AN EXPLORATION OF CONTROL IN SCHOOLS:
A discourse analysis of secondary school mission statements in
the greater Cape Town region.

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of Master of Education (Education Support), in the
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Candice McKinnon
Student number: MCKCAN001

Supervisor: Dr. A. P. Craig
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ABSTRACT

Given the political changes in South Africa in recent years, an exploration of any particular set of education-related documents, as far as the impossibilities/possibilities they allow for action, is made tempting and promising. This is what the present study takes on; more particularly, a discourse analysis (disciplined reading) of school mission statements. The results in general reveal support for both a traditional and a liberal/progressive orientation to schooling and control, arguably limiting the possibility of realising democracy within the school, and increasing the likelihood of punitive techniques of control. One of the most evident ideals seems to be of providing for the nation's person-power needs, and of ensuring later financial security for the individual. Finally, it was found that at well resourced schools, there is a resistance to transformation and in particular social equality, accompanied by support for a liberal capitalist system. In comparison, at less resourced schools there is less support for a capitalist system, but rather a desire for socioeconomic transformation.
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... [P]ower does not operate solely through coercion and repression, indeed such acts would be examples of the failure of power. Instead, power operates through 'knowledgeable' discourses and practices which intensify the gaze to which the subject is subjected by ordering, measuring, categorising, normalising and regulating. In disciplining the body, persons as subjects become governable, thus marginalising the need for coercion in the regulation of populations. Thus, when discipline is effective, power operates through persons rather than upon them. It is when disciplinary regulation breaks down that coercion comes to the fore. The modern world is constituted in the never complete attempt to displace coercion by discipline, a difference which does not do away with the exercise of power, but reconstitutes it around different relations of oppression and emancipation, a contradiction which can be unsettled but cannot be overcome. Thus, to view the removal of corporal punishment from schooling as simply the creation of a more humane environment does not do justice to the complexity of the situation. It may be that such moves signify a greater confidence in the regulatory role of these institutions, which obviates the need to use force.

Marshall, 1989: 92-93
In this chapter, I will set the scene for chapters two to five, by briefly outlining both the research task and the rationale of the study. The aim of the study is to reveal concealed power configurations enabling/disabling the possibility/impossibility for the operation of particular forms of control in schools, through a discourse analysis of school mission statements. Let it be noted right at the outset that this study explores possibilities and impossibilities, and does not purport to examine and/or investigate hypotheses and or questions. The findings generated are therefore not evidence for or against claims to truth; rather, the aim is to disclose possibilities for action and reaction against the said and unsaid of relevant texts.

The research task is firstly to investigate the discursive relations constituted in school mission statements. The results from this scrutiny may reveal a range of discourses, within and across documents, from a mirroring to a contradiction of the vision put forward by education policy statements. This could be used to inform the development of school-focused interventions aimed at promoting “the values underlying the democratic process” and “countering the legacy of violence” (Dept. of education, 1995: 22) in our country.

Current educational policy, notably the White Paper on Education (published in the Government Gazette on 15 March 1995), embodies radical changes in ideology, and is very clear in terms of its pursuits of ideals. It is stated, for instance, that the “realisation of democracy, liberty, equality, justice and peace are necessary conditions for the full pursuit and enjoyment of lifelong learning” and that the “legacy of violence [must be countered] by promoting the values underlying the democratic process and the charter of fundamental rights, the importance of due process of law and exercise of
civic responsibility, and by teaching values and skills for conflict management and conflict resolution, the importance of mediation, and the benefits of toleration and cooperation" (Ibid: 22).

These quoted commitments in the White Paper on Education are revealing in several ways. For instance, 'lifelong learning' is embraced as a priority. In other words, people are encouraged to seek to educate themselves continually, whether in formal or informal contexts, as opposed to the traditional view of education as occurring for a limited period of time and usually accessible only to the youth. Secondly, it is clear that education is seen to encompass more than the acquisition of knowledge. Rather, there is a sense that learners must be taught in such a way that those qualities and principles valued by the present government (as embodied in the White Paper on Education), become accepted by the governed as their own. Furthermore, education is seen as an important tool for the state in changing the norms of society. Thus education at schools (funded or partly funded by the state, and thus as its instruments) can counter social problems through promoting particular values and skills.

The problem of violence, for instance, has been addressed through the prohibition of corporal punishment in schools (South African Schools Act no. 84, 1996). This new law has met with responses ranging from approval in some quarters, to grave concern and dissatisfaction in others, and continues to be a topic for heated debate amongst educational stakeholders. Subsequently, the issue has received much media coverage, including being addressed repeatedly in local newspaper reports. Some schools reported being unaffected by the law, having replaced corporal punishment of their own accord prior to its use at schools being banned officially. At other schools corporal punishment has been a routine practice, and is considered as being the most

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1 As did the previous government. Professor William Makgoba is reported (by Bunsee in the Cape Times: 22/01/1998) as going so far as saying that educationists should be brought before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for their part in producing the lawyers, doctors, journalists and academics that upheld the apartheid system.
effective means of ensuring discipline; parents, learners and educators from this quarter all voiced strong concerns over the change in policy.

While there is much concern over a minority of schools choosing to retain the use of corporal punishment\(^2\), this may be considered to be the manifest level of the problem. Possibly of more significance is the possibility that corporal punishment has been replaced with alternative control measures\(^3\) that are equally harmful. Specifically, corporal punishment is easily recognised as coercive, while other coercive techniques may be more easily masqueraded as being non-coercive. Moreover, if the values supporting the practice of corporal punishment are still accepted by the school community, the implication is that coercive techniques (albeit excluding corporal punishment \textit{per se}) will still be accepted and practiced.

Holt (1965: 175) has this to say on the subject:

The idea of painless, non-threatening coercion is an illusion. Fear is the inseparable companion of coercion, and its inescapable consequence. If you think it is your duty to make children do what you want, whether they will or not, then it follows inexorably that you must make them afraid of what will happen to them if they don’t do what you want. You can do this in the old-fashioned way, openly and avowedly, with the threat of harsh words, infringement of liberty, or physical punishment. Or you can do it in the modern way, subtly, smoothly, quietly, by withholding the acceptance and approval which you and others have trained the children to depend on; or by making them feel that some retribution awaits them in the future, too vague to imagine but too implacable to escape. You can, as many skilled teachers do, learn to tap with a word, a gesture, a look, even a smile, the greatest reservoir of fear, shame, and guilt that today’s children carry around inside them. Or you can simply let your own fears, about what will happen to you if the children don’t do what you want, reach out and infect them.

This quote clearly illustrates the violent nature of coercion, whatever its guise may be.

\(^2\) As evidenced by the proliferation of newspaper articles on the topic.

\(^3\) Moreover, the question arises as to whether the banning of corporal punishment exclusively, implicitly condones, or even encourages the use of other (non-physical) punishments. Already, a reader has written to a local newspaper complaining that the verbal punishment allegedly received by a class of primary-schoolers should not be tolerated, as it amounts to an injustice at least similar to corporal punishment. (Cape Argus, 29/8/97, p. 11).
An important aspect of the study is thus an interest in the relationship between the ideals of democracy, liberty, equality, justice and peace, and the use of control in schools. Schools may, for instance, have stated goals that are democratic, but embrace an orientation to control that does not concur with such goals. This kind of ambiguous configuration as regards the explicit goals versus implicit views about control is ideally suited to a discourse analytic study.

In sum then, there is a urgent need to explore the whole context, in relation to schools, in which the problem of violence (in all its forms) is occurring. This includes a scrutiny of our ideas of schools, and of control, which in turn encompass particular ideas of the nature of learners, learning, education and indeed discipline as well as particular measures of control (corporal punishment, detention, suspension and expulsion, as well as counselling and other more insidious means).

In this study nine mission statements from schools spanning the socio-economic class structure in Cape Town are analyzed within a discourse analytic framework. On the face of it, the mission statement tells of the school’s stated goals, and embodies the values and ideals it ascribes to. Functionally, it provides the framework against which decisions, including policies and rules, are made at the school. Thus it impacts on the culture of teaching and learning, and the government and management of the school (Sonn, 1997). As such, they demand a close reading/deconstruction in order to rescue the unsaid (to reveal concealed under-currents, such as the construction of power relations). In eliciting from the mission statements the features considered to be the crucial elements of an effective school, and the goals thereof, what will come to the fore is the ways in which concepts such as schooling and learners are constructed, and thus the ways of creating order/control that are most possible or likely. This will lay the groundwork for examining the extent to which the discourses of democracy, liberty, equality, justice and peace, emerging from the policy statement (quoted above), are reflected, resisted or denied by mission statements.
This chapter provides a backdrop against which the results of the study are discussed in chapter 5. In this chapter I review relevant literature on schooling, control/order and the relationship between them. In doing so, there is an exploration of how and why schools came to have their current features, illuminating the influence of the past on the present, thus providing the theoretical background for a deconstruction of school mission statements.

2.1 Schooling

In the first section, I will present some of the developments in the formation of the Westernised institution of schools, a brief history of the South African adoption thereof, and a number of current ideas and debates over the process of schooling.

The word 'school', when used as a noun, indicates the place where 'schooling' occurs; that is, where "instructional, indoctrinational, training, or educational processes are organized and administered" " (Johanningmeier, 1996: 585). Thus when 'schooling' is referred to, it is meant to imply (in the broadest sense) that which occurs at 'schools'.

The argument for defining and exploring the notion of the school is that schools have achieved such a taken-for-granted and central status in our society that we may forget that the 'school' is not "a universal and immutable institution" (Johanningmeier, 1996: 585). Simply, 'school' is taken to mean "a designated place, usually... away from the
home, where children and youth ... are sent ... to learn with others of approximately the same age what their elders and society's authorities believe they should learn" (Ibid: 586). This is a deceptively neutral definition that hides from view the many contradictory discourses of what a school is for different people at different times in their lives and in their different life positions.

Interestingly, the word ‘school’ is derived from an ancient Greek word meaning ‘leisure’, as it was reserved, in pre-industrial societies, as a luxury for the privileged elite. As it did not increase a person's productivity, it was only relevant (and accessible) to people able to afford the time and money to cultivate the mind for its own sake. It is this history that is explored briefly below.

2.1.1 Origin and development of schooling

Education, seen here as any deliberate attempts to guide behaviour, has always, in some form or another, formed a vital part of human life. Education in the earliest of human cultures was motivated by needs of self-preservation; that is, to maintain the gains that had been made over many years in coping with (and in most cases controlling) the environment (Butts, 1955). That is, people must learn their culture, where culture is seen as “the sum total of ways of behaving that a group of people builds up and expects its members to acquire, share, and live by” (Ibid: 1). Education must then form an essential part of the process whereby a culture is transmitted (enculturation) - a process which characterizes human life. The forms which education has taken, however, have varied greatly through history. Because of the absence of writing in prehistoric times, it is not possible to know precisely what form education took. What is almost certain, though, is that formalized institutions, functioning to educate, which we today perceive as a fundamental part of education, did not exist.

In contemporary society, the school forms a central part of people's lives. Yet, schooling, and what we now think of as a school, that is, in its multi-room, multi-
teacher format, is, in reality, of recent (late 19th century) origin. Schooling should thus not be confused with education. Schooling, representing a formal attempt at education (incorporating formal teaching processes), became necessary as cultures became more complex. For instance, and concerning the western development of schooling, the more a culture had to deal with written material, the more necessary it became to teach certain individuals to write, and acquire formal competencies and skills, thus necessitating the development of formal education (Atkinson & Maleska, 1962; Butts, 1955).

The remains of copybooks made by boys learning to write, indicate the development of schools in Egypt, prior to 1000BC, and, in Iraq, textbooks on mathematics have been found which date back to as early as 2000BC. The school "became the specialized place where the language and written material were learned through memorizing the accumulated knowledge of the past and the accepted modes of conduct" (Butts, 1955: 16). Writing was a scarce skill then, but became increasingly necessary, and highly prized. Evidence indicates that, in those early times, writing, and thus formal schooling, was confined to the upper classes. Schools played no part in the lives of the majority of people, who were educated by their families to the ways of their culture, and into an occupation, largely by observing and helping their elders.

The brief account given, aims to show how schooling is socially and historically constructed. The school has undergone, and continues to undergo, many changes, depending on economic, technological, religious, and ideological influences, amongst others. In South Africa many such changes have occurred recently, over a very short period of time. For instance, the desegregation of schools, changes in allocation in funding to schools (to ensure equity and redress), the integration of the many education departments, the introduction of 'continuous assessment' and most recently, the abolishment of corporal punishment, are all changes which have occurred since 1992.

Formal educational attempts were restricted to boys, as females did not have access to positions in society that required literacy and numeracy skills.
Butts (1955) provides a detailed description and discussion of the changes in Western education throughout history. He illustrates clearly how the school, as a product and agent of society, has been moulded in form and function. Since it was around the nineteenth century that schools in Europe began to approximate the schools we know of today, I will summarise Butts' description of the major social developments in Europe during that time. Four social trends are described as having been particularly influential on schooling. These are nationalism, liberalism, industrialism, and capitalism.

- **Nationalism**
  In the nineteenth century, the nation-state came to have complete political authority, in that it could determine its boundaries, and all political arrangements within those boundaries. To maintain the idea of 'nations', the development of the idea of cultural nationality became important. All people living within the declared boundaries of the nation were encouraged to see themselves as belonging to that nation, by virtue of their 'culture', which included a common history, language, customs, and so on. In this respect, education became a prime means to develop a spirit of nationalism.

- **Liberalism**
  Nineteenth century liberalism originated in the humanitarian movements of the Enlightenment period, was concerned with the ideals of equality, individual worth, and the civil liberties, and thus with achieving political democracy. Two types of liberalism emerged, one resting on the belief that the state should allow individuals to seek their own interests. The second type corresponded to a belief that the state should serve the interests of the majority of people by reorganising institutions and raising the level of common life.
• The Industrial Revolution -
Butts (1955) describes the Industrial Revolution as the most fundamental revolution in the nineteenth century. It is no exaggeration to say that the development of technology had a monumental impact on people’s lives, and on education as an institution. With mass production, individuals who had previously worked at home, skillfully employed in making goods, worked as unskilled labourers in large factories. Due to the increase in productivity, there was a greater need for raw materials, which were then increasingly sought in undeveloped parts of the world.

• Capitalism -
The “laissez-faire capitalism” characterised in the early Enlightenment Period (17th Century) by a market kept open for free competition, controlled only through supply and demand, was transformed by the effects of the Industrial Revolution in the 19th Century. The ideas of a laissez-faire economy were maintained, but due to the changed conditions in the production of goods, the capitalist-worker relationship changed significantly. That is to say, workers, who had previously been largely independent of the merchants (who bought the raw materials, thus acting as middle-men), became dependent on factory owners for their wages and their jobs.

With the intent of propagating particular world views and/or alleviating the conditions prevailing due to the interaction of the above-mentioned social trends, many different social programmes were proposed. Butts (1955) details the most important of these as being conservatism, humanitarianism, socialism, communism, and fascism. The

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5 The “Enlightenment” is also called “the age of reason”, dating roughly from the 17th Century. It was a reaction against the stranglehold of Religion and tradition on thinking and saw the birth of empirical science.
6 Conservatism - a person preferring the presentation of institutions etc. unchanged (Brown, 1993).
7 Humanitarian - a person believing in the primary importance of the advancement or welfare of the human race (Ibid)
8 Socialism - a political and economic theory or policy of social organization which advocates that the community as a whole should own and control the means of production, capital, land, property, etc. (Ibid)
9 Communism - a theory advocating a system of society with property vested in the community and each member working for the common benefit according to his or her capacity and receiving according to his or her needs (Ibid)
10 Fascism - a political and governmental system characterised by authoritarianism and espionage, and often with a national military force.
I wish to thank my supervisor, Anita Craig, for her care, thoroughness, and her unfailing logic in the structuring and editing of this study, and for continuing to supervise me even though her commitments to UCT were over.

Thanks to the nine schools who so graciously allowed me to use their mission statements and to my colleagues at Sea Point High school, particularly to Doug and Marina, for being so understanding.

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conflicts of these elements were reflected in the educational systems in Europe. While
"the forces of nationalism, capitalism, conservatism, and religion tended to reinforce
the aristocratic character of educational institutions ... the forces of liberalism,
humanitarianism, and socialism tended to make education more democratic" (Ibid:
352). In South Africa, as a colony of Britain at the time, the education system was
influenced in many ways by the form the struggle took there (i.e. schools in South
Africa developed a strongly hierarchical and rigidly controlled character, embracing
Christian religious prescriptions and emphasizing tradition\textsuperscript{10}).

2.1.2 Schooling in South Africa: a brief history

With a bearing on the previous discussion, and in order to appreciate current
educational initiatives and debates in South Africa, I will briefly sketch the early
developments of Western schooling in this country, as described by Christie (1991)
and Malherbe (1975).

The first formal schooling introduced by the European settlers focussed on religious
instruction (in the doctrines of the Dutch Reformed Church), although including basic
reading, writing and arithmetic. It was fairly scarce, available only through community
organization and parental funding of travelling teachers, and mostly, but not
exclusively, to the settler children. With the onset of British rule in 1815, education,
seen as a means of social control and of spreading British culture, became prioritised,
resulting in a fairly organised schooling system. Schooling was not compulsory, and
better schools were available for those who could afford them.

With the abolishment of slavery in 1833, education of the indigenous population
became a tool for ensuring a supply of disciplined labour. Mission schools, as virtually

\textsuperscript{10} Fascism - political movement with a small natural constituency seeking to operate as the exclusive truth
system for the whole of a pluralistic society (Ibid)
the only source of schooling for the indigenous peoples (although not excluding settler children), provided this role, through its attempts at spreading the Western way of life, and instilling work values. That is, although the primary aim of missionaries was to spread the Gospel, because their Christian doctrine was tied up in a Western value system, they (with the support of the merchants and the colonial government) emphasised the 'Christian values' inherent in hard work, patience, humility, and so on. Critics have argued this helped prepare black people for a subservient position in society. Through various tactics (such as introducing taxes, and the system of migrant labour), concurrent with the discovery of gold, the government ensured the gradual development of an unskilled black working class, who were paid less than their white (more skilled) counterparts.

After the Boer War (1899-1902), in an effort to overcome the associated social upheaval, schooling became free and compulsory for 'children whose parents are of European descent'. Although the Afrikaners were initially opposed to what they saw as a system forcing them to adopt English language and culture, the system of schooling they set up (Christian National Education) did not at that time survive the competition it had with the free education offered by the British. Black education, however, remained the responsibility of the church, which, due to a lack of resources, could not offer the necessary quantity of schooling. Thus, a system of segregated, unequal education prevailed; a system entrenched under the apartheid system, with the rise to power of the National Party in 1948. Moreover, with the passing of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 (requiring that all schools for Africans be registered with the government), many of the mission schools closed down.

In section 2.1.4, the more recent developments in South African schooling will be presented. Section 2.1.3 provides a backdrop for this discussion, as it is placed in the...

That is, the traditions developed and cherished in British schools, which include the idea of a school uniform, nationalist demonstrations such as the singing of the Anthem and raising the British flag, as well as the development of 'school spirit' by means of school house competitions and so on.
broader context of the conceptualization and development of mass schooling in general in the Western world.

2.1.3 Schooling for the masses

“Schooling has been a means both for the enlightenment and development of the individual and a means for achieving the purposes of the state” Kemmis (1986: 37). In discussing the role of the state in the development of mass education, Hunter (1994) (in Marxist fashion) compares two viewpoints: that of the bourgeoisie and the working classes. For the bourgeoisie, mass education was important for the creation of a socially disciplined proletariat. Education is thus viewed from a utilitarian perspective, and thus pedagogy is repressive, based on discipline, rote learning and the inculcation of moral virtues. In contrast, the working classes wanted a school system that was democratically organised, geared towards liberation. An emancipatory pedagogy (of self-activity, personal discovery and creative understanding) was envisaged.

Kemmis (1986) argues that mass education, when it occurred in Europe in the 20th Century, was linked to the need of the modern industrial state for skilled labour, rather than as a goal towards individual development. Dewey (1916) presents a different viewpoint, emphasising instead the influence of a democratic form of government. “[A] government resting upon popular suffrage cannot be successful unless those who elect and who obey their governors are educated” (Dewey, 1916: 87).

The rise of mass education need not have resulted in the particular multi-teacher form of schooling with which we are now so familiar. Hamilton (1989) suggests that had the task been simply to cope with a growth in the school population, more ‘one-teacher schools’ could have resulted. Instead, he argues that schools reflect late nineteenth century assumptions about hierarchical management. Mass education required, and led to, higher levels of institutionalisation (for instance, the control by the state of the necessary qualifications of teachers, and what is to be taught). Kemmis (1986)
suggests three purposes of institutionalisation. It was needed for **pragmatic reasons** (such as establishing the quality of provision of education), for **reasons of justice and equity** (to ensure comparable quality of education), and for **political-economic reasons** (enabling the regulation of the reproduction of the division of labour). Corresponding to the latter, a differentiated society demanded a rational basis for the differentiation of labour power; and education became the crucial instrument by which the state could achieve such differentiation (according to Lundgren [1983] in Kemmis [1986]).

