wezemfundo KwaZulu Natal

Ukuphepha noma ukugcina luyimfihlo lolucwaningo iyonanto ebalulekile ngesikhathi sisahlanganisa ulwazi noma sisaqoqa ulwazi njengmathephu esizobe siwasebenzisa, amanothi esizobe siwabhalile, imidwebo kanye nezithombe ngiyokugcina kuyimfihlo kwi computha yami ezobe ivikelelekile ngemfihlo namba yokuyivula. Nalapho engihlala khona iyobe iphephile iyimfihlo. Uma sengiqedile ngalezizinto ebengizisebenzisa ngiyokudabula njengamanothi abhaliwe, ngikususe nakwicomputha yami ngibulale namathephu azobe esebenzile ngesikhathi socwningo.

Ukungavezi amagama kanye nokugcina kwiyimfihlo
Kuzozonke izinto esingike ngazibala ngocwaningo ukuthi ngizozenza njengokubhala izincwadi, nokuthula izinkulumo uma kunemihlangano ehlanganisa amazwe angeke ngalisebenzisa igama lengane kanye nelesikole konke kohlala kuyimfihlo. Ngiyosebenzisa amagama angekho ukuze ngeduse umkhondo ngesikole nangomfundi ovumile ukuba yingxenye. Ngaleyondlela ke ulwazi ingane eyolunikezela lohlala luyimfihlo kungaziwa ukuthi ubani utheni. Kodwa into engenzeka uma sengikhipha imiphumela kube nenkingana kothisha nhloko, kubafundisi, kubazali kanye nakubafundi, njengoba abafundi kanye nabasebenzi balesosikole bayobe bazi ukuthi obani ebebeyingxenye yocwaningo okungenzeka baqagele uma sebebona imiphumela. Noma ke zingakhona izinto ezinjalo kodwa ngiyoqhubeka ukuthi ngisebenzise amagama okungesiwona

ngiyakwethembisa futhi ngizibophezele ukwenza lokho ngenhlonipho. Ngiyokwenza isiqiniseko ukuthi ulwazi ngolugcina luyimfihlo

Ukuzibophezela ukuba yingxenye yocwaningo akuphoqelekile
Kubalulekile ukuthi ngikukhumbuze ukuthi lolucwaningo akuphoqwe muntu uyazivolontiyela. Uma ingane ivuma ukuba yingxenye kuthi sekuphakathi bese ishintsha umqondo , ikhululekile ukuyeka noma ishiye phakathi nendawo noma nini

Kubalulekile ukuthi ingane ixoxisane nomzali noma nomgadi wayo ngalolucwaningo. Uma ingane ivuma ukuzimbandakanya kulolucwaningo ngicela ungisayinele lelifomu iliyimvumo yokuzibophezela ukuba yingxenye yocwaningo. Ingane izosayina elayo nayo ifomu lokuzibophezela.

Uma unemimuzo ngicela ungangabazi ukuxhumana nami noma umsizi wami ngalesisifundo. Ngiyabonga kakhulu ngesikhathi sakho, ngizohlala ngilindele ukuzwa kuwe

Ozithobayo

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Maatskaplike inklusiwiteit en integrasie in Suid-Afrikaanse onderwys: die alledaagse ervarings en identiteite van hoërskoolleerders in Durban.

Geagte ouers/voogde

My naam is Tamlynn Fleetwood, en ek is ’n Suid-Afrikaanse doktorale student wat op die oomblik besig is met my PhD in Menslike Geografie by Durham-universiteit in Engeland. As deel van die PhD-navorsing wil ek graag navorsing doen by u kind se skool. My navorsingsprojek is gerig op maatskaplike integrasie en inklusiwiteit in post-apartheid sekondêre onderwys. Ek stel daarom belang in die ondersoek na die daaglikse lewe en ervarings van leerlinge aan sekondêre skole. Ek sou, byvoorbeeld, wou weet hoe leerders voel oor hulle skool en, in besonder, hoe hulle voel oor die sosiale diversiteit en verskille op skool. Ek sou ook wou weet hoe leerders hulleself definieer, by die skool sowel as in hulle gemeenskappe.

Ek het hierdie besondere skool gekies as deel van hierdie ondersoek as gevolg van die uiteenlopende en multi-kulturele aard van die leerlingopset. U kind is elke dag betrokke by en in wisselwerking met mense van verskillende ouderdomme, geslag en etnisiteit. Om hierdie rede bied dié skool ’n interessante en waardevolle gevallestudie waarin die ervarings en opvattings van hoërskoolleerders met betrekking tot integrasie in hulle inrigtings ondersoek kan word.

