REPLICATING A HABITUS: TRANSPLANTING CAPITAL, HABITUS AND DOXA IN A SCHOOL START-UP

GARTH SHAW

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Supervisor: Dr Heather Jacklin

ABSTRACT

PhD title: **REPLICATING A HABITUS:**
TRANSPLANTING CAPITAL, HABITUS AND DOXA IN A SCHOOL START-UP

Schooling in South Africa still reflects the inequalities of apartheid. The majority of learners live in low socioeconomic contexts, and face challenges accessing 'quality' education, which is largely only available at expensive, fee charging schools. Even if poorer learners do gain access to these schools, which are in the minority, they are not always optimally supported nor understood in terms of their challenges at home or needs at school. One response to this dilemma, by the Western Cape Education Department, was to establish a school seeking to produce 'quality' education, but focused on the needs of poorer learners. The founding of this school is the focus of this study. Modelled on, and guided by an established, high performing and geographically proximate school, located in an affluent community, this 'school planting intervention' took place over a three year start-up period.

Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, doxa, capital and field, this case study examines how the institutional habitus of the established school, its capitals, and its position in the field of education have impacted the establishment of the new school. The study draws on data gathered from extensive interviews with school managers, teachers, parents and learners at both schools. The research process has also been supplemented by a contextual grounding of the project, with the researcher positioned as an inside-researcher.

The strategies of the school planting interaction are considered, and the responses of various groups within the new school interrogated. In doing so, this study examines the implicit assumptions in practices and arrangements that are considered to be exemplary in a high performing school, and the ways in which these relate to the different needs and experiences of middle class and working class learners. The study finds that, while there were practical benefits to providing systemic support to the new school, there was also a profound disjuncture between assumptions about what constitutes 'good practice', grounded in a middle class experience, and the needs and experiences of poorer learners.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work, both in conception and execution. Also, no part of this thesis has been submitted before, for any other purpose, to any other institution.

Signed: Signed by candidate

Garth Shaw

Date: 26 January 2020

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This thesis has tapped more of my reserves (included that of my better half) than I ever imagined it would! Granted, it took a couple of detours, transformed from what it started out as, engaged a few gear-changes and needed be side-lined for months at a time while my full-time job demanded the majority of my attention. It has seen my family grow from three to five, we have moved home twice and I started a new job… Marionelle, it is cliché to say that this would not have been possible without you! Your patience and support, care for our kids, endless cups of coffee, and weekend and holiday plans that allowed me to work have made this your thesis as much as it is mine! I owe you big time, and I am looking forward to being able to invest all my free time in you and the family again! Thank you again for your continuous love and support during this process.

At the same time, my thanks also extend to our wider network of support. Mom, thanks for all the encouragement, meals and 'Thursdays with Granny.' Ma, the holidays in Cradock have not only helped by taking the kids off my hands, but you have also given Marionelle the holidays she needs to rest and recover – thank you! Dad and Steph, thank you for all your advice, support and generosity in supporting Marionelle and I through this study. And then to our wider network of support in Fish Hoek – thank you for all the weekend play dates so that 'Garth can work,' and also for keeping Marionelle sane during this time. I appreciate all of your love, support and encouragement.

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And lastly, to all my colleagues at Ubuntu and Kendrick; thank you for making this possible. My greatest fear – and this really has kept me awake at night – is that I will offend some of you with my findings. I am in awe of what was attempted and implemented in this school planting interaction. While my analysis and findings are critical at times, I recognise that nobody involved in this case study engaged with anything other than that which seemed logical to them, given their view of the field. If my findings are critical, then they have value. It is only by rigorously interrogating what was done that we know the effects of this educational experiment. Thank you also to all my colleagues and the learners in my classes for their patience and support, and for picking up the balls that I dropped while trying to keep everything in the air.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to all current, past and future learners who have been (or will be) marginalised and left invisible in schools and schooling systems which privilege well-positioned learners. From my privileged position in the field, I will never fully understand your challenges and constraints, but I hope I have contributed to, and am now better able to "dig beneath surface appearances, asking how social systems work, and how ideology or history conceals the processes that oppress and control people" (Mills & Gale, 2007, p. 436, citing Harvey, 1990).

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

HOD	Head of Department
IQMS	Integrated Quality Management System
NSC	National Senior Certificate
PL1	Post Level 1
PL2	Post Level 2
SACMEQ	Southern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality
SGB	School Governing Body
SMT	Senior Management Team
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
WCED	Western Cape Education Department

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

South Africa has a long history of inequality in schooling. While great strides have been made since 1994 to unify education in South Africa (Bloch, 2009), driven by considerable investment (Jansen, 2011), what remains has been described as two systems:

> The first 'system' is well resourced, consisting mainly of former white and Indian schools, and a small but growing independent sector. The first 'system' produces the majority of university entrants and graduates, the vast majority of students graduating with higher grade mathematics and science. Enrolling the children of the elite, white-middle and new black middle classes, the first system does a good job in ensuring that most children in its charge acquire literacy and mathematics competencies that are comparable to those of middle class children anywhere in the world.
>
> The second school 'system' enrols the vast majority of working-class and poor children. Because they bring their health, family and community difficulties with them into the classroom, the second primary school 'system' struggles to ameliorate young people's deficits in institutions that are themselves less than adequate. …children in the second system do learn, but acquire a much more restricted set of knowledge and skills than children in the first system.
>
> (Fleisch, 2008, p. 1-2)

In this study, I explore an intervention which seeks to bridge the divide between these two 'systems'. In establishing a new school, the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) instigated what I have termed a 'school planting interaction': A well-resourced, historically privileged school serving a middle class community was asked to guide and facilitate the founding of a new school. The new school, however, sought to serve learners[1] positioned significantly differently in the field of education: historically disadvantaged, poor learners. In this study I explore and analyse the results of this case of 'school planting' across socioeconomic contexts. While the new school has achieved encouraging results, characteristic of Fleisch's 'first system', the school's start-up has not been without tensions and challenges.

[1] While recognizing that the term 'learner' is viewed differently from various perspectives, and carries numerous connotations (see Biesta & Leary, 2012), it is a term that is used widely in South Africa, notably in policy documents on education. Aligned with this South African perspective, therefore, I use 'learner' as my standard term when referring to education subjects at schools.

In this chapter I briefly introduce the current state of South African secondary education, as a context for the study, before providing a short summary of the school planting model that is the subject of this research. Having laid these foundations, the rationale and research questions for this research are presented.

Education in South Africa: A crisis in need of intervention

Education in South Africa has been described as in a crisis (Bloch, 2009; Fleisch, 2008) and one of the most frustrating puzzles on the continent of Africa (Jansen, 2011). Jansen goes on to explain that the South African government spends approximately 20% of their budget on education, almost four times more than any other African country, but has little to show for it. Christie, Butler, & Potterton (2007), meanwhile, explain that while it is the majority of South African schools that are poorly performing, and that this performance is clearly linked to socioeconomic context, it is possible for schools in this context to 'work'. The reality, however, is that improving education in South Africa is a much more complex matter than simply investing in formal education (Fleisch, 2008). In this section, I briefly introduce some of the more recent factors which have contributed to this situation.

Following the recommendations of the so-called Eiselen Commission of 1951 (Christie & Collins, 1982), the Bantu Education Act formalised and perpetuated the history of educational discrimination in South Africa (Soudien, 2010; Vally & Dalamba, 1999). According to this, under the apartheid government, education for Black[2] and Coloured population groups was strictly controlled, with differentiated opportunities to those available to White learners: "The Nationalists are seen as emphasising an inferior and somewhat more 'vocational' education for the purpose of producing inferior non-threatening and tribalistic Africans" (Christie & Collins, 1982, p. 74). This inequality was also enforced through unequal and discriminatory funding (Bell & McKay, 2011).

While the desegregation of schooling was formalised in 1991, the ravages of inequality still linger, and are likely to do so for decades, if not generations (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). Spaull explains that despite the "sharp break in political ideology between the pre and post-apartheid governments, many of the country's social institutions, such as schools, continued to function as they did under apartheid" (Spaull, 2013, p. 436), with gross disparities in achievement between historically advantaged and historically disadvantaged learners (Bloch, 2009; Fleisch, 2008; Reddy, 2006; van der Berg, 2007). While

[2] In this thesis, I often refer to race by the designations used under apartheid. This is discussed in chapter four, under the heading "Classification of race".

socioeconomic context cannot be ignored, Van Der Berg (2007) goes on to suggest that, in the South African context, the discrepancies between the pass rates of Black and White learners reflect poor management structures, over and above other more commonly cited factors:

> Therefore, a large part of the difference between black and white schools could not be explained away by school fees, educational resources and province ... It appeared that the reason should be sought in the poor ability of many schools to convert school resources into educational outcomes, perhaps related to dysfunctional management structures (Van Der Berg, 2007, p. 866).

The management responsibilities for these schools, however, are also complicated by the lack of adequate financing. While, during apartheid, schools serving White learners received significantly higher per capita funding and better resource allocation than schools serving Black and Coloured learners (Bell & McKay, 2011), the funding models implemented at the fall of apartheid maintain social inequalities. Christie & McKinney (2018), below, explain the three funding models made available to schools in 1990:

> Under Model A, the school would become fully private; under Model B it would remain a state school; and under Model C the school would become state-aided (or semi-private), with its management council responsible for the running of the school, appointment of staff, determination of fees and maintenance of facilities. Model C schools would receive a state subsidy to cover salaries of staff appointed within state-prescribed norms (usually amounting to about 80% of the operating expenses of schools) and the management council would be responsible for raising the remaining funds. School buildings and grounds would be legally transferred to the management council free of charge, with a reversionary clause should the school cease to operate. (Christie & McKinney, 2018, p. 168, citing Christie, 1995)

With historically advantaged schools able to access funding through the charging of school fees, these schools can provide better resources and developmental opportunities to their learners, while schools serving poor communities do not have the same ability to access external funding (Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2009). As Hunter (2017) explains, the introduction of fees was a “way to push costs on to parents and preserve white privilege” (p. 3).

In the face of these multiple challenges, schools and provincial education departments struggle to overcome the perpetual effects of socioeconomic context:

> Unsurprisingly, research on South African schooling echoes the findings in sociology of education since the US Coleman Report of 1966 that while schools may be more or less effective (and this does make a difference), the social background of students has overriding effects on their life chances beyond the school. (Christie & McKinney, 2017, p. 16)

The school plant that forms the subject of this study is a response to this challenge. While the WCED sought to expand the provision of education to historically disadvantaged learners, at lower school fee rates than normally made possible at former 'Model C' schools, they did so by riding on the back of a historically advantaged, privileged school. I briefly introduce the school planting initiative next.

A school start-up: A brief overview

The focus of this study is an intervention in which the WCED established a new school by asking an existing school to facilitate the start-up process. As this 'school planting interaction' played out over a period of three years, the existing school both involved itself in the start-up process, and saw itself as a model for the new school. For the purposes of this study, I call the existing school Kendrick, and the newly established school Ubuntu[3].

The site of what is now Ubuntu has transformed rapidly. While the facility was being used as administrative offices as recently as ten years ago, it is now a school serving approximately five hundred learners. While this study tells the story of this transformation, the focus is on effects of the manner in which this school start-up was led by another school. In order to frame the research questions which follow, as well as the literature review and conceptual framework which follow in chapters two and three respectively, I briefly describe this 'school planting' process below.

Initially used as a tertiary education institution, the ground on which Ubuntu is now established was not being utilized for education purposes due to changes in the provisioning of tertiary education. Aware that the schools in this area were in high demand and at capacity, the WCED sought to develop this facility into another high school. At the same time, with the facility situated within walking distance of a number of transport hubs, the possibility existed for the new school to serve commuting learners travelling into the city from some of the outlying, poorer suburbs of Cape Town, another priority for the WCED. From the outset of the school start-up, therefore, Ubuntu was always going to prioritise the needs of poorly positioned learners.

[3] Both of these names represent pseudonyms, as are the names of any research participants specifically named.

Hoping to share the responsibility for establishing the new school, also seeking to replicate what was deemed to be an 'effective' model of schooling, the WCED asked Kendrick to facilitate the start-up process. Kendrick willingly engaged in this project, also feeling compelled by their own experience that poorly positioned learners often struggled to adjust to the school's institutional norms, which was dominated by wealthier learners. Over a three-year period, Kendrick guided and informed the Ubuntu start-up. This included giving insight into the refurbishment of the derelict facility, establishing a 'governing body' of Kendrick parents to fulfil the functions of a normal school governing body (SGB) for the new school, and providing managerial and academic support to Ubuntu while the school grew to capacity. Although it happened by coincidence rather than intentional design, a number of current and former Kendrick teachers applied to teach at Ubuntu, and were appointed either as founding staff, or over the course of the next five years. The reasons for asking Kendrick to play this role as well as a full analysis on the role played by the school are discussed in chapter five.

While Ubuntu teachers unanimously agree that this support was valuable in helping the school 'get to their feet' in the fastest possible time, the school start-up has not been without challenges. My analysis of how the school planting interaction played out in Ubuntu is presented in chapters six and seven.

Rationale for this study

Education in South Africa has been described as being 'in crisis' and a 'national disaster' (Bloch, 2009). According to 'effective school' perspectives, official reports deem the majority of schools to be dysfunctional (N. Taylor, 2011). An enduring legacy of apartheid inequality, it is almost entirely historically disadvantaged South African learners who are schooled in these 'dysfunctional' schools (Christie et al., 2007).

While problematic, as will be discussed in the next chapter, 'effective school' perspectives significantly inform educational issues in the South African landscape. The assumption made by these perspectives is that there exist generic approaches to schooling and the measuring of educational success, independent of the context in which schooling is being implemented. This literature further suggests that educational success is mostly limited to schools embodying middle class norms and educating middle class learners. Accordingly, the rationale behind the school planting interaction was the replication of an 'effective' school, but specifically seeking to provide this 'middle class education' to poorly positioned learners.

This study interrogates the assumption that Kendrick was ideally positioned to inform this school planting project. In addition to shedding light on how educational and pedagogical practices are

developed, imagined and implemented by well-positioned schools such as Kendrick, the study will also shed light on the challenges poorly positioned learners need to overcome in environments dominated by more privileged learners. In crucial ways, this study also responds to Dolby's comment that "research on the lived experience of schooling in South Africa, both past and present, is quite limited" (Dolby, 2001, p. 29). I introduce my research questions in the next section.

Research questions

Focussing on a unique case of cross-socioeconomic school planting, this study provides an opportunity to examine the effects of adopting school practices, which have evolved to meet the needs of a middle class community, into an environment seeking to meet the needs of working-class learners. The study draws on concepts within the theory of Pierre Bourdieu, particularly his concepts of habitus, capital and field, to generate a language of description for this task.

This study asks the following overarching question:

> How has the institutional habitus of Kendrick, its capitals, and its position in the field of education impacted the establishment of Ubuntu?

To answer this question, however, a number of sub-questions are asked, pertaining to various, more focussed aspects of the school planting interaction:

- What were the features of Kendrick (relating to their position in the field, their institutional habitus and their forms of capital) that made them appear to be an ideal school in the eyes of the WCED for the role they played in the Ubuntu start-up?
- What, in terms of the transferral of institutional habitus and the sharing of capitals, was hoped to be achieved in the school planting relationship?
- How did learners and teachers at Ubuntu respond to the Kendrick-like institutional habitus established at Ubuntu? Did tensions arise, and if so, how were these handled?
- How did the habitus and forms of capital possessed by learners at the two schools impact teaching and the provision of education in the respective schools, and how did this affect the goals of the school planting model?
- How did Kendrick's position in the field of secondary education influence the school plant? How did the school's institutional habitus and its capitals relate to the different needs and the different position in the field for Ubuntu?

- Were there other considerations that influenced the school planting relationship?

Drawing on the findings of these case-specific questions, I will also seek to answer the following, more generalised, question:

> What are the effects of the imposition of middle class perspectives and norms in the provision of education for working class learners?

In order to answer these questions, I consider the perceptions and reflections of teachers, school managers, pupils and parents at both schools, drawing primarily on interviews with these categories of research participants. This design is discussed in more detail in chapter four.

Overview of the study

Having introduced the study in this chapter, I review relevant literature to frame my analysis and findings in the next chapter. This review considers literature pertaining to the education of poorly positioned learners, school start-ups and relevant collaboration practices as employed in this school planting interaction. While chapter three presents a conceptual framework based on Pierre Bourdieu's work, chapter four discusses the research design and methodology I have employed. This includes explanations of my rationale for engaging the research as I have, and a discussion on the validity, reliability and ethical considerations I have employed. My own personal positioning, as a teacher at Ubuntu, is also explained and discussed in the section which deals with ethical considerations in this chapter.

The analysis of my data follows in the next three chapters. While chapter five answers some of the research questions, particularly pertaining to the intentions of the school planting interaction, this chapter also provides a foundational understanding against which the school planting interaction is further analysed. Chapter six considers how the school planting interaction was engaged, as well as the parent and learner responses to these interventions. Chapter seven considers the school planting interaction with respect to aspects of management and teaching.

My findings and conclusions are presented in chapter eight, where I draw together emergent themes from the analysis. In this chapter, I also make recommendations stemming from my findings.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This study considers a case of a school start-up, where a school serving a middle class community facilitated the start-up of a new school seeking to serve a notably different socioeconomic context. In a country where 'quality' education is mostly constrained to schools serving historically privileged communities (Bloch, 2009), this intervention has gathered considerable public support and has been hailed as a model of how 'good' schools can share their expertise.

The school start-up, or school-planting strategies, which are discussed fully in the chapters that follow, include the replication of management arrangements and practices, and the coaching / mentoring of staff into what were deemed to be 'exemplary' Kendrick teaching and management practices. This chapter, therefore, includes a review of literature pertaining to the leadership of school start-ups, as well as mentoring and coaching. The most significant findings made in this study, however, pertain to the replication of educational practices from a middle class context into a lower socioeconomic context. In order to frame the analysis in this study, I also review relevant literature on the education of disadvantaged and poorly positioned learners.

Education for poorly positioned learners

Numerous authors discuss the direct link between educational opportunities and the socioeconomic contexts from which learners hail. Bourdieu (1974) offers a sociological explanation of how class inequalities are perpetuated through the education system, Christie et al., 2007; Christie & McKinney, 2017; Spaull, 2013; S. Taylor, 2011 all reach findings which confirm that class inequalities still inform educational opportunities and outcomes in the current South African context. This understanding dates from 1966 at least, when the 'Coleman Report' provided a number of unexpected findings from the American context:

> Schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his [or her] background and general social context…. the inequalities imposed on children by their home, neighbourhood and peer environment are carried along to become the inequalities with which they confront adult life at the end of school. (Coleman et al., 1966, p. 325)

Christie & McKinney (2017), make another link from the Coleman report to the South African context. Significantly, given the context of this study, however, they highlight the fact that 'school effectiveness' makes a difference for learners despite challenging social backgrounds:

> Unsurprisingly, research on South African schooling echoes the findings in sociology of education since the US Coleman Report of 1966 that while schools may be more or less effective (and this does make a difference), the social background of students has overriding effects on their life chances beyond the school. (Christie & McKinney, 2017, p. 16)

In this section I review literature pertaining to the challenges and opportunities schools face in bridging learners from working-class homes into what would otherwise be middle class opportunities in South Africa. This literature is reviewed in three sections, and I begin by considering the challenges and constraints of disadvantaged learners.

Disadvantaged before schooling even begins

It is clear that disadvantaged learners, as well as schools serving poorly positioned learners, face significant challenges. These challenges include both in-school factors, as well as factors that extend beyond the school doors. I begin this review by considering how poorly positioned learners are understood to be disadvantaged in their home contexts, and how these factors affect the provision of 'effective' education to disadvantaged learners[4].

Coleman explained that poorly positioned learners entered schools with disadvantages which were not catered for by schooling:

> Whatever may be the combination of non-school factors – poverty, community attitudes, low educational level of parents – which put minority children at a disadvantage in verbal and nonverbal skills when they enter the first grade, the fact is the schools have not overcome it. (Coleman et al., 1966, p. 22)

In South Africa, Black learners not speaking English or Afrikaans at home are placed at a disadvantage through the language policies implemented in schools. In their first three years of schooling, learners in South Africa may be taught in any of the eleven officially recognised languages. From Grade 4 onwards, however, the languages of learning and teaching are English or Afrikaans. While this is a contested policy, it has not been easy to determine the effects of this policy due to other factors related to the historical disadvantage of these learners (S. Taylor & von Fintel, 2016). Christie & McKinney (2017), however, are fairly outspoken: "With insufficient proficiency in English to understand the concepts

[4] Where possible I frame this review in terms of the South African context, which generally holds 'poorly positioned' learners as 'disadvantaged', a term frequently used to refer to describe disenfranchised groups under the apartheid regime.

introduced in Science, Mathematics or History, the goal of schooling for these children is reduced to learning English and memorisation" (p. 13).

From a young age, children develop skills that will inform their education, including linguistic competence. By the age of eight, however, children's cognitive abilities have developed (Reddy et al., 2012, p. 2 quoting Heckman, 2006). If schools are to engage and build on these cognitive abilities, it is imperative that these interventions are founded on an informed understanding of the conditions that led to their formation, as well as the factors that inhibit further development. In this regard, Lareau (2002) – writing from within an American context – offers a number of insightful findings. In her sociological study on the parenting styles of different class groups, she found that middle class parents engaged productively for their children in "concerted cultivation" (p. 748), while working-class and poor parents allow the "accomplishment of natural growth" (p. 748). She goes on to explain that "In an historical moment when the dominant society privileges active, informed, assertive clients of health and educational services, the strategies employed by children and parents are not equally effective across classes" (p. 749). In a follow up study, Lareau (2011) draws on Bourdieu's concepts to explain that the forms of cultural capital valued by working-class and poor children and their families, while valuable in their home context, are not necessarily the cultural capital valued by the education system. I quote Bourdieu (1974) to explain this implicit characteristic of the school system:

> The culture of the elite is so near to that of the school that children from the lower middle class (and *a fortiori* from the agricultural and industrial working class) can acquire only with great effort something which is *given* to the children of the cultivated classes – style, taste, wit – in short, those attitudes and aptitudes which seem natural in members of the cultivated classes and naturally expected of them… (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 39)

While the school and its teachers implicitly respond to their own logics of operation, learners either fit in, like a fish in water (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), or feel out of place in an alien school environment. For many disadvantaged learners in the South African context, the result of their different dispositions and valued capital is "alienation and indifference" (Vally & Dalamba, 1999, p. 152). While the result of this alienation in middle class schools is often assimilation to the dominant middle class culture (Carrim, 2013), the experience for these learners is often compounded when they are "called 'coconuts' and 'oreos', terms that refer to people considered to be black on the outside and white on the inside" (Battersby, 2004, p. 284). It is worth noting that these insults do not only pertain to learners attending historically White schools, but also because 'success' in South African townships is often classified as "a

'White' thing" (Soudien, 2010, p. 44). These learners invariably carry a personal cost, feeling that they don't belong fully in their schools, but also accused of being a 'sell out' in their own communities (Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2009). Despite these challenges, Hunter (2015) explains that many learners travel considerable distances to schools outside of their communities to access schools which will afford them valuable social networks on which they may draw, and also, "to acquire English skills to enhance their employment prospects" (p. 48).

Financial pressure brings its own host of challenges for poorly positioned learners, not the least of which include the fact that poor nutrition and hunger also affect learner concentration (Fleisch, 2008). Numerous South African writers attest to the disadvantages faced by historically disenfranchised groups, explaining that, while racial desegregation occurred at the fall of apartheid, the barriers to education have become class barriers (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Hunter, 2017; Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2009; Seekings & Nattrass, 2005). It is apparent that the schooling system in South Africa remains stratified, and that the ability to pay for 'quality' education is still an overbearing enabler. Hunter (2017) also finds that financial pressures are a significant determinant of home circumstances for South African children living in townships. He goes on to explain that the vast majority of learners residing in South African 'townships' live in fractured families, with as few as 20% living at home with both birth parents. A significant number of learners do not even live with either parent, often living with more distant relatives to access better schools or better educational support than what might have been available otherwise. Depending on available resources to pay for schooling, and who is paying for the schooling, it is not uncommon for children from the same home to attend different schools. To this end, the "'earmarking' of education and frequent separation of children from their birth parents … partly explains why per capita household income and schooling choices do not always correlate clearly" (Hunter, 2017, p. 12). While these fractured and extended families lead to complicated arrangements, the organisation of schooling in the household is most frequently done by a female figure (Hunter, 2014).

Poor learners are also disadvantaged in their ability to access 'good' schooling. At the fall of apartheid, "the politically dominant National Party took steps to protect white schools – the best resourced in the system – in the face of impending change that would necessarily see the end of racially-based privilege" (Christie & McKinney, 2017, p. 9). The new funding model allows the state to provide differentiated subsidies to schools according to their socioeconomic profile. "Educational funding (i.e. non-personnel and non-capital funding) is allocated on an inverse scale. The poorest of schools receive the highest funding… Quintile 5 schools receive the least funding" (Bell & Mckay, 2011, p. 42). Poor schools,

however, are still hamstrung by this funding, which is little more than enough to cover the bare essentials, while they are without the means to raise additional funds on their own accord: "Capital funding is insufficient to change inherited inequalities, and differential fees and fund-raising capacities perpetuate inequalities in operational resources" (Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2009, p. 517). While learners potentially have greater freedom to access the schools of their choice, the fact that better performing schools typically charge school fees renders them inaccessible to many. Despite the existence of policies to limit the fees paid by the families of poorer learners in these high fee schools, these schools generally manage to limit the number of non-fee paying students that are admitted (Hunter, 2015).

Disadvantaged learners are further inhibited due to the historical spatial planning of South African towns and cities, not least in Cape Town. As Lemon & Battersby-Lennard (2009) explain, in their journal article *Overcoming the apartheid legacy in Cape Town schools,* "Blacks reside mainly in the southeast, 'an outcast ghetto of the underclass,' in which even most middle class blacks have elected to remain" (p. 520, quoting Graham, 2007). They go on to explain that, in addition to the exclusionary school fees of 'Model C' schools, the "additional cost of transportation to school, which is often higher than fees" (p. 524) presents as a further challenge for Black learners hoping to access these schools. Learners living in townships but hoping to access these 'Model C' schools are also discriminated against when schools define particular 'catchment zones' to inform learner recruitment (Bell & McKay, 2011; Hunter, 2017).

For the majority of these South African learners, then, their educational outlook is bleak: They are disadvantaged at home and in their early cognitive development, and disadvantaged in their access to the academic opportunities needed to overcome their social disadvantage. While many South African writers promote a discourse of school intervention grounded on historical disadvantage and social context[5], the dominant discourse in South African literature and policy is that of an 'effective schools' perspective. This perspective appears to downplay the effects of context on schooling, and focuses primarily on measurable indicators. I introduce this approach in the next section.

Contextual factors and school effectiveness in the South African schooling system

Following years of inadequate provision under apartheid, the democratic government has inherited a schooling system that is under-resourced, poorly funded and unlikely to impact the patterns of social inequality prevalent in South Africa (Christie, 2008). Regardless of the impact of these inherited

[5] For two such examples see Christie et al. (2007) and Fataar (2012).

challenges, the dominant view reflected in South African literature is of an 'effective schools' perspective. According to these perspectives, South Africa's school achievement is amongst the worst in the world (S. Taylor & von Fintel, 2016) with the vast majority of South African schools, and the school system in general, described as "dysfunctional" (N. Taylor, 2011, p. 11).

The view taken by these writers[6] assumes that schools are 'modern' and employ middle class practices, even in developing countries where contexts are not 'modern' or middle class (Carrim, 2013, p. 52; citing Fuller, 1991). This perspective is problematic, as school practices are seen as generic, regardless of the context in which they are implemented:

> It is remarkable, although politically and practically understandable, that … so much educational literature continues to take a generic perspective on schools, discussing them as if they were much the same and downplaying their distinctiveness. (Thrupp & Lupton, 2006, p. 311)

Lupton writes extensively on the impact of context and feels that "school improvement strategies must be based on subtle appreciations of context, taking into account local social, demographic and economic factors, the school market and the institutional history" (Lupton, 2005, p. 595). Considering the provision of education in a Cape Town township not far from the location of the case under study, Fataar (2007) also provides an discussion which highlights the significance of context in the implementation of schooling policy. Carrim (2013), meanwhile, explains that in the South African situation the measure of quality is particularly narrow, and not always reflective of inherited socioeconomic inequalities:

> …the approaches to education quality in South Africa currently appear to be couched in an input–output type of paradigm. Largely quantitative indicators are discernible: of outputs in terms primarily of learner achievement levels; and of inputs in relation to material provisions, such as school infrastructure and facilities, as well as non-material inputs in terms of training, development and support. (Carrim, 2013, p. 52)

Especially when measured by these indicators while disregarding contextual factors, academic achievement in South Africa reflects a distinct bimodality (Christie et al., 2007; Spaull, 2013), with "the best results achieved by historically privileged schools" (Christie et al., 2007, p. 37). Middle class learners

[6] See Thrupp (2001) for a discussion on various criticisms of school effectiveness research.

are able to compete internationally, while the poorest learners and schools perform at the bottom of the pile:

> … poor South African children are performing worse than equally poor children in the other African countries in this sample – this despite favourable characteristics in South Africa in terms of pupil-teacher ratios, the availability of textbooks and teacher qualifications. …although socioeconomic status has a strong influence on achievement in South Africa and elsewhere, there remains room for improvement at given levels of socioeconomic status. Unobserved aspects of school functionality, management efficiency and teacher behaviour are surely candidates to underlie the gap... (S. Taylor, 2011, p. 6; citing van der Berg, 2007)

Some of the issues identified by these studies include that South African teachers, in general, have a poor grasp of the content they are teaching: "79% of Grade 6 mathematics teachers have a content knowledge level below Grade 6/7 level" (Spaull, Berg, Wills, Gustafsson, & Kotze, 2016, p. 32). The authors go on to explain that these teachers are grouped in the schools serving the poorest four quintiles. South Africa "is the only country in the SACMEQ[7] group where the difference in mathematics teacher content knowledge between the poorest and richest school quintiles is large enough to be statistically significant" (p. 32). High absenteeism of teachers, some of which is abuse of leave provisions (Reddy et al., 2010, p. 85), and the fact that "fewer than half of the officially scheduled lessons are actually taught" (Spaull et al., 2016, p. 33) hinder opportunities for learning to take place.

While S. Taylor (2011) recognises the pitfalls of drawing conclusions between academic achievement and the efficiency of school management, he makes the point that efficient management is associated with high achievement:

> As other studies have argued, more important than the mere presence of resources is how well they are managed. The results pertaining to variables that can be considered indicators of management effectiveness were clearer. An organised learning environment signified by curriculum planning for the full year, a functional timetable, good-quality inventories for LTSM[8], low teacher absenteeism and up-to-date assessment records were all strongly linked to better student achievement, even after accounting for differences in previous student performance and SES. (S. Taylor, 2011, p. 43)

[7] The Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality
[8] Learning and Teaching Support Materials

For many of these writers and policy makers, the fact that historically disadvantaged learners perform better in 'well managed' schools is significant:

> Regarding the influence of socio-economic status and school type, the model indicates that, after taking account of the student and school socio-economic status, African language students in historically White schools enjoy a considerable performance advantage over those in historically Black schools. The difference is statistically significant and large, especially in the case of numeracy. It is clear from this analysis that although achievement is strongly connected with home socio-economic status, much of this connection has to do with the effectiveness of schools in which students are located. (N. Taylor, 2011, p. 3)

This finding is supported in the Australian context by Chesters & Daly (2017). Soudien (2013), however, brings a warning to those who simplistically believe that socioeconomic challenges can be smoothed over by 'effective' schools. He finds that schools in developing countries are, indeed, "able to mitigate some of the effects of home background; *but they have to be set up to do* so" (p. 115, *original emphasis*). He goes on to explain that an 'outside-in' approach to school reform is not working: "This approach fails to allow for the complexity of the context in which teaching is taking place. …. What is needed is an approach that is simultaneously outside-in and inside-out" (p. 116). In the next section, I consider literature which focusses on schools' understanding and engaging with the contextual needs and constraints of their poorly positioned learners.

Bridging between school imperatives and disadvantaged homes

While the Coleman Report (1966) found that learners' socioeconomic contexts had a considerable effect on academic achievement, it also found that disadvantaged children benefitted most from improvements in school quality, and that 'good teachers' were instrumental if this 'quality schooling' was to be achieved. These findings are also found to ring true in the South African context (Christie et al., 2007).

Writing for the South African context but drawing on Willis's (1977) study of the working class 'lads' in the UK context, Fataar (2012) raises pertinent questions pertaining to "the relationship between schooling and social justice regarding the necessity of making schools more meaningful places of cultural and intellectual inclusion and engagement for disadvantaged students" (p. 53). His argument is that schools need to more strongly position themselves to provide relationships which effectively bridge the "students' life world contexts" with that of "the school knowledge code" (p. 54).

In their report to the minister of education, Christie et al. (2007) found that the 'schools that work' in disadvantaged communities "stretched themselves almost beyond their limits in their commitment to achieve success" (p. 116). The need for teachers who are willing to extend themselves beyond their comfort zones, and into the lives of their learners, is apparent. This finding is shared by numerous other authors who have done work in schools serving disadvantaged learners (See Marks, Cresswell, & Ainley, 2006, in addition to the other examples discussed here.) Ladson-Billings (1995), working in schools serving African American students, conducted a study on teachers who were deemed by both principals and parents to have been highly successful in eliciting 'exceptional' classroom engagement from marginalised and poorly positioned learners. She explains that these teachers, even if they did not share socioeconomic context or race with their learners, "kept the relations between themselves and their students fluid and equitable. … These fluid relationships extended beyond the classroom and into the community" (pg. 163). Lingard, Hayes, Mills, & Christie (2003) also find value in similar pedagogical relationships. They found that these relationships were most effective in small schools and even describe how one big school created 'sub-schools' within itself in an attempt "to achieve a small-school effect" (p. 84).

From her study, Ladson-Billings (1995) highlights three foundations on which a culturally relevant pedagogy can be built:

a) students must experience academic success
b) students must develop and/or maintain cultural competence; and
c) students must develop a critical consciousness through which they challenge the status quo of the current social order

(Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 160)

For Ladson-Billings, these classroom goals entice learners to remain engaged in a field that would otherwise be alien to them. This imperative also featured in the Coleman Report, as cited by Christie et al. (2007): "the extent to which an individual feels that he [or she] has some control over his [or her] own destiny made more of a difference than all of the school factors put together" (Christie et al., 2007, p. 19; citing the Coleman Report, 1996). From an Australian perspective, Lingard et al. (2003) also refer to an example of how a school expanded, or shifted, the dominant school culture to create a culture of inclusion and inspiration for an otherwise marginalised community of learners:

> It also entailed changing the habitus – the internalizations of social structure – of staff and students away from thinking of Aboriginality in terms of deficit and shame, to thinking of it as competence and esteem. Posters of Aboriginal Olympic Gold Medallist, Cathy Freeman, were displayed in every classroom in the school, and she was continually held out as an example of what Aboriginal people could achieve. Her grandfather had grown up in this Aboriginal community, and the local bridge is named after him. Most classrooms also had posters of Nelson Mandela, as a symbol of global Black identity politics and hope. Changing the values in the school meant building Aboriginal cultural capital through a greater understanding of Aboriginal life in its complexities, and at the same time building conventionally valued academic capital for the world beyond the school. (Lingard et al., 2003, p. 89-90)

In addition to finding that schools sought to strategically inspire their learners beyond the expectations of their local context, Christie et al. also found that the 'schools that work' in disadvantaged contexts embody four key dynamics:

- all of the schools were focused on their central tasks of teaching, learning, and management with a sense of purpose, responsibility and commitment; they had strong organisational capacity, including leadership (in various forms) and management; and professionalism was valued;
- all of the schools carried out their tasks with competence and confidence;
- all had organisational cultures or mindsets that supported hard work, expected achievement, and acknowledged success;
- all had strong internal accountability systems in place, which enabled them to meet the demands of external accountability, particularly in terms of Senior Certificate achievement.

(Christie et al., 2007, p. 104)

Mills (2008b) quotes Bourdieu, explaining that disadvantaged learners "tend to perceive the world as natural and … find it much more acceptable than one might imagine, especially when one looks at the situation of the dominated through the social eyes of the dominant" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 131). She goes on to explain the likely result when these learners do not find acceptance or success in school: "Reading the future that fits them, the dispositions of such students confine possibilities to those they see to be suitable for the social group to which they belong; excluding certain aspirations as unthinkable, and inclining us instead to love the inevitable" (Mills, 2008b, p. 82; citing Bourdieu, 1977).

An understanding of these tendencies amongst disadvantaged learners is particularly important in the diverse South African context, which is in desperate need of both socioeconomic and racial transformation (Christie & McKinney, 2017). To this end, Wray, Hellenberg, & Jansen (2018) cite Binkowitz (2017) in explaining that "studies have found that when black and brown learners are taught by teachers of their own colour, their maths and reading scores improve. In contrast, this has a neutral impact on the performance of white students" (p. 89). In mixed schools, where more powerfully positioned learners are predisposed in ways that relate to the implicit expectations of the school system, these students are likely to "fare better in school than do their otherwise-comparable peers with less valuable social and cultural capital" (Lareau & Horvat, 1999, p. 37). Crucially, as is pointed out by Mills (2008a), many teachers "lack adequate knowledge, skills and attitudes that are necessary to successfully teach diverse student populations" (p. 268, citing Sogunro, 2001). Mills' motivation here is similar to that of Fataar (2012), that there needs to be a priority on the development of dispositions that will equip teachers to promote social justice, helping education become the great equaliser it is often perceived to be in an otherwise unjust society.

School leaders and teachers, therefore, have the ability to "improvise and even … change the rules of the game to meet the variety of specific challenges that take shape around the invariant characteristics of schools as a field" (Lingard et al., 2003, p. 87). To do this, however, they need to see their schools within their own contexts as "specific fields of social activity with their own logics of practice" (p. 83). Crucially, the school context extends to include learners' families, home contexts and the broader community. Numerous authors reference the need for engagement and interaction in this broader subfield as a key hallmark of effective education in disadvantaged contexts (Lingard et al., 2003; Mills & Gale, 2011; Smyth, 2014; Thrupp & Lupton, 2006).

It is apparent that contextual factors in which schooling occurs is significant, but that school managers and teachers have the ability to impact education given the appropriate dispositions and available forms of capital for the task at hand. In this case study, it is worth remembering, two different contexts are served. While Kendrick, the school leading the school plant served a middle class community, the start-up school, Ubuntu, specifically sought to serve disadvantaged learners. In the next section, I consider literature relevant to school start-ups.

Leading school start-ups

The school planting interaction in this case study sought to establish the new school with 'effective' policies, practices and arrangements replicated from Kendrick. In time, however, it was intended that the new school would adjust, or "tweak" the transferred arrangements to better meet the needs of its context. While I have failed to find any accounts or analysis of similar 'school planting' strategies in the literature, there is also a relative dearth of critical literature regarding school start-up and inter-school support. Similarly, much of the literature on 'school change' pertains to school improvement, rather than the type of 'adjustment' intended by the school planting team in this case study. Nonetheless, in this section I provide an introduction to the literature pertaining more generally to organisational start-ups and school start-ups.

With relevance to the manner in which the Ubuntu school start-up was engaged, and the school's intention to break the status quo in the provision of education for poorly positioned learners, Aldrich's (1999) discussion of organisations as 'reproducers' or 'innovators' is particularly illuminating:

> Reproducer organizations are defined as those started in an established population whose routines and competencies vary only minimally, if at all, from those of existing organizations. They bring little or no incremental knowledge to the populations they enter, organizing their activities in the same way as their predecessors. Innovative organizations, by contrast, are those organizations … whose routines and competencies vary significantly from those of existing organizations. (Aldrich, 1999, p. 80)

Tubin (2008) describes how organisations take one of two general paths in establishing themselves. The first of these is informed by "institutional and ecological theories" (p. 652), which is characterised by an organisational "response to the needs of the environment" (p. 652). While an institution developing in this way is informed by current practices of other similar organisations, this path shows sensitivity to contextual needs and opportunities. The second path discussed by Tubin is based on a "life cycle approach" (p. 652). Quoting Kimberly and Miles (1980), she explains that "For an organisation, as for people … conditions at birth and early infancy may shape later development in significant ways" (p. 652). She goes on to explain that, according to the 'life cycle approach', emphasis is on

> …the connection between the planning methods used in the creation stage and the success of implementation, the importance of identity development and finding a suitable 'niche', and the

> hurdles to be crossed in transforming from the charismatic phase into institutionalization (Tubin, 2008, p. 652).