In the 19th Century, in the quest to build a more rational (scientific) society, schools took a more active role in social allocation through meritocratic\(^{12}\) testing. This has manifested as control, in testing, ability grouping, and the differentiation of subjects and schools in relation to the abilities and achievements of students. Hence, schooling can be seen as taking the place of social class in allocating students to strata in society (Kemmis, 1986). The allocation of life opportunities is thus justified **meritocratically** - those who achieve are allowed to believe that they deserve the rewards (at the expense of others), due to a belief in the fairness of the sorting process at school. In other words, schooling has operated ideologically to legitimate certain outcomes.

The achievement of differentiation in the labour market through meritocratic principles seems 'fair', and at first glance is in accord with notions of equality (cf. the 'American Dream' ideal of middle class America). It is possible for children born into a working class family to be successful at school (and achieve the middle class status which usually follows). However, this is not usually the case. Instead, the appearance of equality of opportunity is useful to legitimate inequalities. Kallaway (1984) explains that the kind of knowledge that is determined as worthwhile (i.e. school knowledge) is derived largely from the middle class culture of the time, and represents the interests of those in power. Thus children from a middle class culture are advantaged in the school setting (Kemmis, 1986).

\(^{12}\) Based on the principles of meritocracy, which is "a social system giving power to those who show personal abilities and achievements" (Garmoney, 1965)
2.1.4 Mass schooling in South Africa

In South Africa, the development of Bantu Education in the twentieth century approximated the mass schooling which developed in the Britain, the USA, and Europe towards the end of the nineteenth century. Liberals have argued that Bantu Education was not in line with developments in mass schooling in Britain, the USA, and Europe, and thus was “evil/bad/immoral/irrational/bizarre/backward/outdated/at odds with common sense” (Kallaway, 1984: 27). This line of argument suggests that the mass education provided in those countries was exemplary, and, if followed in South Africa, would have resulted (or still could result) in an ‘improved’ society. Kallaway (1984) argues, though, that Bantu Education was a local variant of Western mass schooling under capitalism. In both cases, children of the lower class were disadvantaged; Bantu Education had the additional eccentric feature of categorising children by the colour of their skin.

Historically, the purpose of black education in South Africa has been to provide a supply of labour, in the interests of the production and accumulation of capital (Nkomu, 1990). Although Bantu Education received worldwide and local criticism for providing schools of lower quality, schools in first-world Western countries are also of varying quality, with better quality schools either being available for people living in wealthier areas, or for people who can afford the fees of private schools. Radical theorists argue then, that oppression in South Africa in general, and in South African schools in particular, although along racial lines, can be regarded as a feature of capitalist development, more than that of racial prejudice (Kallaway, 1984). That is, the education under the National Party government, aside from being segregated along racist lines (according to the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the Colored Persons’ Education Act of 1963, and the Indian Education Act of 1965), assumed an orientation which had an economic rationality to it, aimed at ensuring a “semi-skilled black labor

'Bantu Education' refers to the education system set up in the Apartheid regime, specifically to educate the people classified as black in Apartheid South Africa.
force that would minister to the needs of the capitalist economy at the lowest cost possible" (Nkomo, 1990: 294).

In support of this primary objective, other aims of apartheid education outlined by Nkomo (1990) are as follows: firstly, the socialization of youth to accept as natural, the social relations of Apartheid (implying the superiority of Western civilization over any other), as well as to foster an appreciation by black youth of individualism and capitalism; to promote white consciousness; to instill the idea of racial separation as natural and preferable to integration, through imposing and enforcing attendance at separate schools; and to promote intellectual underdevelopment\textsuperscript{14} of all but the white population, through an extreme under-resourcing\textsuperscript{15} of non-white education.

The subsequent protestation to these objectives by black people, as schools became sites of struggle (over educational and other political issues), rose to levels that could not have been anticipated by the previous government. Schools, as opposed to being sites of ideological reproduction, became sites at which the dominant ideology was challenged, and at which a critical consciousness, undermining the official curriculum, was produced (Christie, 1991; Kallaway, 1984; Nkomo, 1990). The initial demands simply for an education equal in quality to that received by white people, were thus succeeded by an opposition and resistance to the very nature (including content and styles of teaching) of that education.

The People's Education\textsuperscript{16} movement arose in the mid 1980's, in opposition to the education offered by the then Apartheid state, and amidst the turmoil of student boycotts of schools. Receiving official sanction by then ANC President Oliver Tambo

\textsuperscript{14} Although the validity of matriculation results as indicators of intellectual development is arguable, the significant differences in senior certificate matriculation results in 1986, shown in Table 10 in Christie (1991: 122) are at the very least somewhat revealing in this respect.

\textsuperscript{15} See Table 4 (pg. 108) and Table 5 (pg. 109) in Christie (1991) showing "per capita expenditure on education in South Africa".
in 1987, it served as a means, firstly, for enlightening students, teachers, parents and workers as to the oppressive and exploitative social structures in the country and, secondly, in preparation for participation in an envisaged future non-racial democracy (Deacon, 1996; Kruss, 1988). Briefly, existing schools were to be transformed from within, starting with achieving community control over schools, thus undermining the objectives of Apartheid Education by providing instead an education with the aim of preparing people for liberation and empowerment. With this in mind, and showing recognition of the potential importance of schools as the terrain for the development of alternative structures, a decision was made to halt school boycotts. Nkomo (1990: 300) provides a definition of People's Education given by Father Smangaliso Mkatshwa:

By ... people's education we mean one which prepares people for total human liberation; one which helps people to be creative, to develop a critical mind, to help people to analyze; one that prepares people for full participation in all social, political or cultural spheres of society.

Lacking institutional and financial support, however, People's Education lost support in the ensuing years of political transformation, and failed to develop into an alternative system of education (Deacon, 1996).

A very different picture emerges in relation to education for white children in Apartheid South Africa. Informed by the ideology of Christian National Education (CNE), the National Education Policy Act, laying down the guiding principles for white education, was passed in 1967. As the name implies, schools were to have a “Christian character founded on the Bible” (Malherbe, 1977: 147). Not only was religious instruction in Christianity to be compulsory, but all aspects of the nature of the education itself were to be Christian in spirit and manner (Ibid). The ‘nation’ referred to in CNE is misleading as it is meant to incorporate only the white population. It was in this sense that schools were to have a “broad national character”,

16 See Christie (1991: 294-295), in which the aims of People’s Education, as developed at the 1989 National Consultative Conference (with the theme “Consolidate and advance to People’s Education”), are outlined.
inculcating a “spirit of patriotism” and achieving “a sense of unity and a spirit of cooperation” through the “expansion of every pupil’s knowledge of the fatherland” and “by developing this knowledge ... into understanding and appreciation by presenting it ... in school teaching and further through the participation of pupils in national festivals, and their regular honouring of the national symbols” (Malherbe, 1977: 147-8).

Since 1991, with the legalisation of desegregation through the introduction of the Model A, B, and C schools, much has changed, but it can be argued that too much has remained as it was. Primarily economic, but also social and logistic pressures have meant that the promises of transformation and redress by a democratically elected government, have been difficult to keep.

Objectives of the education dispensation envisaged by the Educational Renewal Strategy (ERS) (Dept. of National Education, 1992: 17) clearly indicate the radical changes proposed for education in South Africa. These were the following:

- equal opportunities;
- the promotion of national unity;
- the recognition and accommodation of language, cultural, religious and other legitimate interests;
- the elimination of discrimination on the grounds of race, colour and gender;
- the provision of personpower for national needs;
- the forming of whole human beings; and
- the sharing of responsibilities for the provision of education between the State and interested sectors, such as the parent community.

Although progress towards meeting such objectives is unquestionable, there is still much that needs to be accomplished before it can be said that these goals have been met. Furthermore, in the efforts to meet these goals, adapt to changes in law, and in the light of severe economic pressure (amid the finance department’s adoption of fiscal discipline policies), relations between schools, teacher unions, and the education department have been strained, to say the least. In the meantime, however, proposals
for additional fundamental revisions\textsuperscript{17} to the education system (such as Curriculum 2005, which adopts the principles of Outcomes Based Education (OBE), requiring a new national qualifications framework (NQF), retrained teachers, changed curricula, and new resources) have put further pressure on all concerned. In short, a completely revised way of approaching education is envisaged.

Moreover, it can be argued that certain of these goals are unrealisable, and that even with the realisation of the remaining goals, problems would remain. As an illustration, one such problem based on the first objective of the ERS (the objective of providing equal opportunities) can be elaborated as follows. The assumption then, is two-fold: that the objective of equal opportunity is realizable; and that it is realizable through access to equal quality schools.

As regards the first assumption, it can be argued that the concept of equal opportunity is a myth, as it requires the possibility (and desirability) of the absence of differences between people. Class differences, for instance, affect peoples’ chances of educational success very strongly in multiple ways in favour of the middle and upper classes. A frequent cause of school dropouts in South Africa, for example, is the fact that keeping a child in school is expensive, particularly when taking into account that the child could be earning money during those hours. Furthermore, children born into financially burdened families are more likely to be malnourished (affecting later intellectual growth), and are likely to receive less stimulation through educational toys and books, due to a lack of availability. These examples serve to illustrate why, even in schools of ‘good’ quality, schools actually preserve the social inequalities that already exist. They reinforce the advantages some people already have over others as a result of an accident of birth (Robertson, 1977).

\textsuperscript{17} These proposals are spelt out fully in the various policy documents, such as the \textit{South African Qualifications Authority Act} of 1996 (on the development of the NQF); and the \textit{Green Paper on Further Education and Training} (1998).
But let us imagine for a moment that people entering the school are unaffected by their home situation (or that these differences do not exist), and had the same aspirations and abilities. Even then, it is questionable whether the aim of equal opportunities can be realized through equal quality schools. The assumption then is that those who succeed at school deserve success later; those who fail have not utilized the opportunities provided for them. Competition is thus of high value, as long as it is seen as fair. Those with low-paying jobs, or who are unemployed should accept their situation as just. This represents a continued adherence to meritocratic principles to legitimate a capitalist ideology, according to which there will always be a working class, who, because they failed to achieve in what is construed as a fair competition, can be seen by themselves and others to deserve their lot.

Having discussed the development of Western schooling, and schooling in South Africa in particular, I will now introduce a theoretical framework within which these developments can be viewed.

21.5 Orientations to schooling

Whilst the vision of having every child in the nation attend school for several years is commonly agreed upon, what remains contentious is exactly what the purpose of such compulsory education is. There are thus differing views as to what should ideally take place within the school context. In other words, there is debate about what schools are for. This is discussed by Kemmis (1987) in terms of four main orientations to schooling. These are named the vocational/neo-classical, the liberal-progressive, the socially-critical and laissez-faire orientations, each offering a relatively distinct view of the nature of education and its place in society. According to Kemmis (1987), such ideologies, in that they incorporate particular sets of ideas, are contested in schools and in general society. A brief description of each is given below, followed by an attempt at framing South African schooling in these terms.
According to the vocational/neo-classical orientation, education is a preparation for work. The meritocratic ways of schooling alluded to above, are seen as essential, in that society is seen also to operate along these lines. The meritocratic selection and allocation of opportunities is unquestioned, and is seen as an important role of the school. Students are assessed, then grouped according to ability, in order to prepare them efficiently for the world of work 'out there', which, it is assumed, is similarly structured. Moreover, it assumes that schools must transmit worthwhile knowledge and skills of the culture (notably not that which is characteristic of the lower class, which is considered from a bourgeoisie perspective to lack culture).

According to the liberal-progressive orientation, schooling is seen as a preparation for life. Education is seen as the development of the 'whole' person. That is, it is seen to liberate people by their development of reasoning, and through democratic, reasoned debate. So education (and therefore schooling) aims to produce autonomous, morally-informed persons, who can in turn act to improve society (Kemmis, 1987) through their respect for the dignity of persons, their openness to and tolerance of others, and their participation in discussion (Richmond, 1990).

In contrast, according to proponents of the socially-critical orientation, society (and thus opportunities for decision-making and debate) is inequitably structured. Education should thus assist students in developing the forms of critical enquiry enabling them to understand how our society has come to have the structure it has, and in developing forms of action and reflection enabling them to participate in the struggle against irrationality, injustice and deprivation in society (Kemmis, 1987:105). Richmond (1990) argues that this orientation is incompatible with a liberal orientation, in that, due to a commitment to prospective social transformation, a limit is imposed on reflective autonomy.

The Laissez-faire orientation emphasizes the achievement by each individual of inner harmony and self-actualization. Schools should facilitate the personal fulfillment of
each individual, through making available a wide range of opportunities and allowing
them the freedom to pursue their own interests. It has been criticized as being
romantic, failing to provide adequate guidance to learners, and of having too narrow a
focus, not recognizing the importance of the socio-political context (Johnson,
Whitington & Oswald, 1994).

There is no literature discussing South African schools within this framework.
However, Deacon’s (1996) discussion of orthodox versus alternative educational
discourses offers some insight into orientations to schooling in South Africa. He
describes the South African school system as “dominated by stale orthodoxies
underpinned by conservative political and commercial interests” (Ibid: 227). Thus for
the most part the teacher is constituted as “the active, authoritative catalyst of the
process of instrumentally transmitting information”, while the learners’ role is passive;
they are expected to submit to certain prescribed norms. The process and subject
matter of transmission are seen as neutral and effective, requiring minimal reflection
and accepting no critique (Ibid: 227). Deacon (1996) goes on to comment that within
such orthodox discourses, social inequalities are considered as natural (and necessary)
and order, stability and tradition are highly valued.

This could be seen as translating largely into the vocation/neo-classical orientation, and
to a lesser extent, the liberal-progressive orientation. In terms of the past, both Bantu
Education and Christian National Education could be seen to be in alignment with the
vocational/neo-classical orientation, as in both cases the aim was to transmit
worthwhile knowledge (i.e. euro-centric knowledge), while at the same time preparing
students for the world of work; however Bantu Education specifically prepared black
students for what was considered to be their role in providing a labour force for the
country. Christian National Education could also be seen to have some alignment with
the liberal-progressive orientation, in its aims to produce autonomous, morally-informed
persons (morally-informed in this case implying an appreciation for Christian teaching
and values).
People’s Education, in contrast, in seeking to “challenge and transform the status quo”, and in favouring a “leveling of political and economic hierarchies”, is described by Deacon (1996: 229) as a vanguard discourse, and could be seen as an attempt at education within the socially critical orientation. However, although knowledge and authority are problematized, authority still does not lie with the student, who is seen as lacking a sufficient degree of political awareness. Power differentials between teacher and student are still upheld.

Having provided an overview of four orientations to schooling, I will now briefly present some reform proposals to schooling and discuss these in terms of the possible underlying values and orientations implicit therein.

2.1.6 The schooling (education) dilemma

The fact that there has been an absence of fundamental change to the Western school over the last century does not imply satisfaction with it. On the contrary, it has been criticised increasingly, on a variety of levels, precipitating in various reform proposals. These are summarized by Van der Zee (1991) in five broad categories as follows.

- Arguments for new approaches to training and education, including alternative methods for instructional design (such as cooperative learning), and new educational concepts (self-directed learning, for instance).
- The ‘effective school movement’, according to which certain organisational factors (gleaned from research) greatly influence the achievements of pupils, and should be the focus of school reform.
- The ‘open learning movement’, which stresses the importance of flexibility in providing learning opportunities. In other words, schooling need not only occur in the traditional sense, with teachers, and within school buildings, but can be adapted to meet the various needs of the ‘clients’.
• The idea of 'recurrent education', which holds that the education system should be
restructured, with periods of study distributed throughout people's lives, alternating
with periods of work and leisure.
• The argument for 'de-schooling' society, according to which the school, rather than
being a liberating force, is seen as repressive (reinforcing social inequality, keeping
people dependent, and impeding initiative and creativity), and does not teach what
people need to learn most.

Clearly, criticisms and alternative proposals have much to do with people's ideas as to
the purposes of schooling. Several of the current debates informing various proposals
being undertaken are outlined briefly below.

Arguments for new approaches to education are often based on general low levels of
academic achievement. For example, when, in America, test scores started dropping,
instead of calling into question the schooling system, the drive was to improve test
results by changing curricula, pedagogical techniques, and having better qualified
teachers (Sarason, 1996). In other words, by accepting test scores as the criterion for
school effectiveness, the prevailing assumption is that the purpose of schooling is to
learn knowledge.

The research on which the effective schools movement is based also takes as its point
of departure the achievements of pupils. Sarason (1996) complains that in American
society, intelligence is only valued if it leads to socially approved achievement. That
is, personal achievements count only if people are productive in ways that benefit
society at large. Education is thus a way of "compensating for incompleteness in order
to produce people fit for society which, once achieved, means that education is no
longer required" (Usher & Edwards, 1994: 131). This is supported by what Sarason
(1996: 268) calls the "factory model", which dominates much thinking about schools.
That this metaphor exists in South African educational discourse is clearly evident in
the following extract from the NATED report (Dept. of National Education, 1991: 35), in which 'raw materials', 'input' and 'output' are referred to.

... entering the education system may be regarded as the raw materials to be refined in the education process in order to produce useful manpower. Educational programmes, education personnel and the money specifically allocated for education may be regarded as the direct inputs which help to produce the end result. The manpower produced by the system can be regarded as the output of the system. The relative number of successful pupils and students on all education levels gives an indication of the efficiency of an education system whose primary goal is to guide and direct young people towards obtaining qualifications that will give them access to a number of careers.

This is well aligned with Kemmis's vocational/neo-classical orientation to schooling, and is precisely what de-schooling advocates refer to as the "colossal learning factory", which they claim has very little to do with the original meaning of the word 'learn' (Van der Zee, 1991).

For Sarason (1995: 134), the "overarching purpose of schooling" should be that students are inspired to "learn more about self and the world", an idea which is counter to the factory model, of "putting into" students the knowledge required for citizenship and/or work. Furthermore, he claims that the pedagogical theory which dominated education until recently (focusing on classroom management) was geared towards teaching masses, rather than individuals. This is contrasted with the liberal notion of "getting out of" students their individual interests and talents (students fulfilling their potential).

The promotion of the open-learning movement and the vision of lifelong learning implicit in recurrent education can be understood in the light of the contingent circumstances in which they have come to exist. A rapidly changing world and straining economy have meant that many adults have found themselves in jobs which have become redundant or which require vastly different competencies (due to changes in technology). Alternatively, and specifically in South Africa, they provide an opportunity for redress for the many adults deprived of schooling, or having received...
inferior education during the Apartheid regime. Furthermore, the promotion of a norm of lifelong learning could help to diffuse the tensions mounting over the perceived inadequate schooling provided by the government.

Current educational initiatives by the government and by non-governmental organisations and governmental policy documents encompass reform proposals in almost all of the categories. Outcomes Based Education represents a new approach to schooling, while strategies such as organisational development are being used to make schools more effective. Lifelong learning has become a buzz-word in policy documents, and much effort is being exerted in the area of distance education. To be expected, though, the call to de-school South African society has either not been made, or is as yet very silent.

18 The Teacher Inservice Project, located at the University of the Western Cape, provides such assistance to schools.
2.2 Control

Confusion exists in the school context around the concepts ‘discipline’ and ‘control’. In this section, I will therefore begin by defining and discussing both discipline and control before continuing. As I have chosen to make a clear distinction between the two, and am focusing on the latter, this is followed by a more detailed study of control in society in its broadest manifestations. This will provide a backdrop against which to discuss the various forms control takes in schools.

2.2.1 Discipline and control

The term ‘discipline’ tends to be bandied about indiscriminately, to “lend respectability to widely different, and even opposed, moral and political programs” (Smith, in Slee, 1995: 19). It may be used, variously, to indicate

- a behavioural aim (that is, disciplined children behave ‘appropriately’, whatever that might be);
- the practices used by someone or an institution to achieve ‘appropriate’ behaviour (for instance, various types of punishment);
- an approach (which is in turn associated with particular aims and practices suited to the approach eg a ‘traditional’ approach, encompassing a variety of rewards and punishments); or
- a branch of study (which is associated with particular rules and goals applicable to that domain of knowledge).

In contrast (to common usage), and for the sake of clarity, control and discipline are used here in the way indicated by the philosopher P.S. Wilson (1971: 77) as follows:

Control is a way of ordering things which is considered necessary for getting something done. By contrast, a ‘discipline’ is the form of logical and evaluative order which must be learned if one is to understand what is involved in doing something.

Thus, while both discipline and control involve creating and maintaining order, the order implied is in each case of a fundamentally different kind. The argument is that
when we submit to discipline, the order that is created is inherent in the goals towards which our action is directed. Discipline is intrinsic to the mastery of a body of knowledge (to the inner workings of a system). For instance, if one wants to construct a computer program, one must of necessity be submissive to the demands of the programming language; the more one submits to the requirements of the language, the more masterful a programmer one can expect to become. Discipline thus involves submission to the demands a task places on us.

The order inherent in discipline can be contrasted with the order associated with control, which is achieved for reasons quite extraneous to that required by the task itself (Slee, 1995). A child who does her/his homework after school because s/he is only allowed to watch television after it has been done, is primarily controlled, not disciplined. Thus while control may be seen as essential to schooling, discipline, in contrast, is an essential requirement for education (‘education’ in the sense of training the mind or woman to particular branches of study). Thus control in schools is here seen as the procedures, practices, structures, and messages put in place in schools in the process of schooling learners. The child is not necessarily submitting to the demands of the work itself (the work may be done without care), but rather to the expected gratification thereafter. Thus control is imposed upon us, but in the promise or hope that we will become disciplined.