Wie gaan aan hierdie ondersoek deelneem?
Indien u kind sou belangstel in hierdie ondersoek, sal hulle kan kies of hulle wil deelneem aan ’n reeks aktiwiteite in die middae, of individueel met my gesels in ’n informele onderhoud. Dit sou ook moontlik wees vir u kind om op albei maniere betrokke te raak.

Middagaktiwiteite
Gedurende die middagaktiwiteite gaan ons ons besig hou met verskillende deelnemende speletjies, opdragte en besprekings. Van die aktiwiteite sluit teken, kaarte maak en die neem van foto’s. Ons sal in groepsverband gedagtes wissel en sake debatteer omtrent leerders se identiteit hulle gevoelens oor maatskaplike integrasie by hulle skool. Die deelname en insette van u kind word hoog op prys gestel in hierdie navorsing, en deelnemers sal die vryheid gegee word om die agenda vir die sessies te bepaal en om direk betrokke te raak by besluite hoe die onderwerpe benader gaan word, inligting versamel en die gedagtes wat in die sessies na vore kom, aangebied gaan word.

Ek hoop om ongeveer ses aktiwiteitsmiddae op verskillende dae gedurende die eerste twee kwartale van die jaar te hou. Hierdie sessies sal direk na skool in ’n lokaal op die skoolterrein plaasvind. Elke sessie sal ongeveer twee uur duur en verversings sal verskaf word. Die presiese dae en tye van hierdie sessies sal saam met u en u kind bepaal word, indien albei instem om aan hierdie projek deel te neem. Alle pogings sal aangewend word om te verseker dat hierdie aktiwiteitsessies nie inmeng met u kind se sport en ander buitemuurse verpligtinge nie.

Ek sou graag ongeveer agtien leerders wil betrek om deel te neem aan hierdie sessies. Indien u kind sou wou deelneem aan hierdie navorsing, en hulle u toestemming gekry het, sal hulle die kort vraelys in u inligtingspakkie moet invul. Hierdie vraelys vereis dat u kind sy of haar persoonlike en kontakbesonderhede moet invul. Dit is belangrik dat u u kontakbesonderhede invul, want ek moet gemeenskap met leerders hou om vir hulle te sê waneer en waar die aktiwiteitsmiddae sal wees. Daarom vra ek vir u toestemming om met u kind te meedeel oor SMS. Daar is ook plek op die vraelys waar u kind kan aandui of hulle aan die aktiwiteitsmiddae, die persoonlike onderhoude, of aan albei, sou wou deelneem. As gevolg van beperkings ten opsigte van sowel tyd as hulpmiddels, kan ek nie waarborg dat elke leerling wat wil deelneem aan die projek, dit sal kan doen nie. In plaas daarvan sal ek die inligting wat deur die vraelyste beskikbaar word, gebruik om ewekansig agtien leerders te kies om betrokke te wees. Die kiesprosedure sal so ontwerp word om te verseker dat leerders uit beide geslagte en verskillende etniese groeperings geselekteer word.

Onderhoude
Terselfdertyd soek ek ook ongeveer twaalf leerders om onderhoude mee te voer. Die onderhoude sal individueel plaasvind en sal bestaan uit ’n informele gesprek rondom integrasie- en

identiteitsaangeleenthede. Soos die geval is met die sessies soos hierbo uiteengesit, sal die onderhoude plaasvind op verskillende dae gedurende die tweede, derde en vierde skoolkwartale. Die aantal, datums en tye sal vasgestel word in oorleg met u en u kind, indien hy of sy belangstel om deel te neem. Die onderhoude sal sowat 45 minute lank wees en sal in ’n lokaal op die skoolterrein plaasvind. As gevolg van die beperkte tyd en hulpbronne wat beskikbaar is, kan ek weer eens nie waarborg dat elke leerder wat wil deelneem, betrek sal kan word nie. Daarom sal ek die inligting wat in die kort vraelys verskaf word, gebruik om ewekansig twaalf leerlinge uit beide geslagte en verskillende etniese groeperings te selekteer.