The importance of developing a vision for the school before rushing into other aspects of the establishment process is also emphasised by Lake, Winger, & Petty (2002)[9]: "Don't be too eager to begin planning the details of your school without taking the time to give some serious thought to why you want to start this school and what kinds of expertise and support you will need to guide the planning process" (p. 9). Tubin (2008), meanwhile, found that schools progressed through and alternately revisited four stages in their establishment phase: "building construction and resource achievement, goal prioritizing, staff development, and vision formation" (p. 655). Significantly, however, in comparing an 'innovative' school's development to the start-up of a traditional-type school, the order of these stages was generally engaged in reverse order by the innovative school. For Tubin, the innovative school changes the status quo and

> …creates a new road. Its pedagogical vision serves as a compass for the new road, as well as guide for the start-up stages that are formed by the vision and affect it. If it succeeds, the innovative school can be more then, a lab for new pedagogy. (Tubin, 2008, p. 660)

Lake et al. emphasise the importance of a core team who embrace a common vision, but also advise against spreading the core team too widely: "…the larger the group, the more diffuse the vision becomes" (p. 12). Instead, they recommend that school management teams make use of external help where needed, rather than expecting to establish a core team able to cover every area of expertise. Lake et al. (2002) make a number of other suggestions for start-ups. I summarise some of these, below:

- Sufficient market research should be done, with a focus on two particular aspects: Firstly, in understanding what the needs and perceptions are of the potential learner body, and secondly, in seeking to understand what voices of opposition might rise from either the potential school community or the local inhabitants where the school is situated. Being aware of what the potential issues are promotes early intervention.

[9] This book, *The New School's Handbook*, is essentially a guide to starting a school. While more of a 'how to' guidebook, as opposed to having a critical approach, it is useful in framing many of the start-up strategies that were evident in this study.

- Accountability of school results should be flexible in allowing for unexpected setups in the early start-up years. Lake et al. explain that “Especially in the first two years of operation, new schools tend to operate on the basis of solving immediate crises and ‘putting out fires.’ Unanticipated problems with new buildings, new staff interactions, and new policies and procedures can easily consume most of your attention” (p. 46).
- The school budget should allow and make provision for considerably higher spending in the first year as compared to subsequent years.

Lake et al. (2002) also warn that group dynamics and responsibilities change as the school transitions through various stages. Christie et al. (2007) cite McLaughlin (1987) in saying that change should “be viewed as a process of negotiation rather than imposition. In changing school practices, it is necessary to work with both the macro-logic of systemic level concerns, and the micro-logic of schools, teachers and classrooms” (p. 31). They also explain that:

> Change involves structures, but more importantly, it involves school culture, and this is much harder to work with and change. Powerful teaching and learning depend on a range of internal relationships in schools that need to be engaged with, and successful change cannot simply be mandated. Leadership is important. Teachers’ capacity to carry out desired changes is a factor to consider, but so, too, is their professional judgement that the change will be better than what exists” (Christie et al., 2007, p. 25-26).

While Ubuntu, as an organisation, sought to break the status quo in its provision of education to poorly positioned learners, the school planting intervention that facilitated its establishment was clearly reproductive, as defined earlier in this literature review. It was intended that, once established, the school would change or adjust its practices and arrangements to better meet the needs of the socioeconomic context it served. This process is discussed fully in chapter five. Establishing the school in the reproduced image of Kendrick, however, was maintained as the first priority. Amongst others, this goal was to be achieved through the school’s collaborative relationship with Kendrick, and through the mentoring and coaching of newly appointed Ubuntu teachers. The literature discussed in the next section seeks to introduce these school planting interventions.

A facilitated school start-up

For many involved in the Ubuntu start-up, the concept of connecting the new school with an established school was what would set the new school on its path to 'effective' education. The vision and details of how this relationship was engaged are discussed fully in chapter five. In this section, I briefly review literature pertaining to collaboration and collegiality in and across schools more generally, before specifically focusing on the concepts of mentoring and coaching, which were billed as defining characteristics of the school planting interaction.

Collaboration and collegiality between schools and teachers

Kutsyuruba (2013) suggests that "collaboration has become a cornerstone of schools as postmodern organizations" (p. 28). He cites Fullan (1993) in claiming that "it is widely recognized that one of the core requisites of postmodern societies is the ability to collaborate on both large (societal) and small (school) scale" (p. 28, *parenthesis in original*). Muijs, West, & Ainscow (2010) meanwhile, explain that collaboration, or networking, "comes largely from practitioners and researchers with a practical school improvement focus" (p. 9).

Muijs et al. (2010) go on to discuss a theoretical underpinning of 'networking'. For them, especially given the complexity of education in disadvantaged contexts, collaboration facilitates the development of broader perspectives and suitable skills in a community of practice. Elsewhere, the same authors explain that, "under the right circumstances, school-to-school collaboration is a powerful means of strengthening the capacity of schools to address complex and challenging circumstances" (Ainscow, Muijs, & West, 2006, p. 201). "The value of networking in this perspective is seen as lying in its ability to harness resources held by other actors and increase the flow of information in a network" (Muijs et al., 2010, p. 10). The same authors go on to explain that, in contexts of rapid change, networking provides opportunities for "integration and regulation with partner schools that may share the (same) values and goals" (p. 12).

Yonezawa, Jones, & Singer (2011), citing McCann & Johanneson (2004), claim that the first five years of teaching, for new teachers, are the most difficult. They feel, however, that resilience, sociocultural awareness and optimism, amongst other benefits, are the result when these teachers are "supported by professional communities of colleagues, immersed in reflective intellectual inquiry into their practice, and given opportunities for leadership development within their professional contexts" (p. 926). While this can happen within a particular institution, a number of authors promote the establishment of

clusters of schools with similar aims of supporting each other (See D. Hargreaves (2010) and much of Mel Ainscow's work for examples from the United Kingdom, and Delport & Makaye (2009) citing two such clusters in the African context.)

In addition to facilitating professional development of teachers, specifically impacting teaching and learning, the following advantages are also identified when multiple schools collaborate:

> In essence, it enhances a school's general performance, as it builds strong teacher professional communities. Exchange and sharing of expertise are improved as stakeholders learn collaboratively and solve problems collectively. Relationships are forged between previously isolated schools, and collegiality is promoted. Clusters furthermore promote decentralised decision-making, help disadvantaged communities, increase participation in development, support isolated teachers, and improve social equity. Research has also revealed that teachers from schools in mutual clusters experience less stress and difficulty when implementing a new curriculum (Delport & Makaye, 2009, p. 99).

While recognising a number of benefits of collegiality, including the implementation of change, particularly curriculum change, A. Hargreaves (1991) also challenges the manner in which collegiality is often implemented. He suggests that true collaboration is spontaneous, voluntary and development orientated. He raises problems concerning the manner in which collegiality is often seen as an "unwanted managerial imposition" (p. 51) and used "as a way of securing effective implementation of externally introduced changes" (p.47). Alongside the benefits, as discussed, he warns against compromising teacher autonomy and empowerment. Ainscow et al. (2006), also offer a warning, given the newness of collaboration schooling: That "there is very little research that demonstrates how and when such approaches do lead to positive outcomes, particularly in respect to those schools facing challenging circumstances" (p. 192).

While I return to some of the challenges associated with collaboration and collegiality later in this section, I first introduce two terms which were frequently used to describe the relationship between Kendrick and Ubuntu in this case study: Mentoring and Coaching.

Mentoring

Mullen (2012) introduces mentorships as "developmental, intentional and generative" and then goes on to explain that "mentors foster critically supportive, nurturing relationships that actively promote

learning, socialization, and identity transformation within their work environments, organizations and professions" (p. 7). Johnson-Bailey & Cervero (2004) explain that most definitions "frame the relationship between mentor and protégé as one of 'intense caring', where a person with more experience works with a person with less experience to promote both personal and professional development" (p. 16).

Mullen goes on to explain that both mentor and protégé are engaged in "new learning, relearning, and unlearning in changing organisational contexts" (Mullen, 2012, p. 10). Further, since mentoring "is inevitably changing, situated, and partial because of its contextual dependency" (p. 8), mentoring must be a subjective practice, dependant on constant feedback and interaction between the parties involved. Ideally seen as a voluntary activity (Mullen, 2012; Varney, 2009), Mullen (2012) raises questions as to the success of attempts to formalise such relationships, explaining that "the voluntary spirit and integrity of mentoring can be jeopardized" (p. 11) should it be enforced. She also admits, however, that mentoring "sometimes has to be formalised, even mandated, or it simply will not occur" (p. 13).

Mullen (2012) feels that the concepts of mentoring and peer coaching are often mistakenly interchanged. For her, mentoring is "theory steeped and … probably more developmentally based than coaching while coaching of more practical of nature" (p. 9). I discuss coaching next.

Coaching

Coaching has largely replaced mentoring in popularity in education practice (Fletcher, 2012; A. Hargreaves & Skelton, 2012). Fletcher (2012) goes on to explain that "coaching is perceived as being closer to the practical than the theoretical end of the mentoring spectrum" (p. 24). Furthermore, she suggests that mentoring "supports induction and career transition, while 'coaching' is said to lead to knowledge creation" (p. 25).

Joyce and Showers (1996), as cited by A. Hargreaves & Skelton (2012), found that coaching led to improvements in teaching practice. They found these shifts were particularly powerful when…

> hands-on, in-class coaching was used rather than one-shot workshops or other kinds of professional development. Modelling, practice, feedback, support, persistence and observation all increased the likelihood that teachers would adopt and sustain new practise – especially through those phases when they were likely to encounter difficulties, lose confidence or want to return to more familiar ways. (A. Hargreaves & Skelton, 2012, p. 124)

Neither mentoring nor coaching, however, are without challenges. I discuss some of these next.

Challenges to collaboration, mentoring and coaching

Dependent on personalities, professional relationships and contextual conditions, strong collaborative relationships can prove challenging when teachers with different perspectives on education are expected to work together (A. Hargreaves, 1991). In this case study, as a result of the contrasting learner demographics served by the two schools, these concerns become particularly relevant.

For A. Hargreaves (1991) the implementation of coaching and mentoring becomes especially problematic when "the existence of a shared culture is presumed no matter how complex and differentiated the organisation being studied" (p. 50). A. Hargreaves & Skelton (2012) explain that these different perceptions are not always recognised by coaches: "… resistance to coaching that was often presented as a problem of poor skill or weak confidence among those being coached, was sometimes a difference of will or judgement about the desirability or validity of what they were being coached to do" (p. 126). A. Hargreaves & Dawe (1990) also address the dangers of not considering differentiated contexts in coaching and collaboration:

> The socio-political context of teacher development … alerts us to the possibility and the danger that collaborative forms of teacher development may in many instances not be empowering teachers towards greater professional independence at all, but incorporating them and their loyalties within purposes and structures bureaucratically determined elsewhere. They may be fostering training, not education, instructional closure rather than intellectual openness, dispositional adjustment rather than thoughtful critique (A. Hargreaves & Dawe, 1990, p. 228-229).

Unequal power relations between schools or coaches can be especially problematic, especially when contextual differences are prevalent. Muijs et al. (2010) explain that when stronger schools are paired with a weaker school, it can…

> …result in resentment and lack of cooperation among staff, with staff in the 'weak' school feeling that their strengths are not recognised and that they are being colonised by the stronger partner, while staff members in the stronger school can often be left wondering what the advantages of the collaboration with its increased workload are for them (Muijs et al., 2010, p. 17).

A further challenge to both mentoring and coaching is that time is not always available to invest in these development strategies (Gates & Robinson, 2009). Fletcher (2012) points out that the instructional model of coaching is labour intensive, and that the coaches often need to be funded for their involvement. If mentoring and coaching is to take place, either voluntarily or not, it would be beneficial if support systems were in place to ensure it occurred (Cordingley & Buckler, 2012; Mullen, 2012). Ainscow et al., (2006) conclude their paper asking various questions which, they suggest, could exploit the potential in future collaborative efforts. I do the same:

- What sorts of conditions are needed in order to ensure that school-to-school collaboration has an impact on student outcomes?
- What are the most appropriate areas of focus within such arrangements?
- What new forms of management and leadership will this require?
- What are the implications of this for the content, processes and location of leadership development programmes?

(Ainscow et al., 2006, p. 201)

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed some of the literature on the education of poorly positioned learners, school start-ups and collaboration. These three topics all tie together in the school planting interaction that led to the establishment of Ubuntu.

In a country where much has been written on the poor performance of the education system, particularly in poor socioeconomic contexts, this school planting intervention sought to replicate the 'effective' practice of a school serving middle class learners in the establishment of a school intending to serve historically disadvantaged learners. How fluently Kendrick would be able to inform this start-up, through the collaborative structures proposed by the school planting team, is a key question asked in this study.

Given Pierre Bourdieu's understanding of how social inequality is maintained through the education system (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), his concepts of habitus, field and capital provide an appropriate language of description to analyse the school planting interaction. I introduce this conceptual framework in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

I have opted to use Pierre Bourdieu's "thinking tools" (Wacquant, 1989, p. 50) to design the study and to analyse the data gathered in this research. Mills & Gale (2007) motivate for the use of Bourdieu in research of this nature, claiming "Bourdieu as a critical social theorist with interests in uncovering social inequalities" (p. 434).

Bourdieu has written extensively on how the social world can be understood through three central concepts: field, capital and habitus. Bourdieu's concept of doxa, and the derived concept of institutional habitus are also useful to illuminate particular phenomena relevant to this study. Before introducing Boudieu's main ideas, I begin with a discussion of Bourdieu's use of the word practice, and signal the relevance of this concept in this study.

Bourdieu's conception of practice

Bourdieu insists that his concepts can only be defined "within the theoretical system they constitute, not in isolation" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 96). Also, all rational and irrational activity is embedded and linked to the social world in which thoughts and actions are formed. Bourdieu uses an equation to link the concept of practice to those of habitus, capital and field:

> [(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice
>
> (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 101)

Maton (2012) understands this formula as: "One's practice results from relations between one's dispositions (habitus) and one's position in a field (capital), within the current state of play of that social arena (field)" (p. 50). However, there is some confusion regarding the meaning of the word 'practice' in Bourdieu's writing. Maton's description, above, refers to Bourdieu's use of the word as "*Praktik"*. Bourdieu also uses the word in relation to "*Praxis*". I introduce both of these concepts below, and explain how I will use them in this thesis.

For Reckwitz (2002) "Practice (*Praxis*) in the singular represents merely an emphatic term to describe the whole of human action" (p. 249). Warde (2004) offers the following explanation:

> …in contrast to theory; the argument that science and scholastic reason operate with a different form of logic and reasoning to that characterising everyday life is a basis of Bourdieu's

> epistemological position. Practical conduct neither requires nor exhibits the level of conscious reflexive thought characteristic of theoretical reason. (Warde, 2004, p. 5-6)

Warde (2004) explains, however, that Bourdieu effectively faded out this use of the word: "The concept of practice, upon which (Bourdieu) worked extensively in the first half of his career, was demoted, replaced by the concept of field, previously a minor thematic concern" (p. 2). So as to avoid confusion, I use 'Practice', with a capital 'P' to represent *Praxis*. While an example of this use would be 'the Practice of education', I generally prefer to refer to the 'field of education', or 'educational field' in this thesis. Everyday practices, which could be represented as individual activities, practical arrangements or 'ways of doing' amongst others, are denoted with a lower case 'p'. This concept is frequently referred to in this thesis. For Bourdieu, this use of the word was related to *praktik*:

> A 'practice' (*praktik*) is a routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge. A practice – a way of cooking, of consuming, of working... (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249)

In this study, these conceptions of practice are both relevant and significant. Within the field of education, as it plays out in the diverse South African context, teachers from multiple walks of life bring their embodied histories and multiple routinized activities into diverse classrooms. The activities of these teachers, mediated through a variety of institutional constraints, are unequally received by distinctly positioned learners. The question raised in this study is how an understanding of these practices, and conditions of practice, can influence the provision of education to poorly positioned learners when these practices are developed within a school serving well positioned learners? At the same time, it also asks how the range of actions to which individuals are predisposed can be shifted in the field of education? Grenfell & James (1998) offer a potential answer to these questions:

> We are, of course, not simply repeating actions endlessly. Evolution and change in practice do occur. However, it comes about, not so much through the replication of action but its reproduction. Reproduction implies both variation and limitation in what is and is not possible in the behaviour, thought and physical action of people. (Grenfell & James, 1998, p. 13)

In order to answer the questions posed in this study, where a set of arrangements and educational practices from a particular socioeconomic context are replicated into a start-up school serving learners from different social conditions, the workings and effects of these interventions are of interest. In order to describe these activities, I introduce Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital and habitus, below.

Field

For Bourdieu, the social world is made up of contested spaces which he has termed fields. Jenkins (1992) interprets such a field as "a social arena within which struggles or manoeuvres take place over specific resources or stakes and access to them" (p. 84). Individuals engaging in a particular field are enticed into the 'game' by the available rewards: "each field calls forth and gives life to a specific form of interest, a specific *illusio*, as tacit recognition of the value of the stakes of the game and as practical mastery of its rules" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 117). In the case of education, the field is defined by the struggle for "intellectual distinction" (Jenkins, 1992, p. 84).

The limits of a particular field, and that which is valued and contested, are tightly interconnected (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) and never static. Thomson (2017) explains this below:

> In reality they are amenable to change and are thus sites of intense contestation between and within fields. Often changes in one field are in response and in part generated by changes occurring outside of the field – demographic shifts, new economic demands and new political requirements. Sometimes they are a result of the operations of the field in concert with others… (Thomson, 2017, p. 72)

All fields, including the educational field, are subject to the workings of the political field, which Bourdieu also refers to as the field of power (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). This is particularly relevant here given the economic inequalities and transformational agenda of the South African post-apartheid context.

Thomson (2012) explains that fields may be divided into various subfields, each with "its own internal logics, rules and regularities" (p. 70), and that "(e)ach school can be thought of as a subfield" (Thomson, 2017, p. 70). At the same time, it must be considered that within the educational field, some institutions are idealised and seen as exemplary, regardless of contrasting conditions in the field. Bourdieu recognises this, and warns against this understanding:

> Everything becomes different, and much more difficult if, instead of taking the notion of "profession" at face value, I take seriously the work of *aggregation* and symbolic imposition that was necessary to produce it, and if I treat it as a field, that is, as a structured space of social forces and struggles. … If, in a study of the juridical field, for instance, you do not draw the chief justice of the Supreme Court, or if, in an inquiry into the French intellectual field of the 1950s, you leave out Jean-Paul Sartre, or Princeton University in a study of American academia, your field is destroyed, insofar as these personas or institutions alone mark a crucial position. There are positions in a field that admit only one occupant but command the whole structure. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 243)

This understanding has significant relevance to this study, by virtue of the fact that Kendrick has been placed in a position of leadership over the Ubuntu start-up, regardless of the fact that the two schools, by design, serve learners from opposite positions of the educational field. Within a field, meanwhile, it is the capital that an institution or individual holds "that defines their position in the field and, as a result, their strategies" (Bourdieu, 1998a, p. 41).

Capital

While I will return to the link between field position and capital at the end of this section, I first present a general introduction on Bourdieu's conception of capital. He explains that capital has "a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241) when active and valued within a particular field. He also explains that capital "takes time to accumulate" (p. 241) and is often procured as the "product of investment strategies" (p. 249). Bourdieu introduces three primary forms, below:

> Depending on the field in which it functions … capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations ("connections"), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital… (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243)

For Bourdieu, the possession of valued forms of capital, especially those valued by the dominant class in society, privileges members of this class in their education, also functioning in "such a way as to

legitimate class inequalities" (Sullivan, 2002, p. 144). Sullivan goes on to explain that, because schools assume the possession of, in particular, cultural capital, there is a "great deal of inefficiency in 'pedagogic transmission' (i.e. teaching). This is because students simply do not understand what their teachers are trying to get across" (p. 145). Learners from the poorer classes, as will be explained in the next section, are, therefore, at significant disadvantage in their pursuit of education, especially when this disadvantage is not accounted for by individual teachers or the educational institution as a whole (Bourdieu, 1974).

Cultural capital

While Bourdieu is criticised for not providing concise explanations of what constitutes cultural capital (Sullivan, 2001), his descriptions are said to include "familiarity with the dominant culture in a society, and especially the ability to understand and use 'educated' language" (Sullivan, 2002, p. 145). Mills & Gale (2007) cite Henry et al. (1988) in defining cultural capital as the

> … stored ways of thinking about and understanding life where the 'expected behaviours, expected language competencies, the explicit and implicit values, knowledge, attitudes to and relationship with academic culture required for success in school are all competencies which one class brings with them to school' (Mills & Gale, 2007, p. 435).

In the extract below, Bourdieu directly relates cultural capital to unequal scholastic achievement by learners of different social classes:

> The notion of cultural capital initially presented itself to me, in the course of research, as a theoretical hypothesis which made it possible to explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from the different social classes by relating academic success, i.e., the specific profits which children from the different classes and class fractions can obtain in the academic market, to the distribution of cultural capital between the classes and class fractions. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243)

Bourdieu identifies three types of cultural capital: "Cultural capital refers to embodied dispositions toward various cultural goods … as well as to formal qualifications that can work as a currency, and to a variety of cultural goods" (Lingard & Christie, 2003, p. 324). These three types of cultural capital are explained in more detail below.

Embodied cultural capital takes time to obtain, “like the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan, it cannot be done at second hand” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 244). Bourdieu explains that this acquisition starts from a young age: It is “acquired, to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and the social class, in the absence of any deliberate inculcation, and therefore quite unconsciously” (p. 84). This type of cultural capital also incorporates aspects such as cultural awareness, knowledge of systems or ‘know how’ and style preferences (Swartz, 2012).

Objectified forms of cultural capital typically represent physical goods, and have the same properties and value as economic capital, which is described below. These objects of symbolic and material value can be transferred for economic or other forms of capital and can be passed on from one generation to another (Bourdieu, 1986). Currently, in the educational field, some examples of objectified cultural capital might include educational books, a computer for working on and for research, school clothes or an appropriate jacket and tie to wear for a bursary interview, amongst others. Ascribing sufficient value to these items to purchase them, should sufficient economic capital be available, is in itself a cultural capital, something which might already set learners and their families from different social classes apart (Moore, 2012), and on different trajectories of capital accumulation.

Institutionalised cultural capital, in the form of academic qualifications, cannot be passed from one person to the next. This capital is able to generate economic capital in the form of employment, but this capacity is variable, depending on fluctuations and demands in the employment market. Different institutions represent different values of capital according to their standing in the field of education. Gaining this form of capital, as with most other forms of capital, however, requires an investment of both time and money (Bourdieu, 1986). Individuals can, therefore, only engage in this form of cultural capital development for as long as their support structures can carry the cost, both in direct costs of studying and in the loss of potential earnings from employment the candidate might have found for the duration of the course of study. These constraints pertain to the availability of economic capital, which I introduce next.

Economic capital

For Bourdieu, the power of economic capital is that it is easy to realise in the form of money, easy to manage, and can easily be calculated and predicted (Bourdieu, 1990a). Anheier, Gerhards, & Romo (1995) explain that “Economic capital refers to monetary income as well as other financial resources and assets and finds its institutional expression in property rights” (p. 862).

By analogy, Bourdieu (1986) explains how the possession of economic capital alone is not sufficient to leverage an investment opportunity, but needs to be spent in accordance with the appropriate embodied cultural capital: “To possess the machines, he only needs economic capital; to appropriate them and use them in accordance with their specific purpose …, he must have access to embodied cultural capital, either in person or by proxy” (p. 247). Applied to this study; the provision of economic capital, for example to make schooling accessible, is not necessarily sufficient to ensure success for learners who do not possess the cultural capital needed to successfully navigate the field of education or, more specifically, the pedagogical systems implemented in a particular institution. For this reason, lowering the costs of education, or providing bursaries to privileged schools, does not necessarily diminish the relationship between class origins and educational attainment (Sullivan, 2002).

Individuals with limited economic capital are also disadvantaged in the accumulation of other forms of capital: Bourdieu (1986) points out that, to engage in the work of building social connections which in turn can represent social capital, the “expenditure of time and energy and so, directly or indirectly, of economic capital” (p. 250) is necessary.

Social capital

For Bourdieu, social capital is “the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). He explains that this network of relationships is the product of an investment strategy, aimed at establishing “social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 249).

He goes on to explain that “The volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 249). For learners with limited resources of their own, schools extend their network of social capital (Warren, Thompson, & Saegert, 2001), also providing a place where learners may engage with peers and develop their own social networks (Lingard et al., 2003).

While cultural, economic and social capitals are the primary forms of capital identified by Bourdieu, he goes on to explain that all forms of capital can represent symbolic capital when recognised and valued by agents (Bourdieu, 1998b). I include a discussion on symbolic capital, below, as it proves a valuable concept to describe various aspects of this study.

Symbolic capital

Lingard & Christie (2003) explain that capital "becomes symbolic when it is recognized as legitimate and powerful" (p. 324). The ability to recognise forms of capital as valuable, however, is entirely dependent on the perceptions of the individual, a capital in itself (Bourdieu, 1986).

Individuals will, therefore, perceive different symbolic capital in the various forms of capital (Moore, 2012), including those made available at school. Bourdieu explains that these perceptions are influenced by the positioning individuals hold in the social spaces where these capitals are valued (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In the South African context, where unemployment is high and proficiency in English is valued, the ability to speak with a particular English accent is an important, albeit contested, symbolic capital (Hunter, 2015). This symbolic capital is significant in the relation between the possession of capital and relative positioning in such a field, a discussion to which I return in the next section.

Capital in education

The possession of valued capitals, recognised in society as such, become significant in a highly competitive job market. In diverse societies, however, learners with varying volumes and compositions of capital are all similarly expected to pass through the classrooms of schooling, despite the fact that the education system, from the outset of schooling, privileges a particular set of capitals, without explicitly providing it:

> By doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the educational system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give. This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture. (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 494)

Elsewhere, Bourdieu is more direct on the disadvantage that children from lower classes face in the education system, invariably setting them on paths that reinforce their potential sense of inadequacy:

> Children from the lower middle classes, as they receive nothing from their family of any use to them in their academic activities … are obliged to expect and receive everything from school, even if it means accepting the school's criticism of them as 'plodders'. (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 39).

According to Bourdieu then, poorly positioned learners are set on paths of disadvantage even before they start school. The question begged by this, then, is whether schools understand what constitutes disadvantage, or poor positioning in the educational field? If institutions are going to position themselves to compensate for these disadvantages on behalf of learners, they need to position themselves strategically. Bourdieu speaks to the effects of neglecting this need:

> In fact, to penalize the underprivileged and favour the most privileged, the school has only to neglect, in its teaching methods and techniques and its criteria for when making academic judgements, to take into account the cultural inequalities between children of different social classes. In other words, by treating all pupils, however unequal they may be in reality, as equal in rights and duties, the educational system is led to give its *de facto* sanction to initial cultural inequalities. (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 37-38)

Understanding what constitutes poor positioning in the field, therefore, becomes significant:

> … agents are distributed in the overall social space, in the first dimension according to the global volume of capital they possess, in the second dimension according to the composition of their capital, that is, according to the relative weight in their overall capital of the various forms of capital, especially economic and cultural, and in the third dimension according to the evolution in time of the volume and composition of their capital, that is, according to their trajectory in social space. (Bourdieu, 1987b, p. 4)

Depending on the forms of capital available to them and current field conditions, participants engage differently relative to each other: “The strategies of agents depend on their position in the field, that is, in the distribution of the specific capital, and on the perception that they have of the field depending on the point of view they take on the field as a view taken from a point in the field” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 101). Wacquant (1998) goes on to explain that “those who occupy the dominant positions in a field tend to pursue strategies of conservation (of the existing distribution of capital) while those relegated to subordinate locations are more liable to deploy strategies of subversion” (p. 222). In this way, and others, the activities inside a field have some degree of predictability, and “each field has its own distinctive ‘logic of practice’” (Thomson, 2012, p. 68). Accordingly, players in these relative field positions show a degree of predictability regarding their actions or responses to field conditions. This understanding is explained by Bourdieu’s concept of habitus, which I discuss next.

Habitus

Bourdieu's understanding is that, through social interaction, individuals embody socially conditioned dispositions which are responsible for generating thoughts, perceptions and actions (Bourdieu, 1990b), routinized ways of being and ways of doing. Elsewhere, habitus is defined in relation to field conditions as "an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted" (Bourdieu, 1977b, p. 95). From a young age, children are endowed with "a primary habitus, characteristic of a group or class, which is the basis for the subsequent formation of any other habitus" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 42). This primary habitus, and any subsequent conditioning, is constructed unconsciously as individuals learn to anticipate both possibilities and constraints in their social interactions.

Bourdieu goes on to explain that these "structured, structuring dispositions, the habitus, … is constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 52). While these dispositions limit the potential actions of individuals, they do not control them (Mills & Gale, 2007). Rather, these actions, perceptions or inclinations originate from within a limited range of embodied dispositions, reflective of an individual's past experiences. For all individuals, however, shifts or adjustments in perceptions and actions are possible. According to Fataar & Feldman (2016), "a teachers' pedagogical habitus is durable and resistant to change and requires a form of vigorous 'habitus engagement' and reflexive dialogue to achieve a meaningful change or shifts in pedagogical practices" (p. 102).

The home environment or social context in which an individual grows up leaves an indelible mark upon that person: "Because learning is an irreversible process, the habitus acquired within the family forms the basis of the reception and assimilation of the classroom message, and the habitus acquired at school conditions the level of reception and degree of assimilation … of any intellectual or semi-intellectual messages" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 43). In time, however, habitus can be adjusted through changed conditions, and particularly through the effect of "pedagogic work" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 31). But, as explained by Maton (2012), adjustment of the habitus is not easy: "Because its dispositions are embodied, the habitus develops a momentum that can generate practices for some time after the original conditions which shaped it have vanished" (p. 58).

Despite the fact that each individual is exposed to infinite social interactions, and may experience subjective expectations that are unique, the common objective probabilities of a particular class are

likely to exist for all individuals in a similarly positioned group. The result of this commonality is a habitus that is objectively aligned to that of others, and will produce similar products: "Objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 53). Bourdieu goes on to explain that "The practices of the members of the same group or, in a differentiated society, the same class, are always more and better harmonized that the agents know or wish" (p. 59). At the same time, learners will feel most comfortable in an institution objectively attuned to their habitus: "when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it is like a 'fish in water': it does not feel the weight of the water and it takes the world about itself for granted" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127). The institutional conditions in any school then, can promote active participation, withdrawal or stimulation in the school environment, and institutional practices will not always produce similar responses when replicated in different positions of the field:

> One only has to consider other possible forms of the relationship between dispositions and conditions to see that the pre-adjustment of the habitus to the objective conditions is a 'particular case of the possible' and so avoid unconsciously universalizing the model of the near-circular relationship of near-perfect reproduction, which is completely valid only when the conditions of production of the habitus and the conditions of its functioning are identical or homothetic. (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 63)

Mills (2008b) suggests that "in the context of schooling, we could expect that on some occasions students will recognise the constraint of social conditions and conditionings and tend to read the future that fits them, while on others they may recognise the capacity for improvisation" (p. 82). Feldman (2015) also offers insight in this regard: "The degree of … secondary assimilation by students, via their learning at school, will … depend on whether the codes of pedagogic interaction as well as other features in the school site are familiar to, and connect with, the student's primary habitus" (p. 93). Both of these interpretations highlight the significance of the relation between an individual learner's habitus, and the culture of the institution in which they study.

Institutional habitus

Just as the habitus of an individual can come to be similar to those of others growing up in similar contexts, institutions can become characterised by commonly shared dispositions. In time, this

institutional habitus, influencing agents through various shared perceptions, priorities and tendencies, can powerfully shape the habitus of those who pass through the institution (Ingram, 2009).

Reay, David, & Ball (2001) define this institutional habitus as "the impact of a cultural group or social class on an individual's behaviour as it is mediated through an organisation" (para. 1.3, citing McDonough, 1996). It must be noted, however, that criticisms exists regarding the use of the concept of institutional habitus in research. Atkinson (2011) explains that the concept is not an original Bourdieuian concept, and only came into use in the late 1990's. The use of the concept is defended, however, by Burke, Emmerich, & Ingram (2013), who explain that the concept of an institutional habitus allows us to "theorise the collective practices of groups of individuals rather than individuals *per se*" and that the "individual habitus can be deepened by considering not only its relationship to the social field, but also the interconnections that exist between habitus within those fields that are constituted by collective practices" (p. 166).

The institutional habitus is "more than the culture of the educational institution; it refers to relational issues and priorities, which are deeply embedded and sub-consciously informing practice" (Thomas, 2002, p. 431). As an example, Nadine Dolby, in her ethnographic study, *Constructing Race*, describes how the school "management persists in actively producing a 'white' identity for the school" (Dolby, 2001, p. 48) to resist the racial transformation to 'black' being experienced by the school. Thomas (2002), meanwhile, argues for institutions to ensure that their institutional habitus is in line with, or at least accommodating of the habitus held by their learners:

> …if an institutional habitus is inclusive and accepting of difference, and does not prioritize or valorize one set of characteristics, but rather celebrates and prizes diversity and difference, students from diverse backgrounds will find greater acceptance of and respect for their own practices and knowledge, and this in turn will promote higher levels of persistence... (Thomas, 2002, p. 431)

Fataar (2012) is of the opinion that schools invariably fail to accommodate for, or even recognise the dispositions and capitals of disadvantaged students:

> The key reason for the lack of school success generally manifested by disadvantaged students is not only that they come to school with the 'wrong' cultural capital, but also that schools, in their fixation on providing access to the school code facilitated by a narrow institutional culture, fail to provide a conceptual bridge between the diverse forms of cultural capital of these students

> and access to the school code. It therefore follows that these students' engagements are impeded by their possession of the 'wrong' capitals, which schools struggle to recognise and leverage institutionally and pedagogically. (Fataar, 2012, p. 55)

Just like individual habitus, institutional habitus is capable of change but, due to the collective nature of the institutional habitus, this process is even slower than for an individual habitus (Reay et al., 2001). Consequently, the expectation is often that students need to adapt their habitus and assimilate to the objective conditions established at the school (Byrom & Lightfoot, 2012).

While the institutional habitus of a school, like that of an individual, is steeped in practice, it is a subliminal doxa which informs and orients the practices and policies implemented by a school (Atkinson, 2011). In the context of this research, I find doxa and institutional habitus to both be significantly important, and distinct concepts, as defended by Burke, Emmerich, & Ingram (2013).

Doxa

Doxa refers to the unspoken, implicitly believed and taken for granted 'truths' of the world: "the immediate agreement elicited by that which appears self-evident, transparently normal. …in which realization of the norm is so complete that the norm itself, as coercion, simply ceases to exist as such" (Bourdieu, 1987a, p. 812).

For Bourdieu, the development of this doxa is linked to the perfect confluence of habitus and field, where a habitus is perfectly in tune with the field that led to its development: "…the coincidence of the objective structures and the internalized structures which provides the illusion of immediate understanding, characteristic of practical experience of the familiar universe, and which at the same time excludes from that experience any inquiry as to its own conditions of possibility" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 26). For Deer (2012), this is a "pre-reflexive intuitive knowledge" (p. 115).

Doxa becomes active, or present, when "it is fed back into and sustained by multiple habitus as shared beliefs and orientations" (Atkinson, 2011, p. 340). While Atkinson goes on to argue that the thinking of a "school-specific doxa" (Atkinson, 2011, p. 342) could replace the concept of an institutional habitus, I find it useful to keep the concepts separate. While an individual's doxa reflects their habitus, developed as embodied dispositions, these personal assumptions may be carried from one arena to another. These dispositions will not always align with the institutional culture of another institution. In the context of this study, Deer's (2012) understanding is useful:

> Doxa is the cornerstone of any field to the extent that it determines the stability of the objective social structures through the way these are reproduced and reproduce themselves in the agents' perceptions and practices; in other words in their habitus. (Deer, 2012, p. 116)

In other words, without common assumptions held by multiple staff and learners, a school is likely to present as an unstable and unsettled environment. When agents are locked in a doxic relation, however, "unaware of the very question of legitimacy, which arises from competition for legitimacy" (Bourdieu, 1977b, p. 168), they misrecognise an arbitrary system as legitimate, and see it as essential. Atkinson (2011) suggests that "any mismatch or sudden rupture and doxic experience can be disturbed or even shattered, even if the habitus itself remains stable" (p. 340).

Disturbing, or shattering a doxa, however, is dependent on the strength of the doxic assumption and whether or not legitimacy is given to the individual(s) challenging the doxa. This understanding brings us back, however, to relative field positions and the legitimacy (or potential illegitimacy) given to those who do not hail from dominant positions of the field.

Conclusion

Bourdieu emphasises that his concepts form a *"temporary construct which takes shape for and by empirical work"* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 161, emphasis in original), rather than a theoretical framework which define and describes social practice to an impartial observer. The invitation, therefore, is for the researcher to think *through* his various concepts, understanding that both the researcher and the subjects of the research are otherwise "trapped" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 126) in a narrow range of thinking and acting ability.

Bourdieu's concepts guide my examination of the decisions, actions and assumptions of school managers and teachers involved in this school planting intervention. They give me the ability to "dig beneath surface appearances, asking how social systems work, and how ideology or history conceals the processes that oppress and control people" (Mills & Gale, 2007, p. 436, citing Harvey, 1990). Bourdieu's concept of field helps me to contextualise the different responses of learners and parents at the two schools, given that the legacy of apartheid still lingers in South African society, and the unequal provision of education to previous generations continues to inform the inequalities with which learners engage their schooling.

Furthermore, in relation to this inequality and the pressing need for transformation in South African society, the task awaiting Bourdieuian researchers is an important one:

> Bourdieuian researchers, as socially critical researchers, are 'aware from the outset' that their task is a political one involving 'not simply telling the truth of this world … but also showing that this world is the site of an ongoing struggle to tell the truth of this world.'
>
> (Mills & Gale, 2007, p. 444, quoting Wacquant, 1989)

In this thesis, I accept Bourdieu's invitation to use these tools for thinking with, rather than as a "theoretical theory" (Wacquant, 1989, p. 49). They give me a language to describe what I see.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN

The purpose of this case study is broadly summarised as an attempt to understand the rationales, mechanisms and effects of the school planting relationship employed in the Ubuntu start-up. This study allows me to explore what happens when the perspectives, educational ideals and schooling practices of the powerful in the field of education are used as a template for the replication of education to poorly positioned learners. To do so, as described in the previous chapter, this study employs a conceptual framework derived from the work of Pierre Bourdieu to frame the design, interpret the data and produce findings.

In this chapter, I discuss the research methodology employed. I introduce the sites of my study, my data production and analysis techniques, as well as my personal stance, positioning and ethical considerations.

Research methodology: Case study

In order to examine Kendrick's impact on the Ubuntu start-up, a qualitative methodological approach has been selected, in the form of a case study. A case study …

> … is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) … over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports) and reports a case description and case-based themes.
>
> (J. W. Creswell, Hanson, Plano, Hanson, & Clark, 2007, p. 245)

This methodology allows me to answer multiple interrelated questions, and employ an integrated research approach (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). This is ideal for a multi-faceted study, such as this, allowing analysis from various perspectives. Van Wynsberghe & Khan (2007) explain how case studies give "a sense of 'being there' by providing a highly detailed, contextualized analysis of an 'an instance in action'" (p. 83, quoting MacDonald & Walker, 1977). Through analysis, this data can then be delineated and defined in terms of its general characteristics and particularities.