This process is usually what is referred to by the everyday usage of the term discipline. Hence when we internalize that which is expected of us in our society, and make its norms our own, we are disciplined. This is what Foucault (1979) refers to when describing our society as disciplinary; with its disciplinary power acting as the agent which shapes us. Foucault’s analysis of the disciplinary nature of modern civilised society has been applied to the functioning of control in schools, which is discussed in the following section.

Educational philosopher John Dewey also uses the word in this way.
2.2.2 Control and sources of power

To put Foucault's ideas in perspective, it is useful to widen the lens to view control in broader terms. To this end, I will briefly outline the main features of the framework Michael Mann (1986) developed in *The Sources of Social Power*, in which he gives an account of societies through the ages.

In order to make the best use of the opportunities provided by the material world, organization is required, and it is through such organization that power emerges. The gains made possible through such social control are not, however, without their price. An increasingly organised society of necessity requires a loss of freedom on the part of the individual. Mann (1986) speaks metaphorically about the 'social cage' inside which we find ourselves trapped when power networks become institutionalized.

Societies become organized through social stratification. Mann (1986: 1), states that "societies are constituted of multiple overlapping and intersecting sociospatial networks of power", of which he envisages four main sources. These are ideological, economic, military, and political relationships, which "offer alternative organizational means of social control" (Ibid: 3), and are institutional means of attaining human goals.

**Ideological power** is the power stemming from shared meanings (regarding the information we perceive), sets of norms (which instruct us as to how we should act morally in our relations), and aesthetic/ritual practices (Mann, 1986). It is the subtlest of power networks, arguably achieving much of its power through its subtlety, but also through its plausability, and is the power often overlooked in everyday conversation. People think of their thoughts and ideas as their own. Religious movements, for instance, have had very powerful influences on the accepted norms in societies. Such norms are difficult to question, attaining, as they do, status as decreed by the Creator. At a practical level, control is maintained through the compulsory regular attendance of individuals to religious gatherings, but mostly by means of the threat of eternal punishment, and the promised reward of eternal peace and happiness.
Where the State takes on a religious stance (as did the former government of South Africa) such ideologies may attain even more power, finding their place in the judicial system, as their norms are institutionalized even further. This is not to say that a State that does not affiliate itself with a particular religious movement, does not make use of ideological power. Conversely, ideological power can be thought of as transcendent over all the other power networks to a greater or lesser degree. It is also the most influential source of power evident in the operation of schools, and its manifestations there will be discussed in the next section.

To satisfy subsistence needs, the social organisation of the "extraction, transformation, exchange, and consumption" of goods is required (Mann, 1986: 24). To have control over such economic activities is to have power over others who are lacking such control, thus creating a social hierarchy, with a dominant economic class. Thus, in any society where there is a division of labour, economic power is present.

Military power is that associated with the defense of territory or products or for aggressive acquisition of the territory or products of others through the use or threat of physical force (Mann, 1986). Military power is often thought of as being part and parcel of political power as it is frequently monopolized by the state. This is often so, but throughout history, military groups independent of the State, have operated to control territory and/or products against the wishes of the state. To be convinced that this is not always the case, one need only look to recent events in Angola for instance, where atrocities have been committed for many years in the name of independent military groups working to their own ends.

Political power ensures the regulation of our behaviour according to prescribed rules through the operation of the judicial system, which in turn is backed by coercion. Unlike the other power networks, it only operates within the boundaries of the state, and is centrally administered (Mann, 1986). Here, control is maintained through the
practice and threat of punishment. Walker (1991) comments on and analyses punishment in the context in the judicial system. He claims that punishment can be justified on two grounds: to reduce the frequency of the rule-breaking by deterring the self and discouraging others or making sure s/he can not offend (utilitarian goals); and ensuring their just deserts (retributive goals). A further consideration that has been brought to bear on judicial sentences is a set of humanitarian principles (manifesting as a set of human rights). Thus, even if there are grounds for punishment, the limit on the type of punishment can be affected by humanitarian principles. Both capital and corporal punishment as legal sentences are examples of punishments that have been abolished in South Africa on humanitarian grounds. I will return to the issue of punishment in section 2.3 when discussing control in schools.

As can be gleaned from the above discussion, methods of control fit the ruling ideology and goals/purposes of institutions. For instance, in a country ruled by dictatorship, much emphasis is placed on military control, whereas in a democratic state, where there is greater acceptance of the legitimacy of the government and thus its laws, the judicial system is relied upon to a greater extent. Before discussing the methods of control used in schools, there is a brief illustration of how Mann’s forms of power were used in various ways both to maintain and to disrupt Apartheid control, and the involvement of schools in this process.

Ideological power, which was maintained at least partly through the school system, can be seen as the primary means of survival of the system of Apartheid. In schools, children were taught a history of South Africa that legitimated the Apartheid system, and taught children to view themselves and their worth according to race. Political power insured that the dominant racist ideology was supported structurally, through various segregation laws, ensuring little contact between children of different races (through attending different schools and living in different neighbourhoods). Political power also worked to suppress resistance efforts, through, for instance, states of Emergency, allowing detentions without trial. In terms of military power, the use of
the South African Defence Force in controlling riots and inciting violence is notorious. Furthermore, economic power, in the hands of whites, ensured that blacks were dependent on them for jobs.

The struggle was fought on a number of different fronts, resulting in an undermining of several of the sources of power acting to maintain Apartheid. International support in the form of sanctions, the mass democratic movement and media coverage slowly undermined the ideological power of the National Party. Furthermore, the international financial aid to political parties such as the ANC enabled a rise in the military power of resistance efforts, through armed forces such as MK. Economic power was compromised by the power of trade unions, and through mass boycotts.

It has been discussed in section 2.1.4 how Apartheid ideology was used in perpetuating gross inequalities in education. By accepting the idea that whites were superior to non-whites, people (both white and black) also accepted that education should be different; different ‘needs’ required different forms of education. Resistance to the ruling ideology was only possible when the idea that such inequalities were unjust (based as they were on false assumptions regarding the inferiority of black people) gained widespread acceptance, particularly amongst the youth. It was then that schools became focal points of the struggle; a clear example being the 1976 riots, when black students (in their refusal to speak and learn in Afrikaans) burnt the texts incorporating the ruling ideology.

As stated previously, ideological power achieves its success largely through a naturalization of ideas; assumptions acquire a truth-value, and remain unquestioned. Thus while the power of Apartheid ideology has been brought to light, the ideologies currently operating in schools do so largely unnoticed. This is the focus of the next section.
2.3 Schooling and control

In this section I will present an analysis of control in schools. To this end, I will show how Foucault’s notion of disciplinary technology (elaborated on below) can be applied in the school context, followed by a discussion of the different possible theoretical orientations to control in schools. Thereafter, the relationship between control and violence in schools is explored, followed by an outline of the manifestations of control (and violence) in schools.

2.3.1 Disciplinary technology in schools

In the previous section, I remarked that ideological power exerts the most influence in schools. This is because the ways in which schools operate depend very much on the prevailing ideas regarding the nature of childhood, and the function of schooling in society. I have already referred, in the section on schooling, to the fact that schools are socio-historical constructions, changing in form and function, depending on the social context at the time. This applies to all aspects of schools, including that of control.

For instance Aries (1962: 236), in his historical analysis of childhood, documents how in the medieval school “the idea of a disciplinary code for which agents of authority are instructed to enforce respect, remained foreign to them”. This changed with the introduction of mass schooling and the concomitant bureaucratization of schools; with the need to control increased numbers of children; as well as with changing views of childhood.

Foucault (1979) referred to a similar period of history in Discipline and Punish, in which he analysed the development of discipline (control) and discipline (knowledge) in society through exploring the development of the prison. According to him, as the needs of society changed, requiring a greater working population, the body was to be made more productive and cooperative through training, to form a disciplined and compliant workforce. Foucault refers to the Panopticon (a philosophical plan by
Bentham for a prison that laid the basis for future models of institutions), to show how, in a more general sense, society was organising itself at the time. The Panoptican is designed to ensure the maximum amount of control of inmates, through an ability to maintain constant surveillance. Importantly, the inmates themselves would not know when they were or were not being observed. This ensured that they would act at all times as if observed. Another function of observation is that it allows for the accumulation of knowledge about people, enabling the construction of norms, around which people can be controlled (Ibid).

Various authors have utilised elements of Foucault’s analysis of discipline within the context of schooling. In this sense, Ryan (1991) argues that students are subjected to constant surveillance (the division of the student body makes it easier to be able to observe each child in classrooms). Frequent testing has become a way of providing norms from which students can be observed in the form of evaluations. On this basis, decisions are made regarding the child’s progress through the school, and his/her future outside of schooling. The necessity to maintain order is seen in the regulation of the school day according to a time-table; the seating arrangements; wearing of uniforms; and the routinisation of activity, in order to generate what is deemed as correct social behavior. Resistant students are dealt with in various ways, including counselling or different forms of punishment, with particularly resistant students potentially being dealt with through the courts, to ensure that the student body conforms to the norms that have been established.

Similarly, Carlson (1997: 7) states that “schools have, in effect, been among the primary agencies of ‘normalizing’ power in the twentieth century, involved in the production of well-disciplined, ‘well-adjusted’ citizens and workers who conform to the hierarchical power relations and norms of modern life”. He speaks furthermore of the impact on education of a society bent on making progress; specifically, the relationship between both economic and disciplinary progressivism to the aims and workings of schools. The vision of economic progressivism is that of a society in
which each person co-operates as a team player, doing his/her part to maximise productivity and to lower costs. Disciplinary progressivism relates to finding more effective and efficient means of disciplining and controlling students. The panoptic techniques of surveillance now come to include the use of television cameras, metal detectors and security guards. Furthermore, information about pupils is documented and continuously updated, so as to provide evidence to school administrators, and to parents, as to the production levels of a school.

2.3.2 Orientations to control in schools

I referred in section 3.1 to Kemmis' (1986) four theoretical orientations to schooling. Johnson, Whittington, and Oswald (1994) used these orientations to schooling to provide a theoretical framework for their investigation into the “values and assumptions underpinning various conceptions of school discipline” held by teachers (Ibid: 261). Of course, the discipline to which they are referring relates to what I have termed control. That is, the orientations to control comprising their theoretical framework were the traditional, liberal progressive, socially critical, and laissez faire.

In the theoretical framework which they developed, proponents of the ‘traditional’ orientation to control see themselves as realists, replicating the hierarchical power relationships in the so-called ‘real’ world – the world of work. Children are expected to misbehave, and must be restrained through classroom management techniques (rewards and punishments, for instance) to ensure that the academic and socialization goals of the school system (which are seen as superordinate) are achieved. Underlying beliefs include the notion that an orderly class is essential for academic learning to occur, and that a respect for law and order is essential in society. Thus power is vested in teachers and principals, whose instructions should be followed without complaint by students.

20 This corresponds to what Kemmis (1987) refers to as the ‘neo-conservative/vocational orientation’.
According to a ‘liberal progressive’ orientation to control, changes in social values should be reflected in school discipline policies, and democratic principles should prevail in schools. Therefore, negotiation and compromise is favoured for resolving differences; instead of adopting coercive approaches to disruptive students, schools should adopt “incorporative” approaches, whereby the student’s voice can be heard, as in counselling. As children are inherently good, the creation of “an emotionally warm, understanding, safe and encouraging learning environment” is important, with the aim of students developing self discipline, and allowing their social skills to develop (Johnson, Whitington, & Oswald, 1994: 269).

A ‘socially critical orientation’ to control is one in which student disruption is viewed as “resistance against inappropriate and repressive schooling practices” (Ibid: 272). It is desirable that students learn at school to challenge unequal and undemocratic power relations and pursue social justice through collaboration with others, in preparation for such action in broader society. The role of the teacher is not fixed, but is negotiated with students.

Finally, the ‘laissez-faire’ orientation is one in which children are viewed as inherently good, so that each child should have the power to choose how to be, and the freedom to express themselves, with no teacher or other person attempting to direct and control that child. Rather, the teacher should provide a stimulating environment, with many alternatives from which students can pursue their interests, as it is only through freedom that personal fulfillment and self discipline are possible.

In their study of teachers in Australian public schools, Johnson, Whittington, & Oswald (1994) found that the majority of teachers were proponents of either one or both of the traditional and liberal progressive orientations. Very few expressed ideas in line with the socially critical orientation; and there were no supporters for the laissez-faire orientation.
2.3.3 Manifestations of control in schools

According to Slee (1995), the abolishment of corporal punishment in Australian schools was not related to changes in the theorizing of discipline (to effect a move from authoritarian control to discipline more coherent with democratic principles). He argues that although policy texts advance the perception of more fundamental change, that corporal punishment has been replaced with new instruments of coercion in order to effect the same enterprise of control, thus effectively failing to alter orientations to control. He explains this reaction by stating that certain agreed upon values and beliefs continue to be taken as given, are not questioned, defined and often not mentioned (Ibid: 3). The very same power relationships are maintained by using other punishments such as detention, community service, suspension and exclusion.

The science of behaviour management can also be viewed as a form of control. Approaches to classroom management to shape behaviour abound, most of which carefully locate causality within the teacher. Bagley (1930: 11), for instance, states that the 'unruly school', characterised by "disorder, discourteous behaviour, and lack of aggressive effort", is found where the teaching population is "immature, transient, and inadequately trained". Other texts, for instance Farley (1960), Grossnicke & Sesko (1985), La Grand (1969), Ramsey (1981) instruct the teacher in detail on how to deal with 'difficult' classes.

Systems of rewards & punishment have been carefully elaborated in theories such as Cantor & Cantor's Assertive Discipline (Blumenfeld-Jones, 1996). Slee (1995) is a vociferous opponent to such practices. He argues that in this approach, there is an attempt to impose discipline by making an extrinsic connection between what the learner wants and what the teacher and or school wants through reward and or punishment. This is clearly a form of control, as it has nothing to do with the students appreciation of what they are learning, for which there should be some connection.
between the learner, what they are doing, and the value placed about where it is leading them.

Psychology in general and educational psychology in particular is used to control students (as well as parents and teachers). While the other forms of control are blatant, this is subtle, being constructed to legitimate the professional interest in the surveillance and regulation of the student body. Usher & Edwards (1994: 33) argue that the need for coercion and repression is decreased when there are "knowledgeable" discourses and practices which intensify the gaze to which the subject is subjected by ordering, measuring, categorising, normalising and regulating. Thus the removal of corporal punishment, rather than simply being viewed as a humane gesture, also signals an absence in the need to use force due to the perceived effectiveness of the regulatory role of the school.

Mainstream psychology "constructs subjects in ways which better enables their regulation and control" (Usher & Edwards, 1994: 33). The pathologising of disruptive student behaviour, for instance (by giving it medical titles such as 'Attention Deficit Disorder'), enables the more efficient policing of young people. Walkerdine (1984: 67) describes how, in education, a discourse of the "child" and "child development" has developed. "The whole pedagogy itself is designed to permit the possibility of certain things considered 'natural' and 'normal' to children ... The practices are set up to produce certain responses, based on a theoretical edifice which defines them as natural. Their presence, therefore, becomes normal, their absence pathological". Psychometric testing enables students to be classified according to behavioural or learning deficits. Thereafter, they are either excluded, or closely supervised, ostensibly in the interests of the student.

The trend promoting more insidious means of control (rather than the blatantly coercive regime of punishment) is evidenced as early as the first half of the century.

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21 In Foucault's disciplinary sense.
The following quote by Pringle (1931: 10) serves as an illustration: “The ideally controlled school should move through the work of the day without any apparent discipline”. Historically, then, there has been a change in the deployment of control in schools from its more conspicuous/blatant forms to the development of a knowledge of ‘normal’ behaviour.

The disruptive student, and/or the family is seen as having the problem, and must get professional help (as opposed to being punished). In South Africa, in official circles, and where resources are available (e.g. money), the ‘student has a problem - must get help’ discourse is widespread; teachers are quick to refer a problem student to the guidance teacher, who may choose to refer to a psychologist.

A more traditional approach can be expected, and has been seen to exist in many schools, though, where resources are minimal, thus not allowing for the luxury of psychological services, or where schools (and parents) have not bought into the psychological discourses available. Instead, as there are seen to be an absence of alternatives (Baleta, 1998; Lund, 1998; Templeton, 1996) there is a greater likelihood of “quick-fix” approaches (e.g. corporal punishment) to deal with what is identified as the ‘problem student’, and thus relying on obedience through fear. Velaphi Mlombo, researching the use of corporal punishment, is reported in the Cape Times as stating that “corporal punishment occurred in at least 75% of the Cape Flats schools [in Langa, Guguletu, Khayelitsha and Manenberg] in which he had worked” (Baleta, 1998: 1). These schools are often seen as being more violent than their more affluent counterparts. Why this is not necessarily the case is explored in the following section.
2.3.4 Violence in Schools

The word violence is often defined narrowly in terms of harm through the use of physical force, and it is thus that the elimination of corporal punishment comes to be seen as a means of eliminating violence at schools. This is to disregard the less visible forms of violence, such as structural violence, emotional violence, and the violence of poverty (Muller, 1995). The concept of violence as understood in this work encompasses physical force, but also includes a metaphorical understanding of the term.

In terms of the educational setting, the notion of 'systemic violence' is useful for unpacking the more subtle ways in which violence can occur. Ross Epp and Watkinson (1996) in Systemic Violence: How Schools Hurt Children, explore schools as the sites of systemic violence. This they define as "any institutional practice or procedure that adversely impacts on individuals or groups by burdening them psychologically, mentally, culturally, spiritually, economically or physically. Applied to education, it means practices and procedures that prevent students from learning, and thus harming them" (Ibid: 1).

Systemic violence is thus insidious, including the “unintentional consequences of procedures implemented by well-meaning authorities in a belief that the practices are in the best interests of students” (Ibid: 1), with both victims and perpetrators often unaware of it. It is present in all the exclusionary and biased practices of the school, of which there are many, but which are for the most part so ingrained in our conceptualisations of schools, that they remain unseen. Several such practices discussed by Ross Epp and Watkinson (1996) are outlined below.

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22 Various newspaper reports indicate that in schools where there is a refraining from the use of corporal punishment, many teachers have resorted to forms of emotional abuse, humiliating and embarrassing learners in order to maintain their authority. For instance, teachers were reported as ignoring pupils as a form of punishment, or calling them names (based on their skin colour or financial status) (Baleta, 1998; Lund, 1998).
necessity for control is beyond question, it is easily abused and should thus be open to scrutiny. Finally, through the literature it has been shown how much of the control operating in schools is violent, being either of a blatantly or subtly coercive nature, or of less visible forms usually taken for granted as 'the way things are'.
In this chapter, I will be setting the scene for the later interpretation of findings, by discussing the methodology used (discourse analysis). Before detailing the method used in this thesis, the theoretical underpinning of discourse analysis is discussed. I aim to show that discourse analysis is the most appropriate methodology for this research.

3.1 Introduction

Given the political changes in South Africa in recent years, it is not surprising that there is a vast supply of documentation regarding the goals and process of education in the 'new' South Africa. This makes an exploration of any particular set of education-related documents, as far as the impossibilities/possibilities they allow for action, tempting and promising. This is what the present study takes on - more particularly, a discourse analysis (disciplined reading) of school mission statements. This disciplined reading follows the criteria set out by Parker (1992), which are outlined in section 3.3 below.

3.2 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis has its roots in semiotics and hermeneutics, and involves a study of texts. There is no one approach to the study of discourse; all, however, have in common a view of language as 'constructive' rather than merely 'reflective' or expressive. In other words, language does not just convey meaning but is used to construct versions of the social world (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Discourse analysis
is thus not about finding the truth embedded in the text; it is about producing a reading (aimed at revealing concealed configurations) rather than an interpretation (aimed at intended meaning).

'Texts', in this framework, "refer to a stretch of language recorded for the purposes of analysis and description. What is important to note is that texts may refer to collections of written or spoken material (the latter having been transcribed in some way), e.g. conversation, monologues, rituals, and so on" (Crystal, 1980: 354).

'Discourses', in turn, can be thought of as a system of statements and related power relations which constitute an object of interest. Within a discourse analytic framework, specific texts are treated as the 'objects' of study. Importantly, in texts we don't find entire discourses, but only traces thereof, 'traces' which as such demand analysis.

Several proponents of discourse analysis have argued that this approach not be applied in an arbitrary manner to any text, simply as an empirical tool (Parker, 1992; Parker & Burman & Parker, 1993). Rather, due to its critical and political character, discourse analysis should be an end in itself, aiming to perform a critical reading of a text. In alignment with those views, in this study "discourse" is understood in the Foucauldian sense (Parker, 1992), as the broader social practices, institutions and values that give language the power to create realities, and thus focuses on ideology and the power dynamics of discourse.

As already mentioned, all social texts (even those aimed at simple description) construct a particular version of reality. That is to say, the making of a text involves a selection from within a variety of pre-existing linguistic resources. The choice of including or omitting various possibilities therefore has social and political implications. Having such consequences, descriptions of the world are themselves seen as forms of social action (Gergen, 1985).
Discourse is thus both the means through which the world emerges and action becomes possible, but also constrains which meanings, knowledges, and actions are possible. In other words some versions of social reality are legitimate, given 'voice'; while others are silenced, so that power relations are produced and reproduced through ideological systems (Parker, 1989).