Hoe sal my kind baat by die projek?
Die ondersoek bied aan u kind verskillende geleenthede. Terwyl hy saam met ander leerders werk, sal u kind die kans hê om mense te ontmoet en nuwe vriende te maak. Hulle sal die geleentheid hê om betrokke te raak in besprekings en debatte oor ’n wye reeks onderwerpe, wat jeug-identiteit, diversiteit, inklusiwiteit en onderwys in Suid-Afrika insluit. Hierdeur sal u kind verskillende gesigspunte leer ken, en kennis en idees met verskillende en ander mens te deel. Deelname aan die studie sal u kind ook verskillende vaardighede ontwikkel, waaronder inbegrepe kommunikasie en voorlegging en aanbieding. U kind sal ook die kans kry om kreatief te wees, deur mee te werk aan die ontwerp van die sessies en te besluit hoe die groep se bevindinge aangebied gaan word. Ten slotte sal u kind die geleentheid hê om by te dra tot navorsing oor integrasie in die Suid-Afrikaanse onderwys, waarvan die resultate aan sowel die skoolhoof as aan die KwaZulu-Natalse Onderwysdepartement [KZN DoE] deurgegee sal word.

Wat gaan gebeur met die inligting wat jy verskaf?
Die inligting wat u kind in hierdie projek, deur ons besprekings en groepswerk, verskaf, sal deur my gebruik word om my PhD-studie te voltooi. Ek sou ook graag die bevindinge van my ondersoek in akademiese tydskrifte en/of ’n boek wou publiseer, sowel as om dit by nasionale en internasionale kongresse aan te bied. Ek beoog ook om ’n aantal navorsingsverslae te lewer, waardeur die bevindings van hierdie studie aan verskeie gehore voorgehou kan word. Afsonderlike navorsingsverslae sal ook aan u en u kind gegee word, asook aan die onderwysers en skoolhoof. Daar sal ook, ten slotte, ’n navorsingsverslag saamgestel word vir die KwaZulu-Natalse Onderwysdepartement [KZN DoE].

Vertroulikheid is baie belangrik in hierdie studie. Gedurende die projek sal al die versamelde inligting [insluitende moontlike opnames van onderhoude, onderhoudsaantekeninge, diagramme, foto’s en veldwerkaantekeninge ens.] óf in my persoonlike rekenaar gebêre word, beskerm deur ’n ontsluitingswagwoord óf by my woning. Slegs ek sal toegang tot die inligting hê. Wanneer die studie afgehandel is, sal ek alle geskrewe notas versnipper, alle elektroniese inligting uitvee en alle opnames wat in die projek gemaak is, vernietig.

Anonimiteit en vertroulikheid
In my proefskrif, en in alle geskrewe en gepubliseerde verslae, artikels, boeke, asook aanbiedinge, sal u kind se naam nie gebruik word nie. Die naam van die skool sal ook versweë bly. In plaas daarvan sal ek skuilname gebruik om die identiteit van sowel die skool as daardie leerlinge wat instem om deel te neem, te verbloem. Hierdeur bly u kind anoniem, en hulle insette in die studie vertroulik. Anonimiteit word egter meer problematies in die geval van die opstel van verslae vir die skoolhoofde, leerkragte, ouers/voogde en die leerders, aangesien ander leerlinge en personeel van die skool sal weet wie het aan die navorsing deelgeneem en daarom sou kon raai wat die identiteit van die deelnemers is. Alhoewel ek nie anonimiteit onder hierdie omstandighede kan waarborg nie, sal ek nog steeds skuilname gebruik, en kan ek u verseker dat ek toegewy is daaraan om respekvol en met diskresie op te tree. Ek sal probeer om vertroulikheid so ver moontlik te verseker.

Deelname is vrywillig
Dit is belangrik om te onthou dat deelname aan hierdie projek volkome vrywillig is. As u sou besluit dat u nie wil hê dat u kind deelneem nie, sal u kind geen vorm van vooroordeel of benadeling ly nie. As u kind instem om deel te neem en later van gedagte verander, staan dit hom of haar vry om die projek te eniger tyd te verlaat.

Dit is ook belangrik dat u hierdie projek met u kind bespreek indien hy of sy sou wou deelneem. Indien u kind betrokke wil wees by die projek, moet u asseblief die verklaring, waarin u u toestemming verleen, teken. U kind moet ’n ander verklaring om sy of haar instemming om deel te neem aan die studie te verklaar.

Indien u enige verdere vrae het, moenie huiwer om my of die projekleiers te skakel nie.

Baie dankie vir u tyd, en ek sien uit daarna om van u te hoor.

Vriendelike groete

Tamlynn Fleetwood (MSoc Sci UKZN)
Department of Geography
Durham University.
Kontak-/selfoonnommer:074 419 4582
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Die kontakbesonderhede van my projekleiers is:

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LEARNER QUESTIONNAIRE

First name/s and surname: _____

Grade: _____

Age: _____

Gender: _____

Race/Ethnicity: _____

Place of residence (residential area/ suburb only): _____

Contact telephone number: _____

Any specific dietary requirements: _____

Please indicate how you would like to participate in this study:
(Put a cross in the relevant block/s)

a) I would like to take part in the individual interviews only ☐

b) I would like to take part in the activity afternoons only ☐

c) I would like to take part in the activity afternoons and the individual interviews ☐

If you would like to take part in the activity afternoons, please indicate which afternoons (Monday – Friday) you are most likely to be free during the first and second terms:

First term: _____

Second term: _____

Thank you very much for your time!