Savin-Baden & Major (2013) explain that case studies need to be bounded, so that they can be focussed and narrowed, including a finite number of interactions, actors and observations. This case is therefore defined as that of the school planting interaction which established Ubuntu High School, and draws from

the perspectives, practices and responses of people who were either previously or currently related, in an on-going manner, to the school planting interaction. This includes parents and learners from both schools, education department officials, and more than 60 members of staff who actively engaged in the school planting relationship. A wide range of perspectives were conveyed in these interactions, providing me with diverse categories of data to analyse. Some data are important in how they explain processes and interventions, setting the context for the school planting interaction. These are simply documented in a pragmatic way. The majority of the data, however, is interpreted for the emergent themes implicit in the school planting interaction. In this way my study "marks the meeting point of description and interpretation, in which description involves presentation of facts, feeling and experiences in the everyday language of participants, as interpreted by the researcher" (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013, p. 172). Throughout the period of data production for this study, as the new school emerged from under the guiding hand of Kendrick, the focus on "place and time brings context to the structures and relationships that are of interest" (VanWynsberghe & Khan, 2007, p. 84).

I now turn my attention to the site of the study, incorporating two seemingly very different schools:

Site selection

While teaching at Ubuntu, I was exposed to this unusual and potentially significant opportunity to study the school planting interaction that forms the subject of this case study. Personally intrigued and well-positioned to understand many of the nuances of the interaction, I decided to engage in this project myself. In terms of site selection, therefore, the two schools selected themselves. In this section I briefly introduce each of schools before providing a generalised 'day in the life' of a typical learner from each school.

Kendrick is a long-established Cape Town school which prides itself on its academic standards. The majority of learners live in the affluent suburbs that surround the school, and are offered an extensive choice of academic subjects, sporting opportunities and cultural activities. The school campus is both extensive and immaculately maintained, including well-manicured gardens and sports fields. These facilities and the opportunities on offer are made possible by the school fees charged by Kendrick. At the time of data production, Kendrick's school fees were approximately six times that charged by Ubuntu. While the major demographic group represented at the school is White, the school boasts that it sees itself as a diverse institution. Approximately 30% of the school would have been designated 'Coloured' in apartheid terminology, with a small minority of 'Black' learners also attending the school.

By design, Ubuntu deliberately sought to serve poor, historically disadvantaged learners. While situated in a wealthy suburb, but close to major transport routes, the school was intended to serve as a commuter school for learners from outlaying Cape Town suburbs. Ubuntu has a congested campus without any significant sport facilities, which also allows school fees to be kept to a minimum. By virtue of the STEM[10] design for the school, Ubuntu offers only a very narrow range of academic subjects. This limited subject range also assists in reducing overhead and staff costs. Being a STEM school, or a 'maths and science focus school' as it is often referred to, significantly informs the school experience for Ubuntu learners. This is a significant contextualising factor in my study: Mathematics and physical science are openly referred to at Ubuntu as two of the toughest subjects in the South African high school curriculum. As a STEM school, however, both of these are compulsory for all Ubuntu learners.

Striving to meet the needs of historically disadvantaged learners, Ubuntu is characterised by considerable diversity in terms of both the racial and socioeconomic status of learners. While the majority of learners are Coloured[11], approximately 35% of the learner body are Black with a significant minority of Indian and White learners. Learner intake during the school's first four years included a greater percentage of wealthier learners than was initially intended or expected. Consequently, from the school's fifth year, a revised intake policy dictated that 50% of all intakes should come from homes where the gross family monthly income did not exceed R13 500[12], slightly less than double the annual school fees at the time.

In order to more intimately and strongly contextualise the contrasting school environments represented in this study, I provide an example of the lived realities of a learner from each school, below. In both of these sketches, I deliberately choose relatively young learners. Drawing on my interactions with multiple students, rather than a single student, to construct each example, I offer an account of the way in which each 'typical' student experiences and responds to the institutional demands at their respective schools. In describing the two learners' habitus, and the degree to which this is aligned to the institutional expectations of their respective schools, I also focus on the forms of capital that are typically available to each learner. For Bourdieu, these forms of capital "define the external constraints bearing on interactions and representations" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 11) of individuals who are differently

[10] Under the imperatives of the WCED, as will be discussed in the next chapter, Ubuntu was planned to be a STEM school from the outset of the school planting relationship. Williams (2011) explains that STEM schools are a response to the call for a curriculum which integrates science, technology, engineering and mathematics, and that these proposals are "becoming more common and more significant" (p. 26).
[11] The reason for identifying racial categories, and the terminology used, is explained in the next section.
[12] At the time of policy implementation.

positioned in the field, and "provide important explanations of student achievement" (Mills & Gale, 2011, p. 241). My hope is that the reader will gain some understanding of the respective access to valued forms of capital, or the lack thereof, of the differently positioned learners. In turn, this gives insight into learners' challenges and, therefore, the implicit challenges for teachers at the respective schools.

Gavin Johnson: Kendrick, Grade 8

Gavin is new to Cape Town. He didn't really want to move when his parents first mentioned that they were moving to the Cape. He had enjoyed Johannesburg, but he understood why his parents wanted to move. He could still hear the gunshot given as a warning when his father resisted the hijacking outside their home early that Tuesday morning. It could have been worse; the whole family was pretty traumatised after that.

But he enjoyed Cape Town and he enjoyed his new school. Most of the kids in his class were pretty much like him, and then about a quarter of the class was Muslim. His friends were mostly fairly clever: it wasn't often that the teacher asked a question and kids didn't shoot their hands up with the answer. It was quite daunting to him. He didn't always know that he had the answer himself, but the teachers always moved on quickly. He needed to keep his concentration. But Gavin was intelligent: he had done very well at junior school, coming second in his class and third in his grade. And probably just as well, because it seemed as though everyone in his class had been at the top of their classes in their junior schools! Despite this, he reckoned that he was achieving in the bottom half of his class of 30. But his marks were still good, although he wanted to be in the top ten. He liked his teachers; he found them very caring. They often came to check on him, and encouraged him to participate in class. Not that he didn't want to participate – he just never got the chance!

After school Gavin played waterpolo, which he loved! He was good at swimming. They had always had their own swimming pool at home, and from a young age he had excelled at doing backstroke. His primary school didn't offer swimming, but he had gone for private swimming lessons. At Kendrick, though, he could swim competitively, although he preferred playing waterpolo. He was looking forward to playing hockey in the winter, especially since Kendrick had their own astroturf.

Gavin's mom normally picked him up after school. Since they had moved down to Cape Town, she had started working from home. They didn't live far from the school: it was only about a ten minute drive.

Their house was old and beautiful! It had a big, overgrown garden, a swimming pool and a lovely lawn. His room had a view across the garden and onto the back of Table Mountain. He enjoyed living here.

Normally Gavin finished most of his homework during class, but when he didn't, his homework was the first thing he did when he got home. After supper he would spend another hour or so either studying or doing other schoolwork, such as projects. He didn't have his own computer in his room like most of his friends, but his mom's computer was big and quick, and she had the best printer. He preferred using her computer, rather than the one he and his sisters were meant to share. This evening he was going to spend some extra time on his maths, though; he had a test coming up and there were some sections that he knew he didn't understand completely. His father was good at maths, and normally helped him when there were sections that he didn't understand.

Lucian Gierdien: Ubuntu, Grade 9

Lucian had lived in Cape Town all his life. In fact, he had never left Cape Town, except for the Grade 9 boys camp that they had done with the school earlier that year. That had been fun: they had travelled three hours to a place in the mountains where they had camped and done all sorts of activities on the farm there. Many of them were activities he had never done before, like camping, or hiking up a mountain. Even the swim in the river had been new to him; the rivers, or canals rather, around his house were all dirty and filled with pollution. He knew how to swim, but some of the kids, mostly the Black kids, had never swum before; they didn't know how to and were scared of drowning. It was interesting for him to get to know the different groups in his grade: There were Coloured Christians like him, Coloured Muslims, South African Blacks as well as Blacks from other African countries, and also one White learner.

He enjoyed Ubuntu. And he was lucky to be there! The school had told his parents they could apply to the school and fill in the forms for a national school fee remission program. That meant that the government gave the school a percentage of the R5000 his parents would have had to pay for the school fees, and then they just had to pay the balance. As it was, his transport to school also cost R420 per month, almost as much as the school fees! But it was worth it, there weren't any good schools near his house, and the gangs ruled those streets with violence!

There were a few things about the school which he didn't like, for example that he had to leave home at 5h45 every morning to be on time for school! If he didn't get to the bus stop before 6h00, and it was a ten-minute walk from his house, then he had to stand in long queues with all the rush hour commuters.

But if he caught the bus that normally left just after 6h00, then he usually got to the bus terminus at about 7h15 and would be at school at about 7h35. Getting home after school also took him long, and he normally got home after 18h30. But Ubuntu was a good school! None of his friends went to a school with only thirty-five kids in a class! He also wished he could do sport at Ubuntu, but the school didn't have any fields. They did play soccer on a Friday afternoon, because that was the only time the school could use the junior school up the road's field, but he had never played soccer before, and the school only had one team for the juniors – he wouldn't make the side anyway. And he was also in detention most Fridays anyway. He wasn't naughty at school, but he was normally on detention because he would invariably be late more than three times in a term. He tried to not be late, but sometimes he only got to the bus stop after 6h00 and then he was normally late.

But school was tough. Even though his classes were small, the teachers were busy helping all the kids and didn't get to helping everyone individually. And they worked hard at school; He knew that they needed to work longer and harder at Ubuntu. The teachers often spoke about that, saying that they needed to catch up because most of the kids had attended poor primary schools. He felt that his primary school had been okay. He had done well there, coming first in his grade, but at Ubuntu he was achieving in the middle of the class. Often he knew the answers when the teacher asked questions, but he was too shy to put his hand up to answer – nobody else put their hands up! The teachers sometimes got cross that the kids didn't participate in the class, but he was still too embarrassed to do so: embarrassed for if he got the answer right, and embarrassed for if he got it wrong. Maths was his toughest subject, but he knew it was important because this was a maths and science focus school. He was in a group for extra maths classes on a Thursday afternoon. This class was organised by the school for twenty of the learners in his grade, with some seniors to help tutor them and a teacher who presented the class, but he wished he could have more extra classes.

There wasn't anybody at home to help him with his maths. His mom had dropped out of school when she finished primary school and neither his dad nor his older brother had done maths at school. There was one uncle who lived around the corner who had tried to help him with his maths in the junior school, but it hadn't really helped. His maths teachers at Ubuntu often told them they could practice extra maths using a program on the internet, but they didn't have a computer at home. He had once visited the website on his cell phone, but it had used up all of his data, so he didn't do it again.

On the days that he didn't have a homework session after classes at school, he tried to do his homework at home, but often didn't get time. After eating and bathing it was already 20h00. It was also his job at

home to help bath his little cousin who lived with them. And his cousin went to sleep at 20h00. Then he either had to sleep as well because it was dark in their room, or he would watch TV with the rest of his family, or sit and study, or do homework. But if he wanted to do homework, he would have to do it at the only table in the house, and that was where the TV was. There was no other place where he could work in quiet, except the toilet. This evening he was going to spend some extra time on his maths, though; he had a test coming up and there were some sections that he knew he didn't know how to do.

Identification of various race and class groups

The lives of the majority of South African learners, not excluding those at the two schools in this study, are still largely framed by an apartheid history according to which inequalities can be assumed by the communities from which learners hail, and socioeconomic status is still aligned to racial stratifications under apartheid. Bearing this in mind and considering that the new school specifically sought to serve historically disadvantaged learners, race and class distinctions of research subjects and participants needs to be specifically considered in this thesis.

Where necessary, therefore, for clarity and depth of understanding, I identify the race and class characteristics of research participants when this identification is relevant to my analysis and findings. In the two sections that follow, I first explain the racial classification system I use before introducing the socioeconomic distinctions referred to in my analysis.

Classification of race

In the presentation of my analysis, a number of discussions and participant responses are given significance by the race of the individual participant or groups represented.

Where needed, therefore, I specifically identify the racial groups represented. If only needing to designate a more general inclusive classification of race, I use "black" or "historically disadvantaged" to refer to any formerly disenfranchised group under the Apartheid regime designations. Where necessary, to add clarity and appropriate emphasis to differentiate particular race groups, capital letters are used: "Black" may include "immigrant Black" groups as well as Black South African nationals. "Coloured" typically includes "Indian" learners unless otherwise specified, while "White" makes up the other major population group designation. Sometimes, when I specifically intend to place emphasis on the privileges afforded to Whites during apartheid, I use the term "historically advantaged" or "privileged."

Where possible, however, drawing distinctions between socioeconomic groups is a far more useful comparative indicator than is the distinction between race groups. Discerning the socioeconomic status of learners, however, is not always possible. At times, therefore, recognising Seekings & Nattrass's (2005) understanding that there is still a "close relation between race and class in Cape Town" (p. 328), I sometimes use race as a general proxy for socioeconomic class. This is only possible in the Ubuntu subfield, however, as will be discussed in due course.

In the next section, I discuss the general use of socioeconomic classification in my analysis.

Socioeconomic classification

As will be discussed in my analysis, a significant motivation for Kendrick to participate in this school planting interaction was that poorer learners were seen to battle in a school serving middle class learners. Class, and socioeconomic status, therefore, represent important classifications of demographic groups in the context of this study.

Bourdieu's sociology also places significance on how class positioning influences individuals within those structures. His understanding is that class distinctions come into existence in two related ways:

> Social groups, and especially social classes, exist twice, so to speak…: they exist in the objectivity of the first order, that which is recorded by distributions of material properties; and they exist in the objectivity of the second order, that of the contrasted classifications and representations produced by agents on the basis of a practical knowledge of these distributions such as they are expressed in lifestyles. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2013, p. 296)

While socioeconomic classifications are often spoken about loosely by research participants in this study, and I have found it challenging to accurately define various indicators, classes need to be carefully understood in the South African context. Seekings & Nattrass (2005) place significant emphasis on family income and "unemployment as a key determinant of inequality and poverty" (p. 31). Their "nine-category class structure" also highlights the financial inequalities that are prevalent in South African society:

> We end up with a nine-category class structure, with three classes defined on the basis of income from entrepreneurial activity of wealth, five classes defined on the basis of occupation, and a residual class. In this scheme, most households in the "core working class" have incomes above the median but below the mean for South Africa as a whole, meaning that the class is

> both unprivileged relative to the higher classes and privileged relative to the poorer half of the population. (Seekings & Nattrass, 2005, p. 44)

They go on to explain that numerous factors influence these class divisions, including those identified by Bourdieu mentioned above:

> Thus class is closely correlated with household income, with living conditions, with some attitudes, with some indicators of health and, perhaps most important of all, with children's education. (Seekings & Nattrass, 2005, p. 44)

In this thesis, some of these factors are reflected in the general assumptions of research participants and in my own classification of learners. Often referring to learners in terms of their relative positioning in the field, with 'better positioned' learners being from the middle classes, and 'poorly positioned' learners coming from poorer homes, I draw from a range of factors in designating this classification. While none of these factors can be described as an absolute rule, I perceive my contextually-developed understanding of individual learners and Ubuntu in general as invaluable in this regard. While the Kendrick subfield is more homogenous, consisting mainly of wealthy, middle class learners, Black learners at both schools are generally perceived to be poorer than Coloured and White learners. Indeed, as per apartheid inequalities, race still provides the most reliable rule of thumb. Other significant factors include the distance to learners' homes from school and their reliance on public transport. While I did collect and interrogate this data in my interviews with learners, my analysis also draws from a broader understanding of the Ubuntu context. This understanding is also useful in judging the contexts of individual learners by means of interpreting their dispositions and available forms of capital, as described by Bourdieu and Wacquant earlier in this discussion.

Data production

The data used in this study was primarily obtained through interviews. My preparation for these interviews, however, as well as my subsequent analysis, was also informed by a provisional period of data production, and supplemented and informed by my own on-going participation in the school planting interaction.

In this section I briefly describe the methods used to obtain this data, including the provisional data production phase and the main data production period.

Provisional data production

As a teacher involved in the planting interaction, I was able to gain an 'insider's view' into the workings of the interaction that is not available to most researchers. By means of an iterative process, I was able to make use of observations, informal discussions and historical documents to develop a provisional understanding of the school planting interaction. This contextually-grounded understanding was invaluable in informing my main period of data collection.

Observations and informal discussion

From the time of my appointment as a teacher at Ubuntu, I was engaging with the processes implemented in the school planting interaction. Through observations and discussions with colleagues, my interest was piqued, and the first seeds planted for this study.

Once I had formalised the study, these observations and discussions continued to inform my data production. Later, I was able to test and substantiate the analysis of the data produced by my interviews. Throughout this study, I have been aware of the validity threats associated with my positioning. These are discussed later in this chapter.

Historical documents

Historical documents, in the form of recorded minutes from Kendrick SGB meetings, also informed the main data production. These documents were studied prior to the development of any interview schedules and proved particularly useful when research participants could not clearly remember the original decisions, or how the enacted strategies had deviated from those initially suggested. At times, at the request of research participants, I was able to prompt them from the data gathered from these documents. One interview participant had also consulted his diaries from previous years in preparation for my interview with him.

Other forms of historical records, including learner transfer and admission records allowed me to understand the movements and 'drop-out' rates of learners at the two schools.

The vast majority of my data, however, came from interviews.

Data production strategies

By the time I was ready to do my primary data production, I had developed a "rough sketch to be filled in by the researcher as the study proceeds" (Devers & Frankel, 2000, p. 264). I was also in a position to

recognise that the conceptual framework presented by Bourdieu was a very helpful lens through which to view the data, particular the concepts of habitus, capital and field.

Drawing on these Bourdieuian concepts, I developed my formal research questions, and an interview schedule which would allow me to answer these questions. As a reminder to the reader, I share my broad research question again here, without repeating all the sub-questions laid out in chapter one:

> How has the institutional habitus of Kendrick, its capitals, and its position in the field of education impacted the establishment of Ubuntu?

In order to gather data from which I could elicit themes, draw conclusions, and adequately answer the research questions, I conducted numerous in-depth, semi-structured interviews. This approach offered me the flexibility to promote an easy flowing conversation, allowing exploration of topics as they unfolded in the interviews, and to "probe the research participants for more information on particular points" (Gibson & Brown, 2009, p. 88). As is discussed in the next section, I identified various groups of people to interview.

Selection of interview participants:

In response to the need for 'information rich participants', I employed purposive sampling:

> Purposive sampling strategies are designed to enhance understandings of selected individuals or groups' experience(s) or for developing theories and concepts. Researchers seek to accomplish this goal by selecting 'information rich' cases, that is individuals, groups, organizations, or behaviours that provide the greatest insight into the research question (Devers & Frankel, 2000, p. 264).

Seeking data that would allow me to answer the diverse research questions posed in this study, I interviewed research participants from a number of distinct categories, including departmental officials, members of the Kendrick SGB, management teams, teachers, learners and counsellors at both schools. The various categories of research participants, and a brief discussion of the reasons for interviewing these participants, is detailed in Appendix 1. In total, thirty-eight interviews were conducted, providing interview data from sixty-two research participants. Most interviews were individual interviews, although group interviews were conducted with learners and in two instances where teacher participants taught in the same department. Brief details of these interviews and research participants are listed in Appendix 2.

In order to gain confidence and experience in interviewing, I ran a pilot interview with a former principal of Kendrick. Despite not being actively involved in the Ubuntu school plant, this former principal is rich in a habitus typical of Kendrick, still active as an educationalist, and was well informed on proceedings at Ubuntu. The pilot interview allowed me to practice interviewing skills and proved valuable. I gained confidence doing a semi-structured interview, learning to trust the flow of conversation rather than giving in to the urge to keep to the track of my planned set of questions. I also realised it was valuable to highlight key words in my questions set in bold, to use as prompts in guiding the conversation, rather than having the expectation of being able to read pre-prepared questions. I also learned to make notes of key words used by the research participant for later use in probing specific concepts. While the goal of this pilot interview was to practice my interviewing skills, some of his responses provided valuable insight which contributed to me having a better-informed understanding of the process as I went into my first formal interviews.

With participant consent[13], interviews were recorded to assist with transcription at a later stage. I explain how the data was analysed and trends and themes identified later in this section. Before doing so, however, I discuss the development of the interview schedule.

Development of the interview schedule

Bearing in mind Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field, I developed a broad range of questions that would elicit appropriate responses for answering the research questions. Individual interviews, however, varied greatly, depending on the research participant's personal background, their engagement in the school planting interaction and other responsibilities at school, and the nature of their academic department's interaction with the other school, amongst other factors. Because of this, all interviews needed to be tailor prepared. Being situated as an inside-researcher at Ubuntu assisted hugely in understanding some of these aspects prior to each interview, also allowing me to know which emergent findings could be tested on which research participants.

While the broad scope of this research, as explained above, made it impossible to ask all participants the same questions, or even to provide a complete list of questions asked, general interview questions were typically drawn from a particular set of categories. Some of these broad categories, with relevant examples of questions, are presented in

Table 1, below.

[13] Consent forms for teachers and learners, with relevant letters explaining the research, are attached as Appendix 3 and Appendix 4.

Table 1: Various categories of interview questions

Category of question:	Examples of questions:	Participants asked:	Rationale for question:
Personal background	Experience of teaching in historically disadvantaged schools?	All teachers	Insight into teachers' habitus and personal cultural capital. Draw comparisons between teachers with prior experience in historically disadvantaged contexts and those without.
	Tell me about your travel to and from school: How do you travel, what time do you leave, etc.?	Learners at both schools	Develop understanding of learner contexts
Perceptions of schools	How would you describe Ubuntu to someone you have just met? And Kendrick?	All participants	Develop understanding of how the two schools are perceived by various research participants.
	If you could go back to your Grade 8 year, and you had a free choice of high schools, would you choose Kendrick or Ubuntu again? Why?	Ubuntu learners	Understand perceptions of what learners appreciate about what they have at Ubuntu / are envious of what Kendrick has / pleased they are not exposed to at Kendrick
Basics of planting relationship, and pre-launch preparations	Why particularly was Kendrick asked to facilitate the start-up?	Principals, WCED official	Understand the valued capitals and dispositions hoped to be reproduced at Ubuntu.
	Tell me about when and how Mr Venter first mentioned this school planting role that Kendrick was embarking on. How did you feel?	Teachers at Kendrick at the time.	Understand early perceptions of the how the relationship was engaged, and how staff felt about it.
Management interaction	Tell me about any support or interaction you have had with Kendrick / Ubuntu teachers with regard to your SMT portfolios.	SMT members at both schools	Understand the nature of non-academic support that was provided, and how this interaction transpired.
Academic interaction	If I had to say the relationship had the goal of providing some of the following; which would ring true to you? If true, please explain how.	All teachers	Understand what was hoped to be achieved in the planting relationship, as well as what actually transpired.
	1) Kendrick were providing an organisational framework		
	2) Kendrick was simplifying your teaching responsibilities.		
	3) Kendrick provided coaching / mentoring for teachers.		
	4) Any other major goal?		
Academic interaction	How would you say teaching at Kendrick is different to teaching at Ubuntu?	All teachers and school managers	Develop understanding of contextual differences between schools. Compare findings between various categories of teachers.
	If a stereotypical Kendrick teacher was to stand in your class tomorrow, how do you think they would do?	All Ubuntu teachers	Understand impressions of how the Ubuntu teachers had adjusted to their teaching context, and understand their impressions of how well the Kendrick teachers understood these contexts.

Individual school habitus	If you had to be honest, tell me about how you feel about the teachers at your school. Do they understand you? Do you understand them? And I mean in terms of academics and other things.	Learners at both schools	Develop understanding of potential mismatch vs congruency of learner and teacher habitus and cultural capitals, as well as institutional habitus of different schools.
	Does Ubuntu have a dominant culture yet? If so, what is it?	Ubuntu teachers	Gauge what institutional habitus Ubuntu is starting to develop.

Data production and analysis were an iterative process over a period of four months. I personally transcribed the interviews before the next round of interviews, so that trends could be reflected on as they emerged from the interview responses. In this way, the interview schedule was continuously adjusted so that emergent themes could be excavated and clarified, also allowing me to focus on topics that required more data.

Data analysis

As interviews were conducted in batches, they were transcribed as soon as possible thereafter. Transcribed interviews were then coded, on a spreadsheet, with up to four classificatory codes pertaining to various topics related to the research questions and conceptual framework. Since interview questions were already guided by Bourdieu's concepts of capitals, habitus and doxa, I was able to code the data according to emergent themes that aligned to my conceptual framework as they took shape through the data production period. As themes emerged, I was able to reflect on them while the raw data was still fresh in my mind, and confirm or dismiss potential findings as appropriate, or test them in further interviews.

To facilitate quick glance identification of different role players in the data analysis process, interview transcriptions from different participants were shaded in different colours. I found that it was useful to have a general colour assigned to participants from each school, but with participants shaded either in lighter or darker tones of this colour, depending on their positions of authority in the school: lighter colours representing PL 1 teachers, while darker colours represented various positions of management. Participants in unique positions, such as school counsellors, and other non-school based participants were also assigned unique colours. With the coded and coloured data collated onto a single spreadsheet, I was able to employ filter codes to group relevant data. This method proved very useful in that a list of responses all relating to one particular concept could be retrieved, despite the fact that these responses might have been elicited from very different questions. For example, a filter on "frustrations" would have collated all interview response that pertained to any frustration experienced

by any teacher, at either of the two schools. The responses could then be further refined, if desired, with a filter on “Ubuntu” or “Kendrick” to limit it to frustrations from teachers at a particular school. Or this could be used to refine the search to frustrations related to one aspect of the school-plant only, for example “mentoring” or “planting logistics”. This functionality, in combination with my digested comprehension of the data, facilitated by the fact that I had personally transcribed all interviews, allowed me to identify and explore, or refute potential trends. If a trend was identified, relevant comments could be copied and pasted into another spreadsheet for later reference or analysis, as desired.

In conducting my analysis, I had various analytic themes in mind, as per the questions asked in this study. Using Bourdieu’s main concepts as a lens, my attention was attuned to the deliberate attempts to transfer forms of capital, and establish a particular ‘way of doing’ at the new school. In considering the accounts of research participants, however, certain dynamics became evident which had importance as to how the school planting process unfolded, but did not necessarily fall under my primary analysis framework. These emerging insights caused significant shifts in my study. An example of these insights include how certain school management practices which had been transferred to the new school assumed learners to possess certain cultural capitals. While Kendrick learners generally possessed these forms of capital, Ubuntu learners did not necessarily do so. As a result, the implemented arrangements were not met with the same results at the new school, which came as a surprise to the school planting team.

While some findings and points of discussion were based on responses from numerous participants, others were based on responses from particular individuals or academic departments, depending on the nature of the question. In this way, I tried to ensure that all findings and claims made in this research are verified and supported by data. Occasionally, I have drawn on my own experiences and observations from teaching at the school. To ensure validity in these instances, I identify that the source of the particular finding is my own observation, and then discuss the finding as fully as possible, supporting the arguments with data from research participants. Ethical and validity issues that arise from this are discussed below.

Personal stance, reliability and validity

As a member of staff at Ubuntu, actively involved in the shaping of the new school while also engaging critically with the school planting intervention as a researcher, I have needed to wear two hats. Many

times during this research, therefore, I have needed to reflect on my analysis and findings with an awareness of my own position in relation to the study. In this regard, the warning offered by Mills & Gale (2007), rings loudly: "…researchers need to recognize these personal biases – their values, experiences and constructions – and acknowledge that these, as well as the historical, ideological moment in which they live, will influence the direction of their research" (p. 439). According to Thomson (2017), an interrogation of these factors should become part of my habitus: "Bourdieu suggests that taking account of, and interrogating the ways in which we as researchers are disposed to know and act, must become an embodied and embedded scholarly disposition" (p. 47).

In this section, I briefly discuss the ways in which my personal positioning, or stances, may have affected the research process. Thereafter, I discuss the reliability and validity of my findings.

Personal stance and positioning of researcher.

My decision to engage in this research, and indeed to teach at Ubuntu, was driven by a personal compulsion to see 'quality' education made increasingly accessible to learners from historically disadvantaged contexts. I have carried this compulsion throughout my teaching career, and would describe it as part of my being. In this section I describe how I came to initiate this study, and how my positioning has contributed to, or affected the study.

Having joined the Ubuntu staff during the school's third year, I was not part of the founding staff. Significantly, however, I had also not taught at Kendrick before, so I see myself as having come into the school planting interaction as an 'outsider'. With the school's third year being the final year of the formal school planting intervention, I was involved in the interaction and saw the school develop through this final year of official support from Kendrick. 'Fledging[14]', so to speak from under Kendrick's wing, I saw the school grow into what was the school's eighth year of existence. Also coming in as a member of the senior management team at Ubuntu, I was afforded a view into management perspectives, teaching interactions as well as the 'behind the scenes' interaction with Kendrick – all of which has given me a broad basis of interaction from which I engage in this study.

While aware of the potential for researcher's bias, I am convinced that my position as an 'inside researcher' has contributed positively to the research process: My positioning has given me a deep insight into particular contextual aspects of the study, which has helped to focus the study. Amongst

[14] Moving out from under the guidance of Kendrick, or 'leaving the nest', as it was often spoken about during this time period at the new school.

others, this allowed me to ask particular questions to particular members of staff, increasing the efficiency and giving greater depth to my data production process. Additionally, being rooted in the school has assisted me in being able to understand many of the nuanced interactions described by participants in their interview responses. I also perceive that, while my own personal development, including my embodied dispositions and position in the field, so to speak, is similar to that typical of the Kendrick subfield, being situated on the 'receiving' side of the school planting interaction has facilitated me in analysing the interaction from a perspective not often encountered in research.

At times however, being an inside researcher, with both personal and professional relationships with research participants, has come with disadvantages to the research. During the interview processes, I was at times acutely aware that respondents were playing down their perceptions of the planting relationship, sometimes not wanting to offend me as a colleague, or report negatively against what was generally proclaimed as a valuable initiative, or not wanting to be perceived as negative by a colleague. At other times, as a member of the management team at Ubuntu, I perceived that research participants might have been wary of being critical about management in front of me. I attempted, as far as possible, to put participants at ease in these situations, and to encourage them to be honest and open in their responses, assuring them of their anonymity. To this end, I consciously sought to share the exposure research participants had experienced:

> When a young physicist questions another young physicist (or an actor another actor, an unemployed worker another unemployed worker, etc.), as someone sharing virtually all the characteristics capable of operating as major explanatory factors of that person's practices and representations, and linked to them by close familiarity, their questions spring from their dispositions, objectively attuned to those of the respondent. Even the most brutally objectifying questions have no reason to appear threatening or aggressive because the interviewee is perfectly well aware of sharing with the interviewer the core of what the questions induce the other to divulge, and of sharing, by the same token, the risks of that exposure. (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 611)

The research journey, however, has not been straightforward. I initially embarked on the project at the end of my first year at the school, with a perspective that the school planting interaction was an "an amazing initiative," and "something that needs to be done more in spreading quality education." I hoped to document the school planting process and establish what lessons needed to be learnt from the process, ideally thinking this process should be implemented more widely. As the study developed,

however, I came to a more detailed understanding of the educational complexities involved in this cross-socioeconomic sharing of educational practices. I have come to realise that the more significant findings to emerge from my research are not to do with 'documenting the process,' but relate more to how education is imagined, informed and engaged by individuals and institutions well-positioned in the field of education. I realise now that this has significant, unfortunate, and often unseen implications for those in disadvantaged positions in the field.

These shifts in the focus of my research have come about as a result of my engagement with the data that I have gathered, as informed by the conceptual framework presented in the previous chapter, and by the depth of data gathered in my research process. I have heeded the warning presented by Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers (2008): "Without rigor, research is worthless, becomes fiction, and loses its utility" (p. 14). In line with this, I consider reliability and validity below.

Reliability

Reliability is defined as "the extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study … and if the results of a study can be reproduced under a similar methodology..." (Joppe, 2000, as cited in Golafshani, 2003, p. 598).

Reliability, however, is challenging to achieve for a case study such as this. Indeed, Bassey (2007) points out that "reliability is an impractical concept for case study since by its nature a case study is a once-off event and therefore not open to exact replication" (p. 144). Not disregarding the concept or value of reliability, however, I rather take precautions to ensure that my study meets the conditions for validity: "Since there can be no validity without reliability, a demonstration of the former [validity] is sufficient to establish the latter [reliability]" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, as quoted by Golafshani, 2003, p. 601).

Validity

The concept of validity, however, in itself, is not simply defined in qualitative research either. Golafshani (2003) explains that "many researchers have developed their own concepts of validity and have often generated or adopted what they consider to be more appropriate terms, such as, quality, rigor and trustworthiness" (p. 602). Rather than a definite standard, validity is "relative to purposes and circumstances" (Maxwell, 1992, p. 283) and reflect a measure of whether the conclusions drawn from the data are a fair reflection of the circumstances that produced that data (Maxwell, 1992).

Validity, however, as discussed, is important to ensure that the findings of this study can be trusted and used as a conceptual resource for other studies of educational interventions which also stretch across diverse socioeconomic contexts. To this end, I have sought to ensure that transparency exists in the manner in which I have gathered data, and that my findings validly reflect the perspectives from which this study is conducted. Indeed, Maxwell (1992) explains that validity is not something that is simply achieved by following a particular method, "but pertains to the data, accounts, or conclusions reached by using that method in a particular context for a particular purpose" (p. 284).

Validity, therefore, needs to be safeguarded through strategies that the researcher uses to eliminate the potential threats to validity that may exist. There exist a number of key forms of validity which need to be safeguarded. I discuss these, below, also explaining how I attempt to maintain validity for each form.

Descriptive validity

Descriptive validity has to do with the accuracy of the data produced. Maxwell (1996) explains that "the main threat to the valid description, in the sense of describing what you saw and heard, is the inaccuracy or incompleteness of the data" (p. 89). It is also worth noting that all other categories of validity are "dependent on this primary aspect of validity" (Maxwell, 1992, p. 286), as it pertains to the source of all data.

In my study I countered this threat particularly by recording all interviews, before personally transcribing them, verbatim. As far as possible, I attempted to capture hesitations, uncertainties and confidence in speech during participants' responses. While this contributed to descriptive validity, it also assisted in ensuring that interpretive validity is maintained.

Interpretive validity

Interpretive validity relates to the meanings and interpretation that the researcher assigns to the various data. Maxwell (1992) explains that interpreting the data and assigning meaning is not always as straightforward as meets the eye:

> The development of accounts of these participants' meanings is usually based to a large extent on the participants' own accounts, but it is essential not to treat these latter accounts as incorrigible; participants may be unaware of their own feelings or views, may recall these inaccurately, and may consciously or unconsciously distort or conceal their views. Accounts of participants' meanings are never a matter of directed access, but are always *constructed* by the researcher(s) on the basis of participants' accounts and other evidence. (Maxwell, 1992, p. 290)

Assigning interpretations to data, however, comes with numerous threats, including researcher bias:

> The main threat to valid interpretation is imposing one's own framework or meaning, rather than understanding the perspective of the people studied and the meanings they attach to their words and actions. There are several ways that this happens: not listening for the participants' meanings; not being aware of and bracketing your own framework and assumptions; asking leading, closed, or short-answer questions that don't give participants the opportunity to reveal their own perspective. (Maxwell, 1996, p. 89)

Crucially aware of this threat to validity, I have guarded against researcher bias in a number of ways. During the interview process I tried to be critically aware of my presence, and my style of questioning on the interview situation. Where possible I attempted to put participants at ease and encouraged free flowing conversation in my interviews. Maxwell (1996) defines the influence of the researcher on the setting or the individual being studied as reactivity. He explains that for interviews, reactivity is a "powerful and inescapable influence; what the informant says is *always* a function of the interviewer and the interview situation" (Maxwell, 1996, p. 91). Aware of this, I guarded against leading participants in ways that would compromise the validity of the data. I found that my contextual knowledge of the planting interaction was invaluable in this regard.

I further guarded against compromising my interpretive validity by triangulating my data where possible, searching for "convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 126). Doing so was made possible by conducting multiple interviews across eight different academic departments, sometimes with multiple participants from both schools. These interviews were supplemented by interviews with the principals of both schools, members of the SGB, as well as school counsellors and learners from both schools. Findings from this data were further controlled against my personal observations as a member of staff at Ubuntu, as well as in informal conversations with colleagues. As was ethical and fair to research participants, with permission where necessary, I also attempted to feed findings from my research back into the developing Ubuntu subfield, as per the suggestion made by Mills & Gale (2007): "Checking interpretations and emerging constructions with respondents, then, is an important part of the conclusion drawing and verification process for a Bourdieuian researcher" (p. 444). In addition to testing my interpretive validity, this was also done to inform and shape the developing school, according to the other hat I have worn throughout this process.

I must also mention that while some findings reported in this study were initially highlighted to me by my own observations, I have attempted to ground all these findings in the data that I have gathered. I have, therefore, guarded against the temptation to fall back on own my own assumptions and understandings of the planting relationship.

Generalizability

Maxwell (1992) defines generalizability as "the extent to which one can extend the account of a particular situation or population to other persons, times, or settings than those directly studied" (p. 293).

With regard to internal generalizability in this study, I have attempted to gather data from all possible role players, as to not have to generalize across departments. This is important, as it ensures that my findings are reflective of the entire spectrum of interventions engaged in this case study. In turn, this strengthens the validity of my interpretation of the implicit sociological forces underlying the school planting interaction. It should be mentioned, however, that I do employ a degree of generalizability with regard to the perspectives and interpretations of learner responses to the school planting interaction. These are, however, largely illustrative rather than evidentiary.

I am also cognisant of Maxwell's (1992) understanding that a dependence on interviews poses problems for internal generalizability, due to the fact that the researcher normally only spends a limited period of time with the participant. Due to my insider positioning and contextual understanding of the school planting initiative, however, I do not feel that this is a threat to my findings in the same way it might have been for an external researcher. Only two teachers opted to not participate, and I was pleased that all major role-players in the school planting interaction willingly participated in this study.

With regard to external generalizability, the contribution of this study is to develop a conceptual understanding of a particular case. Particularly, the insights developed pertaining to the imposition of middle class perspectives and norms on the provision of education for working class learners are particularly relevant in current educational discourse. The findings of this study can then be used to offer potential explanations for, or conceptualise multiple other cases of educational activities and interventions which stretch across socioeconomic contexts.

In the final section of this chapter, I discuss how due consideration of research ethics was adhered to in this study.

Ethics in the study

I conducted my research in accordance with the *Research Ethics Guide*, as laid out by the University of Cape Town's Faculty of Humanities, obtaining clearance to do this research before I actively engaged in data production. Both principals gave me permission to act as needed in conducting my research.

This study comes with a significant confidentiality threat, which was specifically discussed with both principals and all research participants. While pseudonyms are used, as discussed below, I am well aware that the identity of the two schools participating in this case study could relatively easily be recognised should a reader wish to investigate them. Because of the ethical dilemma this represents, all research participants were made explicitly aware of this challenge. All participants agreed to do so, regardless of the threats to their right to confidentiality and anonymity.

Use of pseudonyms

As a result of the unique nature of this case study, as discussed above, ensuring the anonymity of key persons in the planting relationship presents itself as a further dilemma. To this end, I have employed two methods to protect the identity of research participants: Using pseudonyms and identifying as few individual research participants as possible.

While I tried as far as possible to avoid identifying individual participants at all, I found it necessary to do so for the four members of what I have termed the 'school planting team[15].' This was necessary because of their positions of influence in the school planting interaction, and the fact that their perspectives, carrying significant weight, generally needed to be identified as such. These individuals participated knowing the risks associated with their participation. These include being identifiable to readers who might be aware of the school planting intervention under study, or who chose to read up on the study given what is disclosed in this thesis. For these participants, in addition to discussing the written consent forms, attached as Appendix 3, I specifically discussed the fact that they might be more identifiable than other participants. Despite this risk to their anonymity, all four members of the team, as well as all other participants, participated willingly. The general sense was that the value of the research was more significant than any personal exposure and resultant criticism that might result through their identification through the study.

[15] These participants are introduced more thoroughly in the next chapter.