Mission statements are by nature, open to critical reading. In other words, the stated aims are rarely the only ways in which actors can take up these statements. As such, discourse analysis is ideal in scrutinising mission statements, in order to reveal concealed configurations so as to determine the possibilities/impossibilities for action.

3.3 Method

In this study, there is an interest in the way in which discourse operates to create/constitute the school in general and control in particular. Discourse analysis rescues meaning: the unsaid from the said. This is clearly important when exploring control in schools given the sensitivity of the topic. This sensitivity leads to unconscious versus conscious, implicit versus explicit, or opaque versus clear formulations more or less deliberately designed to obscure the existence and functioning of control. It is the gaps and silences, that which is not said, which become a significant focus in analysis (Parker, 1992).

In section 3.3.1 below the texts used for analysis are described and their selection for this study justified. This is followed by an elaboration in section 3.3.2 of the process of the analysis undertaken to produce the results in chapter 4.
Mission statements were collected from nine secondary schools in the greater Cape Town Region. The selection of schools was aimed more or less at covering the socio-economic class structure of Cape Town. For purposes of analysis, the schools were coded into three broad socio-economic groups (A, B, and C), with three schools per group. I identified Group A and C schools as those having the greatest, and least access, respectively, to resources (both human and physical), with B schools located between these extremes.

Two of the three schools in Group A are private (independent), and the third, a public school, but with a similarly high level of resources. Two of the Group B schools are ex-House of Assembly schools and are therefore, due to historical reasons, and with the aid of moderate school fees, fairly well resourced. The third school in this group is an ex-House of Representatives school, but has almost equivalent resources. Group C schools are all ex-House of Representatives schools lacking in adequate resources in some respects. I was, however, unable to obtain mission statements from schools in the lowest socio-economic sector: those formerly under the control of the Department of Education and Training (DET). There was no attempt, however, to obtain a representative sample of mission statements from secondary schools in Cape Town.

Potter & Wetherell (1987: 161) argue that sample size is not necessarily important in a discourse analytic study, as “one is interested in language use rather than the people generating the language”.

Seven of the mission statements are written in English, and two in Afrikaans. I decided not to tamper with the original text of the latter by translating it into English. For the sake of the reader, however, English translations of direct quotes from these texts appear in Appendices G and I.
3.3.2 Focus of analysis

The purpose of the analysis is to rescue the unsaid from the said, demanding a close reading/deconstruction of the texts. Concealed under-currents, such as the construction of power relations, can thence be revealed. The process of analysis used here is informed to a small extent by Potter & Wetherell's (1987) stages in analysing discourse, but largely by Parker's (1992) ten criteria for distinguishing discourses. The latter require two stages of analysis and are presented in chapters 4 and 5 respectively. The first stage entails a process of identifying and describing discourses (by means of specific criteria). The second stage (resulting in chapter 5) is informed by the application of further criteria and involves an unpacking of the implications of the results of the first stage of analysis. The tasks involved in both stages are now presented through an outline of Parker's (1992) theory of discourse analysis.

For the sake of clarity, an extract from school A2's mission statement is quoted below to illustrate the operation of the criteria:

"... the growth of the spiritual dimension of each individual as a vital part of the broader gospel message which directs the lives of all people"

“A discourse is realised in ‘texts’” (Parker, 1992: 6). Texts contain pieces of discourses. For instance, a piece of Christian discourse is evident in a reference to “the gospel message”, or the “spiritual dimension” of a person. While each of these extracts may be subsumed into a Christian discourse, the discourse as a whole could never be captured in a text. It is these pieces of discourse, then, which can be interpreted and analysed, in terms of the Christian discourse as a whole.
2. "A discourse is about 'objects'" (Parker, 1992: 8). Examples of objects constructed by the discourse in this case are a spirit, an individual, and a gospel. The text itself is the object of analysis.

3. "A discourse contains 'subjects'" (Parker, 1992: 9). In other words, discourses offer individuals subject positions and practices to take up. Possible subject positions within the Christian discourse would be that of priest or practising Christian. Different subject positions have, to a greater or lesser extent, a warrant for voice.

4. "A discourse is a coherent system of meanings" (Parker, 1992: 10). There are different ways of talking with reference to schools. In the case of the above example, the school is talked about (referred to) as if it is in the service of Christianity. It is the reader who must make it coherent, though, and see the references to 'the gospel' and the 'spiritual dimension', and so on, as belonging to a Christian discourse. It is only then possible to "map a picture of the world which this discourse presents" (Ibid: 12).

5. "A discourse refers to other discourses" (Parker, 1992: 12). Discourses are embedded in one another and are thus inter-referential, e.g. contradictions within discourses may reveal operations of resistance to other discourses. In this instance, "spiritual dimension of each individual" reveals the embeddedness of a discourse in which individuals are constructed as having several dimensions, of which the spiritual dimension is the one to which Christianity pays special attention.
6. "A discourse reflects on its own way of speaking" (Parker, 1992: 14). A discourse justifies itself; it tells the reader how it wants to be read. The reference here to "the gospel message which directs the lives of all people" implies that Christianity is superior to other religions; that, whether people accept it or not, it is in control of their lives.

7. "A discourse is historically located" (Parker, 1992: 15). In other words, discourses have origins, and change through the course of time. The Christian discourse (which is itself comprised of many discourses), for instance, can be seen as having its origins during the life of Jesus Christ, and is continuously revised, through changes in the institution of Christianity across time and space.

It should be noted that the illustration of the operation of Parker's (1992) criteria above is somewhat forced, aiming at illustrating the steps in a process, rather than engaging in discourse analysis per se. Further, what is clear, is that texts (and discourses) have agency, they do things. They can be seen as the shapers of particular 'worlds', which accommodate certain types of self and actions, to a greater or lesser extent. That is, discourses also call into being certain types of self (subject positions), giving voice to some and not to others. In addition to identifying discourses, I have chosen to identify and animate these subject positions, by describing them as if they were real characters or actors (calling them 'persons'), and have named them in such a way as to bring to light their defining feature/s. This is not to say that such persons actually exist, but rather that they represent particular positions that are open to the reader to take up in response to the text.

After identifying the persons (subject positions) in each text, I described each person, weaving all available textual evidence into the character-sketch, in order to bring the person to life (to animate the actor). A similar process was followed in describing the discourses.
Finally, by pairing persons with discourses, I identified and described several worlds, formed by the discourse/s and acted in by the person/s. This provided a way of checking for the validity of discourses: a discourse must have at least one addressee; similarly an addressee must have at least one addressor (the discourse). So difficulties in matching any identified discourse/s with the person/s (and vice versa) provided an opportunity to look carefully again at the texts for omissions or for mistakes.

It should be noted that this process entailed multiple close readings of the texts, and consequently a continual re-working of persons, discourses and worlds. The results of this stage of the analysis appear in chapter 4. Specifically, in the main text of chapter 4 the texts are isolated, to introduce a summarised picture of the findings for each school’s mission statement. Appendices A, B, and C go on to provide the results in detail, describing fully (with the help of quotations from the various texts) firstly the persons, then the discourses, and finally the worlds mentioned in each of the summaries in part one.

The task undertaken thereafter, and forming chapter 5, was to contemplate and propose the functions and consequences of the discourses in terms of the social structures being maintained or challenged. This is where Parker’s (1992) three auxiliary criteria (outlined below) are borne in mind. These are listed below and their operation briefly illustrated in each case.

8. “The use of a discourse may reproduce the material basis of an institution” (Parker, 1992: 17). That is, it may justify and/or support the existence of a particular institution. For instance, the discourse of the nuclear family supports the institution of marriage. In the educational context, the discourse of equality of opportunity supports the institution of mass schooling.
9. "Subject positions offered by discourses ... enable and constrain understanding, experience, and action, thus maintaining particular social structures" (Parker, 1992: 18). In other words, a particular discourse constructs the concepts of, for instance, teachers, learners and parents, differently, thus limiting the possibilities for acting in that role. For instance, the subject position offered to the teacher in traditional orientation to schooling discourse is one of knowledge possessor and conveyor, whereas the learner occupies a position of lacking and requiring that knowledge.

10. "Discourses have ideological effects, i.e. describing and reproducing particular, hierarchical power relationships, practices, and truths. A discourse reflects a particular picture of the world" (Parker, 1992: 19). For example, teachers in the example above (acting within a discourse of a traditional schooling orientation), would be the sole authority within the classroom. The power relationship between teachers and learners is thus autocratic, with the teacher the maker of rules and decisions.

The stage is thus set for two phases of analysis: the identification first of traces of discourses and then an elaboration of the discourses (in Chapter 4: Results), followed by an exploration into the implications of the use of these various discourses (in Chapter 5: Discussion).
In this chapter, the results of the discourse analysis using the first seven of Parker's (1992) criteria, presented in chapter 3, are presented. The format used is outlined below.

Firstly, a summary table featuring the results from all the mission statements is presented. Thereafter, the nine mission statements themselves are presented, with each being followed by a tabular synopsis of the primary persons, discourses and worlds rescued therefrom.

The table in each instance lists the names of:
(i) each of the subject positions (persons) and
(ii) discourses rescued from the text, and
(iii) the worlds constituted by the discourses, in which the persons "come alive" (are given voice).

The table is followed in each case by a brief description of the possible features of the school, in terms of the results of the analysis of its mission statement. This enables a picture to begin to emerge of each school, as distinct from the others, and of the possibilities and/or impossibilities of control for each school to become apparent. The point of these descriptions is to bring out that which is unique to each mission statement (see Appendices A – L).
The descriptions of the persons, discourses and worlds are all to be found in Appendices A, B and C respectively. Placing the substance (or evidence from) the discourse analysis in appendices is done in order to avoid repetition. The persons, discourses and worlds revealed in the texts are, for the most part, not isolated to one text, but usually occur in two or more of the texts. Appendices D through to L provide a more detailed analysis of each of the mission statements: 1 through to 9. Note that where worlds are common to other mission statements, or if a particular world or discourse is only rescued from a single mission statement, this is noted in Appendices D to L.

It must be noted that Appendices A to L contain the products of repeated, in depth, readings of the nine mission statements. This already analysed/worked data is therefore not ‘raw’ in any traditional sense of the term ‘raw data’. Moreover, these appendices constitute the products of the critical reading of the nine mission statements; as such, these form a central part of the summaries presented below. Presenting only summaries in the main text is meant to ease the reading of what is a complex set of data.
Table 1 below provides a summary of the results, allowing for comparisons between the mission statements (M.S) in terms of worlds, discourses and persons. That is, for each mission statement, the discourse/s (ways of talking about things) shaping/constituting each world is/are presented, along with the persons (subject positions) given voice in that world.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M.S</th>
<th>WORLDS(^{23})</th>
<th>DISCOURSES(^{22})</th>
<th>PERSONS(^{26})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1 (^{20})</td>
<td>Fallen World</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Christian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Preserving the Status Quo</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American Dream</td>
<td>Successful School Natural Path to Success</td>
<td>Achiever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>Fallen World</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Christian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American Dream</td>
<td>Natural Path to Success</td>
<td>Achiever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Just</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Good Citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>To-the-Limit</td>
<td>Liberty</td>
<td>Free Thinker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American Dream</td>
<td>Successful School Natural Path to Success</td>
<td>Achiever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>United</td>
<td>The School Family</td>
<td>Committed Parent Dedicated Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Just</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Liberal Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1</td>
<td>United</td>
<td>School family</td>
<td>Dedicated Teacher Committed Parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fallen</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Christian</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Preserving the Status Quo</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All-rounder</td>
<td>Holism</td>
<td>All-rounder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American Dream</td>
<td>Successful School Natural Path to Success</td>
<td>Achiever</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Schools X Worlds X Discourses X Persons (A1 – B2)

(continued below: B2 – C3)

\(^{23}\) Appendix C provides full descriptions of the worlds listed below.

\(^{24}\) Appendix B provides full descriptions and textual evidence for the discourses listed below.

\(^{25}\) Appendix A provides full descriptions and textual evidence for the persons listed below.

\(^{26}\) All school names are replaced with alphabetical letters with a numerical subscript, to ensure anonymity.
In what follows, each of the nine mission statements and a summary of the analysis thereof is given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MS</th>
<th>WORLDS</th>
<th>DISCOURSES</th>
<th>PERSONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B2</td>
<td>American Dream</td>
<td>Successful School</td>
<td>“Baked” Student, Achiever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Natural Path to Success</td>
<td>Appreciative Parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All-rounder</td>
<td>Holism</td>
<td>All-rounder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Just</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Liberal Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3</td>
<td>Post Apartheid</td>
<td>Transformation</td>
<td>Nation builder, Liberal Democrat, Good Citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Holism</td>
<td>All-rounder, Dedicated Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Preserving Status Quo</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American Dream</td>
<td>Successful School</td>
<td>Achiever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Natural Path to Success</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>Post Apartheid</td>
<td>Transformation</td>
<td>Good Citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Holism</td>
<td>All-Rounder, Dedicated Teacher, Committed Parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American Dream</td>
<td>Natural Path to Success</td>
<td>Achiever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>United</td>
<td>School Family</td>
<td>Committed Parent, Dedicated Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To-the-Limit</td>
<td>Liberty</td>
<td>Free Thinker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>Post-Apartheid</td>
<td>Transformation</td>
<td>Nation-builder, Good Citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>United</td>
<td>United We Stand</td>
<td>Committed Parent, Dedicated Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All-rounder</td>
<td>Holism</td>
<td>Troubled Adolescent, All-rounder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3</td>
<td>United</td>
<td>United We Stand</td>
<td>Dedicated Teacher, Committed Parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Just</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Liberal Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post Apartheid</td>
<td>Transformation</td>
<td>Good Citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All-rounder</td>
<td>Holism</td>
<td>All-rounder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Schools X Worlds X Discourses X Persons (B2 – C3)

In what follows, each of the nine mission statements and a summary of the analysis thereof is given.
A central source of systemic violence in schools is dehumanisation. Students are grouped together in relatively large groups, where they are expected to learn the same things. Dehumanisation occurs partly due to the numbers of students a single teacher is faced with, but largely also due to the general belief that their job concerns primarily the cognitive development of students; their affective development is largely ignored. Thus teachers are unlikely to help children cope with real issues in their lives, such as being victimized by other children. Individuals lose their importance, as teachers attempt to implement norms and rules without regard to individual differences. The use of labelling (whether official diagnostic labelling or informal descriptive labelling) is a further source of dehumanisation, as it stratifies children on the basis of what is considered the norm.

Furthermore, schooling often serves to confirm to children their 'place' in society: children from lower social classes, blacks, females and the non-athletic, for instance, continue, through various means, to be disadvantaged by schools. This was alluded to in the section on equal opportunities.

When students fail in the school system through not being capable or compliant enough (in its terms), the responsibility for failure is routinely seen as theirs. They either respond violently to their situation, resulting in removal from the school, or they remove themselves when they feel the situation has become unbearable. Teachers and school principals are often relieved to see their departure, as it is seen as in the best interests of those remaining. Very seldom do school authorities question their own complicity in the creation of the problem.

To sum up briefly then: in this chapter, I have discussed the changing nature of schooling, explored the notion of control in general and its operation in schools in particular. The school has been shown to be a changing concept, both in terms of the forms it has taken and the ends it has been set up to meet. The confusion between discipline and control has been addressed, and it has been shown that, while the
Mission Statement A1

The A1 is an open, non-racial independent school, consisting of a Post-Matric unit, a Senior school, a Preparatory school and a Pre-preparatory school. It strives to provide an excellent, all-round education within the Anglican tradition of the Christian faith. The Mission of the school is to educate students in order that they might take their place in the South African and world community, and serve those communities with their skills and talents. In support of this mission, the school is committed to:

- creating a climate characterised by high expectations, respect for excellence in all areas, tolerance, mutual respect and caring concern for humankind and the natural world around us
- providing a vigorous academic programme in all areas required by the South African situation, and fostering enquiring minds
- providing quality instruction
- creating an environment in which every pupil is encouraged to develop initiative, self-discipline, and the life skills necessary to live a fulfilled life
- raising the level of awareness in our students so that they become caring and involved citizens.

Text 1: The Mission Statement of A1 School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORLDs</th>
<th>DISCOURSES</th>
<th>PERSONs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fallen World</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Christian (Patriarch, Conservative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Preserving the Status Quo</td>
<td>Conservative (Patriarch, Elitist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Dream</td>
<td>Successful School: Natural Path to Success</td>
<td>Achiever</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Worlds X Discourses X Persons for Mission Statement A1

Given its mission statement, it is possible that A1 school embraces Christianity, promoting amongst other things a Christian work ethic, and encouraging tradition. Success is assured if learners make use of the optimal school environment provided. An emphasis on obedience is thus likely, with power and authority resting in the hands of the teachers (particularly the senior teachers) and principal. Although the school proclaims itself “open” and “non-racial”, it can really only be “open” to the extent that learners (and teachers) can be assimilated into the (traditional) culture of the school, in which achievement (particularly academic) and high social standing are central.
Mission Statement A2

A2 is a Catholic co-educational school which seeks to serve those in the wider community who value education incorporating religious values. A2 thus seeks a pupil mix which is predominantly Catholic but has a substantial complement of pupils of other religions. The joint patronage of the Catholic Archdiocese of Cape Town and the Marist Brothers' complement the school's strong emphasis on a religious education which is integrated into all aspects of education in the school.

Objectives:
• the growth of the spiritual dimension of each individual as a vital part of the broader gospel message which directs the lives of all people.
• the creation of a climate in which excellence in every sphere is pursued.
• the nurture of each individual and the encouragement of that person to reach his or her full potential.
• the fostering of a non-racial atmosphere in which all students feel inspired to participate fully both academically and in a co-curricular sense.
• the development of a clear sense of social responsibility and service in terms of our immediate and broader communities and in terms of the environment.
• the grooming of our young people to fill leadership roles within our school and to prepare them for service to our country.

Text 2: The Mission Statement of A2 School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORLDS</th>
<th>DISCOURSES</th>
<th>PERSONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fallen World</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Christian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Dream</td>
<td>Natural Path to Success</td>
<td>Achiever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Good Citizen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Worlds X Discourses X Persons for Mission Statement A2

Given its mission statement, it is also possible that A2 embraces Christianity, but this time most likely with a missionary orientation. Personal success, achieved through hard work and the immersion in a morally correct (Christian) environment (where obedience and deference to authority is emphasised), is likely to be aimed at being put to the service of the country. Leadership can be seen as an avenue to service, and thus as an opportunity to do Christian good. Learners who excel in any area recognised by the school are likely to be rewarded, while those who are unsuccessful due to apparent lack of hard work will be chastised.
Mission Statement A3

A3 is committed to:
• building a caring, involved and creative community of pupils, staff and parents.
• recognising and developing the unique potential of each individual to its fullest.
• encouraging an open, analytical and questioning approach to life and to oneself, based on sound values.
• creating and exploring a challenging and dynamic learning environment.
• engendering a balance between the rights and responsibilities of the individual, and the well-being of the school, the community and the natural environment.
• equipping pupils to participate effectively in a common future with all South Africans.

Text 3: The Mission Statement of A3 School

Table 4: Worlds X Discourses X Persons for Mission Statement A3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORLDS</th>
<th>DISCOURSES</th>
<th>PERSONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Just</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Liberal Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To-the-Limit</td>
<td>Liberty</td>
<td>Free Thinker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Dream</td>
<td>Successful School</td>
<td>Achiever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Natural Path to Success</td>
<td>Appreciative Parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United</td>
<td>The School Family</td>
<td>Committed Parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dedicated Teacher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given A3’s mission statement, it is possible for power to be shared by all stakeholders at this school. The school is potentially open to changing the way it operates, if this is likely to be beneficial to learners and the school community in general. Furthermore, learners could be encouraged to question things, with the school potentially responding to criticism received from them. It is also likely though, that decisions can only be taken with the full support of the entire school community. It is likely that individual success is encouraged, and possibly not to the detriment of fellow learners. Rather, an environment of caring and concern for others is possible. If, however, an individual poses a threat to the school as a whole, it is likely that their rights will be forfeited to the benefit of the school.
Mission Statement B1

As a parallel medium school B1 High School endeavours to provide an education which will develop the full potential of each pupil. It strives to provide professional tuition at the highest level whilst maintaining a balance between spiritual, academic, cultural and sporting activities within the framework of Christian values and beliefs. The interaction of the whole school community in school matters and a loving interest in each pupil as an individual are essential elements in this endeavour.

The ethos of B1 High School and its sound achievements in academic and other spheres, established over many years, are fundamental to its distinctive character. The school will maintain these high standards and is eager to fulfil its role as a dynamic parallel medium school in the southern suburbs.