DECLARATION FOR LEARNERS

I …….. (full name of learner) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this information pack and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

…… ……
SIGNATURE OF LEARNER DATE

DECLARATION FOR PARENTS/GUARDIANS

I …….. (full name of parent/guardian) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this information pack and the nature of the research project, and I consent to allowing my child to participate in this research project.

I understand that my child is at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should they so desire.

…… ……
SIGNATURE OF PARENT/GUARDIAN DATE

Appendix 4.4: LO informed consent letter for learners

DEAR LEARNER

My name is Tamlynn Fleetwood and I am a South African doctoral student currently undertaking a PhD in Human Geography at the University of Durham (in the UK). My research project aims to investigate social inclusion and integration in South African secondary schools, by exploring the everyday experiences and identities of learners. I am currently working with two multicultural schools within the eThekwini Municipality, your school being one of them. I have been working with different groups of learners at both schools since the beginning of this year.

As part of my project, I have been given permission by your school to use two Grade 8GO lessons to conduct further research. These lessons will take place during the 5th period on Monday 20th September and the 1st period on Tuesday 21st September. In the lessons, I intend to work with the class to explore your identities as young South Africans and your feelings about the country and your school. In order to explore these issues, we will engage in brainstorming exercises and class discussion.

The information that you provide in the lessons, through our discussions and group work, will be used by me to complete my PhD studies. I would also like to publish the results of this study in academic journals and/or a book, as well as present the findings at both national and international conferences. The results will also be detailed in a number of separate research reports for the school's learners, parents/guardians, educators and principal. Finally, a research report will also be handed to the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education. Thus, by participating in this project, you will have the opportunity to contribute to research on integration in South African education, the results of which will be reported back both to the school and to provincial government.

Confidentiality is important in this research project. During the project, the gathered information (including possible taped recordings of class discussions, diagrams and fieldwork notes etc.) will be stored either on my personal computer, guarded with a security password, or in my place of residence. Only I will have access to this information. After the study is complete, I will shred any written notes, delete all of the electronic information and destroy any tapes produced in the project.

It is also important to point out that participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you decide that you do not wish to take part, arrangements will be made for you to work with Mrs. Turner for the allocated periods. You will not be disadvantaged in any way if you do not take part in the project. It is also important

to point out that the identity of the school and the learners will be concealed using psydonymns in all research outputs. If you would like to be involved in this project, and you have your parents/guardians permission, please ask a parent/guardian to sign and date the declaration on the back of this page. The content of this letter will be discussed with you at the beginning of the first lesson and you will be asked to give your verbal consent to participate in class. The class educator, Mrs. Turner will be present to bear witness to this.

If you have any further queries please do not hesitate to contact either myself or one of my project supervisors.

Thank you for your time.

Kind regards

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Appendix 4.5: LO informed consent letter for parents/guardians

Dear Parents/Guardians

My name is Tamlynn Fleetwood and I am a South African doctoral student currently undertaking a PhD in Human Geography at the University of Durham. My research project aims to investigate social inclusion and integration in post-apartheid secondary schools, by exploring the everyday experiences and identities of learners. I am currently working with two multicultural schools within the eThekwini Municipality, your school being one of them. I have been working with different groups of learners at both schools since the beginning of this year.

As part of my project, I have been given permission by your school to use two Grade 8GO lessons to conduct further research. These lessons will take place during the 5th period on Monday 20th September and the first period on Tuesday 21st September. In the lessons, I intend to work with the class to explore learners' identities as young South Africans and their feelings about the country and their school. In order to explore these issues, we will engage in brainstorming exercises and class discussion.

The information that your child provides in the lessons, through our discussions and group work, will be used by me to complete my PhD studies. I would also like to publish the results of this study in academic journals and/or a book, as well as present the findings at both national and international conferences. The results will also be detailed in a number of separate research reports for the school's learners, parents/guardians, educators and principal. Finally, a research report will also be handed to the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education. Thus, by participating in this project, your child will have the opportunity to contribute to research on integration in South African education, the results of which will be reported back both to the school and to provincial government.