For these participants especially, I made use of member checking (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) to verify the data gathered and emergent themes. I deemed this process to be particularly important for emergent findings that were unexpected or likely to reflect critically on the school planting process. As suggested by Krefting (1991), this process included verifying transcribed versions of my interviews with individual participants, discussing emergent themes with various members of staff and fellow researchers, and making a draft copy of my thesis available for reading by influential participants. While I had daily interactions with the majority of the Ubuntu-based research participants, my interactions with Kendrick-based participants was less frequent. I did, however, engage transparently with all participants regarding my research process, also holding a formal meeting with each principal to discuss my emergent findings during the research process.

While I had initially planned to assign pseudonyms to all research participants, I later considered and attempted to write this thesis without specifically identifying any participant. As discussed, this was not possible, and I compromised to identify the four members of the school planting team only. General classifications of identity are used, however. For example, teachers in Post Level 1[16] (PL1) positions and members of the management team at either school are typically either identified as such, or simply as "members of staff" or "teachers" at their respective schools. Sometimes, however, voices might be clarified in their introduction with enough information to contextualise the opinion: examples of this include "a first year teacher" or "one of the deputy principals at Kendrick."

Interview participants

Interviews with staff at each school were carefully approached. There was both an awareness and sensitivity to the fact that, at times, the staff would be asked to be critical, and that this had the potential to jeopardise professional relationships amongst colleagues. Participants were informed of their rights to ask questions of the researcher, as well as their right to withdraw from the study at any time without negative ramifications.

Morse & Richards (2002, p. 205) identify various other ethical principles regarding participants' rights. I share these, below, and confirm that the study adhered to these ethical recommendations.

[16] In WCED schools, four post levels are typically identified:

- PL1 – Normal teachers, not involved in management.
- PL2 – Heads of department appointed in management posts.
- PL3 – Normally deputy principal posts
- PL4 – Normally principal posts

- The fair selection of research participants and the right to be informed of the purpose of the study.
- The amount of participation and time required as well as what can be expected during the research process.
- What information will be obtained and who will have access to it, as well as what the information will be used for.

All participants gave written consent to participating, and all agreed to the interviews being recorded for transcription purposes. An example of this written consent is attached as Appendix 3. In the case of learner participants, permission was also granted by their guardians prior to the interviews. An example of this form is attached as Appendix 4.

CHAPTER FIVE: TRANSFERRING CAPITAL AND HABITUS

The focus of this study is an intervention in which a provincial education department asked Kendrick, an established school to act as a model and leading agent in the start-up of Ubuntu, a new school. By virtue of this invitation, Kendrick was recognised by the WCED as a leading school in the field of education. In this chapter I analyse data pertaining to the questions: what institutional habitus and forms of capital contributed to this positioning, and how were these transferred to the new school? The primary purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to answer questions related to the intentions and implementation of the school planting interaction.

I start by providing a chronological narrative of how the school plant unfolded, discussing the rationale and strategies that framed initial thinking about the school plant. Thereafter, thematic analysis of the planting interactions is presented in two major sections: Firstly, I discuss how the forms of capital held by Kendrick were made available to the new school. Thereafter, I analyse how the school planting team attempted to establish a particular habitus at the new school.

The analysis in this chapter serves two purposes: While answering some of the research questions, it also provides a backdrop to the analysis in the following chapters. While this chapter considers the inter-school mechanisms of the school planting interaction, the following chapters analyse the responses of the various participants of the Ubuntu subfield to these planting mechanisms.

Initiating a school plant

In this section I explain the origin of the school planting initiative, at the level of the provincial education department, and how the intervention was implemented by Kendrick.

Why a school plant?

The school planting initiative stems from a desire on the part of the WCED to create more opportunities for 'quality schooling' for learners from poor homes. In establishing a new school, departmental officials sought to replicate a particular approach, or 'ways of doing' in school management, and to facilitate the replication of what they believed made a particular school in the area, Kendrick High School, a 'successful' school. This analysis is based on interviews with a senior WCED official as well as members of staff who were involved in the planning process of the school start-up.

The WCED had experienced difficulty in expanding education in the suburbs where Ubuntu is now situated. With increasing demand for the limited places available at the schools in this area, they had engaged in a process of encouraging schools to take on extra classes. As another venture, they identified a derelict facility which held the potential to house a new school. According to the WCED official, the site where this facility was located played a key role in determining what the school would become: "…when it was realised that the site was on the train and taxi routes, then it became a possibility for the school to be for 'not so wealthy parents' to access this school."

Starting an effective school for this demographic of learner, however, was also something that weighed heavily on the WCED official's mind:

> I knew that we had started a large number of schools since democracy… and we hadn't started them well. So if there was a big vision [with regard to the relationship between Kendrick and Ubuntu], it was that we needed to start this school well. And the trouble is that, if it is for poorer communities, and they don't themselves have the experience of a wonderful high school, how are they going to set that up? And that tone starts from the beginning. So the vision on my part was always to start them up with a school SGB that knew what they were doing, and [working with Kendrick] was a possibility [for this].

Two assumptions are apparent in this explanation: The first is that school managers, teachers and parents likely to be involved in a poor community school would not possess the appropriate skills, perceptions and experience needed to start such a school 'well.' On the other hand, the assumption is that a historically privileged school, predominantly serving learners well positioned in the educational field, possess these attributes for establishing a school intending to serve learners from a significantly different part of the field.

Not having been able to assist in the previous 'expansion project' and situated less than five kilometres from the new school site, Kendrick appeared to the WCED to be an ideal school to facilitate the school start-up process. The WCED official identified one of the key institutional attributes which she valued about Kendrick:

> So how do you set the ethos [in a new school]? How do you set the standards? … when compared to other schools, Kendrick concentrates very much on their academics while most of the other top schools have a much wider sphere of excellence. You know, … you wouldn't say that they are a top rugby or hockey school, but their academics take preference. And so to have

> people like that, who are intellectually serious, and they are into things like debating and keeping the kids intellectually alive, I just thought that this would be great for this type of school.

It was hoped, through the sharing of teachers' resources and the mentoring of teachers into particular teaching practices, that the school planting interaction would provide a solution to one of the challenges that invariably accompany a school start-up:

> Look, we knew that it would be very difficult to get experienced teachers, because it was a new school. Experienced, very good teachers are not necessarily going to go to a new school with no track record. … But I also knew that the students coming out of [the various universities situated close by], … were going to be outstanding teachers … but it was about making sure those graduates were going to raise the game. ... So, part of it was saying that Kendrick must establish the academic standards.

The WCED also foresaw that placing a school with a reputation for "excellent" education alongside a start-up school would assist in attracting potential learners to the new school:

> [The others] thought we would battle to get kids to come to the school. I said you will fill it easily ... And the reason for that would be the name being associated with Kendrick. … the parents [would] say "Wow, my child can get a Kendrick education."

This symbolic association with Kendrick also played a significant role in attracting staff to the school, as will be discussed later in this chapter. Before doing so, however, I discuss how the interaction was initiated at Kendrick, and then rolled out over the following three years.

Overview of the school planting interaction

In this section I explain how the school planting intervention unfolded. I describe how the WCED engaged Kendrick, and how Kendrick management responded to this opportunity. Thereafter, I describe the preparations that were made prior to Ubuntu opening its doors. Before doing so, however, I introduce four key members of staff who significantly influenced the new school. I have termed this group of four school managers 'the school planting team.'

The school planting team

Four key members of staff significantly influenced decisions regarding Ubuntu during the school start-up period. All four of these voices embodied dispositions which were strongly representative of a Kendrick habitus, having been exposed or strongly involved in the development of 'The Kendrick Way.' Embodying these dispositions, and influential in establishing the Kendrick institutional habitus idealised for the new school, they played significant roles in setting the new school along a path strongly directed by a Kendrick-based doxa. I introduce each of them, in turn, below.

Mr Venter: Kendrick principal

As principal of Kendrick, Mr Venter was central to the school planting initiative. An experienced educator and school manager, with approximately thirty years of school management experience to his name, Mr Venter had held the post of Kendrick principal for approximately five years when he was first approached by the WCED to facilitate the school plant. Extending himself beyond the expectation of running his own school, Mr Venter invested himself personally in the project.

Mr Webster: Being set up to lead

While Mr Venter held the position of 'supervisory principal' for the first two years of the school start-up, Mr Webster was the school's first appointment, in the position of deputy principal. He eventually took over the mantle of leadership for the school when he was appointed as the school's first formal principal at the end of the school's second year.

While embodied with a strong Kendrick habitus, acquired as both a learner and a teacher at Kendrick, Mr Webster also shared a strong family association with the school. He was also well grounded and experienced in dynamics typically associated with racially diverse contexts. From early on in his teaching career, he had shown a strong commitment to, and taken leadership in developing understanding and appreciation of, cross-cultural integration amongst learners. Prior to being appointed to the staff at Kendrick, from where he moved to Ubuntu, almost half of his teaching career had been in historically disadvantaged contexts.

Mrs Murphy: Grounded in the Ubuntu context

With over ten years' experience of teaching at Kendrick, her only teaching experience prior to accepting a post at Ubuntu, Mrs Murphy also carried a strong Kendrick habitus. Appointed as a Head of Department (HOD) in the new school's founding year, she later became deputy principal when Mr Webster became principal.

As a Coloured woman, Mrs Murphy was not only the only female member of staff involved in management during the first year at the new school, she was also the only person from a historically disadvantaged background to participate in any management or governance body at the new school during the first two years. Having grown up in tough socioeconomic conditions, she had attended, in her own words, a "normal, dysfunctional government school" in one of the nearby historically disadvantaged communities. Her grounding in this context not only gave the school planting team insight into the social environment from which learners were drawn, it also provided learners with a role model from a community similar to those in which many of them were growing up.

Mr Bradley: Representing both schools

Mr Bradley had spent the majority of his teacher career, spanning approximately forty years, at Kendrick. He had also spent an extensive period of that time in management, and was one of Kendrick's deputy principals at the time of the school plant. Teaching part-time at both schools for the duration of the school planting period, both Mr Bradley and Mr Webster spoke highly of the role he was able to play. Mr Bradley also explained this role himself:

> And because when the whole process started I was in a management position [at Kendrick], I was able to speak into management decisions with a fair degree of authority. Also, I had access to the principal [at Kendrick] and obviously to the principal at Ubuntu, so there was a global benefit to both schools.

The roles played by Mr Venter and Mr Bradley can be defined as both supervisory and, to quote Mr Webster, "activating." I discuss how this approach was engaged in achieving the school goals in the sections that follow.

Initiating the school planting intervention

Cognisant of the challenges they had experienced in starting schools for poorly positioned learners and aware of the culture of 'good' schooling in the vicinity of new school site, the WCED approached Mr Venter to participate in the school planting intervention. According to Mr Venter, he was excited about the concept: This was an opportunity to contribute something "outside of our own environment." Having gained the approval of his management team and staff, he took the idea to the SGB.

Mr Webster, who was a teacher at Kendrick at the time, explained that they had been asked to make a silent indication of interest. He explains this in the extract below:

> Staff were given opportunity to respond if they supported it or not, and if they did, would they like to get involved, at a variety of levels; would they like to go and teach at the new school, would they like to teach at both, would they like to stay at Kendrick, but do what they can to help in whatever capacity. Or if they were not at all interested, leave them out of the loop please...

While it was reported that the staff generally responded positively to the school planting idea, the Kendrick SGB responded to the request for their school to participate with caution. With personal motivation from WCED officials, however, and reassurance that Kendrick's best interest would be kept in mind, the SGB approved the school's participation. Participation in this initiative was put to the SGB for the first time during a meeting in the month of June, just seven months before the new school's doors were to open, and consequently a very short time span remained with much to be done. One of the SGB members explained the effect of this slow start: "It didn't start so efficiently! It took a long time to appoint teachers and this happened seriously late, and it almost seriously compromised what was hoped to be achieved." When the project was finally initiated, a flurry of activity ensued.

Pre-launch preparations

Analysis of the preparations made for the new school's opening attest to Kendrick's ability to draw on their available forms of capital as they 'play the game' of school management. With Mr Webster being appointed deputy principal of the new school with less than three months to go, "masses of work was done in that time!" Mr Webster had the majority of his classes at Kendrick shared out between other teachers in his department so that he could focus on preparing for the coming year. The bulk of the preparations, including planning for the new year, development of the school time-table, the extra mural time-table, sourcing and obtaining quotes for school furniture and resources as needed, appointment of staff and enrolment of pupils all took place during that last quarter.

Interviewees explained that numerous Kendrick staff got involved and helped out where they could, according to their fields of expertise. I list some of these as examples below:

- One of Kendrick's deputy principals, who ran the portfolio of 'buildings and grounds' at Kendrick, served on the building committee at the new school site. He oversaw the refurbishment of the facility that would become the school, attending weekly site meetings and giving what was deemed to be valuable input from a school management perspective.

- Kendrick's caretaker gave a list of maintenance needs and obtained quotes from his regular suppliers.
- The school's estate manager advised on the development of the school's gardens and other facilities.
- Subject heads from the different academic departments advised and assisted in ordering textbooks for the new school.
- Staff in the science departments advised on chemicals and apparatus that were worth purchasing.
- The Kendrick administration staff "did a huge amount of work, dealing with parents, phoning, writing letters, setting up appointments, that sort of thing."
- A library at the new school was set up and initially driven by Kendrick parents.

According to Mr Venter, Kendrick's ability to call on people who were confident and capable of over-riding WCED policies and directives saved the new school and the WCED thousands of Rands. While the WCED trusted Kendrick, recognising their management and administrative competence, Mr Venter explained that the inventory lists provided to them by the WCED, as needs for the new school, were "outdated and outrageous." The WCED's trust in Kendrick management to make decisions as Kendrick saw fit was deemed to be significant in making the school planting interaction possible. This was explained by one of the Kendrick SGB members: "Normally the bureaucratic processes would slow down these types of things, and so [the WCED] throwing away the red-tape was really important in making this possible."

In terms of academic preparations for the new school year, subject heads at Kendrick were asked to prepare for Ubuntu classes as well as for their own departments. As Ubuntu staff appointments were made prior to the opening of the school, these teachers were linked to their corresponding Kendrick departments and given appropriate planning and any necessary notes for the new term. The intention, as will be fully discussed below, was that Kendrick departments would support their Ubuntu peers over a period of three years until the new school could boast fully fledged academic departments of their own.

Opening and growing: From start-up to capacity in five years

When the new school opened its doors the following year, it did so to three classes of Grade 8 learners and one class of Grade 10 learners. This intake was repeated in the second year, after which the school

took in three Grade 8 classes yearly, growing to its full complement of classes through its first five years. As the school grew, the staff complement grew proportionally as well, as is visually represented in Table 2 below:

	Gr 8	Gr 9	Gr 10	Gr 11	Gr 12	Total Learners	Teaching Staff		
								Full time	Part time
Year 1	100		25				**125**	8	7	1
Year 2	100	98	25	23			**246**	13	12	1
Year 3	105	99	97	22	23		**346**	20	18	2
Year 4	105	103	92	90	18		**408**	22	19	3
Year 5	102	102	100	79	87		**470**	26	24	2

Table 2: Ubuntu growth in the first five years

The new school aimed to fill its junior classes[17] with a maximum of thirty-six learners in each of the three classes per grade. Predicting some degree of dropout as learners progressed through the grades, the school planting team anticipated that these numbers would drop to just less than one hundred per grade by the time a grade group reached grade 12. It was hoped that this would give the school its intended capacity of around five hundred learners and approximately twenty-seven teachers.

As can be seen from the table above, however, these numbers were initially not achieved, primarily due to the higher than expected learner dropout rate experienced at the new school. (I consider the factors that led to this dropout rate in the next chapter.)

Goals for the new school

Acknowledging that Ubuntu served learners from a significantly different socioeconomic background to that of Kendrick, Mr Webster explained that, while Ubuntu's goals were similar to those of Kendrick, the path to achieving them needed to be different:

> So, the one goal is high academic performance: That is the same.
>
> Second is all round development, character development, that sort of thing: I think the goal is the same as at Kendrick, but maybe the means is a little different here, and the challenges - the issues the children at Ubuntu have to deal with to become self-confident, self-assured, aware of

[17] Grade 8 – 9 represents the 'junior' grades, with the 'senior' grades being grades 10 – 12.

their place, strong enough to speak out - those psycho-social issues are different, so an awareness of that.

And then our third one, tertiary studies. Again, the same goals at Kendrick, but again we need to have a mind-set of what is needed to have our children believe that they should do that and that that is something worth striving for.

Mr Webster's signalling that the new school would need to position itself differently in order to meet the needs of its learners is a concept to which I will return. In the section that follows, I analyse how various forms of capital were made available to the new school by its association with Kendrick.

Resources to draw on: Sharing of capital to accelerate an efficient start-up

In this section I analyse data pertaining to how various forms of capital held by Kendrick facilitated the establishment of the new school. This discussion includes considering the forms of cultural and economic capital that were strategically shared by the planting school, how social capital was made available through the various networks Kendrick has, and how symbolic capital, by virtue of Kendrick's position in the field of education, benefitted the school start-up. I will discuss this with regard to management, teaching, and learners at the new school.

Forms of capital to support school management:

Bringing Kendrick alongside the new school provided an opportunity to connect the school with people who had experience of school management practices that conformed to WCED expectations, albeit for a particular position in the field. In this section I focus on the role played by these school managers. I begin by considering how the Kendrick management team was able to draw on its body of parents to facilitate the governance of the new school. Thereafter I consider four aspects of the Ubuntu start-up that benefited from drawing on forms of capital that Kendrick was able to make available.

Selecting a school governing body

As individuals who were typically well-positioned in the field of education, many Kendrick parents were perceived to have skills that might be valuable to the new school start-up. Once the Kendrick SGB had approved participation in the school planting relationship, Mr Venter called on parents to establish what Kendrick interviewees referred to as a sub-committee of their own SGB. This committee oversaw the

school planting process from a Kendrick perspective. For Ubuntu, this committee fulfilled the role of their SGB until the school was able to elect an SGB comprising its own parents.

This body was not a typical SGB as such, and did not represent the 'voice' of parents at the new school, which is an expected and legally defined function of an SGB (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Upon the suggestion of some committee members, however, this group later co-opted Ubuntu parents to also serve on the board. Initially, however, the SGB comprised a group of parents invited to support the school planting team. Members were said to have brought technical expertise to the school plant, ostensibly to complement the skills of the school planting team, while also strengthening the ideology embodied by the school planting team. Amongst the committee members were highly qualified and experienced persons from the fields of finance, information technology, public service delivery and school development. According to Mr Webster, the skills these Kendrick parents brought with them were invaluable as a resource on which the school could draw as it moved through its start-up phase.

Mr Webster believed that Mr Venter had played a strategic role in getting from the SGB what he perceived was necessary:

> Also, [Mr Venter's] role in the SGB has been key: As much as you need experienced governors, you need an experienced principal and a chair. And his experience in how to get the most out of that system has also been very helpful.

Despite Mr Webster's positive reflections, parents on this committee were very critical of the roles they had been invited to play. These perspectives are discussed later in this thesis. In the next section, I discuss Mr Venter's other, more direct, contribution to management at Ubuntu.

Experienced school management support

Two individuals in particular, Mr Venter and Mr Bradley, were responsible for bringing into the new school the cultural capital held by the Kendrick management team.

As principal of Kendrick, Mr Venter played a central in the school planting initiative. In the words of one of the Ubuntu HOD's, "this wouldn't have been possible if Mr Venter hadn't driven it as passionately as he did." Mr Venter, meanwhile, felt that his role, as 'supervisory principal' was significant in that it allowed Mr Webster to give his attention to other, Ubuntu based considerations, while he handled many of the administrative tasks of leading a school:

> …the fact that Mr Webster didn't start as principal. So, he didn't have the responsibilities of principal as an inexperienced principal - he had no experience, in fact, it was his first deputyship... So, the fact that I took on that role for two years was crucial to the success of it.

Mr Webster accessed the expertise of the two Kendrick managers in different ways: While he met weekly with Mr Venter during the first two years, he and Mr Bradley were able to connect daily if needed. With Mr Bradley needing to travel between schools for his various lessons, he always had free time scheduled both before and after his Ubuntu lessons. This time invariably allowed him up to twenty minutes to connect with someone, as needed, at Ubuntu. Mr Webster explained the significance of this:

> Somebody who was a deputy principal at Kendrick, … an experienced educator; to have his involvement at Ubuntu while we were setting up processes and systems... I mean, we could have asked guidance and advice for these things from Kendrick, but to have somebody on the ground at Ubuntu every day was invaluable; he would often notice things, and come and make a suggestion, or just share an observation... Very valuable!

The first few years of the school plant were, therefore, characterised by highly experienced management support, albeit from a different position of the field. This level of experience was in stark contrast to that of the inexperienced Ubuntu management team: Of the six people who had been appointed to the school's management team by the school's fifth year, only Mr Webster came onto the management team with any prior school management experience, and even this was at the lowest level of HOD. The manner in which this lack of experience was countered is discussed in the next two sections.

Reassured by reputation: Drawing on "the Kendrick brand"

Due to Kendrick's reputation as a leading school in the field of education, both Ubuntu staff and potential parents, for different reasons, drew confidence from the new school's association with the established school. This symbolic capital simplified the tasks of the new school's management team in numerous ways, amongst others by attracting both staff and learners to the new school.

Either intrigued by the relationship, or given confidence in the standards to which the new school was striving, numerous Ubuntu teachers cited the school's relationship with Kendrick as significant in attracting them to the new school:

> I am not sure if Ubuntu would have attracted the calibre of staff that it has had applicants not known about the Kendrick connection. When I first heard of Ubuntu, I heard it was a school connected to Kendrick and that was interesting to me. I felt [that I could trust the environment being established, and that I could] come and work here.

For another teacher, the fact that she could engage in the transformation of educational inequality in South Africa from within her comfort zone was attractive:

> I didn't like teaching at a privileged school, ... but I wanted to teach in a safe environment. And I didn't want to feel like 'the white woman who thinks she's coming to save the day' in a black community... So, Ubuntu was a perfect model for what I always wanted to do.

Learners were also perceived to draw on the symbolic capital given to the new school. The extract below, from the school counsellor at Ubuntu, explains this:

> So, there is this security in knowing that it is a proven method. Because a lot of learners were hesitant about coming to a new school: "Is it going to work out, is it going to be quality schooling, and so on?" But the Kendrick brand has settled that.

The school was also afforded a degree of selectivity through the numbers of applicants attracted to the limited grade 8 positions available at the new school. Signalling the confidence potential learners and parents drew from the school planting relationship, the school was, from its inception, able to cherry pick learners who were likely to succeed given the school's STEM focus.

	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	5th year
Approximate number of Gr 8 applications received. (Maximum of 108 places available)	500	720	975	1070	1850

Table 3: Grade 8 applications for Ubuntu

The final manner in which the reputation of Kendrick facilitated management at Ubuntu is introduced here, but expanded on in the next sub-section: With regard to the management systems and arrangements implemented at the new school, the fact that these policies were transferred from a trusted school was reported to give members of the Ubuntu management team confidence in what they were implementing. For inexperienced school managers, this was deemed particularly important at a

time when they were continuously rolling out and implementing new systems: “It really puts me at ease and takes stress off my portfolios.”

Besides the perceived value of “systems that work,” implementation of these policies and systems were typically facilitated by support that was freely available through members of staff at Kendrick. This is discussed next.

Simplifying management responsibilities through the sharing of systems, staff and support

Cultural capital was readily available to the new school, in the form of experienced staff and tested systems that could be transferred and implemented at the new school. This literal “policy file handover” provided the new school with a set of Kendrick policies and systems which, in the position of the field served by Kendrick, at least, were deemed to be effective.

While it was intended that the new school would, in time, be able to adjust these policies to better meet the needs of its learners, the fact that the school was able to open its doors with a set of “systems that work,” as opposed to “having things thrown up in the air to start with,” was deemed to be significantly beneficial. In addition to these resources, the start-up was further simplified by the fact that four[18] of the eight founding staff had a working understanding of these policies and systems. Mr Bradley explained the significance of this: “And so it was very helpful that Mr Webster and a number of his teachers had been at Kendrick and so they knew how it worked here.” Over the course of the next four years, another four former Kendrick affiliated teachers joined the staff at the new school. This meant that, by the end of the school’s fifth year, 24% of all teachers appointed at Ubuntu embodied a Kendrick-informed habitus.

Five of these former Kendrick teachers ultimately served on Ubuntu’s management team, with another leading one of the school’s core subjects as subject head. In addition to being able to implement systems that they were already well versed in, these members of the management team also had an ease and confidence in accessing support from their former colleagues at Kendrick. Mrs Murphy explained this: “In fact, because I am still so linked to the school and because I have some good friends, it makes it easy to negotiate the difficulties that (some of the other teachers might experience).” Other teachers carrying responsibilities also reported that they benefited from the ease of access to Kendrick staff:

[18] In addition to Mr Venter, Mrs Murphy and Mr Bradley, one other teacher transferred to the new school from Kendrick.

> …[it] was a virtual copy from them and [the teacher in charge of reports at Kendrick] had lots of patience with me, and he helped train me to set up our systems. That has been very beneficial, I mean if we had to buy a package, or train someone, it would cost us thousands. And he never requested any payment despite lots of after-hours help!

According to Mrs Murphy, this support was invaluable: "New schools would really struggle [if they did not have a planting school to support them], because you get no support from the education department!"

In addition to the support provided from Kendrick, and the 'ease of mind' from adopting known systems, members of the Ubuntu management team also had their workload considerably simplified when adopting policies. This simplification allowed these teachers to spend more of their time on other aspects of the school start-up that also demanded attention, including the continuous facilitation of new teachers into the ethos the school was trying to establish. Mr Webster explained that this extra responsibility was something the school planting team had not initially anticipated for the school start-up period:

> It was surprising in year two, how much extra work we had to do when we grew into the second year. I think I and others felt more momentum would have been built. But the school doubled in size; I guess there were as many new people as old people, and we had to work really hard to teach the same lessons again, and entrench them.

In concluding this discussion, then, I summarise that members of the management team, in particular, were assisted in the fact that they were mostly expected to implement systems that they were familiar with, and for which they had support easily accessible at Kendrick. These factors contributed to what was perceived, by multiple staff, to be a smooth and effective start-up. These teachers also played significant roles in how Ubuntu made use of the resources and facilities that Kendrick made available to the new school. I discuss this next.

Facilities, assets and other financial benefits

Through their own years of development and generation of economic capital, Kendrick had acquired extensive material resources, including numerous facilities, teaching aids and physical assets. Access to these resources was also made available to Ubuntu throughout the school planting period. Mr Webster explains one aspect of this below:

> The offer was open to use Kendrick facilities whenever needed. Logistically it turned out that we used their sports facility for one big sports day per year … And we started to use their hall when ours was not big enough for prize-giving.

In addition to the examples listed by Mr Webster, physical assets that have been made available to the school include teaching resources and apparatus, trailers for weekend tours and excursions, and access to the sport-clubhouse for department planning days and staff functions, amongst others.

Ubuntu have also received direct material benefit through its relationship with Kendrick. In numerous ways, the extended social network granted to Ubuntu has meant that both monetary donations as well as donations of physical resources have been made available to the school from various Kendrick connections.

Together, these multiple forms of capital have supported the new school's management team throughout the school's start-up period. In the next section, I turn my focus to how teachers, in their teaching and otherwise, made use of the various forms of capital made available by their Kendrick department colleagues.

Providing newly appointed teachers with valued forms of capital

From the outset of the school start-up, the school planting team wanted to ensure that Ubuntu teachers taught with the cultural capital that was valued at Kendrick. Without reputation or funds to attract experienced teachers by means of a top-up salary or other incentives, however, the school planting team prepared themselves to work with young, inexperienced teachers. As a solution to these challenges, the plan was to connect these Ubuntu teachers with the experienced Kendrick subject heads.

According to Mr Webster, however, different subject departments had different models of interaction between teachers:

> There [were] a variety of models; some subject departments [worked] completely independently, some [had] a partial linking - they might [have shared] assessments, but there [was] a level of independence; and some [worked] very closely.

The decision determining which of these models Ubuntu departments were expected to follow, appears to have depended primarily on whether or not a former Kendrick teacher was teaching in that

department or not, and whether or not this teacher possessed the capabilities deemed appropriate by the school planting team. As a minimum, all departments were expected to have access to the basic Kendrick academic resources and assessments used in that department. My analysis of the various department interactions shows that four features of these interactions could be identified:

1. The provision of an organisational framework through which teaching should be approached.
2. The simplification of work for Ubuntu teachers by means of sharing resources, assessments and planning documents.
3. "Pegging the standard" through the provision of academic resources and the setting of test and exams.
4. The mentoring of Ubuntu teachers into Kendrick academic department practices.

From the outset of the school plant, the intention was that Ubuntu departments would engage in these inter-department interactions until the end of the school's third year. While Ubuntu teachers did employ some degree of flexibility, deviating from 'the Kendrick Way[19]' in the latter years of the school planting period, the expectation from Mr Webster was that departments led by young teachers would remain mostly dependent on Kendrick guidance. Much to the frustration of some of these teachers, this was especially enforced in cases of young teachers teaching Grade 12 classes in the school's third and even fourth year.

In this section I elaborate on the first three features of these relationships, as listed above. The goal of mentoring is analysed later in this chapter.

Provision of an organisational framework

Especially in the founding year, with some Ubuntu staff only receiving confirmation of their appointment in the month of December prior to the school opening in January, many staff appreciated that subject planning, lesson plans, notes and other resources were already available upon their appointment. This is attested to in the following extract from one of the first year teachers appointed at late notice:

> Especially from the start … we didn't have any curriculum or anything of our own. So, we ran every activity that they ran, every exercise, every worksheet, tests, et cetera. And that was tremendous support, especially for me being fresh in teaching, never having taught before. Even

[19] Research participants regularly spoke of the 'the Kendrick Way', essentially identifying a particular set of practices and assumptions implicit at Kendrick. I use this reference a number of times in this thesis, capitalizing the words in an attempt to make the implied institutional habitus explicit.

> the next year when [other staff] came on board … we still attended meetings at Kendrick and the base, the background that they handed over to us, was very beneficial.

These sentiments were echoed by a teacher in another department: “But in the beginning, if it wasn't for their curriculum, we would have been at sea, entirely!” Especially for inexperienced teachers, not having to re-invent the wheel in absence of experienced or established colleagues, having this support was deemed fundamentally important. In addition to being ‘something to work from,’ however, some teachers perceived the academic framework and teaching resources they received from Kendrick to be of a very high standard:

> *Teacher 1:* [The Kendrick organisational framework] was very valuable! In terms of our work scheme, how we plan and how we view the syllabus, it is still entirely based on the Kendrick system. So, our planning which we work from every day, we've changed things to make them more appropriate for our learners, but it is entirely based on the way Kendrick does it. And it is a very unique, modular system, which I haven't seen before.
>
> *Teacher 2:* And it is awesome! In fact, I almost want to suggest that all subject departments should consider using a system like this, it really is excellent.

As mentioned in the above extract, the expectation was that Ubuntu Departments could start to manipulate the shared policies and practices in time. Mr Webster explains this below:

> The idea is that our teachers have grown stronger and have started to run more of their own systems, so have gradually weaned themselves from Kendrick. …. Where new staff had come into Ubuntu, or beginner teachers, they could form part of high functioning subject department groups at Kendrick and continue the relationship. But by contrast, either we have experienced people in departments now, or they have been working there for two or three years and they have now built up their own experience and are now beginning to stand on our own feet more and more.

In practice, these interactions proved difficult when teachers were not willing to adjust their ways of doing things. Teachers at both schools contributed to these frustrations, amongst others when Ubuntu teachers did not want to conform to approaches prescribed by Kendrick, or if Kendrick teachers did not necessarily wish to be involved in the inter-department interactions. Frustrations also developed when Ubuntu teachers started adjusting to the context-specific needs of their learners, different to that of

Kendrick learners. While some of these tensions were significant, and are discussed later in this thesis, they did not detract from the perceived value new Ubuntu teachers ascribed to the academic resources made available to them by their 'extended department.' Another benefit of these 'extended departments' is discussed next.

Extending the department: The simplification of teaching responsibilities

In the same way that members of the Ubuntu management team appreciated the simplification of their responsibilities, Ubuntu teachers appreciated the fact that working in extended departments with Kendrick colleagues allowed them greater capacity for other responsibilities.

By the time Ubuntu reached its intended staffing capacity in its fifth year, most academic departments had three or four members of staff. During the start-up years, however, the majority of these departments were smaller: For the full three-year duration of the planting relationship, two of the Gr 8 – 12 subject departments only had one full-time teacher each, with some of the junior classes needing to be taught by teachers not specifically trained to teach the particular subject. In both of these cases, an additional teacher for each department only arrived at the school in the school's fourth year. It would have been a particularly demanding expectation for these teachers, in their respective departments, to oversee the setting of up to six exam papers for a major examination, had assistance from Kendrick not been available.

Besides teaching in small subject departments during the founding years, most of the staff were actively involved in implementing systems and policies, or in the on-going facilitation and support of new teachers being added to the school as it grew to capacity over five years. The simplification of teacher responsibilities, therefore, was much appreciated:

> You had your timetable, you had your planning, and you had your notes. Nothing to stress about, I didn't have to develop new things. I could literally just prepare using what was provided, and then come in and teach. … I didn't have to do a load of the admin things that teachers normally have to do. I could focus on other things.

Somewhat ironically, while Ubuntu teachers reported this 'simplification' with appreciation, Kendrick teachers appeared somewhat surprised by the concept: "I don't know if the word simplifying was ever

used in that sense: In a way of 'making it easier for them.'" Only one Kendrick subject head[20] specifically saw this aspect of the relationship as one of her responsibilities:

> … but also, because the Kendrick teachers were more experienced. So, it meant that the Ubuntu teachers could carry a lessened load. … As we simplified their job, it made the transition into teaching easier. It is stressful enough having to set up all the systems and things, and having to cope with your first year of teaching!

The relationship with Kendrick, therefore, enabled Ubuntu teachers to access a ready-made network of social capital. Through this network, the other forms of capital held by Kendrick teachers, especially cultural capital, became available to teachers at the new school. A very specific aspect of this cultural capital is the setting of relevant academic standards. This was a significant and much spoken about aspect of the school planting interaction.

"Pegging the standard"

The standard of the final National Senior Certificate (NSC) examination, at the end of grade 12, is nationally determined. During the five year lead up to this exam, however, individual teachers need to set assessment standards and adjust the curriculum to their contexts and learners. In the school planting interaction, the responsibility of 'setting the standard' along this path of preparation was guarded by Kendrick teachers.

Despite the fact that this 'optimal' development might look very different for various learners, according to their own relative forms of capital and academic trajectories, the decision of the school planting team was to standardise the pitch and pacing of the curriculum and assessment to that implemented at Kendrick. To this end, Mr Webster often described one aspect of the relationship as "pegging the standard," conferring symbolic capital on Kendrick academic standards, while also idealising the Kendrick teachers' ability to play the game.

While problems with these assumptions of transposability did emerge later, Ubuntu teachers reported drawing confidence for their classroom teaching through their interactions with Kendrick, despite the fact that the two schools served learners from vastly different social environments:

[20] Possibly not coincidentally, this teacher was also the only Kendrick teacher reported to have actively taken ownership of the expectation to mentor the inexperienced Ubuntu staff in her corresponding department. Mentoring is discussed later in this chapter.

> I mean, as a new teacher anyway, and someone who never really studied to give [one of the subjects I was teaching[21]], I was always asking myself if I was teaching at too high a level? Or too low? Or was I going too slowly? So getting the notes from Kendrick, and it was great that they gave them to us in advance, was really good for me as I knew they were coming from people who really knew what they were doing. It just meant that I knew the notes I was giving my kids was on standard.

As Ubuntu staff grew in their understanding of their learners, however, and other frustrations emerged, they reported deviating from the Kendrick guidance in later years. According to Mrs Murphy, many departments "started feeling the distance and separating" by the end of the school's second year. By the end of the school's third year, the culminating year of the school planting interaction, most department interactions were fraught with frustration. One young teacher painted both sides of this coin: "It was rocky, with frustrations getting work and knowing what was going on, but if it hadn't been there, [my colleague] and I would have had absolutely no idea what to do."

Ubuntu teachers did, in time, grow in their understanding of their learners, developing an understanding of what they optimally needed regarding their development. As discussed, however, the school planting team idealised a particular set of capitals. In the next section, I discuss how these forms of capital were directly promoted for Ubuntu learners.

Providing for the perceived needs of marginalised learners

In establishing a school specifically focussing on the needs of historically disadvantaged learners, the school planting team was aware that learners would not bring the same resources or academic strength to their schooling that privileged learners might. Providing for these needs – or rather, not allowing these 'short-comings' to get in the way of a 'quality' education – was of prime concern to the school planting team. For Mr Webster, this was a crucial shortcoming he had identified while teaching at Kendrick:

> With my teaching at Kendrick, one of the things that I was aware of is that, a number of kids, at Kendrick, who are from disadvantaged backgrounds …. on bursary schemes, and part of the many organisations who are trying to do similar work... But it is a small number of kids in a bigger environment. And through interacting with those kids, and with the teachers that taught

[21] This Ubuntu teacher taught in two departments during the school's early years. Her colleague in this particular department was also a first year teacher.

> those kids, I became quite aware that it is tough for those kids. It's a high paced, high pressured environment. The majority of the kids are from supportive homes and are well off financially. It is not impossible for the kids from disadvantaged backgrounds to succeed, but it is tough... So, part of the idea of Ubuntu is that the whole school is focussed on kids from those environments.

My data suggests that the school planting interaction sought to provide for, or overcome, these capital needs in three broad categories: in the form of what was perceived to be high standard academic instruction at a fraction of the 'normal' cost, in terms of all round development through opportunities both outside and inside of the classroom, and by means of providing strategic support for learners as they navigated their challenges. I discuss each of these, in turn, below.

"A Kendrick education at a fraction of the cost"

Despite the desegregation of schooling at the fall of apartheid, the ravages of inequality still linger in South African education. Christie et al. (2007) summarise the disparities between historically privileged schools, which are largely able to maintain their privilege through the charging of school fees, and schools serving poor learners:

> At one edge of this mainstream are schools in communities so poor that fees and associated costs of schooling are simply not affordable. At the other edge are the majority of former white schools, with a legacy of physical resources and a majority of teachers trained in former white or open colleges and universities... (Christie et al., 2007, p. 29)

Recognising the need to work against these inequalities, Mr Webster regularly explained that one of the aims for Ubuntu was to make 'quality' education available to talented individuals who could not afford most of the other schools who offered this quality of education. Keeping costs down at Ubuntu included both charging lower school fees, and also ensuring that fewer hidden expenses were implicit in the broader school curriculum.

The school does not discriminate against learners on their ability to pay fees. Provided they meet the academic requirements, learners are accepted into the school. Once accepted, the school will apply for fee remission if required by parents, or attempt to connect learners with various organisations providing bursaries or financial support for poor learners. This aspect of the school is widely spoken about at the school, and numerous research participants defined the new school in terms of its affordability to

learners from poor families: "…we offer the Kendrick quality for parents who can't afford Kendrick." This value was not missed by Ubuntu learners:

> I was accepted to go to Kendrick and to come to Ubuntu, but I chose to come [to Ubuntu] rather because I thought if the education is the same, then why would I pay so much more just for the extra opportunities?

Besides knowing they were getting good value for their parents' money, many learners appreciated that they were being held to the same standard as Kendrick learners. What some learners did not always understand, however, was that the low cost of schooling at Ubuntu was directly linked to the fact that they had to forego some opportunities that might have been available at a school like Kendrick; the lack of a broader subject choice and manicured sport fields being two of the frustrations most frequently cited by learners.

Despite not having sport fields, or engaging in expensive tours and extra murals, Ubuntu does place significant value on its extra mural programme.

All round development

Bourdieu paints the significance of interactional opportunities in developing an individual's habitus for participation and interaction in a social world:

> We are disposed because we are exposed. It is because the body is (to unequal degrees) exposed and endangered in the world, faced with the risk of emotion, lesion, suffering, sometimes death, and therefore obliged to take the world seriously (and nothing is more serious than emotion, which touches the depth of our organic being) that it is able to acquire dispositions that are themselves an openness to the world. (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 140–141)

Despite a WCED official playing down the significance of extra mural programmes at schools, numerous teachers, including Mr Venter and Mr Webster, felt that an extra mural programme was fundamentally important to the holistic development of learners. One of the Ubuntu teachers shared her sentiments as follows:

> Extra mural activities are … a way of giving attention to the kids who choose to be there. So often teachers spend so much of their time in class giving attention to the ones who are

> disruptive or lazy, but in the extracurricular programme, you are giving 100% of your attention to nurturing the kids who thrive on it.