Text 4: The Mission Statement of B1 School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORLDS</th>
<th>DISCOURSES</th>
<th>PERSONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United</td>
<td>School family</td>
<td>Dedicated Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Committed Parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fallen</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Christian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Preserving the Status Quo</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Dream</td>
<td>Successful School</td>
<td>Achiever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Natural Path to Success</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-rounder</td>
<td>Holism</td>
<td>All-rounder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Natural Path to Success</td>
<td>Dedicated Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Preserving the Status Quo</td>
<td>Committed Parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Achiever, Christian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Worlds X Discourses X Persons for Mission Statement B1

School B1, like A1, is also likely to embrace Christianity and encourage tradition, and thus a Christian work ethic. An emphasis on obedience is thus likely, with power and authority resting in the hands of the teachers. As in A1, the achievement of personal success is likely to be of utmost importance, with the individual being prioritised above the group. In this case, however, success is likely to be seen in a broad manner, encompassing more than academic progress. In working towards this goal, it is possible for teachers to take on a parental stance towards learners, expecting learners to follow their advice, as well as to take on and share their ideals.
Mission Statement B2

B2 High pursues a dynamic, broad-based education incorporating life-skills and a competitive academic standard. It aims at fostering pride within a disciplined environment and maintaining close links with the community while acting as a model for the community.

Goals:
- To educate every student to the best of his or her ability (intellectual, physical, cultural, emotional, social).
- To provide the chance for every student to experience a feeling of achievement and success and to recognise such achievement, both in and out of the classroom.
- To expand horizons.
- To reward effort and encourage excellence.
- To inspire high standards and expectations of all students (it is the task of this school to see him/her in the best light, to raise self-esteem, goals, and self-image)
- To run an orderly, efficient school where the lines are clearly drawn, and the need for discipline is understood and respected.
- To run a school where students care for the school.
- To create a secure learning environment.
- To be a school which acknowledges individual differences.
- To foster further learning.
- Overall, to be an ‘effective school’ that prepares its students well for the future.

Text 5: The Mission Statement of B2 School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORLDS</th>
<th>DISCOURSES</th>
<th>PERSONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American Dream</td>
<td>Successful School</td>
<td>Achiever, “Baked” Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-rounder</td>
<td>Natural Path to Success</td>
<td>Appreciative Parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just</td>
<td>Holism</td>
<td>All-rounder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Liberal Democrat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Worlds X Discourses X Persons for Mission Statement B2

At this school, there appears to be a strong emphasis on the individual (as opposed to the social group) and their ‘just deserts’. That is, it is likely that the school commends those individuals with ambition and drive, and who are involved in school activities. They may be seen as having used the opportunities presented them, and thus deserving of their success. Those who lack these qualities may be rejected. The school possibly provides diverse stimulation as well as support to learners, in the belief that they will be successful if they make use of the opportunities, academic and otherwise, available to them.
Mission Statement B3

B3 High School remains committed to the duty of providing for our pupils the highest standard of excellence in all aspects of its education programme; to develop holistically their individual personalities, talents, knowledge and skills under the guidance of our dedicated staff and to guard against the debasement of education in general.

Our commitment is purposefully aimed at preparing pupils both to fulfil themselves as growing individuals and to ensure that, later, as informed mature adults they may contribute meaningfully to the continued development of a just, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society.

We seek thus consciously to cultivate universal values, attitudes and ideals worthy of the children in our care and to nourish an active respect for all means and facilities which they share with others in our common efforts to enrich our education programme.

B3 strives for the closest co-operation between parents, teachers and pupils in the pursuit of our aims. In this way we reach out into the community and strengthen the common purpose of realising the aims and goals we set ourselves.

Text 6: The Mission Statement of B3 School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORLDs</th>
<th>DISCOURSnes</th>
<th>PERSONs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post Apartheid</td>
<td>Transformation</td>
<td>Nation builder, Liberal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Democrat, Good Citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-rounder</td>
<td>Holism</td>
<td>All-rounder, Dedicated Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Preserving Status Quo</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Dream</td>
<td>Successful School</td>
<td>Achiever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Natural Path to Success</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Worlds X Discourses X Persons for Mission Statement B3

Given its mission statement, it is possible that B3 provides learners with diverse excellent opportunities, in order to allow for success, and sees obedience to authority as crucial in the use of such opportunities. Furthermore, it is possible that success is seen not as entailing a good academic grounding alone, but also in terms of other important areas. Success is likely to be promoted as having a greater purpose than individual gain. Rather, the individual has a duty not only to themselves, but also to their country, in order that they may play a role in transforming the country into a democratic society free of prejudice.
Mission Statement C1

Visie:
Dat die opvoeders en ouers van C1 Sekondere Skool na uitnemendheid in die
opvoeding (voorbereiding) van hul (leerders) kinders streef sodat die kinders as
waardevolle burgers 'n betekenisvolle bydra tot die vooruitgang van ons gemeenskap
en ons land kan wees.

Missie:
1. Om alle fasette van ons leerders to sy volle potensiaal te ontwikkel naamlik
   intellektueel, emosioneel, geestelik, kultureel en fisies.
2. Dat wedersydse respek teenoor almal se menswaardigheid by die skool
   handhaaf sal word.
3. Om deur gehalte onderrig leerders instaat te stel om krities te dink en
   onafhanklik te werk.
4. Om multikulturele onderwys by leerders te ontwikkel sodat hulle oor die
   vaardighede beskik om die uitdagings en eise wat die demokratiese samelewing
   inhou te kan hanteer.
5. Om 'n toegewyde en dinamiese personeel te bou.
6. Om die maksimum ondersteuning en betrokkenheid by ouers aan te moedig.
7. Om die leerder te motiveer om 'n positiewe aanvaarbare waardesisteem na te
   streef.
8. Om 'n gesonde, gelukkige en veilige leeromgewing te verseker.
9. Om voortdurend die strewe om die kwaliteit en standaard van die opvoeding
   (onderwys) te verbeter.

Text 7: The Mission Statement of C1 School

Table 8: Worlds X Discourses X Persons for Mission Statement C1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORLD</th>
<th>DISCOURSES</th>
<th>PERSONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post Apartheid</td>
<td>Transformation</td>
<td>Good citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-rounder</td>
<td>Holism</td>
<td>All-Rounder, Dedicated Teacher, Committed Parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Dream</td>
<td>Natural Path to Success</td>
<td>Achiever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United</td>
<td>School Family</td>
<td>Committed Parent, Dedicated Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To-the-limit</td>
<td>Liberty</td>
<td>Free Thinker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An English translation of Mission Statement C1 is available in Appendix J.
At school Cl, it is possible that plentiful opportunities (in diverse areas) are offered to learners, allowing for their holistic development, in an attempt at giving them a good chance at being successful after school. Like B3, success would in all likelihood also not only be promoted as having individual benefits, but with a view to aiding transformation in the country. However, unlike B3, it is possible for Cl to support change within the school as well, thus potentially being open to changing the way it operates, if this is likely to be beneficial to learners and the school community in general. Furthermore, learners could be encouraged to question things, with the school potentially open to the criticism received from them. It is also likely though, that decisions can only be taken with the full support of the entire school community.
Mission Statement C2

1. We, the Students, Parents, and Staff of C2 strive to provide a school environment that is conducive to a culture of teaching and learning and endeavour to promote the holistic development (intellectual, physical, spiritual and emotional) of all our students.

2. We try to develop a sense of social responsibility in our students and endeavour to equip them for the challenges of adolescence, and the future so that they can lead a meaningful life and contribute towards a democratic South African society.

3. We recognise that a partnership exists between the community and the school whereby the school contributes towards the upliftment of the community and the community provides the school with resources and expertise that will contribute towards the development of nation building.

Text 8: The Mission Statement of C2 School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORLDS</th>
<th>DISCOURSES</th>
<th>PERSONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post-Apartheid</td>
<td>Transformation</td>
<td>Nation-builder, Good Citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United</td>
<td>United We Stand</td>
<td>Committed Parent, Dedicated Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-rounder</td>
<td>Holism</td>
<td>Troubled Adolescent, All-rounder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Worlds X Discourses X Persons for Mission Statement C2

Given its mission statement, C2 is likely to emphasise its role in building a prosperous democratic nation. With regard to the latter, it is thus possible for decisions at the school to be taken with the participation and approval of the whole school community, and thus for power not to rest completely in the hands of teachers. Such democratic decision-making is likely to be limited though, insofar as any radical opposition to the status quo by learners is likely to be seen as a consequence of adolescent development issues. Moreover, such issues are likely to be addressed by C2 through their broad view of schooling as encompassing more than a focus on academic progress, with a view to enabling learners to be future exemplary citizens.
Mission Statement C3

Die gemeenskap van hoerskool C3 bestaande uit ouers, leerders, opvoeders en belanghebbendes, aanvaar as primere taak die verantwoordelijkheid om as ’n demokratiese, gedisziplineerde, nie-rassige en nie-seksistiese skool, die leerders bloot te stel aan die aanleer van lewensvaardighede sodat hulle intellektueel, sosiaal en geestelik kan ontwikkel.

Ons glo ons het ’n belangrike taak vir die daarstelling van strukture en fasiliteite om betrokke individue by te staan in hul strewe na akademiese kennis, tegniese vaardighede, professionele ontwikkeling en ontwikkeling op die gebied van sport en kultuur. Ons doel is om alle leerders as bruikbare lede van die gemeenskap op ekonomiese, politieke en maatskaplike gebiede op te hef sodat hulle hul rol as landsburgers en uiteindelik as wereldburgers kan vervul.

Text 9: The Mission Statement of C3 School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORLDs</th>
<th>DISCOURSES</th>
<th>PERSONs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United</td>
<td>United We Stand</td>
<td>Dedicated Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Committed Parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Liberal Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Apartheid</td>
<td>Transformation</td>
<td>Good Citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-rounder</td>
<td>Holism</td>
<td>All rounder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Worlds X Discourses X Persons for Mission Statement C3

Given C3’s mission statement, it is possible that opportunities for holistic development are emphasised, with a view to both individual success and in order to aid transformation in the country. Like C1 and C2, it is possible for C3 to support change within the school, thus potentially being open to changing the way it operates, if this is likely to be beneficial to learners and the school community in general. It is also likely for decision-making to be democratic, with the participation of the entire school community. Furthermore, it is possible that an effort is made at ensuring that all individuals at the school receive equal treatment, regardless of their sex, gender identity, race, or religious or other affiliations.

28 An English translation of Mission Statement C3 is available in Appendix L.
5.1 Introduction

Marshall (1989: 93) states that “[i]n disciplining the body, persons as subjects become governable, thus marginalising the need for coercion in the regulation of populations. ... The modern world is constituted in the never complete attempt to displace coercion by discipline ...”. Marshall thus takes us to the heart of this study - an exploration of the extent to which the displacement of coercion by discipline is possible in the schools investigated here.

In South Africa, post-liberation, a concerted effort was made through education policy to replace coercion in the name of democracy. For instance, the Schools Act (no. 84, 1996) abolishes corporal punishment and declares it a legal requirement for all schools to have democratically elected representative governing bodies, as well as to construct a mission statement for the school. The White Paper on Education (Dept. of education, 1995) embraces the values (amongst others) of democracy and non-violence, and Outcomes Based Education has been introduced, allowing for more flexibility in the learning environment and recognising the agency of learners (thus excluding the option of the traditional transmission theory of knowledge). On a visionary level, and in terms of stated policy, we are therefore well placed to transform the often violent, coercive nature of our South African schools. The issue addressed here, through a discourse analysis of mission statements, is the likelihood that this progressive vision will be taken up in practice.

The question addressed in this project is therefore whether the worlds constituted through the discourses captured in the nine mission statements analysed, allow for progressive transformation. In what follows, I thus aim to re-integrate the various
worlds (discourses and persons) rescued from repeated readings of the mission statements, with the literature reviewed in chapter 2. I will show how only some worlds allow for the possibility of a disciplined, coercion-free environment, while others serve to maintain the very conditions promoting violence and undemocratic practices.

The implications of the discourses (and thus worlds and subject positions) are thus addressed here in terms of the operation of Parker's (1992) three auxiliary criteria introduced in chapter 3. Specifically, and in terms of the first criterion, it is shown that discourses "may reproduce the material basis of an institution" (Ibid: 17). That is, the economic basis underlying the need to produce a docile labour force, applying here to the reproduction of the institutions of mass schooling and psychology. With regard to the second criterion, the maintenance of certain social structures such as material and gender inequality are shown to be made possible through the "subject positions offered by the discourses" (Ibid: 18) (comparing for instance the patriarchal position with the communitarian democratic position). With regard to the third and final criterion, the "ideological effects" (Ibid: 19) of the discourses, for instance the reproduction of violent, coercive practices, are shown in the maintenance of the very worlds (for example the Traditional, Fallen and American Dream worlds) that will sustain violence.

The operation of these criteria is not discussed separately for each world. Instead, there is an interest in the effects of the co-existence and thus interactions of the worlds. To the extent that each mission statement allows for several worlds, there may be contradictory constructions of learners, teachers, parents, effective schools and their goals, within a mission statement. For instance, a single mission statement may support as their ideal student both a 'Christian' and a 'Free Thinker'; it may reveal values both of tradition and liberty (from the status quo). Where such contradictory discourses and subject positions occur, they are highlighted, with a mention as to their potential implications for conflict and change.
Moreover, the implications of repeated groupings of certain worlds (both complimentary and contradictory) within mission statements is discussed in relation to the goals of the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) (Dept. of National Education, 1992: 17), and the ideals of democracy, liberty, justice and non-violence expressed in the White Paper on Education (Dept. of Education, 1995). This chapter also explores the extent to which schools of different/similar socio-economic levels either share or do not share ideals, as implied by the presence or absence of particular worlds. In other words, comparisons between mission statements of the different schools are made with regards to their socio-economic place in society.

The discussion is organised as follows. Firstly, I argue in section 5.2 that an economic rationality to schooling, within a patriarchal framework, is evident, and show how this perpetuates social inequalities and reduces the possibility of a communitarian inclusive democracy, as well as increasing the likelihood of a traditional, coercive orientation to control in the school. In section 5.3, I discuss the evidence for the possibility of the practical support of the values of both individual freedom and social liberation, and thus coercion- and violent-free practices. Section 5.4 shows that a liberal/progressive orientation to schooling is strongly evident, enabling more subtle and less overtly violent techniques of control. However, this orientation is argued to be largely overshadowed by the greater presence of support for a more traditional orientation to control (and thus coercive practices). Finally, section 5.5 compares the evidence for different orientations to control with respect to the socio-economic levels of the schools concerned.

29 The goals of the ERS are as follows:
- equal opportunities;
- the promotion of national unity;
- the recognition and accommodation of language, cultural, religious and other legitimate interests;
- the elimination of discrimination on the grounds of race, colour and gender;
- the provision of personpower for national needs;
- the forming of whole human beings; and
- the sharing of responsibilities for the provision of education between the State and interested sectors, such as the parent community.

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5.2. The possibility of coercive, violent techniques of control at schools, and the perpetuation of social inequality

Several of the worlds described in Appendix C can be argued to share an underlying support for meritocracy and hence both individualism and capitalism. These are the FALLEN, AMERICAN DREAM, JUST and TRADITIONAL worlds. An economic rationality to schooling is enabled, in that the school, through the operation of meritocratic principles, can become the site for the differentiation of labour in society (Kemmis, 1987). The reasoning behind this assertion is examined for each world, followed by a detailed exploration of the implications thereof, including how this relates to coercive, violent techniques of control at schools, as well as to the ERS (1992) ideals of ‘equal opportunity’ and ‘the provision of personpower for national ends’.

Firstly though, it is significant that these four worlds are represented almost exclusively in the A and B category schools. Moreover, several mission statements contain combinations of two or more of these worlds. Out of the FALLEN, AMERICAN DREAM, TRADITIONAL and JUST Worlds, mission statements A1 and B1 for instance each only lack the JUST world; and A2 only lacks the TRADITIONAL world. A3 and B2 contain both the AMERICAN DREAM and JUST worlds, while B3 contains both the AMERICAN DREAM and the TRADITIONAL worlds. Interestingly, none of the category C schools contain more than one of these worlds, although C1 does contain a slight reference to the AMERICAN DREAM world, and C3 reveals the JUST world. In terms of Hunter’s (1994) terminology, this represents fairly clearly the middle class ideology, in terms of which mass schooling is seen as a means of forming a socially disciplined proletariat. Clearly, the category C schools, who cannot provide the same opportunities as the better resourced A and B schools, have not been fooled into accepting the system (meritocracy) which helps perpetuate inequality. Likewise, it can be argued that category A and B schools are content to maintain their unfair advantage.

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Each of these worlds, particularly the **FALLEN, AMERICAN DREAM** and **JUST** worlds, is concerned to a greater or lesser extent with the principle of maximising learner qualifications, regardless of social relationships. As regards the **FALLEN** world, Weber’s (1958) argument that Christianity had a relationship to the rise of capitalism is of significance here. In the same way that a Christian work ethic is revealed through an accumulation of capital, it can also be revealed through academic qualifications, which in turn can be related to a greater potential of accumulating capital. In the **AMERICAN DREAM** world, the school is seen as a ticket to personal success (i.e. viewed in this case, as being financially sound and having a ‘respectable’ career). If, within a sound system, the individual fails to achieve, it would be seen as being a result of their own deficiency. In the **JUST** world, discrimination of any kind would be frowned upon, with performance being seen as the only valid selection criterion. The school is thus compelled in the **FALLEN, AMERICAN DREAM**, and the **JUST** world, to focus on student results as the only worthwhile measures of its success.

The goal of maximising of learner qualifications may be used as a justification for the use of knowledge gained of the learner (of an academic and/or behavioural nature) to inform decisions regarding what is seen to be best for him/her. This is executed within the discourse of individual needs and often involves separations from others (Noddings, 1989). For instance, achievement (via testing) can be used to inform the differentiation of learners into different groupings on the basis of the supposition that the high-achieving learner ‘needs’ to be surrounded by others who are similar, providing an environment which will maximise their success. A ‘survival of the fittest’ competitive mentality is thus constituted, where the individual is prioritised over the group. The competitive and selective nature of such a system leads learners to believe that their success is at least partly through being better than someone else; that is, through someone else’s failure relative to themselves (Blumenfeld-Jones, 1996). Hence success is always at the expense of others’ failures. This clearly runs counter to values such as solidarity, cooperation and caring.
An alternative, a communitarian approach of prioritising social relationships (Kahne, 1996), would be to promote co-operation rather than competition, and would favour integration and inclusion rather than separation. Of all the worlds, this is only likely within the **United** world. The focus would then be on the desirability of the community created within the classroom or school as a whole, for both the individual and the group. Only then would it be possible to achieve Dewey's (1916: 149) idea of a democracy, which entails "the clear consciousness of a communal life, in all its implications". Abraham (1995) argues that such an emphasis on cooperative learning and caring is likely to create different needs from an emphasis on competitive certification. Significantly, perhaps, the **United** world was found to exist in all three category C schools, but in only two of the six category A and B schools.

So when it is argued that students with different abilities have different needs (ie. defining needs by ability), it is important to unpack exactly what counts as 'ability' and why. Abraham (1995) argues that there is an assumption of some underlying model of pupil and societal development, which is never made explicit. Rather, there is a "naturalization of ability hierarchies which runs the risk of being applied as a rationale for social inequality" (Ibid, p. 6), particularly with respect to social-class and gender differences. These hierarchies are then fed into the meritocratic equation as fixed entities; thus becoming part of what seems 'natural' – the way things are.

A school taking this approach can hence justify using merit-based selection procedures for their learner intake. In the **Just** world, for instance, discrimination of any form is frowned upon, even if the discrimination in question is of a positive form, favouring a person with a disadvantaged background over someone living under more favourable circumstances. Rather, performance is seen as the only valid selection criterion. In such a meritocratic system equalities would be compensated for in the school (Kahne, 1994). It is thus reasoned that, once included into the school community, the individual learner has equal opportunity at success or failure – it is their *choice*. The competition is then fair, and people should accept their position (Kemmis, 1986). This
means that while individuals can escape their backgrounds, structures of inequality and the subordination of groups continues. “Unequal opportunity is perpetuated and legitimised within an ideology of equality of opportunity and individual escape rather than social emancipation” (Edwards, 1991, p. 91).

In South Africa this is compounded by differential school fees, which ensure that those schools charging the most (category A schools, in this study) are seen as providing the best education (being able to reduce the teacher learner ratio by employing additional teachers, and acquiring and maintaining superior facilities). Parents pay what they can to send their child to the ‘best’ school possible. Children from low-income families are thus forced to attend schools charging the lowest fees, and thus having the highest teacher learner ratio and poorest facilities.

This is not to say that the ‘elite’ schools are closed to all those who cannot pay. Bursaries offered (on either sport or academic basis) ensure that those with the ‘best abilities’ can also attend these schools. What this means in practice, however, is an acceptance by child and parents of fitting into the customs and traditions of the school, acquiring middle class values and thus not altering the status quo. This corresponds to the TRADITIONAL world, in which the ‘correct’ way would be the way things have always been done. Strong hierarchical patterns are expected here, according to which people are treated differentially. Within the student population, learners would be positioned differently depending on their age, achievements (sporting and academic) and their family socio-economic status. Significantly, evidence of the TRADITIONAL world was found only in category A and B schools (representing the upper and middle classes). The learner being granted the scholarship is allowed to experience the culture (and privileges) of the higher class because s/he has shown promise in areas they consider important. S/he is also expected to adapt to the culture because other parents would not want their child being influenced ‘negatively’ by a child of a lower class; instead, that child should want to learn from them.
Moreover, schools hoping to attract pupils and parents with sought-after characteristics (be it the possession of academic skills, high social standing, or capital resources) are in competition to present themselves in the most desirable light possible. Thus, containing learners who have proved to be difficult, and who are not thought of as exemplary, is not seen in their best interests (Parsons & Howlett, 1996; Blyth & Milner, 1996), even if their parents are paying the requisite fees.