Confidentiality is important in this research project. During the project, the gathered information (including possible taped recordings of class discussions, diagrams and fieldwork notes etc.) will be stored either on my personal computer, guarded with a security password, or in my place of residence. Only I will have access to this information. After the study is complete, I will shred any written notes, delete all of the electronic information and destroy any tapes produced in the project.

It is also important to point out that participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you decide that you would not like your child to participate, or your child does not wish to take part, arrangements will be made for your child to work with Mrs. Turner for the allocated periods. You child will not be disadvantaged in any way if he/she does not take part in the project. It is also important to point out that the identity of the school and the learners will be concealed using psydonymns in all research outputs. If your child would like to be involved in this project and they have your permission, please sign and date the declaration on the back of this page. The content of this letter will be discussed with your child at the beginning of the first lesson and your child will be asked to give their verbal consent to participate in class. The class educator, Mrs. Turner, will be present to bear witness to this. I have also given the learners in the class a project information sheet so that they may read about the research beforehand.

If you have any further queries please do not hesitate to contact either myself or one of my project supervisors.

Thank you for your time.

Kind regards

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I …….. (full name of parent/guardian) hereby consent to allowing my child to participate in this research project.

I understand that my child is at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should they so desire.

…… **……**
SIGNATURE OF PARENT/GUARDIAN **DATE**

Ngiyakubingela Mzali/ Mqaphi wengane

Igama lami ngingu-Tamlynn Fleetwood ngingumfundi owenza iziqu zobudokotela (PhD studies kwi-Human Geography) eNyuvesi yase Durham eNgilandi. Lolucwaningo luyingxenye lwezifundo zami, bengifisa ukuthi ngilwenze nani lapha esikoleni senu. Ucwaningo lwami luqonde ukuthola kabanzi ukuthi ngabe kungakanani ukubandakanyeka komphakathi ezinguqukweni kwezemfundo emazingeni aphakeme. Ngilangazalele ukwazi ngezinto ezenzeka nsuku zonke ezimpilweni zabafundi (njengawe nje). Ngisebenzisane nezinhlobo ezimbili zamaciko ezikoleni ezingaphansi komkhandlu wetheku esinye sanzo. Ngisebenzisane nabafundi saba amaqembu kuzona zombili iziskole saqala ekuqaleni konyaka.

Njengoba lomsebenzi, ngiwuqalile ngibenmvume yokuthi ngiwenze ezikoleni zenu ngisebe nzisana, namanga amabili, ibanga leshumia. Ezempilo (LO) yokwenza uncwaningo lesisifundo sithatha indawo ngesikhathi ezempilo Monday 20th September and Tuesday 21st September. Isifundo ungasenza, ngedlela yokusebenzisana kwabafundi ngokolwazi thina esiyitsha yase ningizima Afrika sizizwe sinomdladla ngelizwe lethu, lesisifundo sezempilo sikhulisa ubuzwebethu nobuntu emabanseni lesishagalombili (8GO) ukusizabona. Bese beveza ucwaningo lwabo, nemibono, sifuna basabalale ngokweqondo babenke nemibono yabo ekilasiniuma befunda.

Ulwazi ozolunikezela kulolucwaningo, ngezingxoxo kanye nomsebenzi ozokwenziwa ngamaqoqo ngizowusebenzisa ukuqedela izifundo zamo, ngifisa ukuthi ngibhale incwadi futhi ngethule izinkulumo emazweni kanye naphakathi eNingizimu Afrikha. Ngalolucwaningo ngiyokhiqiza imiphumela emininginge, ngethule izinkulumo ezindaweni ezahlukene.Imiphumela iyotholakala ngokuhlukana omunye ngiyowunikezela kumzali/ umgadi wengane, abafundisi nothisha nhloko, ekugcineni imiphumela iyonikezelwa kumnyango wezemfundo KwaZulu Natal. Ekugcineni ingane yakho izothola ithuba lokuveza imibono enawo ngokuhlanganiswa kwemfundo. Imiphumela yalolucwaningo iyotholakala kothisha nhloko kanye nasemnyangweni yezemfundo KwaZulu Natal.

Ukuphepha noma ukugcina luyimfihlo lolucwaningo iyonanto ebalulekile ngesikhathi sisahlanganisa ulwazi noma sisaqoqa ulwazi njengmathephu esizobe siwasebenzisa, amanothi esizobe siwabhalile, imidwebo kanye nezithombe ngiyokugcina kuyimfihlo kwi computha yami ezobe ivikelelekile ngemfihlo namba yokuyivula. Nalapho engihlala khona iyobe iphephile iyimfihlo. Uma sengiqedile ngalezizinto ebengizisebenzisa ngiyokudabula njengamanothi abhaliwe, ngikususe nakwicomputha yami ngibulale namathephu azobe esebenzile ngesikhathi socwningo.