In line with this, Mr Webster explained that, from the outset of the school planting interaction, one of the key institutional traits intended to be transferred to the new school included a "wide range of opportunities" in the extra-curricular programme:

> And then also the all-round involvement of pupils, and their all-round development. Our extra mural programme is very different to Kendrick's, but it is underpinned by the belief that our learners need to be involved; in sporting, in a cultural manner, leadership development, a wide range of opportunities.

Learners also reported positively on these development opportunities with many of them hailing from primary schools that did not have particularly rich extra mural programmes. While many learners cited their various school camps as the highlight of any year, one learner explained that the school's extra mural opportunities were the reason she chose to come to Ubuntu:

> When I came to look at the school on an open day … they had all these extra murals going on that I would enjoy. … which I didn't have at my primary school, and it was part of the school programme, so it didn't interfere with transport arrangements.

While the school planting team wanted to establish the desired level of participation from the outset, this was not easily achievable until the school had reached its capacity and employed its full cohort of teachers. To overcome this start-up challenge, senior Kendrick learners were invited to facilitate extra murals of their choice[22] at the new school, while Ubuntu learners were also invited to participate in some sporting opportunities at Kendrick. The perceived success of these interactions varied, however, with a number of frustrations being reported and many learners withdrawing from their sporting commitments. Some of the reasons for these withdrawals, as well as other frustrations, are discussed in the next chapter.

Besides providing exposure and development opportunities, Ubuntu teachers also saw pedagogical significance in the extra mural opportunities on offer. As one Ubuntu teacher put it, the extra mural programme allowed learners and teachers to build

[22] Kendrick-facilitated extra murals included academic tutorials, cooking classes, art classes and craft club, amongst others.

> … those relationships outside of the class that you just aren't going to get inside of the class. … You are teaching, but you are just doing it in a more free environment, and you are getting to know them.

These opportunities for teachers to build relationships with their learners proved more significant than originally perceived by the school planting team. While the next chapter discusses the value of these 'meaningful support relationships' more fully, I discuss the perceived need for these support networks next.

A stronger support net

As the school provided a compulsory but challenging STEM curriculum, while serving relatively poor learners, the school planting team assumed that Ubuntu learners would face considerable challenges as they engaged in their schooling. From the outset of the school start-up, therefore, they sought to provide learners with more support than was typically provided at schools serving more privileged learners. Mr Webster explained that this institutional culture began with the management team:

> A key part of our management team is that caring, nurturing role of taking charge of a group of children. … I feel that our children need more support, and that role is magnified. I feel that every child in our school needs to be feeling "held" by a couple of people.

Mrs Murphy also commented on the need for this type of support, and the fact that, for Ubuntu learners, their teachers, grade heads and the school counsellor formed an important network of support that learners might otherwise not have had access to:

> [The Kendrick] approach is more of a 'shape up or ship out' approach, where they place a lot more responsibility on the parents. For example, if a Kendrick learner is caught smoking Dagga[23], the school will place the responsibility on the parents to organise counsellors for their learners, while we get very involved ourselves and pay for counsellors. So we carry a bigger burden from the discipline, and we also have a lot more cases than they have. Also, at Kendrick, the parents would contact the school and say that they are worried that their kids are depressed. Whereas our parents wouldn't necessarily know that the children are depressed. We would pick it up first and phone them… It is an extra responsibility that our teachers and grade heads take up naturally.

[23] Marijuana

This aspect of the school was appreciated by learners, who recognised that their teachers were caring, enthusiastic and "have a great interest in their learners." For one learner, this aspect of the school was particularly unexpected. In the extract below she comments on her biggest adjustment to school at Ubuntu:

> It was a big adjustment! Everything was so new. More resources, more technology, and more help also, from the teachers and so on. They had more insight, and helped us more in general. They knew more in terms of how we felt as teenagers and so on. They weren't only helping with academics, they were also helping with life things, and they were aware of where we were. Like wanting to know if we had lots of homework from the other teachers. Or like [my maths teacher], when she saw I was looking down once she called me out of the class to check if I was okay.

For teachers, however, participation in this extended support network came at a cost. While the school planting team had the expectation for their staff to carry this load, they underestimated the need to prepare their teachers for this role, or for the manner in which this role at Ubuntu is different to what they might have anticipated given their experience at Kendrick. These kinds of assumptions were typical of the perspective of a Kendrick-informed habitus and are discussed in more detail later in this thesis.

In prioritising particular forms of capital, the school planting team invariably sought to replicate what was deemed valuable and effective at Kendrick. It is apparent the school planting interaction involved no overt attempt to incorporate any form of capital from a non-Kendrick source to facilitate the school start-up. In their attempts to replicate the 'effective' management arrangements at Kendrick, therefore, these interventions have not sought to do "anything other than reproduce the legitimate culture as it stands" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 59), at Ubuntu.

To conclude this section, and lead into the next, I share an interview extract describing the school planting interaction. This extract not only highlights the completeness of the Kendrick transfer of cultural capital to the new school, it also sets up the manner in which a replication of the 'Kendrick Way' was envisaged for the school planting interaction.

> The thing about Ubuntu is that it pretty much took over the Kendrick systems: You had the Kendrick headmaster actually being headmaster for the first couple of years, and a Kendrick-entrenched person appointed as deputy, who then became headmaster in the third year. You had Kendrick teachers moving across, Kendrick learners being involved, Kendrick parents serving

> on the SGB, et cetera. You had Kendrick subject expertise because of the departments working together, so theoretically you had an excellent subject head overseeing things from the first year when the school was only eight teachers... These things don't normally happen in typical township schools!

In the next section, I analyse how the 'Kendrick Way' was idealised and set on a pedestal for school managers, teachers and learners at Ubuntu.

An 'effective' habitus: Promoting idealised dispositions

In this section I focus my analysis on how various dispositions associated with Kendrick, or with Kendrick's position in the field, were idealised and privileged in the school planting relationship. This includes mentoring Ubuntu parents into potential roles of governance, mentoring senior members of management at the new school, teaching, and finally, seeking to develop what was deemed to be an ideal disposition in Ubuntu learners.

Developing idealised dispositions: Mentoring of parents on the SGB

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, a sub-committee of the Kendrick SGB was established to guide and govern Ubuntu until such a time that the school could elect an SGB comprising its own parents. WCED officials and the school planting team feared that a poor community would not be equipped to govern the start-up of a new school in the manner idealised by the WCED.

The Kendrick sub-committee that initially governed Ubuntu was under pressure from some of the board members to become representative of the Ubuntu learner community. In response, it moved to co-opt a number of Ubuntu parents onto the SGB. While this decision was justified on grounds of representivity, doing so also allowed the co-opted Ubuntu parents time to be mentored into the role of school governance. One of these Ubuntu parents reflected on this time, below, and how it had prepared him for when he was elected onto the first official Ubuntu SGB in the school's fifth year:

> The entire experience has been very valuable to me. ... As soon as we were co-opted, we regularly assisted with disciplinary hearings and any other matter that the school required our assistance with. When election day came, I was confident that, if elected, I could perform the duty as Board member the way it should be. Those "co-opt" years really equipped me well.

Through this structure, a degree of continuity was permitted, similar to what might be expected if a number of SGB members remain on the board from one term to another, over consecutive terms of governance at an established school. Mr Webster explained this:

> That system will change (in the school's fifth year), then it will be an Ubuntu body, made up purely of Ubuntu parents, and those parents will not be then fresh and new in the job, they will have three or four years of experience of working in the job with a functioning SGB group, and will be well-equipped for the job.

As the two senior "on-site" leaders at the new school, Mr Webster and Mrs Murphy also served on the SGB, and played a role in developing and guiding Ubuntu parents into the task of school governance. At the same time, in turn, both of these managers were mentored into management and their role on the SGB by Mr Venter. I discuss this general "grooming" in management that took place next.

Establishing idealised dispositions from the top down: Grooming for management

Through effective operation of school systems, the management team in any school has the responsibility of ensuring that the educational goals of the school can be achieved (Clarke, 2007). In an attempt to replicate what was deemed to be efficient systems at Kendrick, the school planting team employed a number of strategies to ensure that the habitus and forms of capital that characterised management at Kendrick were also available to the new school.

This section discusses four distinct ways in which Kendrick ways of doing and being were relayed to management during the Ubuntu start-up. The first of these relates to how a Kendrick habitus, through individuals transferring to the new school from Kendrick, was privileged in appointments made to the Ubuntu management team. Secondly, with individuals on the Ubuntu management team attuned to the Kendrick systems and policies, the implementation of Kendrick systems was simplified, and a self-sustaining idealisation of the Kendrick habitus was established. Thirdly, following appointment, mentoring of the new Ubuntu managers further entrenched Kendrick-founded dispositions. Finally, a Kendrick habitus was maintained and confirmed in all staff, despite an "open door" policy implemented by Mr Webster and Mrs Murphy.

Management appointments

As discussed earlier, the four most influential voices directing the new school all held dispositions which had been embodied during years of involvement at Kendrick. With Mr Webster and Mrs Murphy leading

the school on-site from the first year, and Mr Venter and Mr Bradley acting as advisors and sounding boards for all their decisions, the school was strongly influenced by a Kendrick 'way of doing'.

This privileging of the Kendrick voice was strengthened over subsequent years. From operating with a deputy principal and one HOD in the first year, to a fully functional management team with a principal, a deputy principal and four HOD positions in the school's fifth year, the management team expanded gradually as the school grew to full capacity. Five out of these six management positions were filled by former Kendrick teachers, while the only non-Kendrick teacher appointee also hailed from a similar socioeconomic context as that represented at Kendrick. Further, this 'non-Kendrick' HOD was also recruited from a historically advantaged school, not unlike Kendrick in terms of its learner population and academic tradition.

The growth of this management team is depicted in Figure 1, below.

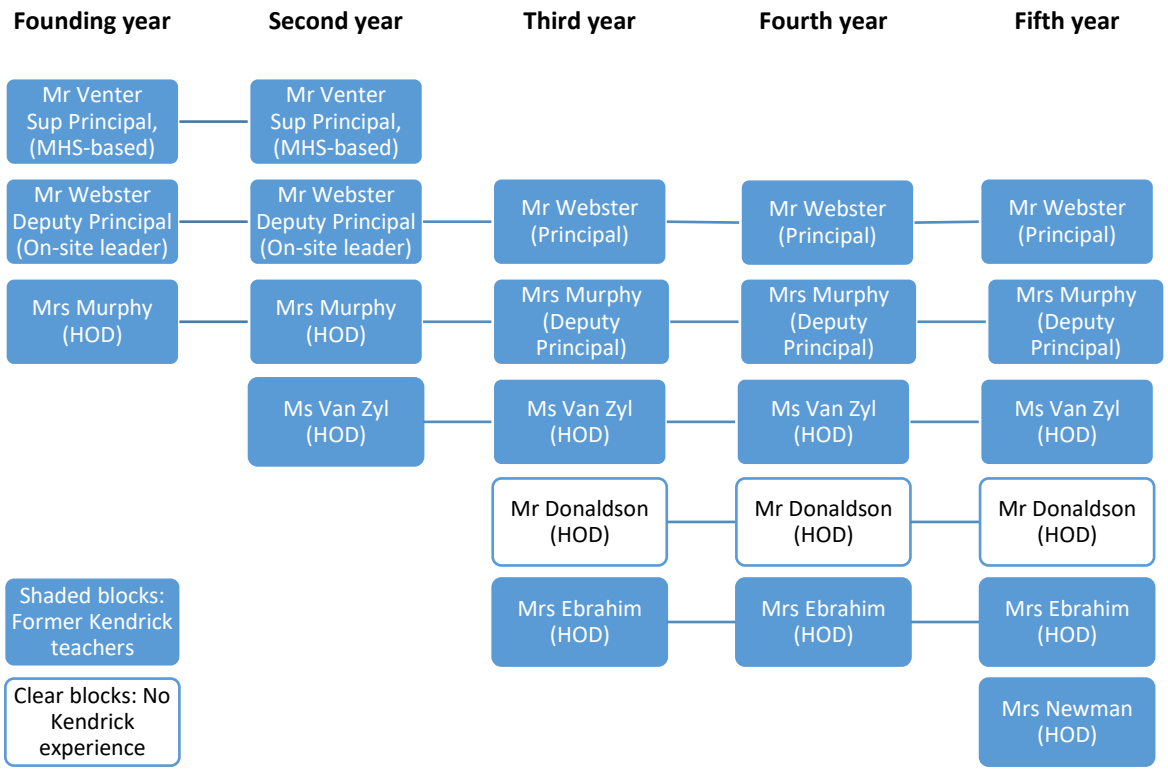

Figure 1: Ubuntu senior management team growth and representation in the first five years

Throughout the start-up period, appointing former Kendrick members of staff to the new school's management team paved the way for an institutional habitus similar to that at Kendrick to be

reproduced. In addition to conveying symbolic capital to the 'Kendrick Way', staff were both explicitly and implicitly encouraged to submit to the approaches of their superiors on the management team.

Habitus in practices and systems

By legitimating Kendrick voices, and placing a strong emphasis on transferred arrangement and practices in the early years, a distinct message of the desired institutional habitus was communicated to all involved at the new school. With half the founding staff well versed in the applied systems, other members of the founding staff, as well as those joining the staff in subsequent years were implicitly pressured to adopt and assimilate to these Kendrick arrangements. It was hoped that, in time, these dispositions would be internalised by new staff as well. This institutional habitus, therefore, was made possible by the double transfer of both school systems and staff.

New, non-former Kendrick staff invariably submitted to these systems, recognising most of them to be efficient and effective: "My last school was entirely lacking in systems, and it was a chaotic, unhelpful environment for teachers and students. And I think those logistical frameworks that those teachers brought [from Kendrick] have been valuable."

With the new school serving a different context of learners, however, it was proclaimed from the outset of the school plant that the goal was never to "clone" Kendrick, but to reproduce what was desirable in an attempt to establish effectively 'tweaked' systems. Mr Venter explained this:

> So now it is a case of Ubuntu tweaking the systems to adjust to their conditions. Because the school is unique, it is not … a Kendrick clone. It can't be, and we don't want it to be, but systems must be in place. And I think that is what happened, and that's why I think the overlapping was important in the beginning, to make sure those systems are entrenched.

Despite the intentions to 'tweak' these Kendrick systems and arrangements, it emerged that this adaption was tougher to achieve at the new school than anticipated. Durable, and limited in its capacity to adjust to different conditions (Bourdieu, 1990b), the desired Kendrick habitus was, also, further entrenched through the mentoring structures implemented in the school planting interaction. I discuss these mentoring strategies, next.

Mentoring: Compensating for an inexperienced management team

Assuming the need to employ primarily young, inexperienced staff, the school planting team prepared itself to mentor newly appointed staff into their roles and responsibilities. Indeed, Mr Webster explained that the school planting team embraced this 'limitation' and gave preference to young, malleable teachers:

> …if I had to choose between the one category or the other, there is no question I would go for the young teacher to make up the bulk of my staff.

This hiring strategy was implemented for both post level one teachers as well as for appointments to the management team. By using this 'dependence' on young, 'malleable' members of staff positively, the school management team gave themselves the opportunity to control and shape the developing institutional habitus at the new school.

While Figure 2, below, depicts all mentoring structures implemented at Ubuntu, I only discuss the mentoring of members of the school's management team in this section.

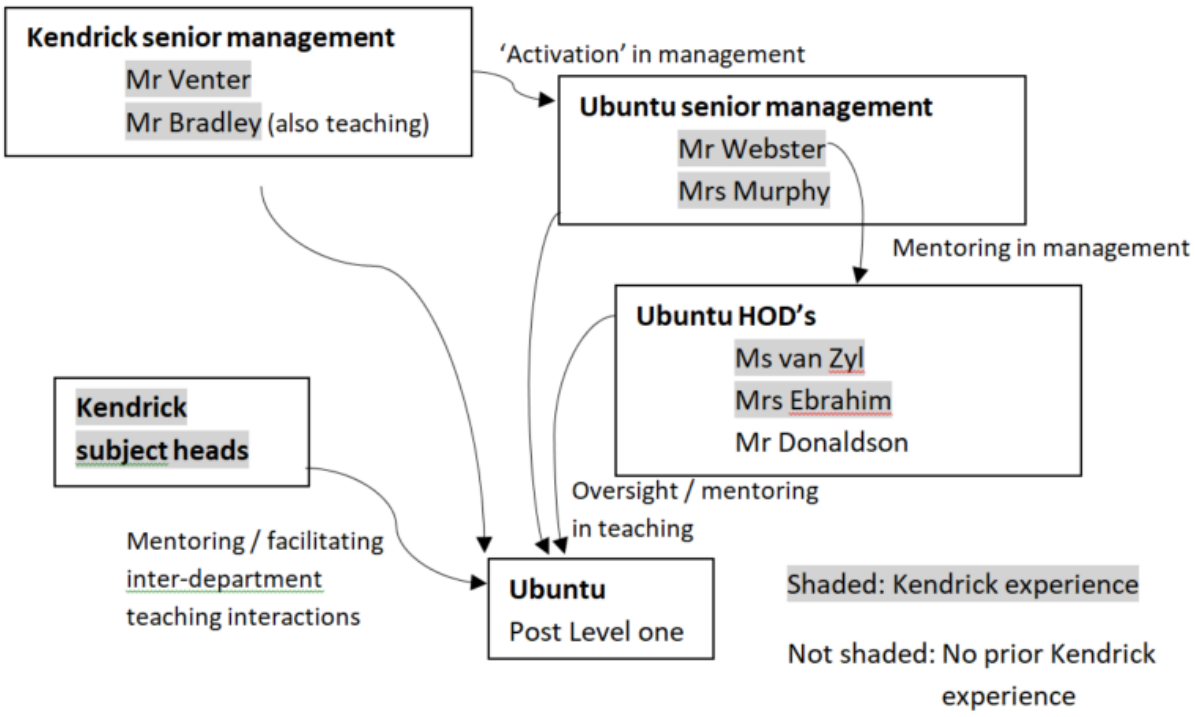

Figure 2: Mentoring structures by end of the school planting intervention

Two categories of management-level mentoring can be identified: "Activation" of Mr Webster and Mrs Murphy at the top levels of school management and mentoring of other members of the Ubuntu management team, primarily by Mr Webster.

'Activation' of Mr Webster and Mrs Murphy in management

Involved in the school start-up from the outset, but inexperienced in management, both Mr Webster and Mrs Murphy were continuously mentored whenever opportunities presented themselves. While Mr Bradley visited the new school daily for the class he taught, Mr Venter visited the school at least once a week during the first two years, having a time-tabled slot set in his Kendrick programme to do so.

Mr Webster, who was referred to as the 'on-site leader' under the 'supervisory principalship' of Mr Venter, explained that the role played by Mr Venter was invaluable to him:

> I can't count the number of times that such and such an issue has landed on my desk – "I'm sure you've dealt with something like this before (indicating a phone call)?" Be it teaching issues, or parent issues, or department issues. So, to have that experience was invaluable. In the early days, [Mr Venter] would often take me through the course of the year and things that needed to be happening: So, first term... We needed to have a parents evening to welcome the new parents, explain our vision to them, et cetera; First exam results: the process of analysing those and looking at strengths and weaknesses and planning interventions; IQMS[24] with teachers, evaluation, how that needed to happen, et cetera. So really taking me through the year... It was like activation: not so much saying this is what you need to do, but rather, "You want to do something, get thinking, and get talking." And then as a couple of years have gone on, I've been more empowered to handle things myself, but still, new things do come... So maybe my phone calls are less frequent to him, but they do still happen, and they are important!

Mr Bradley played a different role: Visiting the school every day, the frequency of his visits allowed him to act as an 'early warning system' if he identified particular points for discussion, or to be used as a 'sounding board' if Mr Webster or another member of staff wanted to run an idea past him. In the extract below, he explains his own perspective on this arrangement:

[24] IQMS refers to the 'Integrated Quality Management System.' This system is the performance appraisal system enforced for all state schools by the Department of Basic Education.

> For me, the value of having one person, and that person being a senior person, going across once a day was very, very valuable. Mr Venter also went across once a week, but to have someone there for brief periods on a daily basis was very valuable.

Mr Bradley's presence at the new school was perceived positively by other members of staff as well. One of the teachers who taught in his department also mentioned this: "Mr Bradley never just came in to teach, he always stayed around to help with other things if needed."

Mentoring of HOD's by Mr Webster

While Mr Webster was mentored and guided as discussed, he explained that mentoring of the rest of the management team was mostly his responsibility: "I think the idea was that the support would come through me and that I would guide and mentor the HOD's." Members of the Ubuntu management team also attended two workshops presented by a retired former Kendrick principal.

With the management team growing proportionately as the school grew, this gradual growth allowed Mr Webster to keep a firm hand on the development of the management team, mentoring them into the idealised institutional habitus at the new school. Besides general interaction through school activities, staff and inexperienced members of the management team expressed high degrees of respect and appreciation for what they termed management's "open door policy."

An open door policy

While the school planting team sought to develop a particular habitus at the new school, numerous teachers, for various reasons, interrogated some of the decisions and implemented arrangements. My data suggests, however, that it was in this questioning that Mr Webster and Mrs Murphy's open door policy achieved a significant degree of the embodied dispositions they were hoping to nurture in newly appointed Ubuntu teachers.

Numerous teachers cited frustrations or aspects of school systems that they felt were inappropriate at Ubuntu. Many of these staff, however, also related a willingness to trust management, mostly because they felt that management were willing to listen to their concerns: "I have no problems with talking to Mr Webster or Mrs Murphy about problems or anything. And for me that is one of the best things about this school, their open door policy!"

Another teacher shared similar appreciation in a somewhat different context. Having just shared a major frustration that she felt had still not been appropriately addressed by the management team, she

conveyed that she had accepted that the final decision did not lie with her. Crucially, she appreciated that she had been heard and respected:

> So I always appreciate that Mr Webster will hear your perspective, and acknowledge that he didn't realise that, and write it up, and he will consider it. … and I am willing to trust them. …. If I have had an issue, then Mrs Murphy or Mr Webster would … talk to me about it. And that for me is far more important than the final decision. It is the trust; I am trusting you to listen to me, and while I am trusting you to listen to me, I'm going to work things through in my mind and I realise that the final decision does lie with them.

While Mr Webster and Mrs Murphy typically remained steadfast in their decisions, consciously or unconsciously privileging the Kendrick habitus they embodied, the transparent, inclusive environment they created fostered a degree of trust and respect. The result was that, particularly during the early years, post level one teachers still legitimated the institutional habitus promoted in the school start-up, despite many of them feeling that some of these systems were out of place at the new school. While this legitimation was mainly influenced through the school planting team, teachers were also exposed to the idealised dispositions through their various subject department interactions. I analyse these strategies in the next section.

Showing teachers the 'way': Seeking an idealised pedagogy

From the outset of the school planting interaction, the goal was to create a learning environment which replicated that which was deemed exemplary at Kendrick. In addition to creating institutional arrangements modelled on Kendrick, the school planting team also sought to establish staff with the same dispositions prevalent at Kendrick. For post level one teachers, this goal was enacted through particular hiring decisions, and through mentoring in academic departments.

Strategic hiring decisions

Analysis of the teaching staff employed at Ubuntu suggests that young, White teachers were privileged in hiring decisions. Under the two headings that follow I analyse how these staff allowed the school planting team to control the developing institutional habitus at the new school.

Privileging of "young and malleable" staff

Anticipating the need to be reliant on young, inexperienced staff in the school start-up, the school planting team later used this 'dependency' as a strategy to ensure that they could shape their desired

institutional habitus through mentoring. Of all teachers employed by the school during its first five years, almost 43% of these staff entered their first year of formal teaching in the South African high school system, with another 17% of the appointments made to teachers with five years of experience or less. When considering only Post Level 1 (PL1) appointments, these ratios are even higher, as displayed in Table 4.

		1st year teacher	1 - 5 years	6 - 10 years	Excess of 10 years
Total staff appointments:	35	15	6	3	11
Percentage of total appointments		42,9%	17,1%	8,6%	31,4%
Post Level 1 Appointments:	30	15	6	1	8
Percentage of PL1 appointments		50,0%	20,0%	3,3%	26,7%

Table 4: Ubuntu teaching appointments by years of experience

In the extract, below, Mr Webster explains the decision to privilege young, inexperienced staff in recruitment:

> If I think of the staff members that I have difficulties with, who create problems and are a bit counter-culture to our ethos here, then those are typically teachers with between ten and twenty years of experience. I, almost without exception, haven't had that problem with young teachers. There are one or two new teachers who haven't been amazing, but you can work with them. You can mentor them, they are malleable, and they are willing to learn; whereas old teachers are stuck in their ways. But if old teachers are stuck in good ways, then you want that. … Experienced teachers do provide a bit of stability, but they have to be the right people! But if I had to choose between the one category and the other, there is no question, I would go for younger teachers to make up the bulk of my staff.

Apart from hiring young teachers who were still “malleable”, the other hiring policy implemented by the school planting team was to employ teachers who embody a habitus as close to that which characterises the Kendrick subfield as possible. These hiring decisions, however, have led to a situation where the

racial representation of staff at Ubuntu is at odds with the intended learner demographic at the new school.

"Best candidate", as opposed to a "representative demographic", approach to staff establishment

While Ubuntu staff were employed according to their perceived ability to contribute to the envisaged institutional habitus and academic needs of the new school, this school planting team imperative has come at the cost of having a staffroom that is representative of the learner demographics.

Always intending for Ubuntu to serve historically disadvantaged learners, management holds the goal of achieving a Black : Coloured learner ratio as close to 50% : 50%[25] as possible, but without excluding White learners. As displayed in Figure 3, below, the school has a disproportionately low percentage of Black staff, with a significant majority of White staff. Of thirty-five appointments made during the school's first five years, only four have been Black teachers, while twenty appointments have been White teachers.

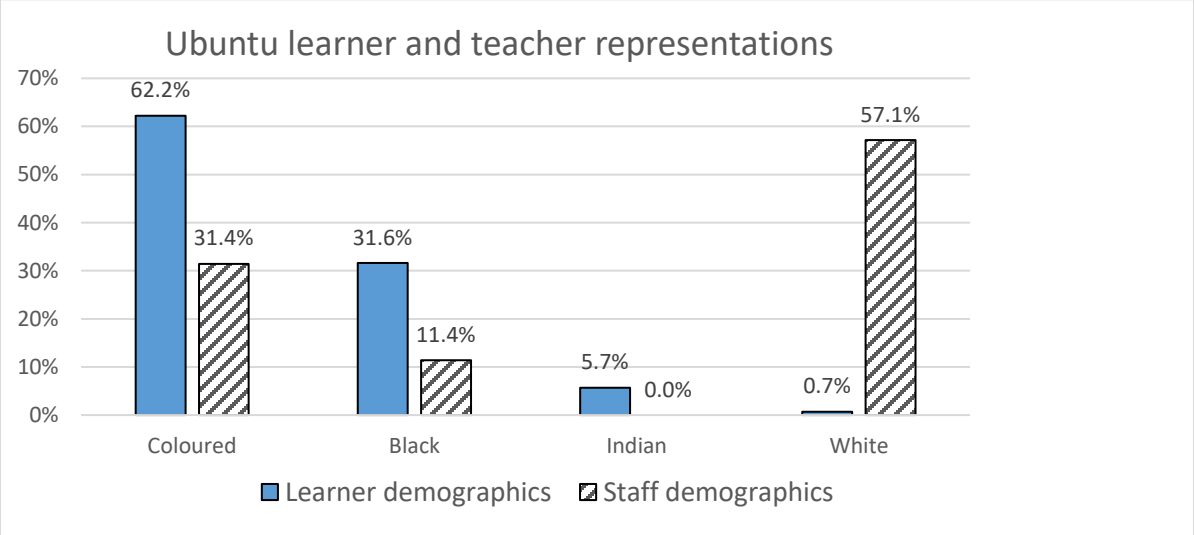

Figure 3: Racial representation of learners and teachers at Ubuntu

Management at the new school acknowledge that the statistics displayed in Figure 3 paint a stark picture in terms of transformation, and recognise that this misrepresentation of staff as compared to learner demographics is a concern for a number of reasons. The new school has started addressing this

[25] This is used as an "ideal standard" for learner intake. In practice, however, preference was given to academic ability amongst a host of complicated considerations. With Coloured applicants having stronger academic records than Black applicants, the grade 8 intake during the first five years reflects only 30-40% Black learners.

problem through more representative staff appointments in recent years. The effects of this misrepresentation are discussed in more detail in the next two chapters.

This high degree of reliance on White teachers, however, correlates with the staffing establishment at Kendrick, where 87% of staff are White. At Kendrick, this staff representation is closer to the school's racial profile for learners, where approximately 60% of learners are White. This bias in staff appointments at Ubuntu, however, suggests that the doxa informing what constitutes a 'good' teacher, for the school planting team, is significantly correlated to race. Also significant in comparison between the two schools, although challenging to measure, is the distribution of teachers and learners in terms of socioeconomic class status at Kendrick and Ubuntu respectively.

At Kendrick, teachers and learners share class commonalities. At Ubuntu, notwithstanding the diverse learner population, very few teachers come from a similar socioeconomic background to that of their learners. Consequently, teachers have had to overcome considerable challenges in coming to understand the constraints and needs of their learners, and in developing meaningful pedagogical relationships with them. These differences have also significantly impacted the efficiency of the intended mentoring structures implemented for post level one teachers.

Mentoring: The hope for 'effective' pedagogical development

According to Mr Webster, the main phrases used to describe the interactions between Ubuntu teachers and their Kendrick subject heads was "Coaching, mentoring, nurturing, supportive." In conjunction with the provision of teaching resources and other forms of capital discussed earlier in this chapter, the goal of these interactions was, therefore, to mould the practice of Ubuntu teachers into what was seen as exemplary at Kendrick.

For Ubuntu teachers, Mr Venter explained that "connecting with Kendrick was the first line of mentoring. Subject heads at Kendrick needed to look after the subject teachers at Ubuntu. While this expectation was normally fairly well understood by subject heads at Kendrick, they did not always proactively act upon it. One subject head explained the expectation to mentor as follows:

> The analogy in my mind was like when you learn to ride a bicycle, you have training wheels, and that after a couple of years we would take the training wheels off... In most cases the Ubuntu teachers were new teachers with only one or two years of experience. So I don't think it was

patronizing in the sense of “you don't know how to teach, and we are going to tell you how to teach.”

Mentoring was expected to take place during the department meetings in the normal workings of the Kendrick department. Ubuntu staff, or what later became one teacher in each department, were expected to attend these weekly meetings. Besides developing the idealised cultural capitals for teaching, another goal was that Ubuntu staff would be exposed to the working of a bigger academic department at a time when the school’s departments were still very small.

As the planting relationship played out over the three years, however, a range of different interactions developed between various departments. The nature of this relationship primarily depended on who the lead teacher in the department was at Ubuntu:

- If the department at Ubuntu was led by a former Kendrick teacher, that department was invariably allowed to make their own decisions with regard to curriculum, lesson planning and mid-term assessments, without any expectation to attend meetings at Kendrick. The assumption in these departments was that, by virtue of their Kendrick experience, the lead teachers were already grounded in the appropriate dispositions and would be able to effectively manage, mentor and guide the other Ubuntu teachers.
- Departments led by non-former Kendrick teachers, especially if these were staffed by young teachers, were expected by Mr Webster to work more closely with their Kendrick colleagues for the first three years of the school’s establishment. This expectation was maintained regardless of frustrations experienced by Ubuntu teachers in the interaction.

Despite the fact that both of these mentoring types draw on embodied Kendrick ways of doing and being, and Kendrick and capitals, I have termed these two types of interactions as ‘Kendrick-based mentoring’ and ‘Ubuntu-based mentoring’. My analysis suggests that significantly different conditions of interaction led to notably different successes in these two types of mentoring. This analysis, however, is discussed in more detail later, once a clearer understanding of the two contrasting school subfields has been developed.

Learner development: Shifting dispositions

Serving historically disadvantaged learners, Ubuntu had the intentions of supporting learners in their quest to improve their educational and life opportunities. Using Mr Webster’s description of the goals of

the new school, this included facilitating the academic and holistic development of learners, with the ultimate goal of preparing learners for tertiary engagement.

In this section, I analyse how the new school sought to achieve these goals. Firstly, I consider how the whole-school curriculum and specific pedagogical strategies emphasised relevant aspects of the idealised learner habitus. Thereafter, I analyse how the school planting team made use of Kendrick learners as 'role-models' to facilitate some of the desired embodiment for Ubuntu learners.

Prioritising dispositions to develop

Through analysis of responses by members of the school planting team, three distinct areas of focus can be identified which relate to the dispositions the new school sought to have their learners embody. These three aspects correlate with what Mr Webster identified as goals for the new school.

Both, Mr Webster and Mr Venter, as well as the WCED official interviewed for this study, placed significant emphasis on the academic expectations they held for the new school. Mr Webster explains this, below:

> … really getting the academics strongly on track, and that included making [academics] a priority. So that meant not cutting into them at all, you know. ... Getting the pupils to value the time, and that it was cherished. It was at that time that we started using that phrase of working longer and harder so that they started to value that.

The catch phrase of 'working longer and harder' at Ubuntu was strongly driven by Mr Webster, and became an integral motivation to the extra mural programme implemented at the school. This phrase was often accompanied by an explanation that some learners at the school had attended primary schools where the standard of work, or work ethic, was "not quite what it should be", and that the school was attempting to make up for those foundations. Deviating from the Kendrick timetable in how the new school implemented its extra mural programme, learners were compelled to remain at school for an extra hour, four afternoons in the week. In later years, an increasing list of sports and cultural opportunities were added to the programme, but the early programme consisted mainly of homework sessions and academic tutoring. Despite the intentions of the school management team, these sessions were characterised by unproductivity and became a considerable frustration to teachers and learners, alike.

Teachers also used the 'longer and harder' catch phrase, and other means, to push learners to a desired work ethic. As one learner explained: "So sometimes when we tell the teachers we have lots of homework, then they just say that we chose to come to Ubuntu, we have to work longer and harder." Sometimes recognised and appreciated by Ubuntu learners, one learner drew on his knowledge of Kendrick[26] to explain why he liked being at Ubuntu: "Because at Kendrick they don't really encourage, or push the children to work hard, but here they do."

In addition to academic engagements, Mr Webster explained his understanding that cultural and sporting opportunities were also important development opportunities for learners:

> And then, also the all-round involvement of pupils, and their all-round development. Our extra mural programme is very different to Kendrick's, but it is underpinned by the belief that our learners need to be involved in sport, in a cultural manner, leadership development, a wide range of opportunities. …. We believed strongly that the kids' self-development is crucial: Self-confidence, belief, aspirations, goals for your life, having the strength to stand up for yourself, to believe that you matter, all those slightly less tangible things, but they need to go hand in hand with the pupil's academics, for their own good, and their tertiary success, and so on.

Mr Webster went on to explain how the school intended to embed these dispositions:

> And the next thing would be how to achieve this: taking them on camps; leadership camps, group development camps, personal development, planning things into the extra mural programme and the life orientation programme which addresses some of those issues, using the Kendrick role-models to model that[27]. Instilling the sense of taking responsibility: so, doing community service, cleaning your own classroom, respecting and keeping the facilities of the school in very good condition… Making sure that [all of this] under-pinned what we did in those early years.

According to this, Ubuntu sought to create the opportunities for its learners to have the same "concerted cultivation" (Lareau, 2011, p. 238) to which middle class children are exposed by their parents. Similarly, Mr Webster also explained the school's role in encouraging tertiary participation: Different for learners from the middle classes, for whom the expectation to participate in tertiary

[26] Comparisons were common between the schools as many learners had friends or acquaintances at Kendrick.
[27] This strategy formed part of the school planting initiative, and is discussed below.

studies is a natural result of the individual's habitus (Bourdieu, 1974), this expectation needed to be groomed to be realised for Ubuntu learners.

> And, … setting the sights in those early years, for the children going forward, that they must go on to tertiary studies after school. So that, from the word go, that is already put there: an expectation, almost just sort of a non-negotiable, that you will do that. And that we put in our programme to help them, career guidance and that sort of thing as well.

Developing these dispositions in learners who do not develop them 'naturally' at home confirms Ubuntu's role as social capital to its learners. Perceiving Kendrick learners to have already embodied many of these dispositions, the new school extended its network to make use of Kendrick learners to 'role-model' some of the dispositions they desire. In the next section I discuss two cases where Kendrick learners were used in attempts to create a desired institutional habitus at the new school.

'Ideal' learners: Using Kendrick learners as role models

In established schools, senior learners can act as role models to junior learners coming into the school. In the case of the Ubuntu start-up, however, this was not possible: Starting with only one grade 10 class and three grade 8 classes in its founding year, repeating this intake in its second year, the school was significantly bottom heavy for its first three years. By encouraging Kendrick seniors to be involved at the newly established school, however, the school planting team was able to establish somewhat of a normal institutional profile. Significantly for the school start-up, Ubuntu learners were exposed to what the school planting team deemed to be successful learners.

Mr Webster explains this strategy, below:

> …one of the strengths in the first year or two was having senior Kendrick pupils come and help out at a programme when Ubuntu didn't have senior pupils yet. To have these senior Kendrick pupils who were doing things, but at the same time they were being role models saying this is what a successful pupil should be like. Somebody who can be involved, he can be achieving academically, but it doesn't stop him playing his sport and being in a service group and singing in the choir. And for our kids to see that, and start aspiring to that, and so see that it was possible to be like that was key.

Kendrick learners were encouraged to sign up and offer any activity of choice[28], or help in various organised activities, including academic tutoring. As the school grew, the need for these Kendrick-run programmes diminished and by the school's fifth year many of the programmes on the Ubuntu extra mural programme were run in the same way, but being led by Ubuntu learners.

In Ubuntu classrooms, a 'Kendrick-yardstick' was used in a different way. Learners reported that, at times, some teachers used comparisons with Kendrick to push learners in attempts to improve learners' productivity:

> Like Mr Webster always talks about us equally, but then there are other teachers that say things like "if you were at Kendrick, then *lalala*." Like [a particular teacher], she says things like: "if this was a class at Kendrick then everyone would be listening, and you'd all be getting 80%."

Comments such as this, attempting to develop an institutional habitus by association and comparison with Kendrick, were often met with resentment. Another learner explained a typical response: "But when [teachers] bring up Kendrick marks, or the standard that we are meant to be up to, because 'this is what Kendrick' does, then we just switch off."

The successes of these attempts to role-model Kendrick learners as ideal learners were mixed. While the embodied habitus and cultural capitals of learners would have been impacted by these interactions, learners also reported significant resentment to comparisons, and even interactions, with Kendrick learners. This analysis is unpacked in the next chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter has focussed on the mechanisms engaged in the school planting initiative.

I began by introducing the concept of the school planting interaction, describing how the idea of a school planting interaction was initiated by the WCED but implemented by Kendrick, to whom the WCED gave full responsibility. Having established this backdrop, I analysed how the various forms of capital associated with Kendrick were used to assist the start-up process for Ubuntu. At the same time, through strategic appointments, mentoring and the implementation of an institutional habitus associated with "a template that works," to quote one of the research participants, a particular way of being and doing was promoted at the new school. With many teachers reflecting positively on these start-up

[28] Typically included activities such as a peer tutoring, craft club, art and hip-hop dance.

interventions, the apparent success of this project was in stark contrast to previous WCED start-up schools for poor communities.

As the new school subfield developed, however, so did various tensions between the replication of the 'Kendrick Way', and the needs and constraints of the Ubuntu context. These emergent tensions are analysed in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER SIX: PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AND LEARNER DEVELOPMENT IN THE SCHOOL START-UP

The previous chapter described how the Ubuntu start-up was developed and implemented by Kendrick, on behalf of the WCED. In this chapter and the next, I consider the responses from within the Ubuntu subfield to these school planting interventions. I break this discussion up into four sections, considering first the analysis of data pertaining to parents at the two schools before focusing on analysis of data pertaining to learners. In Chapter Seven I present my analysis of data pertaining to management and teaching at Ubuntu.