The hidden agenda in the FALLEN, AMERICAN DREAM, JUST and TRADITIONAL worlds is then the reproduction of the status quo of the social formation, in that whereas the individual is supremely valued, society – the only level at which social change is possible - is considered insignificant. Edwards (1991, p. 93) warns that because persons learn to experience themselves as autonomous private consumers of goods, the social merely becomes “a series of techniques to be used by individuals in their interactions with others, instrumental to their own self-interest”. This is in the interest of the liberal capitalist state, which requires a population disciplined to consent to the inequalities of the social formation. It encourages the (false) view that we can all make it individually if we are good enough; hiding the reality of a system loaded in favour of certain individuals, who are thus most likely to ‘make it’. These favoured individuals are not only those born into the upper and middle classes, but, due to the patriarchal aspect of this system, are also those favoured by the patriarchy. That is, males are favoured over females, and those who show deference to authority and obey rules, over those who question the status quo.

In the patriarchy, rules and principles (set by the ‘Father’) alone specify what passes for disobedience (of the Father) - the ultimate misbehaviour in the patriarchy. This in turn assumes that persons can at all times act rationally (Blumenfeld-Jones, 1996). It is the rational choice of the individual to either obey or disobey (and thus accept the ‘logical’ consequences).

Although the subject position of the patriarch was only clearly evident in mission statement A1, it can be argued that the patriarch, and the discourse of patriarchy are in
fact lurking in all of the category A and B school mission statements to a greater or lesser degree. Circumstances beyond a person’s personal control (such as the possible consequences of poverty, violence, home circumstances, gender, race, peers, and unique personal history) are not taken into account. The person is seen as separate from their circumstances, and separate from others. Connectedness with one’s environment and with others is thus de-emphasised, and according to Welch (1985) in Blumenfeld-Jones (1996: 13), the individual is then isolated from their immediate community and taught the value of “nonconnection with and nonresponsibility for all communities” and thus with the oppressed.

The worlds discussed above, particularly the JUST and FALLEN worlds, share an underlying expectation that both learner and teacher are perfectly rational beings. Both worlds are highly principled, run strictly according to commonly agreed upon rules. So rational arguments in terms of correct discipline procedure would be supported. Although every person is seen as deserving of equal human rights, when it comes to making decisions there is no appeal to humanity. Hence there is a belief that learners choose their behaviour in general, and specifically also whether to obey/disobey rules. In other words, there is an overwhelming emphasis on the individual as the basic unit of analysis – the individual must accept personal responsibility for their behaviour. This is what Blumenfeld-Jones (1996) calls ‘hyper-individuality’. Disobedience therefore has logical consequences, used by the teacher to establish and maintain order in the classroom. There is thus also an emphasis on authority.

Cantor and Cantor’s model of school discipline, taking as its departure point the right of the teacher to teach and the learner to learn (Robinson & Maines, 1994), would not be out of place here. Thus a learner who makes it difficult for a teacher to teach (seen as their primary responsibility) would have to be disciplined for violating not only the rights of the teacher, but of the other learners as well. Each individual (learner or teacher) would be made to understand that there are ‘logical’ consequences to their behaviour. The discipline would be such as to deter the learner from creating a similar
disturbance in the future, and one which would simultaneously allow for the teacher to return quickly to their responsibility of teaching. Moreover, all learners (or teachers) could expect to be treated in the same way for the same infraction. Discipline is related to the deed, not to the person. No discriminatory practices would be tolerated and so if on deeper investigation it appears the learner’s behaviour is linked to some or other difficult circumstance or set of experiences, this cannot affect the consequence they are to experience as a result of their behaviour.

5.3 The possibility of a disciplined, coercion-free school environment supporting individual freedom and social liberation

An alternative set of values, reflecting a feminine perspective, is possible – for instance, the valuing of process over product, caring over authority, connection over separation, and mediation over indoctrination. This feminine perspective is argued below to be necessary for the realisation of both individual freedom and social liberation. This assertion is justified below, followed by a discussion of the possibility for the practical support of individual freedom and social liberation, and thus coercion-free control, in the schools under investigation.

Of all the worlds represented here, the combination of the TO-THE-LIMIT and UNITED worlds most allow for such a feminine alternative. The TO-THE-LIMIT world only emerges from two mission statements, however: A3 and C1, whereas the UNITED world emerges from all category C mission statements, as well as A3 and B1. This is not without significance.

The TO-THE-LIMIT world is a world in which the principle of individual freedom is sacrosanct. As opposed to the TRADITIONAL world, there would be no structures set in stone here. The only ‘rule’ that would have to be continuously observed, would be that persons (learners, parents and teachers) are to question the way things are. Teachers would have to be creative, exploring new approaches and techniques, and encourage
learners to be creative and to welcome change as occasioning new possibilities. All stake-holders would be free to challenge the way the school operates. Thus, in Deacon’s (1996) terminology, the To-the-Limit world could be considered as an alternative educational discourse.

In this world, the ideals of People’s Education, that is, the development of creativity, and critical and analytic thinking (Nkomu, 1990), are possible. In contrast, schooling during Apartheid was concerned almost solely with the demands of capitalism (Enslin, 1984). Black schooling was directed towards the supply of cheap labour and was rigidly controlled. This, in conjunction with the fact that it received proportionally less funding than white schooling, demonstrated a conspicuous absence of concern for the principle of individual freedom (Ibid, 1984). The notion of individual freedom was similarly curtailed in white schooling, which was geared towards the production of a skilled labour force.

What follows is an account relating freedom to the alternative feminine value of connection listed above. According to Maxine Greene (1993), human freedom is the capacity to transcend the given and to be able to look at things as if they could be otherwise. She posits that this encompasses both the will for a transformed reality and the empowerment to act on that will. The latter is only possible if the perceived obstacles are seen as human constructs amenable to change. It can be argued that learners who are encouraged to look critically at their environments are not only learning that things can be different and that change is possible. They and their teachers would also be remembering their community, and their connectedness with it, and thus learning to think contextually and relationally. It is with the consciousness of possibility that persons experience their freedom and that they are moved to engage in dialogue with others, to reach toward what is not, what might be – what seems decent, valuable, humane (Greene, 1993).
The *UNITED* world prioritises social above individual interest. In a post-Apartheid South Africa this world would not be out of place and could be a positive signifier, if the idea of unity were to be associated with all South Africans. However, in spite of the Deweyan democratic communitarianism that is possible in this world the possibility of an authoritarian, fixed structure is not excluded. Further, as previously stated, solidarity within a group (for instance a family) is often associated with exclusivity. A situation is created in which there are insiders and outsiders, with the likelihood of prejudices developing regarding the outsiders.

As Noddings (1995: 241) states: "Many communities have been characterized by loving kindness and cooperation within the community and fierce competitiveness – even violence – against outsiders". In a society in which schools are already differentiated strongly along race and/or social class lines, unity within schools could easily come to imply less rather than greater unity in general (across class and race boundaries). That is, if there is an assumption of a fixed community (stressing the community’s common values and traditions), the freedom spoken of earlier (with respect to the *TO-THE-LIMIT* world) would be absent (Noddings, 1995). Rather, schooling would incorporate a transmission of those values, as learners would have to be taught the values and mores of the community. In this case, the *UNITED* world begins to look more like the *TRADITIONAL* world. Moreover, as stated by Noddings (1995: 241), “the press to conformity, whether it is toward good or bad norms, may displace the critical thinking and moral autonomy that many educators seek”.

This could go some way to explaining the large number of newspaper articles reporting on the continued use of corporal punishment in category C type schools and ex-DET schools. Even though the Post-Apartheid world emerges from all of the category C schools, which would amongst other things imply a support of non-violent means of resolving difficulties, the violence continues. It seems that the overwhelming community support for this practice is what sustains it. Thus, in schools such as C1,
C2 and C3, the *United* world may act as a retainer of traditions, one of which, in this case, is corporal punishment.

Just as the *To-the-Limit* world relates to individual freedom, so it is that the Post-Apartheid world deals with social liberation. It relates to several of the ideals of the ERS (1992: 17), including the “promotion of national unity”, the “recognition and accommodation of language, cultural, religious and other legitimate interests, and the elimination of discrimination on the grounds of race, colour and gender”. It is a world committed not only to the ideals of non-discrimination and non-violence, but also to redressing the imbalances of the past, with education as one means of achieving this goal. On its agenda would be the enlightening of learners to the oppressive social structures in the country, thus also supporting the ideals of People’s Education (Kruss, 1988).

The combination of the *To-the-Limit* and Post-apartheid worlds in a mission statement could thus be taken to imply a strong alignment with Johnson, Whittington and Oswald’s (1994) socially critical orientation to discipline and to the ideals of People’s Education. This combination was only found, however, in C1.

Also significant is that the *Post-Apartheid* world was found to exist in each of the category C mission statements, and almost exclusively there (aside from B3). The fact that it is (almost) not to be found in Category A and B schools, lends weight to the argument (in 5.1) that these schools are interested not in redress and harmony in South Africa, but rather a continuation of social inequality, in their best interests.
5.4 Governmentality – the possibility of subtle forms of control through normalisation

A science of student behaviour has been constructed through the discipline of educational psychology. The discussion below centres on the ALL-ROUNDER world as enabling subtle forms of control through its assumption of the knowledges of the individual accumulated by psychology. This is to take Foucault's (1979) conception of power. That is, that power operates through knowledgeable discourses and practices which intensify the gaze to which the subject is subjected, and making them governable by ordering, measuring, categorising, normalising and regulating, and thus reducing the need for coercion (Usher & Edwards, 1994).

In the ALL-ROUNDER world, the learner as an 'individual' and the development of the 'whole person' is emphasised. In other words, there is a focus on the development of all of the individual's capacities. Importantly though, there is an understanding of what is correct, appropriate development, and what falls outside these parameters is labelled deviant. In this world, the authority to a large extent thus rests with the psychologists and guidance teachers. Primary responsibility for decisions is shifted from teachers, parents or the learner to the knowledgeable one – the psychologist (or guidance counsellor), who would facilitate in problem situations and provide the necessary advice. Conflict situations would be dealt with through counselling and a negotiated common understanding of the situation between concerned parties. Emphasis would be on monitoring behaviour, plotting its course, and determining prognosis and treatment. The primary mechanism of control here, is thus Foucauldian, operating subtley through a power/knowledge base through constant surveillance (Ryan, 1991). Practices of separation, such as streaming and suspension, would be justified here as being in the individual's best interests.

Falling within the medical discourse, this world entitles those in the doctor's role (psychologists) to make decisions, as well as to guard over knowledge; with those in
the position of the 'patient' (the learner) and the patient's family dependent on the 'doctor' for being 'cured' (being made to fit in), and so grateful and indebted to them. 'Inappropriate' behaviour/attitudes (outside of the norm) require theory-based (professional) correction – to 'help' them. Furthermore, what is deemed inappropriate is up to the professional to decide. In other words, the role of correction is utilitarian – to try to improve the person (so that they can better fit in to society). The increasing role of this form of control is evidenced, for instance, by the increasing diagnosis in South Africa of Attention Deficit Disorder of learners, and the subsequent prescription of drugs to 'treat' the disorder.

It is thus possible for the science of student behaviour to legitimate the professional interest in the surveillance and regulation of the learners (Slee, 1995). That is, the effect of normalisation in schools is to subtly impose homogeneity on learners (Rabinow, 1991). The All rounder world therefore, like the Traditional world, enables a perpetuation of the status quo through its powerful (knowledgeable) prescriptions of the way learners should be. Significantly, this world was found to emerge from all of the category B and C school mission statements, signifying the pervasiveness of normalisation as a means of control here. To the extent that learners, parents and teachers accept (and internalise) as true the knowledges developed about the individual, blatant coercion is no longer necessary. However, Marshall (1989: 109) warns that the more humane the exercise of control, the more subtle it is, involving less overt violence, but possibly being more dangerous because of its "insidious silence".
5.5 **Comparisons of orientations to control with regard to socio-economic level**

Similarities across certain mission statements were found with regards to the worlds emerging from them. In general, similarities seemed more pronounced within schools of the same or similar socio-economic level. The discussion below thus illustrates the possibility of a relationship between orientations to control at schools and their socio-economic level.

Interestingly, the *All-Rounder* world, and thus an education of the 'whole' person, does not feature at all in the category A schools, but in all of the category B and C schools. Arguably, then, there is a far stronger traditional orientation in the category A schools than in the category B and C schools. In the schools representing the highest socio-economic level, *Hen*, although democracy may be said to be important, there is much less likelihood of democratic processes being at work in the classroom itself.

The *JUST* world, as discussed previously, supports democratic and non-discriminatory values. The status quo is thus open to challenge (by any member of the school community), as long as the agreed upon processes are followed. Thus, in the sense that the preferred means of control would be through negotiation and compromise, the *JUST* world is to some extent in alignment with Johnson, Whitington and Oswald's (1994) liberal/progressive orientation to control in schools. Aside from *AI*, all of the mission statements contain either one or both of the *JUST* and *All-Rounder* worlds, thus showing a fairly strong liberal/progressive orientation in all three socio-economic levels.

The *Traditional* orientation to control in schools (Johnson, Whitington and Oswald, 1994) - according to which, authority is invested only in teachers, and obedience of high value - is possible in all category A and B schools. That is, in all of these school's mission statements, at least one, but usually a combination of the *Fallen, American Dream* and *Traditional* worlds are rescued. In the *Fallen* world, failure to behave
according to Christian values or to obey rules that have been set up by one’s elders, is
punishable, ostensibly in the best interests of the individual’s soul. This has
traditionally been one means of justifying corporal punishment (Carey, 1994), with the
Bible being quoted as stating that to spare the rod is to spoil the child. In the AMERICAN
DREAM world, learners are expected to be ambitious, and work towards the goals of
social respectability and financial success, failing which, they could be coerced into
doing so, as it would be considered to be in their best interests (Noddings, 1995).
Finally, in the TRADITIONAL world each stake-holder’s role is well-defined and not open
to challenge. Obedience to authority is thus of central importance, and the use of
correction techniques to achieve this, highly likely in the schools classified as belonging
to the higher socio-economic levels.

As has already been stated, the TO-THE-LIMIT world, which could to some extent reflect
a socially critical or a laissez-faire orientation, is only evident in two mission
statements: A3 and C1, both of which also have worlds which reflect both the
traditional and liberal/progressive orientations as well. The C category schools, while
reflecting a liberal/progressive orientation, have also been shown to possibly reflect a
traditional orientation as well, through the UNITED world. However, while the
traditional orientation in the higher socio-economic level (A and B category) schools
has an underlying economic rationality to it, the same orientation at schools classified
as belonging to a lower socio-economic level (the category C schools) is rooted in the
mores of the community.

To sum up: in this chapter, I have shown the operation of Parker’s (1992) three
auxiliary criteria as follows. With regards to the first criterion, the institution of mass
schooling is clearly supported through the majority of the worlds, with the possible
exception of the TO-THE-LIMIT world. That is, in all of the other worlds, there is an
implicit acceptance of schooling in its current format as being an essential component
of the lives of all individuals. Secondly, the institution of psychology has been shown
to be supported strongly through the ALL ROUNDER world. In both these instances, we
see the capitalist economy writ in institutional form to produce a docile labour force (through mass schooling and the normalisation of people through psychology).

With regards to the second and third criteria, the different worlds (through the discourses) have been shown to enable and constrain the action and thought of learners, parents and teachers, through the various subject positions available to them. That is, positions in the worlds that in effect only allow certain voices (and not others) to have warrant. In this sense these worlds have ideological effects. For instance, in the FALLEN, AMERICAN DREAM, TRADITIONAL and JUST worlds, a hierarchical power relationship between teacher and learner is potentially reproduced, with the teacher in the sole position of authority. Furthermore, control through the use of separation practices (such as streaming and punishment), is enabled in these worlds, as well as the perpetuation of social inequalities. In contrast, both the UNITED and TO-THE-LIMIT WORLDS allow for less hierarchical (more flexible) power relationships, a greater possibility of democratic communitarian practices. The possibility exists, though, for power relationships in the UNITED world to be rigidly hierarchical, and for coercive control measures to be practiced. A hierarchical power relationship between learners, parents and teachers, on the one hand, and psychologists on the other, was shown to be likely in the ALL-ROUNDER world, with psychologists having access to knowledge about the individual (and individual developmental norms) and thus being in authority. The control here was thus shown to be of a Foucauldian nature, being potentially harmful, but operating subtly and without the need for blatant coercive practices.
6.1 Summary of findings

With regard to the main findings of this study, in the first instance it would appear that Kemmis’s (1986) traditional orientation to schooling and thus to control is highly prevalent amongst these mission statements. The patriarchal system is strongly present, with a consequent valuing of rules and principles, and the authority of the teacher. This is likely to limit the possibility of realising democracy within the school, and to increase the likelihood of punitive techniques of control. Furthermore, one of the most evident ideals seems to be of providing for the nation’s person-power needs, and of ensuring later financial security for the individual.

Another interesting finding is that in middle to upper class schools traditional orientations to control were associated with an understanding of the individual as a rational being, whereas in the lower class schools this was associated with the sovereignty of community traditions. This implies that in school-based interventions aimed at promoting democracy and countering violence, there would have to be a sensitivity to the different possible values underlying undemocratic, coercive practices of control used.
A potential for change was found, in terms of the forms of control operating in the schools, in that, in almost all of the mission statements (barring AI), two or more orientations to control were indicated. Change is thus possible to the extent that these orientations are contested within the school. In other words, once the values underlying such orientations are exposed, there is a possibility of a change in practices, as people become more aware of the contradictions inherent therein. Hence, in terms of a school-based intervention, it would be important to attempt to increase awareness of the values and ideals already present and influencing practice, and also of the contradictions inherent in holding a particular set of values. Certain practices (and the holding of certain values) would then be seen as opposing the expressed ideals of justice, peace, democracy and liberty, and thus open to criticism and change.

Finally, it appears that there may be a resistance to transformation and in particular social equality at better resourced (category A and B) schools. This emerges in comparison with the less resourced (category C) schools, in that, while there is a sense of need for transformation (a desire for change in the form of upliftment and nation-building) in the category C schools, this was for the most part absent in the other schools. Moreover, whereas there is clear support for a liberal capitalist system in the better resourced schools, serving the middle to upper classes, this is less clear in those schools serving the lower classes. This is clearly worrying in terms of the goal of achieving equity. This concern has been stated by the Teacher's League of South Africa as follows in *The Educational Journal* (April-May 1998):

> Schools in South Africa are developing in a direction away from the pursuit of equity and equality, contrary to official pronouncements and policies. Instead the chief aim is an over-emphasis on the production of a disciplined and skilled labour force to satisfy the needs of Capitalist employers. But, then, inequalities in education are part of Capitalist society and are likely to persist as long as Capitalism survives.
6.2 Suggestions for further study

It has already been mentioned that no ex-DET schools were included in the sample. This is problematic; particularly in so far as it is at many of these schools that the issue of corporal punishment has raised so much media attention. It would be interesting to see which worlds would be allowed for, specifically in terms of the idea of Peoples Education. Similarly, the analysis of mission statements of other types of schools, such as Waldorf, Islamic and Jewish private schools might result in the emergence of alternative discourses, and hence a different picture regarding schools and the implications of possibilities for control. Furthermore, it would be interesting to investigate co-educational versus single-sex schools, to see if there might be opposing or similar discourses operating in each.

The finding that, despite stated democratic goals, traditional orientations to schooling were so prevalent, could be used to inform a study investigating the extent to which punitive versus other methods of control are used in schools claiming to have alternatives to corporal punishment. In addition, the extent to which democratic processes exist in such schools could also be investigated. The hypothesis that would thus be scrutinised would be that, even schools with stated democratic goals are likely to have practises which are undemocratic, and that these same schools will engage in punitive methods of control. The findings here indicate that this will not only be the case at lower class schools, but will predominate at upper middle class schools as well, albeit perhaps in more subtle forms than corporal punishment.

A second hypothesis that could be investigated relates to the finding that an important ideal of many of the schools was to provide for the needs of the nation and/or for ensuring the learner’s later financial security. The hypothesis that would be examined, therefore, would be that most teachers and parents are educating children with a view to vocational training. In other words, schooling is seen for the most part as a means to an end (a worthwhile career), as opposed to an end in and of itself. This is counter
to the idea of life-long learning, in which the learning experience itself, and not only its results, is valued. Most importantly, though, it lends itself as a means to justifying the use of coercion, whereby the child's will is overlooked in favour of the will of the teacher.

In conclusion, the context, in relation to schools, in which the problem of violence is occurring, has been explored in this study, through a scrutiny of the concepts of schools and of control in schools, evidenced through a discourse analysis of nine school mission statements. The school seems to be generally conceived as a means to ensure later financial success for the individual, and as a provider of the nation's person-power needs. With regards to control, despite stated democratic aims in the majority of the schools, coercive (violent) practices of control are most evident. The possibility for coercion- and violent-free practices exists at several of the schools though, most notably at the less resourced schools.
REFERENCES


South African Schools Act No. 84, 1996.