Kubalulekile ukuthi ngikukhumbuze ukuthi lolucwaningo akuphoqwe muntu uyazivolontiyela. Uma ingane ivuma ukuba yingxenye kuthi sekuphakathi bese ishintsha umqondo, ikhululekile ukuyeka noma ishiye phakathi nendawo noma nini. Uma khetha uthi ingane qwuthandi ukuthi ithathe ixaxeba kulomsebenzi, noma ingane ayithandi, sicela usheshe usitshele- kusanesikhathi khona sizokwenza enye idlela ngomntwana, ukuthi isebenze ku (media centre) ngaleso sikhathi saleso sifundo. Kuzozonke izinto esingike ngazibala ngocwaningo ukuthi ngizozenza njengokubhala izincwadi, nokuthula izinkulumo uma kunemihlangano ehlanganisa amazwe angeke ngalisebenzisa igama lengane kanye nelesikole konke kohlala kuyimfihlo. Ngiyosebenzisa amagama angekho ukuze ngeduse umkhondo ngesikole nangomfundi ovumile ukuba yingxenye. Ngaleyondlela ke ulwazi ingane eyolunikezela lohlala luyimfihlo kungaziwa ukuthi ubani utheni. Uma ingane yakho ingathanda ukuzimbandakanya nalesisifundo, ngicela imvume yakho, besengicela usayine ufake ndate imininginge uzoyithola ephepheni elinge muva. Iqikithi yalencwandi ukuba sicubungule nengane yakho ekukuqaleni kwesifundo sokuqala sezempilo nengane, sizobuya sibuze imibuzo ngokumbandakanya kwakhe ekilasini, ikilasi lizofundiswa ngunkosazana Turner, umauvumelana ngokuba wufakazi kulokhu, ngizonikeza abafundi ekilasini kulesisifundo, ngokolwazi iphepha kuzafane unfunde wenze ucwaningo ngezandla.

Uma unemimuzo ngicela ungangabazi ukuxhumana nami noma umsizi wami ngalesisifundo.

Ngiyabonga kakhulu ngesikhathi sakho

Ozithobayo

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I …….. (amagama aphelele omzali/umgadi) ngiyavuma ukuthi ingane yami ukuthi ithathe ixaxeba kulowncwaningo.

Ngiyezwa ukuthi ingane yami ukusebenza noma ingasiphi iskhathi.

…… **……**
SIGNATURE OF PARENT/GUARDIAN **DATE**

Appendix 4.6: Semi-structured interview schedule for learners

Introduction

- Greet
- Offer refreshments
- Make small talk (build rapport)
- Introduce myself
- Explain structure of interview (informal chat)
- Explain purpose/ aim of the study (What am I interested in finding out about?)
- Any questions?
- Explain ethics and consent (anonymity, voluntary, can refuse to answer questions)
- Can I use the tape recorder?
- Finally- if you are unhappy with anything about this interview- please speak to the school counsellor- who is aware of the project and has agreed to be the outside party to handle any issues or complaints about my research.
- Any questions?

NB: TAKE NOTES AS TAPE RECORDER MIGHT NOT WORK

Section A: Perceptions of school

Themes/topics to explore: perceptions/feelings about school; likes/dislikes about school; role/s of school

- How would you describe your school to someone who doesn't know the school? (Maybe someone who wished to come to your school?)
- What do you like about your school?
- What do you dislike about your school?
- What do you feel is/are the role/s of your school? (e.g. School must provide a good education, but should it be doing anything else?)
- How well do you feel your school is fulfilling this/these role/s?
- What changes would you make at your school if you could change anything?

Section B: Diversity and inclusion/exclusion at school

Themes/topics to explore: experiences and interactions at school; integration; inclusion / exclusion; diversity; social difference: culture; ethnicity; gender; religion; sexuality; nationality; class; place of residence

- What do you understand by the term 'diversity'?
- Do you feel included in, or part of, your school? Why/ Why not? Can you think of some examples?
- Do you feel excluded in any way in your school? Can you think of some examples?
- Do you think others are excluded at your school? (e.g. ethnicity/ race, gender, religion, homophobia, xenophobia, class, place of residence). Can you think of some examples?
- Do you think that your everyday interactions and experiences at school (e.g. sport, extra- murals, breaks) have broadened your understanding of the different cultures and ethnic groups in South Africa? Why/ Why not? Can you think of specific examples?
- Do you feel that your lessons at school (e.g. LO, history) have broadened your understanding of the different cultures and ethnic groups in South Africa? Why/ Why not? Can you think of specific examples?
- Do you think that your school is inclusive? In other words do you think that your school does a good job to meet the needs of its diverse student body? Why/ Why not?
- Is there anything your school could do to become more inclusive?
- How would you rate integration in your school out of ten (ten = fully integrated and 1 = segregated)?
- Are there many inter-racial couples at your school?