In each section, before discussing the responses from within the Ubuntu subfield, I consider various factors which have influenced the Kendrick 'ways of doing'. These have informed the practices, institutional habitus and doxa which have, through the school planting intervention, been transferred to Ubuntu.

Parents in the school planting interaction

As discussed in the previous chapter, the WCED assumed that poor communities did not possess the expertise, nor would they be able to attract suitably equipped educators to start a school effectively. In this section, I contrast the parent bodies at the two schools, focusing particularly on the manner in which they engage their children's schools.

Kendrick parents: Entitled, confident and demanding

While the views of teachers and parents regarding the desired comportment of learners were generally well aligned to each other at Kendrick, the tension between parents and the school was palpable. Numerous teachers made reference to the pressure exerted on Kendrick by parents of the school. Interviewees also indicated that these parents actively held the school accountable to the expectations they held for their children's education. The following extract, from Mr Bradley, not only explains this pressure, but also contrasts it to what he experienced from Ubuntu parents:

> The academic standard is very high [at Kendrick]. It is a pressure cooker environment. The school is very results orientated. The parents are mostly professional people who are extremely results orientated, so there is an expectation that if you come here you are going to do well. There is a lot of arrogance, amongst both the parents and the kids, which I never experienced at

> Ubuntu. ... Kendrick is a cut-throat environment, with fifty-four teachers on the staff. There is lots of politics and it is very competitive!

In the extract below, another Kendrick teacher reflects on what she perceives to be unreasonably high expectations of some parents:

> We also have the "overachieving parent" and they have high expectations, and that puts a lot of pressure on the kid and also on the teacher. And they come complain that their kid is doing the worst in your subject, but they getting like 78%.

Mr Bradley went on to say that Kendrick parents are not afraid to be confrontational:

> You are very aware that they are watching over your shoulder. You are cautious that they are not going to take your advice. They aren't scared to tell you what they think of you sometimes, and they can be rude in doing so! Not all the parents are like that though; there are some wonderfully supportive parents. But … some … are very demanding. They are paying a lot of money, … so they want the whole package. They want well run sport, well run culture. It is a high-demand situation. So you are very aware of them and of stepping out of line. And so if you are a young, naïve member of staff you should get a wake-up call. You know, some of the parents arrive at a parents' meeting and hammer the poor teachers that they end up in tears! Really!

This implicit tension between the school and parents could also be discerned in the relations between the school management team and parents who served on the Kendrick SGB. While Mr Venter and the school's management team showed strong support for the school planting initiative, this support was hotly contested by parents on the SGB. As explained by one of the Kendrick parents on this board, "When this thing came, it sounded good, but we were worried. Kendrick first, you know. So there wasn't optimism, more scepticism about where this was taking us." Another parent reflected a similar view, explaining that a central concern for parents was that Kendrick's "hard-won resources and position in the field of education would be washed away and compromised."

At the same time, some Kendrick parents also desired to contribute to the transformation of educational inequalities. Mr Venter explained that many parents responded positively to his invitation to participate in the school planting interaction:

> Now, to form the sub-committee we needed additional people. So … I sent out an email to all the Kendrick parents and said we need some volunteers to do this, and really, in skimpily form, I spelt out what was required; and in an hour I had twenty-five positive responses!

The chairperson of Kendrick's SGB also shared this sentiment, admitting that he "unashamedly took a strong stance to push this through:"

> There were a proportion of us that were very conscious of the fact that we had possibly the best education that one could be offered in South Africa. And wondered how we could share this.

The invitation to participate in the school plant therefore elicited two responses from the SGB: on the one hand, this was seen as an opportunity to assert Kendrick's position in the field and utilise this for the benefit of another school. On the other hand, there was concern about the challenges brought by the venture, and how these might detract from a focus on building Kendrick's position in the field. The SGB chairperson went on to explain that, despite these concerns, they were willing to take risks in order to realise the potential value of the project in a social context desperate for transformation:

> I had to think "wait a minute: this project might lead us in a whole new direction. And I don't know if we really know where it is going to go, but it is worth taking the gamble." …. It was a very uncomfortable thing that we were doing: In a certain sense, we were setting this school up as a second-rate school. And there was a risk involved, because we were trying very hard to be relevant at Kendrick, and yet here we were doing something which might open us up to potential criticism and misunderstandings. …. But for me you need to face that fear.

The relations between management, teachers and parents at Ubuntu had a very different dynamic to that at Kendrick.

Ubuntu parents: Dependent, unassuming and remotely involved

In contrast to the relation between teachers and parents at Kendrick, there was a more comfortable relation between teachers and parents at Ubuntu. This, despite the school serving a varied set of both wealthier and poorer families, is ironic in that the role of Ubuntu parents in supporting their children was often less clearly aligned to teachers' purposes in inculcating a desired habitus in learners. Teachers generally reported that Ubuntu parents were more supportive of the school and its academic

interventions, but also tended to be more dependent on the school, an understanding supported in literature by Borg (1994), as cited by Mills & Gale (2010).

Because of its relationship with Kendrick, many Ubuntu parents ascribed a degree of symbolic capital to the new school. Unlike the reported experiences of Kendrick teachers, these parents were perceived to be supportive of the school and its teachers, recognising teachers at the new school as 'experts' in leading their children. It was perceived that, for many of these parents, the school was solely responsible for developing the habitus and forms of capital valued in the field of education, and parents willingly ceded this responsibility to the school: "…some of the parents back us completely because we are the teachers!" In line with Bourdieu's understanding that children from poorer homes "are obliged to expect and receive everything from school" (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 39), these parents willingly legitimated the pedagogy and authority of the school's teachers. Mr Bradley echoed similar sentiments: "Ubuntu parents are more supportive, and the kids are more amenable."

Along with this reverence for the school and its teachers, however, came a degree of dependency on the school. In the extract below, the Ubuntu counsellor was responding to a question on what the school might do to develop the kinds of skills that would facilitate learners' academic development:

> I think that is a very difficult question, because a lot of these issues come from home. And that is what a lot of our kids are struggling with, a lot of absent parenting, or distant parenting. I think a lot of parents think that by the time their kids hit high school they have done their job, and now they just need to provide. But where they haven't built [those skills] in already, that is very difficult for us to pick up.

With regard to support interventions, the school often needed to play a leading role in engaging parents regarding barriers to learning, or in wanting to interrogate barriers that learners might be struggling with. Involving and engaging with parents effectively, however, proved to be a challenge for Ubuntu teachers, particularly when engaging with parents of learners from poor families. Complaining that this engagement is both time consuming and shrouded in frustration, teachers at the new school resented the challenges of communicating with learners' parents. Two out of three grade heads interviewed for this study reported that contacting and communicating with parents was one of their most challenging responsibilities:

> Some parents don't have email, and then we have to phone them, and that can be a mission. We find their numbers change constantly. Sometimes the parents don't even understand you... I

> normally try have a conversation with the parent, but if that is not working, then sometimes I go to [a member of staff who can talk isiXhosa] and I get her to talk to the parent; I tell her what to say and she translates for me. Because sometimes you just have to get through to the parents. But normally when you do get through to the parents, they are supportive. But it really is difficult to get hold of them!

Implicit in this interview response is the fact that many of these challenges were more acutely experienced when engaging poorer parents, of whom a significant percentage does not speak English. Wealthier parents are typically more able to be contacted via email, less likely to have changing phone numbers, and more likely to speak English, also embodying a habitus similar to that idealised by the school and embodied by the majority of staff. Evening functions at the new school, such as academic parent meetings and the annual prize-giving celebration, were also more likely to be attended by wealthier parents.

The challenges in communication between parents and teachers were also exacerbated by the fact that Ubuntu did not have regular sports days or cultural events where parents and teachers might have interacted with each other. While the significance of these opportunities for parent-teacher interaction are taken for granted at Kendrick, my data suggests that Ubuntu's lack of such interaction opportunities has been compounded by the fact that the new school has not implemented any other forms of parent-teacher interaction unique to its context, or which bridge the gap between the habitus of parents and that of staff. The resultant lack of interaction was further exacerbated by the fact that many Ubuntu parents did not actively engage with teachers, even when such an opportunity did present itself, as explained by one of the Ubuntu teachers:

> Even if we return from a camp, and us teachers stand around while the parents collect their kids, the parents don't even get out of their cars to come say hi or thank us for the camp or anything. The kids just get in the car without the parents even getting out. Of course that is only for the families that have cars; many of the kids walk to the bus stop or train station after a camp or whatever and so we don't meet their parents either.

When parents did engage with the school, particularly poorer parents, they often felt the need to travel to the school to meet personally with teachers or grade heads. According to one Ubuntu grade head, many of these issues might have been discussed over the phone. Examples of these discussions include conversations surrounding difficulty in paying for camps, requests for tutoring, or discussions regarding

subject choices. In order to visit the school, these parents are likely to have needed to take time off work, with many of these parents travelling for several hours by public transport to get to the school.

For a significant number of Ubuntu learners, parenting responsibilities also appear to have been diffusely and widely shared throughout learners' families. It was not uncommon for brothers or sisters, or more distant relatives, to represent the family at a parent meeting or a disciplinary hearing, because they were available, spoke English or had a better understanding of how to play the game. In line with this, the school counsellor perceived that a significant number of learners did not, in fact, even live with their parents:

> The majority, certainly of the kids I see, but I suspect the majority of the school are coming from broken homes or single parents. Many are even being raised by people who are not their parents; aunties and uncles, or grandparents, or even more distant relatives.

The lack of interaction between Ubuntu teachers and the families of their learners has compounded the task of teachers to understand and relate to their learners' needs. I analyse this challenge in the next section of this chapter.

Concluding remarks pertaining to parents at the two schools

The dynamics between teachers and parents differ at the two schools. Kendrick parents generally hold forms of capital that are valued in the field of education, and are more comfortable engaging or confronting the school as they deem fit. Also, as a result of the home environment in which Kendrick learners develop, they enter Kendrick with a habitus and cultural capital closer to that which is idealised in the field of education and at Kendrick. It is ironic, however, that this habitus and capital has also resulted in contestation of the manner in which the school plays the game, as learners and parents try to exploit advantage on behalf of their children. In the next chapter I analyse how this contestation, and resultant tension, appears to have informed various management practices at Kendrick.

At Ubuntu, parents do not necessarily hold the habitus, nor forms of capital valued in the educational field. They are deemed to be more reserved and constrained in their interactions with the school. Trusting the school as the experts in their children's development, they typically hold the school's teachers in high esteem for their professional expertise.

These contrasting dispositions leads to different positioning and responsibilities for teachers, and different experiences for learners: At Kendrick, learners are 'pulled' in the same direction, so to speak,

by both their parents and the school. At Ubuntu, however, learners experience unique challenges as their teachers compensate for parents' perceived lack of ability to contribute to their children's development in the field of education. While this greater responsibility for Ubuntu teachers is addressed in the next chapter, I consider how learners influenced, informed and related to the school planting interaction in the next section.

Interpreting the school plant in relation to Ubuntu learners

Teachers at both Kendrick and Ubuntu broadly perceived that Ubuntu served the needs of marginalised learners more strategically than what typically happens in 'privileged' schools. These teachers, however, held varied and at times vague understandings of who the Ubuntu learners were and, in particular, what their educational and developmental needs were. These misconceptions and challenges significantly impacted the experiences of both teachers and learners in the Ubuntu start-up.

Following the previous chapter's analysis of how the school planting team sought to equip Ubuntu learners with idealised forms of capital and a particular habitus, this section focuses on how these learners responded to the school planting interaction. Despite anticipating that Ubuntu learners would need support, the school planting team were still surprised at the anxiety and need for support projected by Ubuntu learners. The school planting team also failed to conceptualise the difficulty Ubuntu teachers would experience in providing the necessary support to their learners. It emerged from this study that there was a tension between the habitus of many Ubuntu learners and the expectations of learners signalled within the new school, and that this tension generates considerable anxiety; a sense of being 'a fish out of water' among Ubuntu learners.

I begin with a brief discussion of how learners were perceived at Kendrick. Thereafter, I examine how Ubuntu learners were perceived by their teachers, their academic grounding and performance at the new school. The final discussion of this section considers Ubuntu learners' responses to the school planting interaction.

Kendrick-based perceptions of learners

Kendrick teachers, as well as some Ubuntu teachers who hailed from Kendrick, held perceptions of the Ubuntu learners that differed from those held by teachers not previously associated with Kendrick. In this section I specifically focus on these Kendrick-informed perceptions. These teachers based their doxic assumptions about learners, in general, and their perceptions of Ubuntu students, in particular, on their

experience of Kendrick learners. For this reason, I start with a consideration of the latter, and then go on to consider how the view of Kendrick students influenced teachers' perceptions of, and interactions with Ubuntu learners.

Understanding the Kendrick doxa:

The doxa underpinning practice at Kendrick has been informed by the body of learners the school has served over time. This study has identified three aspects of the Kendrick subfield which, in various ways, affects teaching practices and arrangements at the school.

"The cream of the crop": Privileged primary schooling invested with cultural capital

Kendrick draws 95% of its learners from historically privileged, or private, primary schools. These learners typically hail from upper middle class families. Even when compared to Ubuntu learners who attended privileged primary schools, Kendrick learners, on average, paid almost three times more for their primary schooling than these 'wealthy' Ubuntu learners.

With over 1000 applicants applying for the 180 spaces available at the school every year, Kendrick fills its classes with a high degree of selectivity. A number of teachers referenced this fact in explaining the school's ability to "take the cream of the crop." Perceiving that this informed both their teaching and the school's results, these Kendrick teachers described their learners with words such as "bright" and "stimulated." This is typified in the extract below:

> The type of child who attends Kendrick is very different to the type of child attending Ubuntu. …. [At Kendrick, the] kids want to do exceptionally well. They have an incredible work ethic …. many of the Kendrick kids come from backgrounds where the parents are academics, so the kids are used to being exposed to stimulated environments.

Further, Kendrick teachers perceived that, as a school, "we … take the top kids and just assume that they are at a level." It was generally assumed that learners would "keep up" or "sink or swim" as per the school's demands. This was explained by one of the Kendrick deputy principals, amongst others, notably the member of the management team who held the portfolio of 'learner support and discipline': "…our kids come from so many different primary schools, it is a bit of a melting pot, and our kids need to sink or swim. But typically speaking, most of our kids adjust very well."

In addition to these academic expectations and assumptions, my data also suggest that the Kendrick 'melting pot' is characterised by assimilation of the various race, class and cultural groups represented.

Assimilation in the Kendrick subfield

This section focuses on how cultural and racial integration is perceived and enacted at Kendrick. This enables us to understand the integrational ideals assumed in the school planting interaction, and to contrast the acceptance of this approach at Kendrick with the tensions that emerged at Ubuntu. Data pertaining to these tensions are analysed later.

What is perceived as integration at Kendrick is possibly better described as cultural, racial and religious tolerance, with a high degree of assimilation. This understanding was epitomised by a White Kendrick learner responding to an interview question on racial integration by simply shrugging and saying "My best friend is Coloured, but she is kind of like 'White-Coloured'." Numerous authors (Sayed & Ahmed, 2011; Soudien, 2004; Vally & Dalamba, 1999) also find that the word integration is often manipulated in South African schools: "In the South African context racial integration was about capitulation or assimilation rather than one in which 'diversity' flourished" (Sayed & Ahmed, 2011, p. 113, referencing Bulhan, 1985). This understanding of the approach to race at Kendrick was confirmed by a member of the Kendrick management team: "Although we have kids at Kendrick who come from those (poor, historically disadvantaged) communities, they learn how to do things the Kendrick way, as opposed to being allowed to do things their own way." Mr Bradley, similarly, contrasted the behavioural norms of Kendrick minority groups to those of their Ubuntu peers, calling into question the manner in which minority groups at Kendrick live out their differences to majority culture: "I found the Ubuntu kids to be more authentic. … At Ubuntu the Muslims are more Muslim than they are [at Kendrick]. The Xhosa kids are more Xhosa than they are [at Kendrick]."

While diversity is proclaimed at Kendrick, a culture of assimilation is maintained when minority groups "give up their own identities and cultures" (Soudien, 2004, p. 96) in a middle class culture dominated by White learners. This insight is reflected in Mr Bradley's convoluted analysis of the racial and cultural integration at Kendrick:

> I think [the racial and cultural integration at Kendrick] is absolutely excellent, I don't think [the learners] recognise race at all. In the playgrounds they will often sit in their racial or cultural groups, but I don't think that means the school isn't integrated. I do think that the Xhosa or Muslim kids aren't always... (hesitation) ... they don't always show their colours. They don't always feel... (pause again) … It's not free: If I say they are not free it means they don't have a choice. They haven't done so; they haven't chosen to … (pause) … show themselves … (pause)…

> But maybe they aren't as free. Maybe they aren't as free (with finality). But I think the racial integration is excellent.

Mr Bradley's hesitation, realisation and then his contradiction in defence, suggests an emerging shift in understanding or shattering, of the Kendrick doxa that Mr Bradley has shared and helped to maintain regarding the Kendrick perception of racial and cultural integration. Mr Bradley's response seems to suggest that he is realising that cultural, racial and religious tolerance at Kendrick is different to, and has different implications from, what he has observed learners enjoying at Ubuntu. In the next chapter I explore in more detail how this Kendrick doxa has affected the integrational ideals of Ubuntu. But first, data pertaining to the 'invisibility' of minority groups at Kendrick is further analysed.

Misrecognition of the needs of marginalised learners at Kendrick

When asked to consider the challenges faced by Kendrick learners from poor, historically disadvantaged communities, teachers at Kendrick focussed their responses on a notably different set of challenges from those mentioned by Ubuntu teachers. Kendrick teachers repeatedly focussed on material challenges and temptations that learners might experience, generally not considering academic challenges unless prompted. This response was typified by the Kendrick deputy principal, who also held the portfolio of 'learner support and discipline.' This deputy principal only mentioned two challenges, both of which focussed on how learners would feel inadequate in the Kendrick environment:

> For one, I think keeping up with the Jones' is tough. You know, somebody pulls out the newest iPad: I think that is tough for those kids. And at the other end of the scale, learners get mocked, not because of economic circumstances, but because they might not know things.

In contrast to the perspectives of Ubuntu teachers, which are discussed later in this chapter, neither of these perceived challenges relate to learning. In the same way, the Kendrick school counsellor who participated in the research also focussed on non-academic aspects of school life, suggesting that the temptation to steal was the biggest challenge experienced by poor learners:

> Not that this is a particularly rich school, but there are a couple of particularly wealthy families represented, and as I said, the majority are of a middle to upper wealthy class, but there are a few very impoverished kids who come here. And I think it is difficult for them, because they see what the other kids have and I think they are sometimes tempted in terms of theft. And I think the child that comes by train or taxi or bus, sees fancy vehicles dropping off the other children, and that can't be easy.

When I prompted the school counsellor for any challenges that learners might experience with regard to their academic progress, the response was that the only factor determining a child's ability to succeed in this regard was their attitude:

> Well, if the child is bright, and wanting to work, whether they are going back to a home that is very deprived, provided there is electricity and a place to work, and even if there isn't - they make a plan. So, whether they are going back to that or a place in Bishopscourt[29], it doesn't really make that much difference. It's about their attitude.

A minority of Kendrick teachers did recognise that poorly positioned learners did not have the same academic foundations. While Ubuntu teachers frequently mentioned academic preparedness, the response below was, however, the only one from a Kendrick teacher that went into the any depth in this regard:

> I think the main adjustment for an Ubuntu-type kid at Kendrick is going to be the fact the primary schools they come from might not have given them the foundation they need. …. So these learners battle because they don't have the same foundation. …. Also because of the academic background they have at home, you know … [They] won't have that (general knowledge). And then they struggle. I've spoken to kids who came from township schools to Kendrick, and they said that they battled in grade 8, while the other kids were more advanced and they knew a whole lot more. They normally catch up, but it takes time.

Incidentally, the teacher quoted above was one of only eight Coloured or Black members of staff at Kendrick at the time of the school plant, with these demographic groups together representing only 15% of Kendrick staff, none of whom served on the school's management team.

In the next section, I consider how Ubuntu learners were perceived by the school planting team and other research participants who came to the new school with an embodied Kendrick habitus.

Kendrick framed perceptions of Ubuntu learners: "They see it like we are a charity case"[30]

While teachers at both schools invariably understood that the new school sought to provide focussed support for historically disadvantaged learners, exactly who these learners were, and what their support needs were, was perceived differently by various research participants. In this section I discuss how

[29] A particularly affluent suburb in the city of Cape Town.
[30] Quoted extract from an Ubuntu learner interview.

Ubuntu learners were generally perceived as 'disadvantaged' and in need of 'help' by research participants grounded in the Kendrick context, despite the fact that the new school deliberately accepted a significant number of wealthier learners alongside poorer learners.

Members of the school planting team gave mixed messages as to who the Ubuntu learners were. While Mrs Murphy described the Ubuntu 'target market' as strongly disadvantaged, Mr Webster explained that the school also intentionally accepted learners from wealthier families. According to him, a mix of poor and more resourced learners in the classes made it easier to achieve the learning environment the school desired. Mr Bradley understood it the same way, explaining that the school "would like to have a percentage, as much as 50% of them coming from the townships and commuting."

Notwithstanding these contradictions, Mrs Murphy's description of Ubuntu learners was typical of how teachers at Kendrick perceived Ubuntu learners:

> [Ubuntu] caters for children from disadvantaged areas, I won't even say 'previously disadvantaged', I mean that is *really* our target market; *disadvantaged areas*. I talk about children who could possibly be, and this is my wording that I would use: "Children who could possibly be at [other schools charging fees similar to Kendrick] but they can't afford it.

Despite these perceptions of Ubuntu catering for 'poor, disadvantaged learners,' very little - if any - research was done by the school planting team to understand and critically engage with the needs of disadvantaged learners, or how to create an environment conducive to their optimal development. According to Mr Venter, education for disadvantaged and privileged learners was universal, and the practices and approaches to education at Kendrick did not need to be tailored for the Ubuntu context: "I don't think so. When you are teaching kids to go to University it is pretty much universal." In this regard, none of the school planting team engaged in any form of reading, professional development or school visits to schools positioned to serve learners of a similar demographic. In the same way, none of the Kendrick teachers responsible for mentoring newly employed Ubuntu teachers, nor any of the Ubuntu teachers for that matter, were given any guidance on what the potential needs of a poorly positioned Ubuntu learner would be, or how these needs might be different from that which was taken for granted at Kendrick: "We sort of just trusted that [the Kendrick] staff were capable enough to know what to do in their own contexts. There was no specific training."

As teachers from Kendrick were not equipped or encouraged to provide strategic guidance for the socioeconomic context served by Ubuntu, their default approach to the school planting interaction

tended to be that of charitable support and helping Ubuntu to replicate Kendrick practices. In many ways, this approach appears to have stemmed from Mr Venter's understanding that participation in the school plant was an opportunity for Kendrick to engage a form of "outreach." This mind-set became synonymous with the interaction, and is typified in the following extract from an interview with one of the Kendrick subject heads:

> So, I think we have always been on the lookout for how we as a school can either share, or improve, or give something back. And so, for some of us the idea that it wasn't for the elite in the suburbs, but that it was going to be trying to reach out, was an appealing factor. It wasn't just going to be another school, there was something more to it which was more meaningful. Certainly, that was one of the reasons I supported it.

Kendrick learners reflected on the new school in a similar way. In the extracts below, two Kendrick learners in a group interview explained their impressions of "the vibe between Ubuntu and Kendrick":

> Learner 1: It is different with Ubuntu and other schools. Like, if I see a (nearby all-girls' school) chick I'm like: "I'm hotter than her." (Laughs) There is a rivalry. But there isn't a rivalry between Ubuntu and Kendrick, we have a different relationship.
>
> …
>
> Learner 3: Like if we compare ourselves to the other top schools, we want to be better than them, we want to be smarter and so on. But when you see people from a school that aren't as privileged, that kind of disappears. You kind of feel, not sorry for them, but you want to support them more.

When asked to describe Ubuntu, many Kendrick teachers and learners defined Ubuntu in terms of the support the school was receiving from Kendrick. For many of them, Ubuntu was only a 'good school' because of its association with Kendrick. The description of the new school, below, from a Kendrick learner, typifies this perception:

> I would say it is a new school, upcoming. It is going to be a good school sooner or later because Kendrick is helping them out. And they have Kendrick quite involved in the school, and we help out as much as we can.

Throughout the Kendrick start-up, this developmental framing of the school planting interaction was used as the driving force for the initiative. On the other hand, Ubuntu teachers held more learner-centric views of the Ubuntu learners.

The Ubuntu learners, as understood by Ubuntu teachers

Ubuntu teachers appeared considerably more confident in describing pedagogical needs and strategies for marginalised learners than were their Kendrick peers. In this section I focus on the perceptions that Ubuntu teachers came to have regarding their learners. My data suggests, however, that teachers did not necessarily hold these views when they were first employed but rather developed them at Ubuntu. I begin, therefore, by briefly discussing some of the challenges teachers experienced in developing an understanding of their learners. I contend that these challenges thwarted teachers' ability to meet the needs of their learners, particularly during the early years of the school start-up.

The "need to understand our (Ubuntu) kids"

Numerous Ubuntu teachers admitted that it took them a long time to develop their understanding of their learners: "[My understanding] has improved so much during the time I've been here! I was so ignorant when I started." Considering how the feel for the game develops differently in different positions in the field, this is not unexpected given the different class and cultural positioning between Ubuntu teachers and learners. For the Ubuntu head of academics, however, a former-Kendrick teacher, the challenges in relating to learners' needs was not necessarily associated with understanding learners' contexts:

> I think [new teachers] need to understand our kids. They need to understand where [our kids] are coming from, and I think a lot of our teachers are still struggling with that because they are young teachers, and not experienced. ... Some of [the other teachers] are still struggling, especially our older teachers, I think they are struggling to adapt because they have a certain mind-set.

Without a management-level understanding of the different needs of learners, it appears as though the expectation from the school planting team was that staff would simply know how best to facilitate their learners' development, or that they would be adequately guided by the intended Kendrick-based mentoring. Analysis of Ubuntu teachers' responses, however, suggests that they battled in this regard.

The extract below shares the experience of a first year teacher appointed to the Ubuntu staff in the school's fifth year:

> Umm … (hesitation) … I realise what I need to do, and that is that I just need to ask more questions instead of waiting for information about the students to reach me. I realised that a couple of months into the job. I never really brought students names up in the staffroom, but when I started really having issues with kids, then as soon as I bring the name up with the grade head or in the staffroom, then there is almost always a teacher who has some insight into the situation and … can give it some context for me. And more often than not there is some heavy situation going on outside of school that helps me to understand their behaviour. …. So, I wasn't necessarily briefed … but the information is all there if I am forthcoming about (getting) it.

For another of the first year appointees at the new school, the 'best' way of engaging learners came by observing her colleagues: "So I think I learnt it from [senior members of staff], by observing them. You know, seeing Mrs Murphy deal with kids…" This admission was preceded by a lamentation on the lack of staff development at Ubuntu, given that she had attended "a (conservative) Afrikaans high school, and had a very sheltered upbringing":

> In general, I think we could have more sessions amongst our staff, talking about our children, and talking about the best ways to teach them, and better ways to… (trailing off.) I mean, we don't have many reflective sessions, or professional development, you know, those types of things.

Particularly given the fact that the school planting team deliberately employed teachers embodying the idealised Kendrick habitus, rather than teachers who shared a class habitus with the Ubuntu learners, the lack of guidance in reaching across cultural and class dynamics was, according to another teacher "our greatest weakness at Ubuntu." It became apparent that new teachers particularly battled in this regard during their first few years at the new school. Amongst others, this was identified by a grade 11 Ubuntu learner:

> Sir, I also think that teachers need to adjust to the different students that we have. The new teachers, like [a particular teacher], they don't yet know the school and how things work, and so they just do things that are unnecessary, or they don't do things that they should do. It's like

they sometimes need to separate themselves from themselves and look at the kids, and just think about what they need, and not just do what they think is needed.

This adjustment to the needs of the Ubuntu learners, and reciprocal challenge for learners to adjust to their teachers, appears to have been a constant challenge throughout the school start-up. In addition to constantly adding new teachers as the school grew to capacity, the school also experienced a 55% turnover rate of post level one teachers during its first six years, resulting in a constant supply of 'new' teachers. Given the lack of class and race commonalities between most teachers and their learners, these challenges are not unexpected: Erickson (1987) reports that, "especially in the early grades, when teachers and students differ in the implicit expectations of appropriateness of behaviour, they act in ways that each misinterprets" (p. 336-337).

I turn now to an analysis of how established Ubuntu teachers perceived their learners.

Contextually grounded perceptions of the Ubuntu learners

Ubuntu teachers who had been at the school for a number of years were generally able to provide a description of the Ubuntu learners and their needs with confidence. In this section, I discuss five characteristics identified by these teachers.

This analysis allows me to develop a grounded understanding of who the Ubuntu learners were, and how their needs were being met by the new school.

A significant percentage of historically disadvantaged, but relatively wealthy learners

As the school plant unfolded, Ubuntu teachers became increasingly aware of the fact that the school was serving two distinct groups of learners, with different developmental needs. Mr Bradley provided insight into a growing understanding that the new school needed to guard against giving away too high a percentage of its learner intake places to privileged learners:

Mr Bradley: It is a school for previously disadvantaged learners. They would like to have a percentage, as much as 50% of them coming from the townships and commuting. Mostly Coloured and Black, but all proficient enough in English, maths and science to be there.

GS: And is the school meeting that target market?

Mr Bradley: No, the school is getting more middle class learners because of the good publicity and the good reputation, already. And because it is a bargain! It is financially a bargain, so it draws more middle class people, you know who I am talking about: Wealthy people who arrive in shiny cars! (Sarcastically)

As the school has developed, fairly strong and contentious divisions have arisen along various positions of dominance within the school. Family economic capital and race are deemed by teachers to be both linked and significant factors in this power struggle:

Ubuntu Teacher 1: I think we make the mistake way too often to think that all of our kids are poor and living in the township. At least 40% of our kids are middle class; driving BMW's with iPhones and playing private sports.

Ubuntu Teacher 2: I agree. We have to be careful to not talk about our kids as all being township kids. And I think that is one of the greatest beauties of our school; that we have very, very, poor children and very, very, rich children and everyone in between.

Ubuntu Teacher 1: Unfortunately, the division is pretty much along race...

According to multiple Ubuntu teachers, Coloured and Indian learners are generally perceived to be wealthier and more richly invested with the forms of capital valued in the educational field, also embodying a habitus closer to that idealised in the school plant. Black students, on the other hand, are perceived to be poorer, to live further from the school, to be more dependent on public transport and more likely to experience challenges to their education than their Coloured peers. Analysis of academic results from Ubuntu supports these perceptions, showing that race is a strong predictor of future academic achievement. These findings are discussed later in this chapter.

Navigating a foreign field: Resilient learners, but with brittle shells

Ubuntu teachers were significantly more aware of the challenges faced by poor learners than were their Kendrick colleagues. Many teachers referred to challenges learners experienced at home, related to their home circumstances and, in many cases, challenging family dynamics. Most teachers also referred to challenges learners experienced in their daily commute to and from school. I quote the Ubuntu counsellor, below, who was well-positioned to comment on how these challenges affected learners:

> Many … are coming to school with difficult financial backgrounds. … struggles at home, kids having conflict with parents, or socioeconomic difficulties. The majority, certainly of the kids I see, but I suspect the majority of the school are coming from broken homes or single parents. Many are even being raised by people who are not their parents; aunties and uncles, or grandparents. Transport is also a big thing, … adds to the overall stress of this experience of going to school far from home. A lot of our kids experience violence, in addition to at home, often on their way to and from school; muggings, et cetera. And that social thing of going to a school that they see as a "White school", you know, something they see as an "upper class" school. Sometimes they feel out of their depths and out of their place, and so initially there is a struggle with belonging, and we see that manifest in the racial or group divides that we have in the school. …. And pressure: I think that is the number one actually, just the overwhelming sense of pressure from every direction that these kids experience, and their apparent lack of ability or coping skills to deal with it...

While many Ubuntu learners were perceived to lack the support structures or forms of capital to effectively cope with these challenges in their own capacity, many others showed a tenacity and maturity to negotiate their worlds which surprised many teachers. For some teachers, their surprise told a story of contrasting lived realities: "I mean, like for example, … a mother puts a child on a train, and that child comes to school on his / her own without actually being dropped off at school! *(Incredulous)*" While working class and poor children are found to be "more responsible for their lives outside the home" (Lareau, 2011, p. 238), these responsibilities appear to have also taken a toll on Ubuntu learners: The Ubuntu counsellor went on to share that, in her opinion, Ubuntu learners battle to keep their heads up when their path starts unravelling.

> I think the strength that our learners bring is that a lot of them are very resilient in that they have been through a lot of hardship, and so many of them are fighters, and they are prepared to battle through whatever it is… And they bring a certain determination to rise above their circumstances. …. But having said that they bring that determination, one of the things that they lack is confidence. Self-confidence, you know, the belief that they can do what they set out to do. So I think a lot of them come here with that idea of "I'm going to be something better and make it", but they become disheartened along the way, become discouraged when things don't work out the way they thought it would. …. And when I see kids failing academically, I see them losing hope and not feeling that they can fight back and turn that around...

Despite these challenges to their schooling, Ubuntu learners were also perceived to be relishing the fact that Ubuntu allowed them a safe place to be themselves.

Allowed to express themselves in an environment that recognises individual learner identities

One of the criticisms held against the school planting initiative pertained to the fact that 'Kendrick was establishing a "second rate" version of itself for poor learners.' In the extract below, Mr Bradley discusses his response to these questions, sharing an important observation of how he perceived Ubuntu learners to have responded to the institutional environment established at the new school:

> The Kendrick teachers would often ask why we are establishing "a second rate school at the other end of [the local suburb]? Why aren't we accepting them here?" And so I tell them that [the Ubuntu learners] *don't want* to come here, they like it at Ubuntu. They like the benchmarking. They are thrilled at the thought of getting a first class education, but they are able to be themselves there. (*Italics* indicate Mr Bradley's emphasis)

Teaching concurrently at both schools, Mr Bradley was able to draw comparisons between Kendrick and Ubuntu learners. According to him, Ubuntu learners were truer to their dispositions – more authentic – than was typically observed of Kendrick learners. This was evident as learners from staunch religious homes, or with strong cultural heritage felt confident expressing themselves with freedom. Invariably linked to this freedom, but taking many teachers by surprise, the new school also encountered an unexpectedly high rate of racial discrimination between Ubuntu learners.

Learners' prejudices from home conflicting with a diverse school environment

Both learners and teachers at Ubuntu commented on the racial prejudices that some learners brought with them to school from their home contexts. For one of these learners, "The biggest adjustment [to Ubuntu] for me was the racism; coming from a school where racism really wasn't an issue to coming here where people actually looked at you and saw the colour of your skin." Members of the management team were also surprised at the frequency with which race-related incidents between learners were reported.

One of the Ubuntu teachers with a particular interest in racial integration at the new school gave a number of insightful responses pertaining to the racial dispositions of Ubuntu learners:

> I don't know the Cape Town dynamics, but judging by the kids, it tells me that people in Cape Town are pretty comfortable with their own kind. And you can see the consequences in a school like this. … I was shocked with how racist [the learners] are, even for their age.

This teacher's surprise and emphasis on age suggests the fact that, for her, many of these racist dispositions are embodied at home. She elaborated on this perception:

> So even if you haven't been exposed to people unlike you, let's take that away: Are you generally a nice person? Do you respect people? And I don't know if that speaks to the families, or speaks to their communities? Or to the kind of teenagers we now have, the kind of values we give them? But I find I was very surprised at the things they think are okay to say to each other, and the things they think are okay to joke about.

When these dispositions were brought into the diverse Ubuntu subfield, where individualism was encouraged, the result was an unexpectedly high number of race-related tensions. For members of the Ubuntu management team and the school planting team, most of whose experience was in historically advantaged majority White schools, this came as a surprise.

Dependent on the school and teachers to develop valued forms of capital

It surprised the school planting team that Ubuntu learners were significantly more dependent on their teachers to develop the forms of capital valued in the educational field than were learners at Kendrick. For Mr Bradley, this was apparent when he compared his experiences at the two schools:

> I found the Ubuntu pupils to be more dependent on me. They were more likely to take my advice and they recognised me as the expert, whereas at Kendrick they don't always listen to you, or they think they know better, or they have an extra lesson teacher. So I found it rewarding at Ubuntu to have that degree of trust.

Mr Bradley went on to suggest, however, that this dependency also implied a significant responsibility for Ubuntu teachers: "I think at Ubuntu you need to be more conscious about what you are doing. A bad teacher at Kendrick would be less exposed than a bad teacher at Ubuntu." These responsibilities extended beyond only the development of academic capitals. In the extract below, Mr Webster gives his comparison of teaching at the two schools:

> Then also the idea of pupils being responsible for their own learning - independent learners - I think there is a much greater degree of that at Kendrick. Whereas [at Ubuntu] we need to focus much more on teaching those skills: of doing homework, of studying yourself, of asking questions you don't understand, of pacing yourself for a big hand-in in a month's time, of breaking it down into little bits. So I think we need to be more conscious of imparting those skills to the Ubuntu learners.

Teachers did not always anticipate this need. And because they were not specifically prepared for the task, they sometimes only adjusted their practice a couple of terms into the job. In the extract below, Mr Bradley shares his epiphany in this regard:

> I also did a little survey when my Ubuntu kids had done badly in the one test. I asked my Kendrick kids how hard they had studied. I don't know how accurate it was, but I also asked the same of my Ubuntu kids, and the time reported by the Kendrick kids was WAAAYYY higher than the Ubuntu kids. You see, I don't know that the Ubuntu kids understand what is needed to do well. And nor the Ubuntu parents, nor their siblings, they have no idea of what hard work is!

These findings are not unexpected according to Mills & Gale (2007), who recognise the role the school has to play in compensating for the difference in the cultural capital valued by the families of poor learners, and that valued in the field of education: "For many of these students, access to dominant forms of cultural capital is frequently limited to time at schools" (p. 435). This is particularly true for learners whose parents are unable to 'play the game', which, as discussed earlier in this chapter, is true for many Ubuntu learners. These extra responsibilities, however, come at a cost for teachers. These challenges and work expectations for teachers are discussed in the next chapter.

The Ubuntu learners: academic foundations, results and school dropout

I now consider where the Ubuntu learners come from, specifically in terms of the primary schools they attended, and how different groups are responding to the school planting initiative. I will first identify different categories of Ubuntu learners and then turn to the unexpectedly high drop-out of Ubuntu learners.

Foundations and academic progress of various groups within the Ubuntu learner body

In this section I consider the academic progress of Ubuntu learners against primary schooling and race indicators. While primary school choices, by historical department, seem to have limited correlation with academic indicators, race is a strong predictor of future academic achievement at Ubuntu.

During the school's start-up years, approximately 40% of Ubuntu learners had attended primary schools that were either historically privileged (CED schools) or private. Using comparative statistics at the time of writing, the average primary school fee paid for by these learners (± R9 900 per annum) was 41% higher than the fees charged by Ubuntu[31]. These learners would likely have been deemed 'wealthy' in the Ubuntu subfield. Compared to the fees charged by Kendrick at the time, however, this amount (R9 900) was still less than a third of the fees charged by Kendrick at the time, and also considerably less than the average comparative fees paid for primary education by Kendrick learners (± R26 500 per annum).

The other 60% of Ubuntu learners mostly attended primary schools that were historically disadvantaged, paying an average annual school fee approximately half that charged by Ubuntu. Some of these schools were no-fee schools.