Appendix A

Persons constituted in the text

The persons (subject positions) constituted in the mission statements are listed in tabulated form in Table 11 (in the column titled ‘persons’) below. The ‘persons’ are rescued in terms of their most typical form: old or young; male or female; parent, teacher, or learner. In the column titled ‘schools’, find the coded names of the schools whose mission statements constitute each ‘person’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSONS</th>
<th>SCHOOLS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Christian</td>
<td>A1, A2, B1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Conservative</td>
<td>A1, B1, B3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Elitist</td>
<td>A1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Patriarch</td>
<td>A1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Achiever</td>
<td>A1, A2, A3, B1, B2, B3, C1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Nation-builder</td>
<td>A3, B3, C2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Committed Parent</td>
<td>A3, B1, C2, C1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Troubled Adolescent</td>
<td>C2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Good Citizen</td>
<td>B3, C1, C3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 All-rounder</td>
<td>B1, B2, B3, C1, C2, C3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Appreciative Parent</td>
<td>B2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Free Thinker</td>
<td>A3, C1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Dedicated Teacher</td>
<td>A3, B3, C1, C3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Liberal Democrat</td>
<td>A3, B2, B3, C3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 11: Persons X Schools
In this section, each person constituted in the mission statements is described, using quotations from the text as evidence. The focus of each description, is on the operation of that subject position in the school context. All quotations indicate the name of the mission statement which is their source. Where a person is constituted in more than one mission statement, I have attempted to include textual evidence from all such texts. Note that these ‘persons’ are vacant places in the school as a set of possibilities for actors to take up. (If it is possible for a person to take up this place, they will be accepted; if not, they will be ‘out in the cold’).

1. The Christian

This person is a ‘Christian’ in the sense that their Christian faith is the foundation upon which their life rests. As such they would argue strongly that students should be educated “within the ... tradition of the Christian faith” (A1), or “within the framework of Christian values and beliefs” (B1). They believe that “the gospel message ... directs the lives of all people” (A2). In other words, people should lead their lives strictly according to the direction given in the Bible. They strive to follow the example of Jesus, showing “respect and caring concern for humankind” (A1) and working hard, in order to “serve ... [their] communities with their skills and talents” (A1). Because all people are born with original sin, they are tempted by the Devil, needing guidance and moulding, and are encouraged to “develop ... self-discipline” (A1) to remain an exemplary Christian.

From this position, parents and teachers are coopted into being responsible for the saviour of the child’s soul. Schools should provide spiritual food to nourish children’s souls, thus having a “strong emphasis on a religious education” (A2). “[R]eligious values” (A2) should be “integrated into all aspects of education in the school” (A2). As a teacher, the Christian is particularly concerned with “the growth of the spiritual dimension of each individual” (A2).

2 Direct quotes from the text are thus indicated.

3 The source of the quoted text is thus indicated.
2. The Conservative

This person is a 'conservative' in the sense that they do not want changes to take place, but rather wish for the status quo to be maintained (for things to stay the way they are/were). The CONSERVATIVE person holds "tradition" (A1) dear, and will do anything in their power to ensure that traditions are passed to younger generations. They will 'remain committed' (B3) to "maintain[ing] ... standards" (B1) at the school.

3. The Elitist

This role was only rescued from A1 school's mission statement. This person is an 'elitist', in the sense that they can be distinguished from the majority of people (South Africans) by (their family or themselves) possessing skills which are highly valued and not common, by possessing certain social graces, and/or by their economic position in the society. For these attributes, they are respected. Their role in the broader community includes making important decisions on behalf of the community, and leading an exemplary life to which others aspire. In preparation for such a leadership role, an "excellent ... education" (A1) is necessary. That is to say, an 'average education', which would be satisfactory for 'ordinary' members of the community, would not be good enough.

4. The Patriarch

This role was only rescued from A1 school's mission statement. The patriarch, as a male, has a responsibility to care for, protect, and guide others, making decisions for others where necessary. This role as father figure may emerge in any social context, including the family, the school, and the church. This role is sanctioned in "the Anglican tradition of the Christian faith" (A1), which names the Creator 'The Father', and which guides fathers in patriarchy, using as their example the

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3 The Conservative, Elitist, and the Patriarch could be grouped together, as "one of the men in the old-boys' club", i.e. As a past pupil of the school who maintains loyalties to their school; who is proud of the traditions and status of their school in the community, and thus keeps in contact with the school and ensure the maintenance of the school, through making donations, and attending various social functions.
Heavenly Father, in their position as head of their own family. As males grow into such positions and "take their place" (A1) as leaders and decision-makers, this potential must be nurtured and developed. Their schooling should help prepare them adequately for this onerous responsibility.

5. The Achiever
The 'achiever' has met the "high expectations" (A1) of their parents and teachers, as s/he is a hard worker, having "high standards" (B2), and reaching his/her "full potential" (A2, A3, B1, B3, C1). S/he strives for "excellence" (B2) (or "excellence in all areas" (A1)), possesses the required "self-discipline, and the life skills necessary for a fulfilled life" (A1), and will later become involved in "further learning" (B2). In the school context, the ACHIEVER copes well with the "vigorous academic programme" (A1) (or the "competitive academic standard" (B2)) and "care[s] for the school" (B2), "fill[ing] leadership roles" (A2) within the school.

6. The Nation-builder
This person is a 'NATION BUILDER', in the sense that they are actively trying to create a 'new South Africa', free of its past associations with oppression and the abuse of Liberal. According to the 'NATION BUILDER', people must work together towards "the continued development of a just, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society" (B3). They are delighted with the political changes that have occurred in South Africa and will do what they can by "provid[ing] the school with resources and expertise that will contribute towards the development of nation building" (C2). 'Nation building' occurs ultimately through the children, as it is with them that the idea of a new nation, with new ideals, standards, and norms, will develop; hence it is the important task of the school to ensure that learners do so.
7. The Committed Parent

This person is a ‘COMMITTED PARENT’ in the sense that their children are their highest priority. They “care” (A3) for, and therefore want the best for their children. According to them, having a good education is crucial, and they will do everything in their power to ensure that their children receive one. They “recognise that a partnership exists between the community and the school” (C2) where they, as parents, constitute an essential part of that community, which “provides the school with resources and expertise” (C2). They are thus willing to help in whatever way they can, giving their full support (“ondersteuning” (C1)) to the school. They also believe that decisions should involve the “interaction of the whole school community” (B1), allowing them, as parents, to exercise their voice, and to be “involved” (A3), (or “betrokke” (C1)) in their child’s education. This parent wants to know from the child and teachers what happens at the school; and they want to have opportunities to participate in school activities.

8. The Troubled Adolescent

This role was only rescued from C2 school’s mission statement. This person is a ‘TROUBLED ADOLESCENT’ in the sense that they are concerned about their future; they would like to be successful, but find obstacles in their way. There are many paths to choose from, and it is difficult for them to know which is the right one to follow. To “equip them for the challenges of adolescence”, they need the guidance of mature adults around them, such as their parents and teachers.

In trying to determine their identity and to obtain a sense of the direction they see their life taking, they are egotistical, focussing on themselves. Parents and teachers need to guide them towards obtaining a broader perspective to ensure that they “develop a sense of social responsibility”, which is more ‘mature’ and appropriate for adults.
9. The Good Citizen

This person is a GOOD CITIZEN in that they are patriotic and law-abiding, with their high productivity not only aimed at securing personal benefits, but also in terms of being of “service to our country” (A2). They see it as their duty to be considered a useful member of society (“hul rol as landsburgers ... vervul” (C3)). The fact of their existence should not place further stress on a strained economy, but rather serve to encourage the growth thereof.

As adults, they have a “sense of social responsibility” (A2 & C2), and would be employed, contributing to the country through paying taxes; they may also be involved in helping others, through their participation in charitable causes, thus doing what they can to “contribute towards a democratic South African society” (C2).

They feel that it is important that they, and every other individual, “as waardevolle burgers ’n betekenisvolle bydra tot die vooruitgang van ons gemeenskap en ons land kan wees.” (C1) Whatever potentials or skills they have, they should develop them in such a way as to be of utmost benefit to the country.

The teacher, as a ‘GOOD CITIZEN’, uses their position to encourage learners to develop their abilities in areas most needed by South Africa, in order to improve the economic position of the country. The teacher “strewe om die kwaliteit en standaard van die opvoeding (onderwys) te verbeter” (C1), so that their students have more to offer, being able to “contribute meaningfully to ... society” (B3) (or to be “bruikbare lede van die gemeenskap” (C3)) upon leaving school.

10. The All-rounder

This person is an ‘ALL-ROUNDER’ in that they are well-developed in the “intellectual, physical, spiritual and emotional” (C2) spheres. That is, they have a "balanced"(B1) approach to life, as they pay attention to all facets (“fasette” (C1)) of their being. The ‘ALL-ROUNDER’ is also constituted in mission statements B2 (which states as a goal “IJo educate every student to the best of his or her ability (intellectual, physical, cultural,
emotional, social/)) and in C3 (stating that it is important that "hulle intellekueel, sosiaal en geestelik kan ontwikkel").

11. The Appreciative Parent

This role was only rescued from B2 school's mission statement. A parent in this role is fully supportive of the school, happy in the knowledge that their child is seen as an "individual" and in "the best light". They are grateful to the school, for setting "a competitive academic standard" so that the children learn to produce work of good quality; and for providing a "disciplined environment" which they might not be able to do in the home. Their child's education is in the capable hands of the school, and they are relieved that they do not have to concern themselves over it. They hope that their child will be more successful in life than they have been, thanks to the "broad-based" nature of the education (with a large choice of subjects, to suit different individual needs) and the incorporation of "life skills" (helping them to lead a physically and emotionally healthy life). They feel that the school knows best, and they will not interfere with the way things are done there.

12. Free thinker

This person is a 'FREE THINKER' in the sense that they have "an open, analytical and questioning approach to life and to oneself" (A3) or "om krities te dink en onafhanklik te werk" (C1)). That is to say, they are not easily influenced by the opinions of others, as they would first analyse the situation thoroughly; but they are open to listening to a variety of opinions, even if, at first glance, some of these seem implausible. They do not take things at face value, but look for obscured details. They reflect critically on their own thoughts and actions, to give them insight into aspects of themselves which are unknown to them, and are thus responsible for their actions.
13. Dedicated teacher
This person is a DEDICATED TEACHER in the sense that for them, being a teacher constitutes more than a job, and their duty to the student extends beyond the classroom. They have a "caring" (A3) approach to their students. They are interested in students’ opinions; sympathetic to students’ feelings; they want to know about students’ short- and long-term goals; are interested in students’ experiences (both at and away from school), and are willing to help students through personal or school-related issues. This approach translates into the teacher being “involved” (A3) in their students’ lives. They get to know their students well, in terms of their work, and in terms of their personality and character. They may spend much time after school hours with students. They see it as their “verantwoordelijkheid ... om betrokke individue by te staan” (C3) and are focussed on “recognising and developing the unique potential of each individual” (A3). So not only does the teacher’s expectations of different students differ, but the students are seen to require different types of input from the teacher. In sum, they “strive to provide professional tuition at the highest level” (B1), or “highest standard of excellence” (B3) (or at least “om die kwaliteit en standaard van die opvoeding te verbeter” (C1)).

14. Liberal lefty
This person is a ‘LIBERAL LEFTY’ in the sense that they believe in all people sharing equal Liberal, and being treated equally. They have “respek teenoor almal se menswaardigheid” (C1), and are committed to developing “a just, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society” (B3). The LIBERAL LEFTY does not believe in people benefiting from or being disadvantaged by their physical traits, such as sex and race, or their beliefs. As a parent, the LIBERAL LEFTY will send their child to a “demokratiese, ... nie-rassige en nie-seksistiese skool” (C3), so that their child will have the capacity to handle (“hanteer” (C1)) the “uitdagings en eise wat die demokratiese samelewing inhou” (C1).
Appendix B

The way things are talked about

In this section, there is a description of each of the discourses identified in the nine mission statements. The focus of each description, is on the way in which the objects central to this study (education, schools, learners, teachers, and parents) are talked about. In cases where a discourse was found to be common to several mission statements, I have given textual evidence where appropriate from all those sources.

Table 12 gives an outline of the discourses (column 1), and the sources (mission statements) from which they were identified (column 2). In a similar fashion to Table 1, each row gives the name of a discourse, and the mission statements from which it was rescued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISCOURSES</th>
<th>SCHOOLS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Christianity</td>
<td>A1, A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Preserving the status quo</td>
<td>A1, B1, B3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Natural path to success</td>
<td>A1, A2, A3, B1, B3, C1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Holism</td>
<td>B1, B2, B3, C1, C2, C3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Successful school</td>
<td>A1, A3, B1, B2, B3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 School family</td>
<td>A3, B1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 United we stand</td>
<td>C2, C3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Transformation</td>
<td>A2, A3, B3, C1, C3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Liberal</td>
<td>A1, C1, C3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Liberty</td>
<td>A3, C1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 12: Discourses X Schools**
1. Christianity

In the Christianity discourse, people should serve God by having faith, and following and spreading the Gospel, according to the "tradition of the Christian faith" (A1). Education at schools should thus "incorporate religious values" (A2) which are "integrated into all aspects of education" (A2).

Children are taught to have a "caring concern for humankind and the natural world" and are encouraged to "become caring and involved citizens" (for instance through church donations, fundraisers, working with the sick and destitute), and to develop "self-discipline" (by working conscientiously, and being able to delay gratification), as these traits are in accordance with that prescribed by the Christian faith as being virtuous.

Teachers should deliver "quality instruction" (A1), which would imply, amongst other things, an appropriate message (that would be sanctioned by the church) carried by a correspondingly appropriate role-model (of Christian faith), and they should be committed to developing the "spiritual dimension" (A2) of individuals.

2) Preserving the status quo

In the Preserving the status quo discourse, schools function to maintain (or reproduce) society. Schools should thus "guard against the debasement of education" (B3). It is crucial that schools "maintain high standards" (B1) and "remain committed to ... providing the highest standard of excellence" (B3). Inexperienced teachers should be guided, in order that the "tradition", "ethos ... and sound achievements in academic and other spheres, established over many years" (B1), may be continued. This allows students who have been well educated to "take their place in the South African and world community". In other words, there is a 'place' (socially, spiritually, economically speaking) in the community, awaiting those who have been successfully educated, that can then be 'taken' in society.
3. Natural path to success

In the **NATURAL PATH TO SUCCESS** discourse, the school creates “an environment” (A1, A3) and “climate” (A1, A2), which will “nurture” (A2) and “cultivate” (B3) students, in order that they may reach their full “potential” (A2,A3,B1,C1). In a literal sense, in nature the appropriate climate and environment is nourishing and necessary to encourage the growth of plants and animals to maturity. Metaphorically, just as seeds have a particular destiny to fulfill (which is pre-determined), so students will be “nurtured” (A2) with the ‘right stuff’ in order that they will be successful. The closer the conditions (social and physical) of the school come to approximate the ideal, the greater the chance of the learner being able to reach their potential. The idea of a set path is communicated, and of this destiny being reached only if the necessary conditions are met.

4. Holism

In the **HOLISM** discourse, individuals are seen as multi-faceted, having “ability” in different spheres, namely the “intellectual”(B2,C1,C2,C3), “physical”(B2,C1,C2), “cultural”(B2,C1), “emotional”(B2,C1,C2), “social”(B2,C3), and “spiritual” (C1,C2,C3) and it is therefore necessary for schools to offer a “broad-based education” (B2), which may include “spiritual, academic, cultural and sporting activities” (B1) to develop students “holistically” (B3).

People who are not well-rounded (who have not developed in all of their facets), are not whole; they lack something, and will struggle to cope with the varied demands their life-situations make of them.
5. The Successful school
This school is confident in its role, and in how to achieve its aims. Thus, secure in the knowledge of its “sound achievements ... over many years” (B1) and projected future success, it “remains committed” (A1, A3, B3) to fulfilling its objectives. This school is better than the community (with which it maintains “close links”), as it acts “as a model for the community” (B2). Thus parents and students, as part of the community, should be guided to lead their lives by the values embraced by the school. The way the school does things should be modelled in the home, where possible. In “incorporating life-skills” (A1, B2) into the education it provides, the school aims to improve the community, ensuring that the future generation of this community is better “equipped” (A3) than their parents to be “caring and involved citizens” (A1), “participating effectively with all South Africans” (A3) and thus to lead their lives successfully.

6. The School family
The school “community of pupils, staff and parents” (A3) is seen as an extension of the nuclear family, whose members are “caring” (A3) about one another, and “involved” (A3) in the activities of the others. Hence, there should be an “interaction of the whole school community in school matters and a loving interest in each pupil” (B1). As in other families, there is an expectation that the members respect and protect each other, but also that they share values. Behaviour running counter to these values, depending on the extent to which it is seen to be correctable, would probably elicit reactions from other members ranging from concern to shame. A deep enough sense of shame could result in the member being cast out, as they are seen to be too detrimental to the family. Family members have particular agreed upon yet usually unspoken roles upon which their relating is based, and which bind them and serve to exclude outsiders.
7. United we stand

In the *UNITED WE STAND* discourse, ‘students’, ‘parents’ and ‘staff’ of schools are talked about as all having an important say in the functioning of the school. The "Students, Parents, and Staff" (C2) have therefore worked together to decide on the mission of the school. All stakeholders in the school have equal rights and are valued equally, and each has an important (albeit different) role to play. There is no conflict between these stakeholders as far as the bigger issues are concerned, such as the importance of "a democratic South African society”(C2), and the importance of “nation building”(C2). Because democracy is supported at all levels, everyone must be heard. This discourse is also to be seen operating in C3’s mission statement, where the whole “gemeenskap” which consists of “ouers, leerders, opvoeders, en belanghebbendes” undertakes as their primary task “die leerders bloot te stel aan die aanleer van lewensvaardighede”.

8. Transformation

In the *TRANSFORMATION* discourse, schools play a vital role in the full realisation of the transformation of South Africa from the state of Apartheid to a fully “democratic ... society” (C2), in which every person is recognised as having equal rights, and which promises a brighter future for many. The “upliftment” (C2) of previously disadvantaged communities is a top priority. Due to the injustices of the past system, these oppressed communities have been disadvantaged both financially and educationally. Schools in these communities must thus “strive” to develop “a culture of teaching and learning”(C2), and to “verbeter” (C1) the “qualiteit en standaard van die opvoeding” (C1), which was not possible during the years of political unrest. This is one of the requisites for the “continued development of a just, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society”(B3).
9. Liberal

In the LIBERAL discourse, the school is conceived (talked about) as a site for the realisation of human rights. Children should learn that people are entitled to "respek [due to their] ... menswaardigheid" (C1). No person should be discriminated against either by race, gender, physical or mental disability, cultural or religious affiliation. Schools should provide a "non-racist" (AI) (or "nie-rassige" (C3), and "nie-seksisties" (C3) environment, that is "open" (A1) to all, so that male and female children of all races form the student body, and in which all students are treated equally, and therefore have equal opportunities. Individual differences are thus acknowledged; and should not be a source of prejudice; people should be accepted for who they are. There are no excuses for behaviour that adversely affects others, and/ or impinges on their rights.

10. Liberty

In the LIBERTY discourse, schools should play a vital role in "encouraging an open, analytical and questioning approach to life and to oneself" (A3); or "om leerders instaat te stel om krities te dink en onafhanklik te werk" (C1). People should be able to think critically, not believing everything they are told, if they are to be able to "participate effectively" (A3) in the "demokratiese samelewing" (C1). People are then freed from their susceptibility to dogma, and are more responsible for their actions. Injustices due to mass blind acceptance of ideology (such as Apartheid ideology) through being misled by propagandist actions, can thus be avoided.
Appendix C

**Worlds**

In this section, each of the worlds are briefly described, in terms of the discourses which constitute them, and the persons who are given voice therein. In each case, reference is made to the relationship of the world to particular discussions in Chapter two. Table 13 below provides a summary, by presenting worlds, persons and discourses in separate columns. The discourses and persons columns are dependent on the worlds column, in that each row gives an outline of the constitution of the particular world (listing the relevant discourses and persons).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORLDS</th>
<th>DISCOURSES</th>
<th>PERSONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fallen world</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Christian (Patriarch, Conservative, Committed Parent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-rounder world</td>
<td>Holism Preserving the Status Quo Natural Path to Success</td>
<td>All-rounder Troubled Adolescent, (Christian, Elitist, Patriarch, Achiever, Dedicated Teacher, Committed Parent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Dream world</td>
<td>Natural Path to Success Successful School</td>
<td>Achiever, Appreciative Parent (Elitist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional world</td>
<td>Preserving the Status Quo Conservative (Patriarch, Elitist)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To-the-Limit world</td>
<td>Liberty</td>
<td>Free Thinker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Apartheid world</td>
<td>Transformation</td>
<td>Nation Builder Good Citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United world</td>
<td>School Family United We Stand</td>
<td>Dedicated Teacher Committed Parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just world</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Liberal Democrat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 13: Worlds X Discourses X Persons**
1. Fallen world [P: Christian & D: Christianity]

The role of the school in the Fallen world, is to promote Christian values and produce committed Christians. The core discourse constituting the Fallen world, is the Christianity discourse, whose essence is that Christians have a duty to ensure that as many people as possible have access to Heaven. People need to learn to have faith in Jesus, living their life in praise of Him, and thus rejecting the temptations of evil. The Natural Path to Success discourse acts in a supportive way, if it is understood that nature, having been created by God, is good. Therefore people who follow their calling, will be successful, and live their life to fulfill their potential. The core person with warrant for voice in the Fallen world, is the Christian (who has been saved, and knows the correct way to live). Supporting roles are played by the Patriarch (who has a special God-given duty to lead and protect others); the Conservative (who appreciates and has respect for church tradition); and the Committed Parent (who is ultimately responsible for his/her child’s salvation).