Section C: Exploring identity

Themes/topics to explore: identity; social difference: culture; ethnicity; gender; religion; sexuality; nationality; class; place of residence; space/place; South Africa.

- How would you describe yourself?
- List three ways in which you would describe yourself?

- How would you describe yourself at school? And at home or in your community? Do you adopt different roles/identities in different places? Can you provide some examples?
- How do you feel about South Africa?
- Are you proudly South African?
- How do you feel about your future in South Africa?
- How united is our nation?
- Do you feel that your generation is more unified than your parents' generation?
- What is standing in the way of a unified South Africa?
- What do you think some of the key challenges are facing young South Africans today?

Appendix 4.7: Informed consent letter for interviews with the school principals

Social inclusion and integration in South African education: the everyday experiences and identities of secondary school learners in Durban

Dear Mr/Mrs. (school principal's name)

I would like to conduct an informal interview with you for the purpose of introducing my study in greater detail and contextualising the project within the policy and practices of your institution. As discussed in the introductory letter, my research explores social integration and inclusion in post-apartheid secondary education. The purpose of this interview is to explore how integration is addressed in your institution. In this respect, I would like to gather information regarding the social demographics of your student body, as well as any strategies and/or policies that your institution may have in place in order to deal with integration in your school. I also hope to discuss some of the obstacles and successes that your school may have had in ensuring that your institution is socially integrated and inclusive. As the school principal, you have the necessary experience and knowledge to provide me with the information that I require. This information is important to allow me to better understand your institution and contextualise my study more specifically.

This interview will take the form of an informal discussion around a set of broad topics concerning integration at your school. The interview should not take longer than an hour. It is anticipated that similar conversations may take place throughout the fieldwork period, as we meet to discuss the progress of the research project.

The benefits of participating in this study are outlined in detail in the introductory letter. However, during the interview we will have the opportunity to discuss the focus of the project and explore how this research might benefit your school in particular, for example by providing valuable insight into the perspectives of learners regarding integration and inclusion at school.

This interview will be tape recorded only with your permission. If you would not like the interview to be recorded, I will take notes during our conversation. The information that you provide me with will be kept confidential and in my possession only. Any taped recordings or notes made during the interview will be destroyed once the project is complete.

Participation in this interview is voluntary and you may terminate the interview or refuse to answer any particular questions should you desire. This will not in any way compromise the project or your school's involvement. In the interests of confidentiality and anonymity, your name and the school's name will not be used in my thesis or in any presentations or published reports of the findings. Instead pseudonyms will be used.

If you have any further queries please do not hesitate to contact me, or one of my project supervisors. If you are willing to participate in this interview, please sign and date the declaration below.

Thank you for your time.

Kind regards
Tamlynn Fleetwood

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DECLARATION

I …….. (full name of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

…….
……..
SIGNATURE OF THE PARTICIPANT DATE

Appendix 4.8: Informed consent letter for interviews with the school educators

Social inclusion and integration in South African education: the everyday experiences and identities of secondary school learners in Durban

Dear Mr./Miss/Mrs.(name of educator)

I would like to conduct an informal interview with you for the purpose of better understanding how Life Orientation (LO) is taught at your school. I am particularly interested in the Grade 9, 10 and 11 curricula and the 'Citizenship Education' Learning Outcome that is part of LO in the higher grades. As discussed in my initial presentation, my research explores social integration and inclusion in post-apartheid secondary education. According to the Revised Curriculum Statements, LO and 'Citizenship Education' play an important role in teaching political literacy, promoting our Constitutional values and fostering solidarity amoungst learners. All of these are crucial to building inclusive and integrated schools. Thus, during this interview, I would like to investigate how political literacy, values and solidarity are taught and promoted at your school and in your classroom. As an LO educator, you have the necessary experience and knowledge to provide me with the information that I require. This information is important to allow me to better understand your institution and contextualise my study more specifically.

This interview will take the form of an informal discussion around a set of broad topics concerning LO, citizenship education, diversity and integration at your school. The interview should not take longer than 45 minutes.