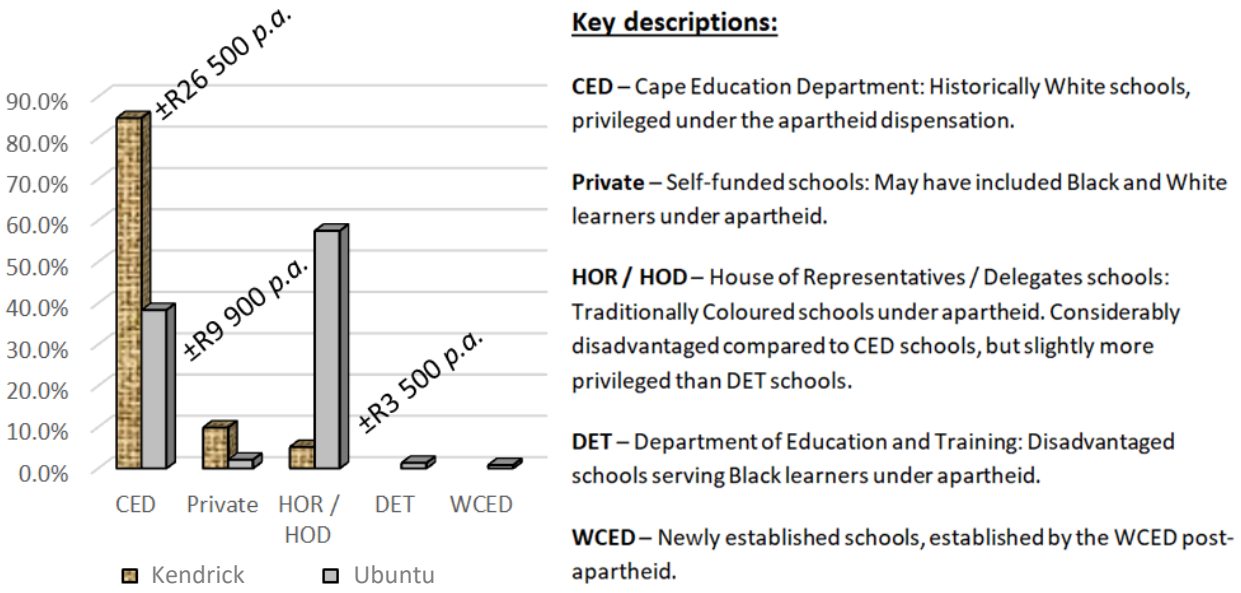

Figure 4: Primary feeder schools by former department, with approximate average school fees (Average school fee for significant columns only)

While the standards of primary education in South Africa still reflect the tiered structures of privilege under the apartheid regime (Bloch, 2009), these inequalities are not as distinctly represented at Ubuntu.

[31] R7000 per annum at the time of writing.

One possible suggestion for this deviation is the degree of selectivity employed by Ubuntu in selecting its learners. Hunter's (2015) findings regarding the mobility of primary school learners is also significant, as many Black Ubuntu learners would likely have sought primary schooling at better resourced CED and HOR / HOD schools, rather than attending poorly resourced DET schools in their local communities. Analysis of prize winners at the school's annual prize giving shows that learners who attended more disadvantaged primary schools (HOR and DET schools), as compared to CED schools, are still recognised as prize winners in the same proportion to which they are accepted to the new school. These statistics are shared in Table 5, below. Significant differences do exist, however, between the achievement of Black and Coloured learners at the new school.

In both the school's fourth and fifth years, Black learners received significantly fewer awards than what might have been expected according to the ratio of Black to Coloured learners at the school at the time. Despite efforts to increase the representation at the awards evening by broadening the categories of award, this statistic in fact decreased with an increase in the number of awards made in the school's fifth year. In both of these and other years, Coloured learners dominated the proceedings, suggesting that this learner group find themselves more at home in the established institutional environment.

	Total number of prizes awarded	Prize winners according to primary schools former department				Prize winners according to race		
Prize giving:		CED & Private	HOD / HOR	DET	WCED	White	Coloured & Indian	Black
4th year	99	35.4%	62.6%	0.0%	2.0%	7.1%	70.7%	22.2%
5th year	225	40.6%	58.1%	1.4%	0.0%	4.0%	81.8%	14.2%
Representation of relevant group		**40.4%**	**57.5%**	**1.3%**	**0.8%**	**0.7%**	**67.9%**	**31.6%**

Table 5: Analysis of Ubuntu prize winners by primary schooling and race demographics

The fact that Black learners struggle to excel at Ubuntu is further confirmed by a more general, whole-grade analysis of a year group's academic results. Table 6, below, shows a race-differentiated set of academic results from the school's founding class for their grade 10 June examination and final NSC grade 12 results. Both result sets show that Black learners achieved considerably lower average marks and were lumped more heavily in the bottom third of the grade, and that, through the years between these examinations, the proportion of Black learners dropping out of the school was higher than that of Coloured learners.

	Founding class: June Gr 10 (3rd year at Ubuntu)				Founding class: NSC – Nov Gr 12 (5th year at Ubuntu)				
			No. Learners in:					No. Learners in:	
	No. learners	Ave. mark	top 30 of grade	bottom 30 of grade	No. learners	Dropped out of grade / school	Ave. mark	top 30 of grade	bottom 30 of grade
Coloured and Indian learners	56	64,4%	25	10	49	7 (12,5% of Coloured learners)	71,1%	21	13
Black learners	40	43,1%	4	20	34	6 (15% of Black learners)	63,2%	8	17
White learners	1	90,7%	1	-	1	-	96,4%	1	-
Total learners	97				84				

Table 6: Grade 10 and grade 12 academic results for the Ubuntu founding class, by race

Throughout the school's start-up, Black learners were more likely than their Coloured peers to drop out of the school prematurely. By the end of the school's fifth year, incomplete[32] drop out statistics show that 18% of all Black learners who had enrolled at Ubuntu during the school's first five years had left the school before reaching Grade 12, compared to only 12% of Coloured learners. Thus comparatively 50% more Black learners had left the school prematurely than Coloured learners during this time. It is apparent that Black learners experienced academic and institutional challenges at Ubuntu more acutely than did their Coloured peers.

All these statistics reflect a higher dropout rate than is experienced at Kendrick: Over a comparative (incomplete) five-year period, statistics suggest that Kendrick would have an equivalent school leaving rate of approximately 5%, across all races. I discuss this 'higher than expected' Ubuntu dropout rate in the next section.

An unexpectedly high drop-out rate

While the school planting team did anticipate some degree of dropout at the new school, particularly related to the school's demanding STEM curriculum, dropout statistics through the school's start-up

[32] These statistics would most likely grow as learners in junior grades move through the school. The statistics quoted represent the total number of Black/Coloured learners who have left the school without having achieved Grade 12, divided by the total number of Black/Coloured learners enrolled in the school's first five years, regardless of which grade the enrolled learners are currently in.

phase far exceeded that initially anticipated. I contend that these statistics reflect the struggle for Ubuntu learners to relate to the institutional environment established at the new school.

Extrapolated data from anticipated school and class sizes suggest that the anticipated drop-out rate for any grade 8 intake originally lay in the region of 11%. This figure is similar to the comparative statistics for Kendrick, which show that, on average, approximately 9% of a grade 8 class will leave the school through their complete five years to grade 12. Through the first six years of the school plant, however, statistics at Ubuntu show that for the first two grade 8 intakes, the grade dropout rate has been 20% and 41% respectively. The progression of these, and the two grade 10 intake classes, is depicted in Figure 5, below.

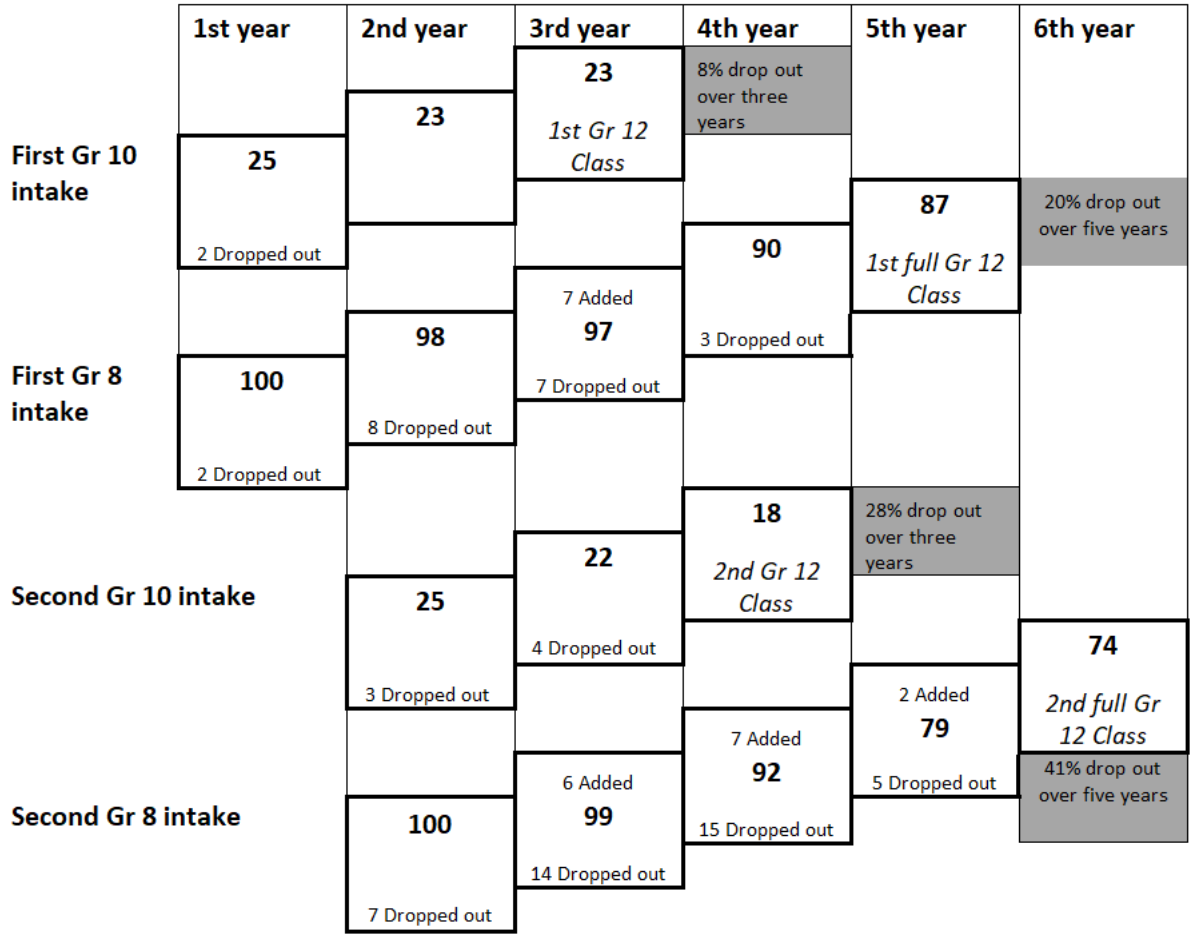

Figure 5: Progression and dropout statistics of first Ubuntu learner intakes

In addition to this unexpectedly high dropout rate, numerous learners who did not drop out reported that they battled through a significant period of adjustment when joining Ubuntu. I discuss this next, as

part of my analysis of the personal reflections shared by Ubuntu learners regarding the school planting initiative.

Learner experiences and responses to the school planting initiative

During the planning phase of the school start-up, the overwhelming focus for the school planting team was on the reproduction of what were deemed to be effective arrangements and practices at Kendrick. At times, this appears to have come at the expense of conceptualising the Ubuntu learners, and how they would relate to the implemented systems and the school planting interaction in general. In this section I consider how Ubuntu learners responded to the school start-up.

Grouping my findings into three sections, I begin with two general themes relating to how Ubuntu learners reflected on their experiences at the new school. These include challenges experienced in the new school environment, as well as what appear to be positive shifts. The final section discusses the resentment many learners held against Kendrick for the role the established school played in their school's start-up.

Challenges experienced in the Ubuntu subfield

In this section I analyse data pertaining to the challenges experienced by Ubuntu learners, further grouped into three themes. The common thread is that Ubuntu learners are expected to rise to individual and institutional expectations that are derived from a Kendrick experience.

Experiences in a new school, with long hours, far from home, with very few primary school friends

Many learners at Ubuntu are sole representatives, or one of very few, from their primary school in their grade. For many of these learners, this contributed to a degree of alienation:

> I was the only person from my primary school who came to this school, and so it was quite intimidating that I didn't know anyone. And … that really affected me because you have to move from friend group to friend group to find what is more comfortable, because I didn't know anyone.

With many of these learners making use of public transport, the isolation of attending a distant school was often compounded by long, lonely travel times. In the following two extracts, learners respond to a question on what their biggest adjustments were to school at Ubuntu:

> For me it was waking up so early to get to school, because my primary school was in my community, so it was just down the road. Now I have to wake up at 5h30 to get the bus on time to get here.

Another learner in the same interview group also reflected on her commute times, but framed her 'adjustment' in terms of the 'late' finishing time maintained at Ubuntu:

> In the morning it is fine, because all the schools start at 8h00 … but the biggest adjustment was finishing school at 16h15, and then the whole problem of getting home. Because it takes me an hour and a half to get home, and sometimes I miss my bus because I get held up at school here for 10 minutes, or I have to sort something out, then I have to take an even later bus.

The late finishing time, following the compulsory extra mural programme, was for many learners the bane of their high school experience. This aspect of the school programme was regularly debated at school, and mentioned by learners in most group interviews. The dialogue below was with a group of grade 11 learners, who had failed to mention it in response to my question on what they would change at Ubuntu, if they could change anything.

> GS: So I am surprised none of you have said you would change the "coming out at 16h15"?
>
> Learner 1: We've given up trying to have that changed! The school always tells us if we want to change something, we can petition and so on, but it doesn't work! We've tried that, and we realise that the school will never change us coming out so late!
>
> GS: So if you could change the late dismissal, and come out earlier, who of you would vote to do so?
>
> Learner 1: I would.
>
> Learner 2: Me too.
>
> Learners 3 & 4: (nodding) Me too.

Especially when compared to their primary schooling, or the experiences of primary school friends still attending high schools in their local communities, these long days contributed to considerable

frustration for many learners. When this difficulty was compounded by travel on public transport, learners needed to maintain considerable personal motivation to engage positively with their schooling at Ubuntu, particularly during their first two years while they adjusted to the new school.

The two-year adjustment: "There is too much stress, I can't deal with it."

Two of the Ubuntu learners interviewed directly described the stress they experienced while attending Ubuntu. Both extracts quoted below are from grade 9 learners in different interview groups, and are responses to the question; "Has the school pulled out the best in you?"

> Academically and socially [the school has been good for me], but personally the school makes me moody. There is too much stress, I can't deal with it.
>
> Yes, academically definitely, but in terms of stress not so much! Sometimes there is so much work that I just go blank, and don't know how to handle it. I take it out on my parents!

Particularly during their first two years at Ubuntu, learners appear to battle to come to grips with the institutional expectations of the new school. During the school's first five years, the school dealt with approximately three cases of 'school-avoidance' each year, in addition to a handful of less extreme cases of depression. Staff used the term 'school-avoidance' to refer to learners who go through periods of time where they resist attending school, showing symptoms of depression and citing long days, long travelling times and academic pressure as part of their battle at Ubuntu. Through extensive intervention by their grade heads and the school counsellor, some of these learners do return, re-engage with the goals of the school and succeed, while others drop out. This school-avoidance is most common in grades 8 and 9, correlating with what Cohen & Smerdon (2009) claim to be the most acute period of high school dropout.

While these manifestations are particularly evident amongst the junior grades, most learners who join the school in later grades also battle initially, needing significant support to successfully adjust to the Ubuntu environment. One of the Ubuntu grade heads believed that joining the school in grade 10 didn't always give learners enough time to adjust to the demands of the new school: "So many of those kids (who join in grade 10) don't achieve their potential. They seem to get bogged down and many of them regret coming here."

The adjustment to relate to a foreign habitus

Learners in the diverse Ubuntu context would invariably enter their "schooling from different structural positions associated with different social habits. They embody distinctive qualities of cultural disposition, or 'habitus', acquired through early life immersion in particular contexts" (Fataar, 2012, p. 54; citing Hattam et al., 2009). From these varying points of departure, most of which were invariably distinct from that characteristic of the developing Ubuntu subfield, numerous Ubuntu learners recognised that schooling at Ubuntu required personal shifts from them:

> But you get some teachers that you don't really understand, and you don't get how they teach, but you have to adapt to them to do better. I think the teachers are fine, but it's just us that have to understand them. Like a teacher can teach something, but they go at a faster pace, … and their style of working is different.

Analysis of these responses suggests that learners typically needed an 'adjustment period' to get used to their teachers: "But then you also get teachers that you don't understand, but then over time you do." Two learners perceived that the adjustment to a teacher's approach was particularly difficult when a teacher was new to the school. These perspectives suggest that, in addition to learners needing to adjust to their teachers, the approach of teachers also shifted as they were exposed to the Ubuntu learners. I quote one of these learners, below:

> [Our teachers are] excellent really … but for when new teachers come in, I think for the first few months, students battle normally. But that is probably normal. [Names a particular teacher, who had joined the school that year] for example, the way he teaches is very different to the rest of the teachers.

In a similar way, learners also reported the need to adjust to the environment created by the new school: "After a period of time you get used to [the expectations held by the school], and I realised that [Ubuntu] is going to be good for me." As in this case, many learners perceived both the school and their teachers positively, despite their challenges.

Positive reflections on growth, development and opportunities at Ubuntu

While learners shared their challenges in adjusting to institutional expectations at the new school, as discussed, some of them also reflected positively on what they were embodying at Ubuntu. In this section I consider two categories of these positive reflections, firstly analysing what are essentially

habitus shifts in learners as they develop valuable cultural capitals. The second discussion briefly considers learners' reflections on how the environment promoted at Ubuntu has given them multi-cultural exposure they would not necessarily have gained if left to develop in their respective home communities.

Perceived habitus shifts

Numerous Ubuntu learners commented on their own personal development as they reflected on their time at Ubuntu. In the extract below, a grade 11 learner focuses on a marked moment in his academic 'awakening':

> In grade 10, I really realised; "Thank goodness I came to this school!" Even though it was hard in grades 8 and 9, and I was complaining about coming out later than the other schools and the workload. But then I realised in Grade 10 that sometimes in life not everything is going to be given to you on a silver platter. As much as the teachers are good, and we had extra lessons and extra murals, but if you don't work hard yourself you won't get the results at the end of the term.

Another learner recognised the role the school's teachers had played in motivating learners:

> If the teachers weren't pushing us so hard we wouldn't be pushing ourselves. I think it is like that for all learners, what we all lack is self-determination, and so the teachers help us with that.

Even if they felt that the school stretched them beyond their abilities, Ubuntu learners still held the academic standards that the school maintained in high regard. For the learner quoted below, this was particularly apparent in how he compared the standard of work at Ubuntu with that of his friends at other schools:

> I have a friend at [a nearby private school], and another friend at Kendrick, and then a lot of friends at [a local school near my home], but when I hear my friends [from the local school] talking then I realise that we are working much better than they are. We are like on the same level as [the private school] and Kendrick.

Learners also reflected on the fact that the school had encouraged and brought about shifts in their behavioural norms. The extracts below are from a grade 9 and a grade 11 learner, respectively:

> Ubuntu has made us better as people, because they have certain expectations. Like if you come from Ubuntu you have to be well behaved, and respectful, and that brings out respect in different people.
>
> …and there is always the reminder about after school, and that you have to work hard to get where you want to. (Laughs awkwardly) When I talk to other kids [at other schools], and when I was at primary school, we used to bunk a lot, but I wouldn't even consider doing that now.

For another learner, the opportunities the school had provided her were significant: "If I didn't come to this school, I wouldn't know about some of the things I have done, because of the opportunities that this school has given me." Learners also appreciated the fact that the school encouraged them to broaden their horizons; "They always try to encourage us out of our comfort zone," and to live out their own identity and interests: "I don't think I would have turned out the same if I went to another school. I think I am more confident than I was. … in grade 8 I was too shy to do things."

These last comments also relate to the diverse exposure learners were given at Ubuntu.

New experiences in an integrated school

Like Kendrick, Ubuntu seeks to replicate the post-apartheid constitutional ideal of a racially integrated society. As already mentioned, within this ideal, the school encourages individuality amongst its learners, while promoting a sense of respect and interest in difference.

In line with this institutional goal, both Black and Coloured Ubuntu learners indicated that the diverse environment they experienced at Ubuntu had shifted their perceptions of different racial groups. The extracts shared below, from the same group interview, are responses to a question on adjustments learners needed to make upon arrival at Ubuntu:

> The fact that the school was multiracial and multilingual: For me, I have only ever interacted with Coloured Muslims before coming here.
>
> [Mohamad – referring to the learner quoted above] and I have the same reason, because I was in a Black-only school before I came here. But coming here has helped me because I have interacted with other people, and now… previously I had a specific mind-set, and I only interacted with people like me.

As discussed, however, this integration ideal and diverse environment has not been uncontested. In the next chapter I analyse the approach taken by the school management team in facilitating the school's integration policy.

Not all learner reflections were positive regarding the school planting interaction. In the next section, I analyse the resentment Ubuntu learners expressed regarding the role Kendrick played in guiding their school start-up.

Resentment from Ubuntu learners

Ubuntu learners responded to the school planting process with a range of different emotions. While most learners were unaware of the full extent of the school planting interactions, that which they did see was often highly visible and 'in their faces', so to speak: These included the way their teachers or Mr Webster spoke about the relationship, the Kendrick crest on their exam and test papers, having Kendrick learners run their extra mural programme, or their school using Kendrick facilities for various events and functions, amongst others. This exposure elicited various responses from different learners.

Exploring these experiences reveals that learners generally stood in one of two camps: If learners reflected positively on the interaction, they typically did not hold particularly strong opinions on what this interaction meant for them or their school. On the other hand, if learners were negative about their school's relationship with Kendrick, they typically felt very strongly about this and reflected a deep-seated resentment against Kendrick. I unpack three of these emotive responses in the sections that follow.

"Nobody likes to be compared to an older brother, Sir"

Along with association with Kendrick came an aspect of being "compared" with learners from another school. As already discussed, in some cases, learners appreciated the "benchmarking" and status they received by association with the established school, but in other instances they resented it: "Like, why must a teacher mention their name? 'You are teaching us, not them!'"

While most comparisons made by teachers appear to have been indirect and unintentional, learners also reported some deliberate comparisons. Some, including the example shared below, appears to have been used by a teacher to bring learners closer to the idealised habitus:

> But then there are other teachers that say things like "if you were at Kendrick, then *lalala*." Like [a particular teacher], she says things like: "if this was a class at Kendrick then everyone would be listening, and you'd all be getting 80%."

According to the Ubuntu counsellor, learners' resentment against Kendrick often had to do with the fact that Ubuntu learners desired their own identity, resisting the identity imposed on them through the school plant. In teenage circles, this identity often took on a derogatory nature: One learner shared that her brother and his friends, who attended another school in the vicinity, referred to them as "Kendrick orphans."

Mills (2008b) raises a concern regarding the imposing of an idealised identity and institutional habitus on leaners: "…it is important to ask whether it is appropriate to attempt a transformation of students, projecting onto them identities without regard for the communities they embody" (p. 83). For many learners, this imposed identity carried the 'charity mind-set' discussed earlier. This doxa did not legitimate Ubuntu as an institution in its own right.

Feeling inadequate and deemed incapable, "like a charity case"

From different perspectives, the school planting interaction had two faces. For Ubuntu teachers, Kendrick was a resource, from which assistance and guidance could be accessed. For Kendrick, engagement in the Ubuntu school plant was an "outreach". For many learners, being perceived as "charity cases" left them feeling resentment.

While it appears that most teachers involved in the relationship were oblivious to this resentment, the Ubuntu teacher quoted below was particularly sensitive to the issues at hand:

> I think it is part of the double relationship: On the one hand it has been overwhelmingly valuable; but on the other hand, the negative aspect is that it is a paternalistic, colonial, skew powered dynamic that is always going to be full of those kinds of things. That they are the givers, and we are the takers; and that makes them better than us. And I really think that that mentality has infused through the school into our kids; you can pick up a little bit of resentment amongst them towards Kendrick, and I totally understand it. They see themselves as the poor cousins mostly…

This resentment is typified in the extract below, from a grade 9 learner:

> I feel mostly like a charity case, Sir. We should be grateful, but we still feel like we are a charity to them and that we are getting left-overs from them. Like, … one of the teachers was talking about attending a Romeo and Juliet play, and they said that "Kendrick had *left over* tickets that they were willing to make available to us." (*Italics* indicate participant's emphasis)

The grade 11 interview extract below gives an indication of the origin of this outreach-mentality used to drive the interaction at Kendrick. This extract also gives an indication of how easily the other side of the "double relationship" became apparent to Ubuntu learners:

> I hate it that they see us as under-privileged. Like when I used to go there to do debating, they think that we can't talk properly, and then when we do start talking, they get this shocked look on their faces. Apparently, Mr Venter makes it sound like we are an under-privileged bunch of kids and that we need as much help as we can. Which I resent… I don't like how they treat us with that picture in mind. Which is why I hate using their hall. I hate going to events there.

Learners also perceived that their teachers were dependent on their Kendrick colleagues. This led them to believe their teachers to be inadequate and substandard:

> It makes us feel like [Kendrick] are calling the shots, and [our teachers] can't do anything. Why can't our staff set our own papers? You know, why should we wait on them[33]? Why can't our staff discuss what would be the best for [our] school?

In numerous ways, Ubuntu teachers appear to have contributed to this 'dependency mind-set' themselves, amongst others through a lack of sensitivity, or reflective thinking of how learners would respond to references to Kendrick. Comments such as, "We are going to write a test, but are just waiting for Kendrick to say when they are ready" were commonplace. Learners also showed frustration at instances where Ubuntu teachers did not take ownership of the support provided by Kendrick:

> When you get an exam or a test, on top it says Kendrick. And then you like, "Jaaaa!" Some of them say Kendrick and Ubuntu, and that is better, but some of them only say Kendrick.

[33] This refers to a commonly held frustration prevalent in many subject departments at Ubuntu: Writing shared assessments with Kendrick meant that Ubuntu test dates were often determined by when the particular Kendrick department was ready to write, regardless of whether or not the Ubuntu teachers even saw their classes on that day or not.

In terms of the school planting interaction, it could be argued that the young, inexperienced Ubuntu teachers *couldn't* set their own papers, or plan the implementation of a curriculum in the same way as their experienced Kendrick colleagues could. The converse to this dependency, however, resulted in the sense of independence and pride learners experienced when they saw their teachers taking responsibility for their teaching tasks themselves:

> …but it was really cool when teachers broke away from Kendrick's way of doing things, and we did our own thing. Like when our teachers have set our own tests, that gave us a lot of independence, and a feeling that we are capable ourselves.

In most of these cases, the emotions of Ubuntu learners had been at the mercy, or sensitivity, of their teachers. Learners were also led to feel inadequate, however, through various learner-learner interactions.

Feeling inadequate through awkward learner-learner interactions

Besides through the direct actions of teachers, learners also felt out of place, or inadequate, in what they perceived to be the shadow of Kendrick "role-models[34]". In many of these cases, however, the feelings of inadequacy might have been avoided had teachers coordinating these interactions been more aware of the potential sensitivities for Ubuntu learners, and briefed, or prepared learners from both schools for the interactions. As an example, I share two interview excerpts below which relate to when Ubuntu learners played rugby with Kendrick.

For rugby, as well as other sports in which learners from the two schools participated together, a policy existed which dictated the conditions of participation for Ubuntu learners. As explained by Mr Venter, Ubuntu learners were not allowed to displace Kendrick learners from the school's top teams, even if these learners were good enough to play in that 'A-team.' Their participation, however, was perceived to be beneficial to both schools if Ubuntu learners helped Kendrick to fill an additional team for any particular age group. While many Ubuntu learners accepted this policy, others were led to feel frustrated, disillusioned and marginalised, as in the case of the following grade 9 boy:

> Like when I went to go play rugby there: The players don't make you feel bad, but the coaches do. Like when we doing fitness, then they were watching the players to see who is producing,

[34] As mentioned in the previous chapter, the school planting team encouraged Kendrick learners to "role-model" a desirable habitus and forms of cultural capital to the Ubuntu learners.

but they watched [and bothered about] their own players [only], and didn't even bother about the Ubuntu players. ... And so it is for that reason that I rather went to play for a club.

For all the year groups that played rugby with Kendrick teams in this way, more Ubuntu learners dropped out of the activity than learners who chose to remain involved. The following interview extract, with two Kendrick learners, illustrates some of the anxiety Ubuntu learners might have been led to feel:

GS: Tell me about how you were involved with Ubuntu learners?

1st Kendrick Player: We didn't have a choice, we just wanted to play rugby and they were also there.

GS: Right, so how was it to have the Ubuntu kids playing with you guys?

1st Kendrick Player: At first I was like, "What are they doing here?" Because they were from another school. But as the weeks passed I got to know them and they were cool people.

GS: But was it not explained to you that the Ubuntu kids were going to be joining you?

1st Kendrick Player: No. We just saw them and were like, "What are they doing here?" We didn't say that to them, obviously, but we just spoke amongst ourselves.

2nd Kendrick Player: We didn't expect anything. But when we got to the fields, they were there before us already. We weren't sure what they were doing, and then our coach told us they would be joining us when he arrived. Because they don't have enough players and staff to help coaching.

GS: Okay, so how was it to have them there?

2nd Kendrick Player: It was nice meeting new people, but different people came, and like at the start there were like ten of them, and then as time went on fewer and fewer of them came.

1st Kendrick Player: Maybe if we had made them feel more welcome, they would have kept coming? Like, you know we would have our groups of friends, and we would stand and talk, and they would stand and talk in their group. Maybe we should have been more welcoming.

Either through their own insecurities, or through negative experiences with Kendrick learners and teachers, many Ubuntu learners described a sense of feeling inadequate alongside Kendrick learners, or while using the school's facilities: "…if you go to their school then all their learners look at you like, 'Shame you're from Ubuntu, poor person.'"

Some of the emotions described by learners relate to what Bourdieu describes as a "'forced' ease, common among lower middle and working class students, which reflects the effort to conform, at the price of not getting quite the right note, ... indicating some anxiety to impress…" (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 40). For some Ubuntu learners, these emotions - anxiety or resentment - were so strong that they even avoided sitting next to Kendrick learners on public transport, and disliked using the Kendrick hall for the school's annual prize giving.

Concluding remarks pertaining to the analysis of Ubuntu learners

In the second half of this chapter I have focussed my analysis on learners in the school planting interaction. I established that Kendrick learners are assumed to be talented, and simply expected to cope with the expectations of the school. Ubuntu learners, on the other hand, are seen from a Kendrick perspective as being *disadvantaged,* and 'in need of as much charitable support as they can get,' a view deeply resented by many Ubuntu learners. When compared to Ubuntu teachers, however, who had developed a contextually based understanding of their learners, Kendrick staff grossly misrecognised the needs of, and challenges experienced by, learners from less advantaged backgrounds.

Somewhat ironically, given their limited exposure to poorly positioned learners, Kendrick staff were expected to mentor Ubuntu teachers for their task of teaching at the new school. Struggling to come to an understanding of their learners, Ubuntu teachers criticised their management team for not doing more to help them develop a contextually grounded understanding of their learners through formalised, Ubuntu-led staff development. In the absence of this form of teacher development and of strategic support informed by a contextually relevant understanding of learners, many Ubuntu learners – particularly those most poorly positioned – struggled in the new school. A disproportionately high number of these learners responded to the alienating environment by dropping out. The focus on the

curriculum, and the implementation of an externally developed institutional habitus came at the cost of some individual learners. This is reminiscent of the warning provided by Fataar (2016), who explains that, while 'powerful knowledge' is made available to all South African learners, and that this is trumpeted as social justice, a need exists to develop 'social-subjective' perspectives in education.

While many Ubuntu learners did appreciate the support offered to them and the freedom to express themselves in an institution focussed on their context, learners were still subjected to the expectations held by the school planting team. With this in mind, the next chapter considers how management and teachers played the game at the new school.

CHAPTER SEVEN: MANAGEMENT AND TEACHING IN THE GROWING UBUNTU SUBFIELD

This chapter continues the analysis of data pertaining to how the strategies implemented by the school planting team related to, or served the needs of, Ubuntu. Having examined how the school start-up was engaged by the school planting team in chapter five, this chapter focuses on how these strategies were implemented at the new school. This chapter also builds on the previous chapter, which described the Ubuntu learners and their responses to the school planting initiative.

While the first section of this chapter discusses management responsibilities at the new school, the second considers how Ubuntu teachers responded to the needs of their learners and the institution from within the structures established by management.

Management in the school planting interaction

Earlier, I argued that the Ubuntu start-up was strongly driven by school managers whose habitus had been shaped by Kendrick. These managers modelled the new school on what they deemed to be successful management practices at Kendrick. How this habitus and the associated forms of capital have influenced, and related to the needs of, the Ubuntu start-up is one of the key questions asked in this study.

In this section, I explore two emergent themes: On the one hand, the habitus and forms of capital made available to the new school have contributed to an environment that was deemed by many to be structured and functional. At the same time, however, the established institutional environment resulted in significant tensions and an unexpected turnover of staff and dropout of learners. It has emerged that organically developed, 'functional' and 'effective' practices in the Kendrick subfield are not necessarily enabling of the same 'settled' environment when applied to a newly established and developing subfield serving differently positioned learners. Crucially, the intended 'tweaking' of these practices has not been as easily achieved as was thought possible by the school planting team.

I begin by examining particular aspects of school management at Kendrick. While doing so, I relate how some of these practices, when transferred to the new school, did not necessarily align with the needs and constraints of the Ubuntu context. Having established this foundation, I present a more focused analysis of how management 'played the game' at Ubuntu.

Management at Kendrick: School-centric leadership in a homogenous and highly contested environment

Throughout the Ubuntu start-up, decisions influencing the new school reflected the dispositions of the Kendrick management team. While Mr Webster and Mrs Murphy already embodied a Kendrick habitus, this was further strengthened through mentoring by Mr Venter and Mr Bradley. Implicit in these decisions was a tendency to a particular set of practices, guided by a doxa which had developed over time at Kendrick. In this sub-section I analyse some of these practices, policies and assumptions, their origin and their congruence – or incongruence – with the needs of Ubuntu learners and teachers.

Many research participants spoke about 'the Kendrick Way.' This characteristic 'way of doing', recognisable to research participants, reflects how the school has responded to the community it serves over time. With this community typically holding the forms of capital and habitus of the dominant group in society, management practices at Kendrick appear to be strongly influence by two related characteristics of the Kendrick subfield: The fact that the Kendrick community is relatively homogenous and the manner in which school practices are challenged by its parent body. Both of these characteristics were introduced in the previous chapter.

I begin this section with an analysis of how the largely homogenous Kendrick environment enabled a tendency to decentralised, or outsourced, staff development.

No need for contextual adjustment: Outsourced staff development

With 95% of Kendrick learners having attended privileged primary schools, and 85% of Kendrick staff being historically advantaged in the South African context, Kendrick teachers shared a significant class commonality and many shared assumptions with their learners. Given this homogeneity, the Kendrick management team do not have a specific need to assist teachers to a contextual understanding of their learners. As a result, the school offers very little internally organised, contextually sensitive staff development. Rather, 'professional growth' opportunities are outsourced, with the school allocating a budget to fund staff wishing to attend generic courses offered by external organisations.

Regarding interactions between diverse groups, Mr Bradley explained that the management team did not have a need to facilitate interactions in the same way that tensions between groups needed to be managed at Ubuntu.

> So no, [racial and cultural integration is not deliberately engaged]. I think the school as a whole, and the management and the teachers and the students are all very aware of any injustices or imbalances. … I think we talk about it when there is perceived to be prejudice. In a way [integration] manifests itself more in homophobia or sexuality. I think those things are more delicate issues than the racial one at the moment.

The differences between racially diverse groups at Kendrick are made even less significant by the class homogeneity they share, and further diminished by assimilation to White, middle class norms. This environment contrasts significantly with that of Ubuntu, where the division and power dynamics between diverse groups, including race, class and gender groups, are distinctly evident and contested. Despite these differences at Ubuntu, staff development practices at the new school mirrored those of Kendrick, and focused on the development of 'efficient' and rigorous academic systems and policies.

At both schools, the implementation of these strongly controlled academic systems and practices prioritise uniformity of practice in interactions with learners. I find this to be a response to the fact that the Kendrick subfield is highly contested, as I will discuss below.

Equality and rigorous structures in a highly contested environment

The relative homogeneity of a highly aspirational and competitive Kendrick learner body sets the stage for a strongly contested struggle for dominance between learners, or between parents on behalf of learners. In their efforts to fend off parents and learners who seek to gain individual advantage, the Kendrick management team have come to rely on defensible, well-implemented academic structures. In many of these policies, however, a tendency to prioritise uniformity of practice is apparent as the school privileges sameness in their attempts to be 'fair' to competing learners. These policies draw on the assumption that learners are equally academically prepared. In this section I briefly introduce the origin of these practices and policies before discussing three examples of such school management practices.

While Mr Venter mentioned the importance of having robust and well-established systems, Mr Bradley explained that the demanding nature of Kendrick parents was an important consideration for the school's management team:

> You are very aware that they are watching over your shoulder. …. some sophisticated parents who are very demanding. They are paying a lot of money... And so they want the whole package. They want well run sport, well run culture. It is a high-demand situation.

As attested to in the following two extracts, if teachers were not protected by policy, they often bore the brunt of contestation, from both learners and parents:

> The Kendrick kid is entitled, like I said earlier, you need to explain everything: "Why did you mark us down?" The kids are very demanding here.

> You know, some of the parents arrive at a parents' meeting and hammer the poor teachers that they end up in tears! Really!

In the sections that follow I discuss examples of the management practices which provide the blanket of 'fairness' that allows the Kendrick management team to fend off contestation. I begin by describing two informal policies which both effectively curtail the efforts teachers might have invested in their classroom teaching or assistance of individual learners.

Curtailing teacher initiative for fear of setting unfair precedents

With most Kendrick learners already possessing valued forms of capital, the school is able to implement policies which curtail the extra effort teachers might have been prepared to offer. In the cases, discussed below, the insistence on uniformity of practice comes at the expense of potentially valuable additional support for a limited number of learners.

A Kendrick subject head spoke of a policy which discourages the practice of individual tutoring outside of classroom contact time. While, on ethical grounds, paid-for tutoring is disallowed entirely between Kendrick teachers and Kendrick learners, this policy appears to also discourage voluntary assistance to battling learners:

> But Kendrick is not good in helping during school hours: you know doing remedial tutoring and so on. … we are allowed to tutor [learners] during break times quickly, but management discourage that because, maybe you are passionate or you have time, but now you set an expectation for your colleagues to do the same as well.

In a similar way, some academic departments at Kendrick implement a policy of uniformity in teaching and provision of learning resources, whereby all learners in a particular department are expected to receive an identical set of notes, accompanied by standardised instruction: "If a parent picks up a book from [Teacher X's] class, and compares it to a learner's book from [Teacher Y's] class, the books need to look the same."

This desire for uniformity of standards and equality in treatment of all learners is also evident in the policy that governs marking of examination scripts at both schools.

Marking across the grade to prioritise equality over pedagogical improvement

While marking of test and exam scripts can provide an opportunity to identify individual weaknesses and improve pedagogy, personal bias could affect the uniformity of the marking process if some teachers mark entire scripts from their own classes more leniently than would colleagues. An alternative method of marking is for teachers to mark in teams with any one teacher marking only a particular question (or set of questions) across all scripts for a particular exam. This policy of marking "across the grade" is strictly enforced at both Kendrick and Ubuntu, with the main justification being offered as "fairness of marking." In this sense, being fair equates to treating all learners, and all scripts, identically. The effect of this policy, however, is that teachers lose this opportunity to gain in-depth understandings of the misconceptions their learners hold.

At both schools, however, the motivation for this policy of marking across the grade is supported by another policy which also enables management to avoid contestation: the policy of rotating classes every year.

Random placement and regular rotations

In the previous chapter, I discussed how Ubuntu learners were not only deemed to be more dependent on their teachers than were Kendrick learners, but that they also took longer to adjust to teachers by whom they had never been taught before. At Kendrick, with learners bringing a greater strength of capital and sharing a class commonality with their teachers, learners show neither the same dependency, nor the need for an adjustment period that Ubuntu learners do. This homogeneity of the Kendrick subfield enables the school to implement a policy whereby teaching groups are shuffled from year to year, systematically breaking up class groups and teacher-learner relationships at the end of each year.