A student whose parents are non-Christians would be considered disadvantaged, relying totally on the school for spiritual guidance. In general, the marginalised are the non-christians and those not living according to Christian values. Hence included would be those who challenge the status quo (‘behave immorally’); ‘lazy’ students; and homosexuals (homosexuality being seen as sinful). Women are also marginalised, having to submit to the demands of men.

Christianity is seen by Weber (in Robertson, 1977) to have a relationship with the rise of capitalism. Hard work and the resulting success is expected and praised, but indulgence in this success is frowned upon. The result is the goal of an accumulation of capital. People with capital are thus respected, and form the elite. In keeping with Christian values, this capital may be invested in several ways, including the provision of an excellent education (specifically one which promotes these very same values) for one’s children.

1 Core Persons and Discourses are indicated thus, as P and D, respectively.
2. **All-rounder world [P: All-rounder, Troubled adolescent] [D: Holism]**

The *ALL-ROUNDER* world is one in which there is an interest in educating the 'whole' person, thus relating to the liberal/progressive orientation to schooling described in 2.1.5 and 2.3.2. It is also, however, one in which individuals are expected to behave according to set norms with which they are compared, and thus become objects of study. Persons not displaying appropriate behaviour are abnormal and need some sort of professional assistance. The school's role in this world is to produce 'normal' well-balanced people, who fit in with society, which also involves assessing, categorising and offering advice and/ or treatment for those out of line with prescribed norms. The core discourses constituting the *ALL-ROUNDER* world are the *Holism* discourse (according to which people should have a certain minimum level of proficiency in each of several domains), as well as the *Natural Path to Success* and the *Preserving the Status Quo* discourses. The *ALL-ROUNDER* is a core person with warrant for voice in the *ALL-ROUNDER* world. S/he is well-balanced, in that s/he is enthusiastic about and talented in activities ranging across several domains (e.g. physical, social and intellectual). Another core person in this world is the *Troubled Adolescent*. S/he is going through a 'stage' (which is 'natural' but challenging) described by developmental psychology, during which s/he is forming her/his identity. The *Christian, Conservative, Elitist, Patriarch, Achiever, Committed Parent and Dedicated Teacher* all occupy supportive positions in this world.

Learners who would be marginalised in this world would be:

1. Those who fail to achieve or who do not participate in school life (who have no interest in what is on offer, or who detest the system, or who are hindered for other reasons e.g. Living far from school or having to work to support the family limits participation in sport or other clubs requiring commitments after school hours, being of different religious affiliation limits participation in religious education).
2. Those whose interests and successes are too narrowly defined – e.g. Sports and socialising only, or academics only.
Reflected in the majority of mission statements, this world and can be seen to relate to the ‘normalising gaze’ referred to by Foucault, and discussed in section 2.3.1. The use of examinations (of psychological, academic and physical orientation) positioning the student in relation to the norm, and the attendant student files providing a record of the data are justified in terms of ‘needing to know’ in order to ‘appropriately’ place the learner to meet their ‘needs’. The results of examinations allows for recommendations and influential decisions regarding the learner’s vocational future (for instance through subject choices) as well as the need of psychological and/or academic help in the present.

3. American Dream world [P: Achiever; D: Natural Path to Success]

In the American Dream world, the school’s role is to produce Achievers (the core person in this world). This world promises success for those who follow the correct path. (They will become wealthy and respected in the community). This is a world in which the school has pride of place, as it can rescue children, otherwise doomed to failure, and provide them with the possibility of success. It is a world in which meritocracy rules, and supports calls for equality of opportunity (or the provision of high quality schooling for all) so that all have a chance at achieving success (in terms of economic and/or social status). This world resonates with the traditional (neo-classical/vocational) orientation to schooling discussed in section 2.1.5 and 2.3.2.

The core discourses constituting the American Dream world are the Natural Path to Success and Successful School discourses. Children (whatever their background) who are provided with the right learning environment (committed, qualified teachers; adequate facilities; and a “culture of learning”) should be able to develop to their full potential and become Achievers. It is therefore very important, in this world, to attend a ‘good’ school (providing the ideal environment), in order to have a chance to achieve later success. The Achiever has thus been moulded by the school, and has the school to

2 Discussed in sections 2.1.4 and 2.1.5.
thank for his/her success. This school sees itself as having as a further role, by means of in the guidelines it gives by way of example to parents, who should follow the school’s example, and adapt the home accordingly. The APPRECIATIVE PARENT is thus thankful that the school possesses the knowledge and means that they lack and feels indebted to the school for its assistance. Parents and teachers (and society in general) are proud of the ACHIEVER, who is a model to all, and to whom the greatest respect is shown.

The below-average achieving student; the parent who is not ‘successful’ (in this context, wealthy); and teachers (‘those who can’t do, teach’) would all be marginalised. It is possible that teachers might even punish those students who they see to be a reflection of themselves – they may project their own frustration at being where they are on to the learners. Also marginalised would be learners who criticise or question the positions of authority held by their teachers over them and those who question the role of schooling in their lives.

4. Traditional world [P: Conservative; D: Preserving the Status Quo]

The TRADITIONAL World is one filled with rituals which dictate the correct or preferred ways of doing things (in the Western world). The school’s role in this world is to ensure that society is reproduced, thus producing people who have respect for success, tradition and authority. The school thus has an unquestioning, unchallenging orientation to the status quo, seeking to maintain the prevailing social structure, norms, values, and ideals of the time. This relates closely to the traditional (neo-classical/ vocational) orientation to schooling described in section 2.1.5 and 2.3.2.

The core discourse constituting the TRADITIONAL World is the PRESERVING THE STATUS QUO discourse (according to which, change is unnecessary, as the best way of doing and organising things, is as it has been done before). The NATURAL PATH TO SUCCESS discourse acts in a supportive way, operating in this world by calling on the perfection, and inevitability of Nature, to justify the way people should be. The core person with
warrant for voice in the TRADITIONAL world is the CONSERVATIVE (according to whom, schools should operate in the way they ‘always’ have, having worked well in the past). Supporting roles are played by the PATRIARCH (who operates as a role model, ensuring the maintenance of order, standards, and values); and the ELITIST (who is concerned that societal structures not change, thus ensuring their continuing position of respect in society).

The marginalised would be those who do not value traditions highly; those who act inappropriately with respect to their position in the hierarchy, or who argue for a reconfiguration of the status quo. In particular, those who traditional practice offers either no place or a lowly position will have no voice. Thus persons who have traditionally been accorded a lower value due to their race, socio-economic status, gender, or performance (academic or sporting) would be treated accordingly. They might be dealt with either through initial or subsequent partial or complete exclusion (formal or informal) from the school, or from certain school activities.

5. **To-the-Limit world** [P: Free Thinker; D: Liberty]

This is an unpredictable, dynamic, challenging world, where boundaries are changed and limits pushed. The school’s role in the TO-THE-LIMIT world, is to produce FREE THINKERS (who can imagine things differently to the way they are currently perceived, and who therefore challenges the status quo). The core discourse constituting the TO-THE-LIMIT world is the LIBERTY discourse, according to which, things as they are should not be taken for granted (but rather treated suspiciously), and people exercise their democratic rights and responsibilities through being FREE THINKERS (and thus active participants in a changing society). The school, in this world, can lay the foundation for a more equitable society, through being reflective on its own practices, allowing for challenge from all stakeholders and attempts at alternative practices. This bears close relation to both the laissez-faire and the socially-critical orientations to schooling discussed in section 2.1.5 and 2.3.2.
The marginalised in this setting would be those who believe in absolutes, those who insist on a single correct way of doing things, and are thus opposed to change. For instance, people who hold fundamentalist religious beliefs, or who revere tradition and glorify the past, would have no place at a school in this world. A strong emphasis can be expected on learners expressing their opinions and in coming to their own conclusions on the basis of material presented to them. Those unwilling or unable to do so would feel inadequate or go unnoticed, as they fall in the shadows of their more outspoken peers.

6. Post-Apartheid world [P: Nation Builder, Good Citizen]  [D: Transformation]

This is a world with a history of gross human rights violations from which it is recovering. The school's role in the POST-APARTEID world, is to ensure that the past is not repeated (thus promoting non-discrimination, non-violence and acceptance of differences), and to play a part in redressing the inequities of the past (providing a 'good' education to persons in previously disadvantaged race-groups, and improving the economy). The core discourse here is one of TRANSFORMATION (according to which, a New South Africa must be built, whereby fundamental changes on all fronts - social, economic, political - have to be made). The core persons with warrant for voice are the NATION BUILDER (who is proud to have a part to play in the changes taking place) and the GOOD CITIZEN (a law-abiding, peace-loving person who is committed to and will support their country).

Those teachers, learners and parents wishing for a return to the past, including segregated, discriminatory schooling, would have no place in this world. The marginalised would thus be those not seeking reconciliation, peace and democracy and who would be in favour of racist and other forms of discrimination. Learners behaving in discriminatory ways (including racist and sexist) should thus be punished. Furthermore, those learners who insist on wasting the opportunities given to them (either through not
being hard working or by being purposefully disruptive) would be seen as a menace, and as bad examples to their peers. The struggle would be seen by teachers and parents to have been wasted upon these learners. They should therefore be punished, both as a deterrent to others and possibly to force them to see the errors of their ways. Moreover, time should not be wasted on these miscreants, but rather on those willing to learn.

7. **United world** [P: Dedicated Teacher, Committed Parent]
   [D: School Family, United We Stand]

The **UNITED** world is one in which people work together towards common goals, and in which the predominant spirit is one of care and sharing. In keeping with this spirit, the school is a caring community, in which all participants are actively involved. Hence the **SCHOOL FAMILY** discourse, according to which the school community can be compared with a nuclear family, in that all participants belong to the ‘family’, sharing a common history and values. The other core discourse constituted here is the **UNITED WE STAND** discourse, according to which all participants in the school community are important in school-related decision-making, and will support one another against outside opposition. The core persons with warrant for voice are the **DEDICATED TEACHER** and **COMMITTED PARENT**.

The marginalised would include those who place their individual desire over the group’s desire: for instance, those who are overly competitive. Also marginalised are those who are asocial, preferring to be in solitude and showing a non-caring attitude towards their peers (or for the school or nation as a whole). In both cases, attempts would probably be made to correct such behaviour. In addition, those learners who impede the progress of the group through their behaviour and/or attitude would not be tolerated. For the sake of the group, their absence from the group would be necessitated. In extreme cases, their permanent removal from the group would be required.
8. **Just world** [P: Liberal Lefty, Good Citizen; D: Liberal]

The school in the *JUST* world is democratic and fair, not discriminating against any person, and respecting of human rights. The *JUST* world is instituted through the *LIBERAL* discourse, according to which by virtue simply of being human, all people have equal rights, and as such, should have access to equal opportunities. The persons with warrant for voice in the *JUST* world are the *LIBERAL LEFTY* (according to whom all people should be treated equally, not benefiting from or being disadvantaged by physical differences) and the *GOOD CITIZEN* (who is a productive worker, helping to improve the economy, and who respects and abides by the laws of the country).

This world supports the liberal/democratic orientation to schooling discussed in section 2.1.5 and 2.3.2, according to which, practices within the school should be conducted in a democratic manner, with the participation of all stakeholders in decisions which affect them.

The marginalised include those infringing on what is construed as the rights of others, as well as those parents or teachers who believe in the importance of understanding an issue from an emotional and/or social as opposed to a rational point of view.
Appendix D

Discourse of text A1

The three worlds constituted in A1 school’s mission statement are the FALLEN, the TRADITIONAL, and the AMERICAN DREAM worlds. The FALLEN world is constituted by the CHRISTIANITY discourse (as in Mission Statement A2 and B1) while the CHRISTIAN is the core person with warrant for voice. Other persons with warrant for voice in this world are the PATRIARCH (not rescued from any other text) and the CONSERVATIVE. The TRADITIONAL World is constituted in mission statement A1 (as in Mission Statement B3) by the PRESERVING THE STATUS QUO discourse. The core person with warrant for voice here is the CONSERVATIVE, who is supported by the PATRIARCH and the ELITIST (who is also only rescued from this text). The AMERICAN DREAM world is constituted in the NATURAL PATH TO SUCCESS and SUCCESSFUL SCHOOL discourses (as in Mission Statements A3, B1, B2, and B3), with the core person here being the ACHIEVER.
Discourse of text A2

Three worlds have been rescued from Mission Statement A2. The FALLEN world (as in Mission Statements A1 and B1) is constituted through the CHRISTIANITY discourse, where the CHRISTIAN is the primary person with warrant for voice. The AMERICAN DREAM world (as in Mission Statements A1, A3, B1, B3, and C1) is constituted in the NATURAL PATH TO SUCCESS discourse, with the core person here being the ACHIEVER. The JUST world (as in Mission Statements B2 and C3) is constituted through the LIBERAL discourse, with the core person here being the GOOD CITIZEN.
In Mission Statement A3, the worlds rescued are the TO-THE-LIMIT, AMERICAN DREAM, UNITED, and the JUST worlds. In the TO-THE-LIMIT world, the core discourse is LIBERTY and the core person the FREE THINKER, as in Mission Statement C1. The AMERICAN DREAM world, as in Mission Statements A1, A2, B1, B3 and C1, is constituted through the SUCCESSFUL SCHOOL and NATURAL PATH TO SUCCESS discourses, with the ACHIEVER and APPRECIATIVE PARENT as the persons with warrant for voice. The SCHOOL FAMILY discourse (as in Mission Statement C1) constitutes the UNITED world, in which the COMMITTED PARENT and DEDICATED TEACHER have warrant for voice. Finally the JUST world is constituted here through the LIBERAL discourse, with the LIBERAL DEMOCRAT having warrant for voice.
Five worlds are rescued from Mission Statement B1. They are the UNITED, FALLEN, TRADITIONAL, AMERICAN DREAM, and ALL-ROUNDER worlds. As in mission statements A3 and C1, the UNITED world is constituted by the SCHOOL FAMILY discourse, and the persons given voice are the DEDICATED TEACHER and the COMMITTED PARENT. In the FALLEN world, as in mission statements A1 and A2, the CHRISTIAN has warrant for voice, and the discourse is CHRISTIANITY. The TRADITIONAL world, as in mission statement A1, is constituted through the PRESERVING THE STATUS QUO discourse, with the CONSERVATIVE having warrant for voice. The AMERICAN DREAM world, as in mission statements A1, A2, A3, B3, and C1, is constituted through the NATURAL PATH TO SUCCESS discourse, with the ACHIEVER having a warrant for voice. Finally, the ALL-ROUNDER world, as in mission statements B2, B3, C1, C2 and C3, is constituted through the HOLISM discourse, with the ALL-ROUNDER having a warrant for voice. Other persons with warrant for voice in this particular mission statement are the DEDICATED TEACHER and the COMMITTED PARENT.
Discourse of text B2

The three worlds constituting Mission Statement B2, are the AMERICAN DREAM, ALL-ROUNDER, and JUST worlds. The AMERICAN DREAM world is constituted through the SUCCESSFUL SCHOOL and NATURAL PATH TO SUCCESS discourses, and the persons with warrant for voice are the "BAKED" STUDENT and the APPRECIATIVE PARENT. The ALL-ROUNDER world, as in Mission Statements B1, B3, C1, C2 and C3, is constituted through the HOLISM discourse. The person with warrant for voice here is the ALL-ROUNDER. The LIBERAL discourse constitutes the JUST world, and the person with warrant for voice here is the LIBERAL DEMOCRAT, as in Mission Statements A2 and C3.
Appendix I

Discourse of text B3

The four worlds rescued from Mission Statement B3 are the POST-APARTEID, ALL-ROUNDER, TRADITIONAL and AMERICAN DREAM worlds. The POST-APARTEID world, as in Mission Statements A3, C1, C2 and C3, is constituted through the discourse of Transformation. The key persons here are the Nation Builder and the Good Citizen, but the Liberal Democrat also has warrant for voice. The ALL-ROUNDER world, as in Mission Statements B1, B2, C1, C2 and C3, is constituted through the Holism discourse, with the key person being the ALL-ROUNDER. The Dedicated Teacher also has warrant for voice here. The TRADITIONAL world, as in Mission Statement A1 and B1, is constituted through the Preserving the Status Quo discourse, with the Conservative as the person with warrant for voice. The AMERICAN DREAM world, as in Mission Statements A1, A3, B1 and B2, is constituted through the Natural Path to Success and Successful School discourses, and the person with warrant for voice is the Achiever.
Discourse of text Cl

English Translation of the text:

Vision:
That the teachers and parents of C1 Secondary School strive for excellence in the education (preparation) of their (learners') children so that they, as worthwhile citizens, can play a meaningful role towards the progress of our community and country.

Mission:
1. To develop all facets of our learners to their full potential, namely intellectual, emotional, spiritual, cultural and physical.
2. That mutual respect for people's human dignity will be carried out at the school.
3. To prepare learners through quality education, to think critically and work independently.
4. To develop multicultural teaching of learners so that they will have the skills to handle the challenges and requirements related to democratic community life.
5. To build a committed and dynamic staff.
6. To encourage the maximum support and involvement of parents.
7. To provide a positive empowering climate for learning.
8. To motivate the learner to strive towards a positive acceptable value system.
9. To ensure a healthy, happy and safe learning environment.
10. To continuously strive towards improving the quality and standard of education (teaching).

The five worlds rescued from Mission Statement C1 are the POST-APARTHEID, ALL-ROUNDER, AMERICAN DREAM, UNITED, and TO-THE-LIMIT worlds. As in Mission Statements A3, B3, C2 and C3, the TRANSFORMATION discourse constitutes the POST-APARTHEID world. Here the person with warrant for voice is the GOOD CITIZEN. The ALL-ROUNDER world, as in Mission Statements B1, B2, B3, C2, and C3, is constituted through the Holism discourse, with the ALL-ROUNDER having a warrant for voice. Other persons with warrant for voice here, are the DEDICATED TEACHER and the COMMITTED PARENT. The AMERICAN DREAM world, as in Mission Statements A1, A2, A3, B1 and B3, is constituted through the NATURAL PATH TO SUCCESS discourse, and the person with warrant for voice is the ACHIEVER. The UNITED world, as in Mission Statements A3 and B1, is constituted here through the SCHOOL FAMILY, with COMMITTED PARENT and DEDICATED TEACHER having warrant for voice. The TO-THE-LIMIT world, as in Mission Statement A3, is constituted through the discourse of LIBERTY, with the FREE THINKER having a warrant for voice.
Discourse of text C2

The three worlds rescued from the C2 Mission Statement are the POST-APARTHEID, UNITED and ALL-ROUNDER worlds. The POST-APARTHEID world, as in Mission Statements A3, B3, C1 and C3, is constituted through the TRANSFORMATION discourse. Here the NATION BUILDER and the GOOD CITIZEN have warrant for voice. The UNITED world is constituted here through the UNITED WE STAND discourse (as in Mission Statement C3), and the COMMITTED PARENT and DEDICATED TEACHER have warrant for voice. The ALL-ROUNDER world, as in Mission Statements B1, B2, B3, C1, and C3, is constituted through the HOLISM discourse, and the ALL-ROUNDER has warrant for voice. The TROUBLED ADOLESCENT (only rescued from this text) also has warrant for voice here.
Discourse of text C3

The community of C3 high school, consisting of parents, learners, teachers and interested parties, accepts, as democratic, disciplined, non-racist and non-sexist school, their primary task of their responsibility to expose learners to acquiring life-skills so that they can develop intellectually, socially and spiritually.

We believe that we have an important task in the creation of structures and facilities to be able to support involved individuals in their striving towards academic knowledge, technical skills, professional development and development in the area of sports and culture. Our goal is to prepare/empower all learners to be useful members of the community in economical, political and social contexts so that they can fulfill their role as citizens of the country and ultimately of the world.

The four worlds rescued from Mission Statement C3 are the UNITED, JUST, POST-APARTHEID, and ALL-ROUNDER worlds. As in Mission Statement C2, the UNITED world is constituted through the UNITED WE STAND discourse, and the persons with warrant for voice are the DEDICATED TEACHER and the COMMITTED PARENT. The JUST world, as in Mission Statement B2, is constituted by the LIBERAL discourse, and the LIBERAL DEMOCRAT has warrant for voice. The TRANSFORMATION discourse constitutes the POST-APARTHEID world, as in Mission Statements A3, B3, C1, and C2. The person with warrant for voice here is the GOOD CITIZEN. The ALL-ROUNDER world is constituted by the HOLISM discourse, as in Mission Statements B1, B2, B3, C1, and C2, and the person with warrant for voice is the ALL-ROUNDER.