This interview will be tape recorded only with your permission. If you would not like the interview to be recorded, I will take notes during our conversation. The information that you provide me with will be kept confidential and in my possession only. Any taped recordings or notes made during the interview will be destroyed once the project is complete.

Participation in this interview is voluntary and you may terminate the interview or refuse to answer any particular questions should you so desire. This will not in any way compromise the project or your school's involvement. In the interests of confidentiality and anonymity, your name and the school's name will not be used in my thesis or in any presentations or published reports of the findings. Instead pseudonyms will be used.

If you have any further queries please do not hesitate to contact me, or one of my project supervisors. If you are willing to participate in this interview, please sign and date the declaration below.

Thank you for your time.

Kind regards

Tamlynn Fleetwood

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DECLARATION

I …….. (full name of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

……. ……..
SIGNATURE OF THE PARTICIPANT DATE

Appendix 4.9: Semi- structured interview schedule for interviews with school principals

Topics to be explored:

- The establishment and history of the school.
- The vision/mission statement of the school.
- School admissions:
- The school's catchment area (where do learners come from?)
- The social demographics of the student body and of the school educators (how has this changed over time?).
- Annual school fees and percentage of learners who are exempt from making payments.

- The role of schools in promoting integration and social transformation according to government policy.
- How do you feel about this role of schools? How do you feel about these sorts of national policies?
- The difficulties in implementing government policy and objectives.
- The school's approach to integration e.g. vision, mission statement, admission/ integration policy, initiatives, strategies etc.
- Has the school changed its approach over the last decade? If so, how?
- The obstacles that hinder ensuring social integration in the school and how these obstacles might be overcome.
- The successes that the school has had in advancing social integration and inclusion.
- How this study and its particular focus may benefit the school e.g. by providing useful insight into learners' perspectives that may allow the school to become more inclusive and integrated.

Potential documents to collect:

- Information on the history of the school
- School vision and mission statement
- School code of conduct
- School admission policy and application form
- School integration policy if such a document exists
- School current demographic statistics
- School 2010 prospectus

Appendix 4.10: Semi-structured interview schedule for interviews with the school educators

Topics to be explored:

Outcomes- Based Education (OBE) and LO

- In your opinion, what are the key features of the current OBE model?
- In your opinion, what are the key differences between the current OBE model and the previous education system?
- What would you say are the main strengths and weaknesses of the current OBE model?
- What changes have been implemented to the OBE curriculum this year, in the face of the model's harsh criticism?
- What changes have been made to the LO Learning Area in particular?
- As LO is a new module that emerged as part of OBE, what was the equivalent module in the previous curriculum? Was there an equivalent module?

LO

- What is LO?
- Can you explain a little about each of the Learning Outcomes that constitute LO in the different grades?
- What are the key differences between the LO syllabus for the younger and higher grades?
- What grades do you teach?
- How many classes/hours per week do learners in different grades have LO?

LO and 'Citizenship Education'

- What exactly is taught at your school for the 'Citizenship Education' Learning Outcome for LO?
- How does this content vary across the different grades?
- How do educators decide on the content of this Learning Outcome? (On an individual basis or between all the LO educators?)
- How is this Learning Outcome examined?
- How is all the LO content examined?
- What does the Department of Education (DoE) specify must be taught for this Learning Outcome?
- In the LO curriculum, it states that this Learning Outcome should teach learners political literacy (i.e. the democratic political system, laws, rights and responsibilities, skills for political participation) and about the Constitutional values (i.e. non-sexism, non-racism, equality, tolerance, respect, reconciliation). These are also to be taught as part of the 'Social Development' Learning Outcome in the Grade R-9 curriculum. How is teaching this knowledge, skills and values approached in this school?
- In particular, which values do you teach/focus on in this school? And in your classroom?
- How do you teach these values?
- Are these values taught in other Learning Areas?
- Have you been confronted with any problems in teaching these values in the classroom?
- In the curriculum it also states that the 'Citizenship Education' Learning Outcome should teach learners about social diversity in South Africa (i.e. different cultures

and religions) and help learners respect and embrace this diversity. Once again this focus also forms part of the 'Social Development' Learning Outcome in the Grade R-9 curriculum. How do you teach this part of the LO Learning Area?

- Have you been confronted with any problems in teaching these issues in the classroom?
- Is any level of patriotism taught at school? (i.e. the national anthem, the flag, national holidays etc.)

Diversity and integration at school

- How do you feel about the role of schools in promoting integration and social transformation?
- Do you feel that there are any obstacles that hinder ensuring social integration in your school? If yes, how do you think these obstacles might be overcome?
- In your opinion, has your school been successful in advancing social integration and inclusion in your opinion? Please provide examples.