Transferred to the new school, however, this policy was also defended as best practice at Ubuntu. As a result, both schools re-allocated class groups for all subjects at the end of grades 8, 9 and 10[35]. The justification offered for this shuffling is the perceived value of exposing learners to multiple teachers, and other learners in their grade. It is perceived that widening the net of interaction helps learners to

[35] Under pressure from numerous teachers to improve the continuity of pedagogical interaction, Ubuntu selectively deviated from this policy a number of years into the start-up, allowing some teachers the continuity of class groups for grade 10, 11 and 12.

find teachers and friends with whom they could 'connect' and develop authentic relationships. The policy is also defended in terms of being 'fair' to all learners:

> If a learner is stuck with a bad teacher, then we don't want that child to be in that teacher's class for his or her entire high school period. Or if a class develops a reputation for being a naughty class, then it is good to break that class up, rather than that they get labelled.

By randomly mixing classes at the end of each year, the school is afforded a mechanism to defend itself against parents who might be unhappy with a particular teacher to whom their child has been allocated, or with the potentially challenging class-group dynamics in which their child is placed.

While these Kendrick-informed practices and policies are seen to provide equality – interpreted as fairness at Kendrick – they also have negative consequences. Pedagogy is less informed by the differences between learners, and less adapted to those differences. Pedagogy is also less informed by information about learners regarding academic assessment and progress, or regarding their social lives, as this information is not easily transferred from teacher to teacher as a learner moves through the school. With this 'sameness' ensuring equality and 'fairness', these policies provide the school with a defence against parental pressures. These practices and policies thus strengthen management and the field position Kendrick occupies.

Transferred to Ubuntu, these practices serve to disadvantage poorly positioned learners, for whom the disruption caused by adjustment to a new teacher is more significant than for learners better positioned in the field of education (Lareau, 2011). For members of the school planting team, however, their assumptions that these practices were fundamental to 'good' education meant that they failed to anticipate the discriminatory effects of transferring these practices into the new school context. This failure is symptomatic of the school planting team's difficulty in anticipating the educational challenges poorly positioned learners were likely to experience: challenges which were not evident at Kendrick.

Compounding their difficulty in understanding challenges not inherent in the Kendrick subfield, the school planting team failed to consult or legitimate the perspectives of educational practitioners positioned outside of the Kendrick context. I discuss this finding next.

Confident in their ability to manage a school: Disregarding the perspectives of outsiders

Perceiving their management practices to be exemplary, members of the Kendrick management team exuded confidence in their ability to play the game. Similarly, the school planting team failed to consider

that education might be engaged differently in different field positions, or that contextual sensitivity might warrant forethought in how Kendrick systems were to be transplanted to the new school. As a result, the school planting team were intransigent when challenged and ignored, or failed to legitimate, the voices of individuals who might have challenged their perspectives.

Mr Venter typified the Kendrick confidence in the school's 'expertise': "We knew we were doing a good job, but we were looking for something outside of our own environment. … So this was really a case of … We could share expertise." Mr Venter was also particularly confident in the ability of Kendrick teachers. Responding to the question of whether it was a coincidence that four out of five[36] members of the Ubuntu management team had hailed from Kendrick, he responded by saying he was not surprised:

> I wouldn't say it is a coincidence. But that is the way it has evolved, and I think it shows the quality of the Kendrick staff, that they could quite easily move into a management position.

This confidence was also strengthened by the fact that the WCED trusted Kendrick to lead the school plant, allowing them significant freedom by "throwing away the red-tape." The confidence, however, led the school planting team to ignore some of the warnings given by the WCED with regard to challenges the new school would experience. I describe this finding in the first of two discussions in this subsection.

Not legitimating dissenting voices: WCED

Informed by their experiences with Kendrick learners, the school planting team misrecognised the challenges of learning in the Ubuntu context and underestimated the drop-out rate the school would experience. For a senior member of the WCED, who had significant experience of teaching and managing schools in this position of the field, this came as a frustration:

> But let me say … there was a bit of disappointment on my side that they weren't prepared to go with the school model [I was suggesting]. They insisted on a Kendrick model…. I warned them that if they took in thirty (sic)[37] in the first year, they would be down to twenty, and so I am bitterly disappointed at the number of Gr 12's this year. I wanted them to take in thirty-eight for the first classes. … And so it is difficult for me to defend where they are, because they only have eighteen grade 12's now.

[36] This ratio later became five out of six as another member of the Kendrick staff was appointed to the new school's management team the following year.

[37] Although this number does not correlate with the number the school did admit to their two founding grade 10 classes (both of which were twenty-five learners), I have left this interview extract as is.

Another person with potentially valuable experience was also ignored by the school planting team, in this case by not being 'selected' to be part of the SGB sub-committee that was ostensibly created to govern and guide the new school start-up. The manner in which Kendrick engaged their SGB and the sub-committee for the school planting interaction, seemingly disregarding the voices of parents when it suited them, created significant frustration on behalf of parents.

Not legitimating dissenting voices: The SGB

The school planting team were also criticised for not legitimating voices which might have challenged their perceptions regarding the Ubuntu start-up. This included members of various SGB committees that engaged with the school planting interaction.

While members of the school planting team reflected very positively on the role played by the Kendrick SGB sub-committee, the sub-committee member I interviewed reflected on their involvement with frustration:

> My over-riding experience of the committee was that it was procedural and systems based as opposed to reflecting on practice and deeply and critically engaging on what we were doing. And that is why I got frustrated. We would go to these meetings every month, or however often, and it would be report back: Reporting back from the department, or reporting back from the school or Kendrick. And I would think: "Why are we here? If it is about report back, why are we here?" Rather than giving input, critically engaging with the issues, problematizing the issues and looking at what the experiences were. And that really frustrated me.

While this board might have served its purpose in the eyes of the school managers, it appears as though the expectation of what participation on the board would entail was not necessarily made clear to the various board members. Besides questioning what the role of the board was, the board member quoted above also raised questions about who was invited to serve on the board: Interested parties had been invited to a meeting where the project could be discussed in more detail, after which a delegation of parents would be selected by the school planting team to serve on a committee. This board member felt that many parents expressed surprise when a particular parent, who was also at the above-mentioned meeting, was not invited to be a member of the body despite having vast experience in contexts similar to that of the school plant:

> So I go along to this meeting, along with a number of people who are very experienced in schooling and school establishment, in particular someone … who has experience of being a

> principal at a similar school to Ubuntu. In fact, he was one of the people who started a similar school to Ubuntu. He has been a subject advisor in one of the key subjects the school specialises in. He has been a WCED official, he is very involved in education, and has unparalleled experience in leadership and education in general of this type of a school. And he was at the meeting as well. So we had to write down our names and indicate if we wanted to be involved in the school. So two weeks later we received an email congratulating us on being "identified" as the people who would be on this committee…. But I was concerned right from the beginning about this process, about people being hand-picked…: "On what basis did some people get picked, but not others? Why was this (other person) not picked?" He was disappointed and irritated, but he just cast it aside. .... It was just unsure to me: So, Mr Venter has asked for a group of people to brainstorm through the issues and work as a team, but how was this process actually conducted? Who are we as a bunch of people? What do we all have to do with education? Or why are we here?

This board member perceived that the school planting team had a preconceived idea of what they wanted to achieve, and that they did not want to include anyone who would have a different view:

> I don't think that I was necessarily listened to. So, when the committee discussed things that fitted in with what was wanted [by the school planting team] and with what the vision was, then there was a sense of acknowledging and valuing and taking forward. ... So I was involved for a bit, but then later I resigned when I had enough of this 'tokenism', with an element of frustration.

This individual's reference to needing to 'fit in with the school planting team's vision' is uncannily similar to one of the frustrations expressed by a member of the Kendrick SGB. In line with other criticisms regarding Kendrick management's tendency to disregard dissenting voices, this board member felt that the Kendrick management team, at times, disregarded the responsibility of the SGB for governance:

> It seems as though things were discussed elsewhere, and then just shared with us. .... Because every time we came to a meeting a few things were put on the table, and then we were asked: "What do you think about that?" We would either say yes or no, but if you said no, then "You weren't in line with the vision." (Sarcastically)

This board member went on to elaborate on the tensions between the board and the school's management team. It was suggested that the school's management team played the game strategically, engaging parents sometimes, yet attempting to avoid their voices at others:

> Taking us in confidence in all kinds of other things, they might have said, "Look this is coming our way…" Whereas it was presented as another of our "collective brilliant ideas," and then we needed to rubber stamp it. And there was resentment around that. Maybe Mr Venter should have approached a couple of us individually, you know before the meeting: "What do you think about this, et cetera." before just talking about it and expecting us to be happy with it.

It seems, therefore, that the Kendrick management team not only strategically selected committee members according to their prerogatives, but also sought to silence potentially critical voices amongst their own SGB. The study found a tendency to this style of management at Ubuntu as well, with the Ubuntu management team remaining steadfast in their decision-making, not easily legitimating voices that challenged their replication of the Kendrick 'way'. This issue, amongst others, is considered next as I discuss the implementation of management responsibilities at Ubuntu.

Management at Ubuntu: Replicating the 'Kendrick Way'

Throughout the school planting period, the focus of the school planting team was on the implementation of idealised, Kendrick arrangements, policies and systems. While there are positive consequences of this strategy, it has also resulted in negative consequences. Having discussed Kendrick management tendencies in the previous section, I now analyse how these dispositions engaged with the emerging needs of the Ubuntu subfield.

In my analysis of these engagements, I find that two commonalities emerge in how the Ubuntu management team have engaged their tasks:

- Management arrangements were generally very rigidly transferred and implemented from Kendrick.
- Despite seeking to establish an institution sensitive to the needs of poorly positioned learners, the school planting team were typically unresponsiveness to context, failing to predict or strategically engage with the needs of Ubuntu learners. This failing has led to significant consequences for teachers and poorly positioned learners, in particular, and given rise to what Bourdieu (1974) calls a "*de facto* sanction of initial cultural inequalities" (p.38).

I begin this discussion by describing the structural approach to establishing management systems at the new school.

Implementation of structures and systems

Pressed to establish structures through which the transfer of capital to learners could be conducted, management at the new school placed a strong emphasis on implementing the systems and arrangements which were deemed effective at Kendrick. Management at the new school mostly subscribed to a doxa of Kendrick-excellence, not recognising the need to play the game differently in a different environment, and generally perceived the systems transplanted from the established school as infallible. Consequently, many of these systems were not only implemented with limited consideration of the context served by the new school, but management also failed to acknowledge criticisms which were raised. In this section I introduce this structural approach to implementing management systems before analysing, as examples, two management responsibilities which have been strongly criticised at Ubuntu.

After five years during which there was much disruption, with the school continuously growing as new teachers were added, research participants nevertheless perceived Ubuntu as having maintained a sense of continuity and stability: “I feel very privileged to be here, because things work! Things run like clockwork, I mean, the school is managerially very tight.” This stability was largely the result of strongly centralised management arrangements as the Ubuntu management team structurally replicated the management arrangements adopted from Kendrick.

This centralised and structural approach also led to tension, however. Sometimes perceiving that management remained “dogmatically” steadfast to their idealised practices, teachers also expressed frustration that management were “closed.” According to one teacher, the school’s management team focused an excessive percentage of “staff together time on operations, admin and organisation - three of our great strengths at Ubuntu.” Another teacher expressed frustration that this focus came at the expense of other school management responsibilities, including the rationalisation of the implemented systems and policies:

> I think it is mostly because we are a new school: We are very concerned about structural things. You know, for example, the exams must work. … So we spend a lot of time talking about the nitty-gritties of those things... Sort of getting things starting on time, for example detention: we spend a lot of time talking about detention as opposed to the principle of detention. But if

> [particular learners[38]] are in detention every single week for the entire term or the year, has that measure of discipline worked for them? So we spend a lot of time on the "Let's just get this to work..."

While defending the idea that "systems must be in place," Mr Venter explained that it was always intended for the implemented systems to be adjusted to the new school's needs. This adjustment, however, was perceived to be of secondary importance to the initial entrenchment of Kendrick systems. My data fails to show that any advance preparation was given to the concept of 'adjusting', with this responsibility being left entirely to the new school's management team; how, over what time period, and according to what standard the systems would be 'tweaked', was never mentioned.

Throughout the school planting period, a number of tensions emerged in relation to these Kendrick systems. While most of these tensions were placated by promises of impending adjustment, teachers started getting impatient as the school grew into its fourth, 'fledgling' year, and the management team showed no commitment to adjusting the implemented practices.

> Ja, and I think because the majority of the teachers when we started came from Kendrick, it was like we just carried on with that trend, and it was difficult to break away. And I think it is important for us to form our own personality. …. I think for some of the structures, we need to change to adapt to the kids in our school, and not carry on with the things Kendrick does. Some things were nice for the beginning, as I said, but…

Post level one teachers were notably more critical of systems adopted from Kendrick than were members of the management team. The management team's reliance on, and subjection to, a doxa of Kendrick-excellence is particularly apparent in the example of such an 'incompatible', Kendrick-formed system, which I discuss next: The school's 'late comer' system.

Example 1: The ineffective replication of the Kendrick 'late comer' system

As an example of a management system rigidly implemented by the Ubuntu management team, I discuss the school's system for monitoring late arrivals. This system was a source of significant frustration for many post level one teachers. Despite continuous criticism, and an inability to change habits for regular defaulters, this system was resolutely defended and maintained by the school's management team. While illustrating an example of an Ubuntu system which fails to engage with the

[38] This teacher named a number of learners as examples.

context served by the new school, this discussion also illustrates management's unwavering reliance on Kendrick systems.

The system for dealing with late comers was carbon-copy of the Kendrick system: Ubuntu learners who arrived late for school were required to fill out a form in a specially designed book situated near the secretary's office. A record was kept of learners' late arrivals, and after three 'strikes', the learner was issued with a letter addressed to his / her parents explaining that, should they come late again during the remainder of the term, they would be placed on detention. Statistics, however, show that this system was largely ineffective in curbing late-coming, and that it was fairly common for a learner to be late in excess of ten days out of a typical fifty-day term. Such a learner would have been likely to be in detention every week for the majority of the term, in all four terms of the year.

While most post level one teachers expressed their frustration with this system, only one former-Kendrick teacher on the Ubuntu management team, Mrs Murphy, cited it as incompatible with the Ubuntu context: "Our children live further than Kendrick learners. Most Kendrick learners live within a five kilometre radius of the school, while our learners are subject to taxis and other transport issues." While transport delays represent the most frequently used reason for learners being late, the system's ineptitude is revealed in the fact that the second highest reason to which learners admit for being late is "Overslept". In addition to reflecting the more complicated transport logistics of Ubuntu learners, as compared to Kendrick learners, the failure of this system also attests to the fact that Ubuntu parents are less involved in assisting their children to meet the expectations of the school than are Kendrick parents.

Class teachers are expected to follow up on these late-comers. The reality, however, is that teachers are hard pressed to effectively follow up on the number of late-comers they should. As a result, chronic late comers are invariably left to continue coming late, without any effective interventions to embed the disciplines of punctuality. Despite agreeing that this system was ineffective, one of the former-Kendrick teachers on the Ubuntu management team defended this late-comer's system in the absence of an alternative:

> So for me, it might not work perfectly, but what do we do if we do away with it? Then it will be a free for all. Then everyone is only going to come late because there is no system. Whereas now, at least we are still keeping people accountable. It might not be perfect, but it is the one that we have got, and at least we have records: We can show it to the parents and say "Look, maybe this

> isn't the right school for your child, he is coming late every day." Whereas, if you do away with it, you open the floodgates for more chaos.

This extract, however, exemplifies a frustration that many staff felt with the Ubuntu management team's inability to imagine possibilities beyond the Kendrick systems that they perceived as excellent. To this end, and considering the replicated systems more generally, only one out of the six Kendrick-affiliated teachers in a management capacity[39] at the new school were able to criticise any of the systems transferred to Ubuntu. The other five school managers avoided the question, stating that they didn't perceive any systems as inappropriate, or defended the various systems.

A second example of these perceptions, by another member of the school's management team, is offered below:

> I don't [see any of the Kendrick systems as incompatible], because I see the value in them. And I want [the Ubuntu] kids to become the Kendrick equals. So I think we need to support them more to be able to cope with things. I don't want to change our systems here so that [Ubuntu] becomes less. So I would rather support our kids more, and keep our standards high so that they can still become Kendrick equals.

In addition to defending the idealised Kendrick systems, this teacher also reflects the widely held perspective that Ubuntu learners need to develop the ability to play the game in the same way that Kendrick learners do. Besides delegitimising the cultural capitals and habitus of Ubuntu learners, this perspective fails to recognise the potential for the game to be played in multiple ways.

This perspective, however, is not unexpected in light of the analysis presented in the next section. In this discussion, I consider staff development at the new school, and the fact that the Ubuntu management team failed to see a need to contextually prepare their teachers for the learners Ubuntu specifically intended to serve.

Example 2: Failing to develop contextually-sensitive dispositions

Informed by their assumptions and staff management practices transferred from the homogenous Kendrick environment, management at the new school did not perceive the need to engage in any contextually relevant staff development. As a result, the practice of simply funding individuals to attend outsourced development opportunities was the primary form of development offered to teachers

[39] This statistic includes Mr Venter and Mr Bradley.

during, and even beyond the school start-up period. With Ubuntu teachers mostly having a different socioeconomic class experience from that of their learners, however, a collective need for staff development grew as teachers found themselves ill-equipped to support their learners, or facilitate the diverse environment the school sought to nurture.

For one teacher, the lack of staff development at the new school was one of her greatest frustrations:

> I feel quite strongly that this has been our greatest weakness at Ubuntu. We have very little staff development, and this has impacts in terms of our focus on improving our practice, and on staff morale. A while ago a few of us went to Mr Webster and Mrs Murphy about it, and requested that we have more.

Another member of staff, who had been at the school from the school's second year, explained that "we haven't had many reflective sessions, or professional development, you know, those types of things." She later went on to recall that the one session that the management team had organised in her first year at the school had focussed on the expectations for professional behaviour of teachers:

> We had one staff development where we had case studies of how to handle different situations, but that was teacher to teacher. … focussed on things like: What do you do if you hear a teacher next door shouting unacceptable things to a child. How do you handle that, et cetera?

This young, inexperienced, historically privileged teacher went on to make numerous suggestions while reflecting on her challenges in coming to grips with the perspectives and needs of her learners:

> … we could have more sessions amongst our staff talking about our children, and talking about the best ways to teach them, and better ways to… (trailing off) … there are a lot of teachers that are ignorant. I think it would be good … to have a discussion about the kids we teach, where they come from and what their circumstances are. And … to look through some case studies of what works, and what the possibilities are. …. Sketching scenarios of how things could happen, and what the realities are. Like, I have to force myself to think about getting into their mind-set: Like if I say everybody needs to bring R20 for an excursion - I have to think that R20 for some people is a lot of money. For me it's nothing, it is something I can pay. So what are the complexities? Do I pay for the kids [who can't afford it?] Do I do it every time? … I don't think scenarios like this have only one answer and so I don't think teachers should be instructed because different teachers might have different ways of handling things. So it's not about giving

> them solutions, but about making them aware of possible complexities, and getting them into that mind-set of thinking about different perspectives. Like one example: One of the schools was having a cultural evening and I was keen for our singing group to participate, but the kids were like “Ma’am, what time does it end? Will it be finished by 8h30?” I had never considered that travelling at night was a problem for kids living in the townships and dependent on public transport.

It was not only the limited exposure to the life worlds and challenges of their learners that staff lamented. Teachers also reported feeling unprepared or incapable to facilitate various integrational challenges associated with the diverse Ubuntu student body. For the teacher quoted below, teachers were hopelessly ill-prepared for this task:

> I think I would have liked, however, and I don't know if Mr Webster has gotten this sense, but I feel like maybe there should have been a monthly meeting… “Today we are going to look at this aspect of integration, here are some scenarios we’ve seen, how do we deal with them? Here is a video…” Because … for many teachers it is a personal thing as well: If you aren’t comfortable talking about race and class, are you going to see it when a subtle issue comes up between two Coloured kids? No, because you yourself haven't been challenged or thought these things through. So we are making general announcements from the staffroom, but not having realised that the teachers are where it starts and ends. There is no chance that that opportunity in class is going to be exploited! … So, if someone says something sexist in class, do you then stop in the middle of your lesson - you're in a maths class or whatever, you’re on a roll – what do you do in that situation? Do you call it outside, do you brush it under? So then it becomes about classroom management, and we don't talk about the softer things in classroom management. I think we are missing these opportunities.

For this teacher, equipping staff to put issues such as this “on the table”, in a manner which was diffusing yet inclusionary for all learners, might have broken down discriminatory dispositions and tensions between learners:

> For example: Johnny apologises to Sarah for what he said, and it ends there. But it shouldn't end there! You also want Johnny to stand up for Sarah on the playground when you are not there: So equipping children to behave appropriately, even when the eye of the teacher is removed, that they have a language for these things.

Mills (2008a) motivates for teachers to develop sensitivity to student diversity, and ultimately the skills to exploit these types of pedagogical opportunities. She references Sogunro (2001) in arguing that teachers are unlikely to move past the superficial treatment of diversity if they are not confident, and "lack adequate knowledge, skills and attitudes that are necessary to successfully teach diverse student populations" (Mills, 2008a, p. 268 referencing Sogunro, 2001). Prioritising this development for teachers, however, is dependent on the school management team identifying this need as a priority. For a number of Ubuntu teachers, the source of the problem lay in the fact that too many members of the Ubuntu management team were not specifically sensitised to the various discriminatory dynamics playing out in the Ubuntu subfield. I perceive this 'blindness' to be the result of their own dispositions, or the product of their Kendrick doxa that integration in a school did not need to be facilitated. This 'blindness' is attested to in the extract below, where the power dynamics between Coloured and Black learners was particularly apparent to the Black teacher quoted, but not recognised by senior management. For this teacher, her frustration with management's inability to see the issue was compounded by the fact that she was not legitimated in her reading of the situation:

> … there was an incident … where I felt the [Coloured] kids were being racist [against a Black learner], and it was completely shut down. The response was that the kids would apologise and write a letter, and that [the one Coloured learner] was going through a really tough time. I really felt we should have put that issue on the table, but it didn't happen. I had to just shake it off and go on. I mean, you won't get anything done if you just focus on that the whole time. It was quite a marking moment for me; the dynamics weren't even noticed! My point of view did not count in that equation at all; maybe because I was a first year teacher, and so the assumption was that I wasn't coping with the kids: "Let this be a learning opportunity for you", which I found very patronizing.

Besides leaving staff ill-prepared to facilitate social interactions among the diverse Ubuntu student body, the failure to legitimate the experiences and perspectives of post level one teachers has led to significant tension and frustration for these teachers. While the Ubuntu management team idealised particular 'ways of doing', these dispositions were not always easily embodied by the rest of the Ubuntu staff. At times, the Ubuntu staffroom became notably polarised as management pushed for the policies and practices they valued. The most divisive structure of all, the school's forced attempt to provide capital to its learners through the extra mural programme, is analysed in the next section.

Management at Ubuntu: Compensating for a 'lack' of capital

In chapter five I analysed the intentions of the school planting team. I found that Ubuntu sought to provide a 'quality' education to its learners, with opportunities for holistic all-round development and an appropriate "support net" to assist learners in their academic pursuits. While some of these forms of capital have been well-received, others have not necessarily met the needs of the Ubuntu learners, and the structures providing them have led to frustration, exhaustion and resentment on behalf of both teachers and learners.

In line with perceptions formed at Kendrick, the Ubuntu management team sought to compensate for a lack of capital, and "support [Ubuntu] kids more, … so that they can still become Kendrick equals." To this end, the Ubuntu management team often failed to consider other ways for their learners to play the game. As a result, many of the forms of capital provided by the school reflect Kendrick-informed expectations of poorly positioned learners, and respond to assumptions of these needs.

With this in mind, I analyse four of the forms of capital provided to Ubuntu learners by the school's management team. The first of these considers the extra mural programme that was spoken about as a distinguishing feature of the new school, given the social context of the learners that the school served.

The extra mural programme: Providing for perceived needs

The Ubuntu extra mural programme was the school planting team's primary response to the fact the Ubuntu learners did not all have the same strength of cultural, economic and social capital as did more privileged learners. Assuming that many Ubuntu learners would have domestic responsibilities in homes that were not conducive to academic engagement, or not be able to afford extra academic support, the school's management team intended to provide learners with some of these forms of capital though the compulsory extra mural programme. Both learners and post level one teachers, however, reflected on the programme with significant frustration. In this section I analyse this programme and the frustrations it elicited, as well as the dogmatic maintenance of this structure by the school's management team.

As mentioned in chapter five, the school's extra mural programme required learners to remain at school for an extra hour four afternoons of the week, primarily engaging learners in academic activities. These activities included organised tutoring, computer time with internet access, space to do homework, as well as various sport and cultural opportunities. There were numerous problems with this programme, however, especially the compulsory 'late' closure of school. Ironically, the group that management assumed would benefit most from the provision of these forms of capital were worst hit by the late

closure: Poor learners. With most of these learners living further from the school, many of them now spent more time travelling during rush hour, also at higher peak-tariffs. The cost of public bus transport during peak hours is almost double what it is before 16:00, something the school management team only discovered after this compulsory structure was made voluntary. Middle class learners, who were better resourced at home and did not necessarily need these forms of capital provided to them at school, were also frustrated by this system. However, for these learners, the frustration of travelling home 'so late' was significantly reduced by the fact that they lived closer and invariably had private transport at their disposal. Throughout the school's start-up period, this extra mural programme was centrally and autocratically driven by the school's management team, who defended its need under the catch phrase that they had coined; that Ubuntu learners needed to work "longer and harder" to rise above their challenges.

In the interview extract below, two teachers were responding to a question on their frustrations at Ubuntu. Besides highlighting the failures of the extra mural programme, this dialogue also illustrates the management team's tendency to centralised decision-making and resistance to legitimating outside voices:

Teacher 1: My biggest single problem with this school is the 16h15 ending. There are lots of teachers who are unhappy about it, but don't have the courage to speak up about it. I've had a conversation with at least four or five teachers who say they are too scared to go talk to management about it... Every single child that I have ever spoken to feels that [the extra mural programme] is unproductive. Every time I've gone into an extra murals classroom, no-one is doing any work. I really feel that it is a great idea, the heart is in the right place. But on the ground … it DOES NOT WORK[40]! …. I feel so frustrated about it… I have spoken to teachers who say they are considering leaving school simply because of that, but they are too scared to say so.

GS: Why are teachers so scared to talk to management about it?

Teacher 1: Maybe because it is such a central part of Mr Webster's conception of the school. ….

[40] Teacher's emphasis.

GS: So is there a feeling that the school's management can't be challenged?

Teacher 2: No, no. Well certainly not for me…

Teacher 1: I don't think it has to do with the management in that sense, but I think that people are often scared to rock the boat, and, (hesitation) I think the teachers are disempowered in a way.

Teacher 2: I think my colleague is right: Mr Webster and Mrs Murphy talk about it a lot. It is one of their central views and, not to be derisive, but they don't do it the way the teachers do, with good reason, they have other more important things to do, but they don't sit in the classroom and see the frustrations.

Teacher 1: They don't understand that it doesn't work...

It is important to understand that, in addition to their frustrations with not being heard by management, teachers' and learners' frustrations were also compounded by what many perceived to be a longer-than-necessary day. A carbon-copy of the Kendrick system, most break times were thirty minutes long, except for on two of the days in the week, where second break was an hour long. At Kendrick, the hour-long breaks were used to allow for learner-led "societies", activities the Ubuntu management team hoped would develop at the new school as well. These learner-led societies, however, had never materialised despite numerous attempts to establish such activities. For members of the school's management team, the ebb and flow of the school's academic day would have been in line with the assumptions about timetabling that they brought from Kendrick. Post level one teachers, however, frequently interrogated this structure:

> In our school there is no need for two one-hour long breaks. The kids get mischievous and they mess around. The reason Kendrick have it is that they have more committees and so on which meet in those time. At the start we said "Yes, our kids would grow into it." But they have not. We have been going for four years and we let our kids only leave at 16h15 in the afternoon. And then they get home two hours later, which is extremely late.

The Ubuntu management team dogmatically defended these arrangements. Working on assumptions that disadvantaged learners needed the same experience as did learners at Kendrick, and that they knew best how to provide for these needs, the school's management team held an unshakeable image

of the school environment they needed to develop. Later, however, in the school's sixth year, learners and teachers petitioned to shorten the school day and do away with the compulsory nature of the extra mural programme. At the same time, the hour-long breaks were shortened to a half-hour, and the extra mural programme was made largely voluntary. A survey conducted the following year revealed that these changes were perceived by both learners and teachers to have been a significant improvement to the school's timetable, making the new school a happier space. Crucially, the shift to a voluntary extra mural programme allowed the teachers more flexibility in how they went about their responsibilities, while increasing their capacity to offer academic or emotional support to learners who needed it most.

In the next section I analyse the various support arrangements provided to Ubuntu learners.

Providing an (imagined) support net: Support structures at Ubuntu

While the school planting team anticipated that Ubuntu learners would need "a bit more nurturing, with a few more layers of support" than Kendrick learners typically would, my analysis suggests that they did not fully anticipate the intensity nor extent of support that would be needed by learners. I identified four types of support but found that only two of these avenues have effectively contributed to making Ubuntu a 'more supportive environment' than Kendrick. Despite the various support mechanisms provided by the new school, in effect these strategies simply meant that Ubuntu teachers and grade heads were expected to carry heavier loads than those typically expected at Kendrick.

In this section I analyse the four support structures implemented by the Ubuntu management team, starting with a brief discussion of the role played by the school's counsellor.

The school counsellor

Similarly to the model employed at Kendrick, the skills of a professional school counsellor were prioritised from the outset of the school start-up, despite the fact that this cost placed significant pressure on the school's constrained budget. Ubuntu parents and learners, however, initially resisted recommendations for learners to see the school counsellor, citing a distrust of the counselling profession and an unwillingness to be seen in need of counselling. Despite this, by the fourth year, the school had developed a culture of involving counselling skills positively and the need for support exceeded the counsellor's ability to meet the demand.

In the extract below, the school's counsellor explains the range of issues she deals with and her difficulty in meeting with all the learners in need of support:

> The issues range from the expected anxiety regarding school performance, to domestic violence at home, financial strain and overcrowding, nutritional poverty, suicidal ideation and attempts, trauma from attack/abuse or witnessing it, depression, anxiety, ADHD, eating disorders, personality struggles, social struggles and bullying, substance experimentation and abuse, pregnancy and pregnancy scares, destructive interpersonal relationships, loss of parents, siblings, grandparents et cetera, chronically ill parents, parents' mental illness and suicidality, parents drug abuse ... Sheesh the list goes on! I often feel as though I am just helping kids to put a plaster on for the time being so as to get time to see everyone.

Teachers and grade heads also reported not having enough available time in their days to engage with all the learners who were perceived to need support.

Tutoring: Extra academic support

Given the limited but challenging set of STEM subjects available to Ubuntu learners, compounded by their academic under-preparedness, management anticipated that numerous Ubuntu learners might benefit from extra academic support. While this tutoring was made possible when funds were sourced from an external organisation, the teachers responsible for running the various tutoring programmes have had significant challenges in getting them to run efficiently.

Although numerous learners requested tutoring, the school focussed its efforts and only provided tutoring to specific target groups:

- For grade 8 and 9 learners, tutoring focussed on establishing solid academic foundations in the subjects of mathematics and English.
- For senior learners, tutoring was prioritised for battling learners in the subjects of mathematics, physical science and English in the latter half of grade 11 and throughout grade 12, as well as for learners just missing out on A-symbols in the subjects of mathematics and physical science.

Ubuntu also sought to build relationships with various organisations that provided tutoring to underprivileged learners, attempting to get willing learners onto these organisations' programmes.

Despite the fact that more learners desired tutoring than could be accommodated, learners afforded the opportunities did not always use them optimally. Initially the school employed a system of requiring learners who were achieving grades at the bottom of the various subject sets to attend tutoring. Many of these learners, however, resented this compulsory assignment, and buy-in was generally very poor.

Later, under criticism from some teachers, the heads of departments in control of tutoring adopted a policy of inviting learners to sign up for tutoring, but ultimately leaving the agency of the decision to learners.

While learner buy-in did improve with this voluntary structure, the follow-up on learners not attending tutoring remained a time-consuming challenge for the responsible teachers. Ironically, this follow-up was a challenge despite the fact that the 'smaller' size of the school was spoken about as a useful feature to "hold" learners better. I describe this structural support mechanism next.

A smaller school: "Learners need to feel 'held' by a couple of people"

Mr Webster regularly referred to the fact that Ubuntu was, by design, smaller than Kendrick. For him, a small school allowed learners to be better supported in an environment where "learners [could] feel 'held' by a couple of people:"

> We have felt that at Ubuntu we need to be a bit more nurturing, with a few more layers of support. We have also intentionally kept the school slightly smaller. I think Kendrick can manage with a little more than 900, close to 1000 pupils, because the pupils are quite independent - they have quite a few layers of support themselves, in their family and so on... Whereas we feel that's not true here, and with a smaller number of children, support structures can be there to really hold the kids, to be aware of any who are struggling to help them not fall through the cracks.

He went on to explain that, for him, the institutional characteristics of the smaller school would allow learners to be better supported:

> Kendrick feels more high-paced and business-like, and that seems to be a function of a big school... So the fact that we are small, feels that we have more time to discuss individual children, to make sure the relationships are right, to hold the support net.

While the smaller size school provided a more intimate environment, the support ratios at Ubuntu were, in fact, less favourable than those provided at Kendrick. I analyse these ratios, and the support expectations projected onto Ubuntu teachers next.

The Ubuntu teachers: Carrying the burden of a higher support expectation

While Mr Webster perceived the new school to be effectively meeting the heightened support needs of the Ubuntu learners, my analysis suggests that staff were struggling to keep their heads above water.

Besides the fact that Ubuntu was smaller than Kendrick, and that the school provided paid-for tutoring for some learners, no other institutional factor contributed to making the "support net" around learners any stronger than might be expected at Kendrick. Rather, the support net Mr Webster perceived his teachers to be holding, when considered in comparison to Kendrick support structures, resulted in Ubuntu teachers carrying a heavier load than what is expected of Kendrick teachers.

Table 7, below, illustrates this finding. While effectively replicating Kendrick support ratios, Ubuntu staff are, in fact, forced to carry a less-favourable staff to learner ratio than found at Kendrick, in all categories of support.

		Counsellors		Grade heads & Assistant grade heads		Teaching staff	
	Approximate learner numbers		Support ratio		Support ratio		Support ratio
Kendrick	900	2	1 : 450	10	1 : 90	54	1 : 16,7
Ubuntu	500	1	1 : 500	5	1 : 100	26	1 : 19,2

Table 7: School-based support ratios for Ubuntu and Kendrick

The effects of these less-favourable staff to learner ratios are further compounded by the fact that Ubuntu teachers also carry a comparatively greater responsibility for their learners than what is typically necessary at Kendrick. While this has already been mentioned in the previous chapter, I include the following extract from Mrs Murphy to highlight these comparative responsibilities:

> Also, the way in which we approach discipline… [Ubuntu's] approach is more of a 'shape up or ship out approach', where they place a lot more responsibility on the parents. For example, if a Kendrick learner is caught smoking Dagga[41], the school will place the responsibility on the parents to organise counsellors for their learners, while we get very involved ourselves and pay for counsellors. So we carry a bigger burden from the discipline, and we also have a lot more cases than they have. …. It is an extra responsibility that our teachers and grade heads take up naturally. In Kendrick, the teacher walks in and teaches, and then will go and tell the counsellor "so and so is playing up." Whereas, our teachers will teach, and then after the lesson call the kid over and have a chat to them. …. I think that comes with the nature of the school, and who we are serving.

[41] Marijuana

Significant in Mrs Murphy's account is her understanding that the new school needed to stand in the gap on behalf of Ubuntu parents, who are less able to provide the forms of capital valued in the educational field. Ubuntu teachers were well-aware of these support needs, and reported carrying them to the point of exhaustion:

> So it is their environment and their resources, really. …where they come from, they were never taught that there is something else out there. You know, they don't understand that if you do your homework it teaches you to work constantly little bit, little bit... They don't have parents who have [achieved in the educational field], who can explain that to them and make sure they do the work at home...

Teachers also spoke of the emotional load they carried alongside their academic responsibilities:

> … teachers have their teaching load; that is what we must do. But we are everything. That is the burden that is placed on us: You have to be a teacher, you have to be a counsellor, you have to be a lawyer, you have to be a doctor right in that hour. … there is so much that you want to do in that [lesson.] You want to touch base with as many kids as possible. How do you do that to make everyone feel like they matter in that moment?

Later, in the second half of this chapter, I analyse the experiences of teachers at the new school, concluding with an analysis of the unexpectedly high turnover rate of Ubuntu teachers. Next, I continue the analysis on the Ubuntu management team's response to the developing Ubuntu subfield with a focus on the shifts in disciplinary interventions at the new school.

Engaging learners directly: Making the 'appropriate' behavioural expectations explicit

Initially, at Ubuntu, the school management team implemented disciplinary interventions in the same way as was deemed effective at Kendrick. A growing understanding of the Ubuntu learner, however, as discussed in the previous chapter, prompted changes in these disciplinary interventions. In this section, I briefly describe these disciplinary shifts, focusing on aspects that reflect the responsibilities of the management team.

With Kendrick learners generally possessing many of the cultural capitals valued at school, sub-consciously informed by a "familiarity with the dominant culture in society" (Sullivan, 2001, p. 893), they were found to respond when gently, or even indirectly, reprimanded following disciplinary

contraventions. My Bradley confirmed this understanding and the need for a different approach with Ubuntu learners with the following interview response, comparing his disciplinary approaches with learners at the two schools:

> … so [at Ubuntu] sometimes my intervention had to be more obvious where I would take on a youngster and say "your behaviour is unacceptable, or you are in denial, or you are just grandstanding", in a way that I wouldn't do at Kendrick. I would sometimes reflect to them their behaviour.

In his view, and the view of others, Ubuntu learners were found to need more explicit guidance towards the behavioural expectations held by the school. Similar shifts are attested to in at least two discernible cases, both of which are briefly discussed below.

- As discussed in the previous chapter, Ubuntu learners acted in unexpectedly transparent ways regarding prejudices embodied in their home communities. While these dispositions took Ubuntu teachers by surprise, the school found it effective to deal with such incidents by explicitly denouncing prejudices when they surfaced, both publicly and individually with learners. Upon reflection on these shifts in intervention, the school's management team adopted a similar strategy to improve attendance at the new school's detention system.

- Despite being the school's highest level of intervention for general disciplinary misdemeanours, detention was largely disregarded by the majority of Ubuntu disciplinary defaulters during the first four years of the school's start-up. For these learners, bunking detention was easy to do and this went unpunished as bunking detention was not normally followed up with more serious consequences. This trend changed, however, when the Ubuntu management team implemented stronger methods of calling defaulting learners out in front of the school. Initially, the school had attempted to avoid publicly humiliating learners by not reading out detention names in any public school gathering. With up to half the learners on the detention role regularly bunking detention, however, the school management team altered their policy. According to these changes, if learners failed to arrive for their detention sessions, they were called publicly over the school's intercom system while the entire school waited to be dismissed on a Friday afternoon. With almost immediate effect, the system bore fruit: when the consequences of not aligning with the school's expected behavioural norms implicated the entire school, the pressure to attend detention brought about the desired response.

This responsibility to engage learners directly, however, generally added to the responsibility teachers already carried, especially for grade heads. These interventions included engaging with regular late-comers, learners who defaulted on their tutoring and other extra mural commitments, and detention defaulters, amongst others. The extract below, from one of the Ubuntu grade heads explains this:

> It takes up a lot of your time! Chatting to teachers, or mailing them and getting feedback, chatting to parents, daily report, daily feedback with the child, it is so time consuming! From 8h00 until whenever I leave, even during lessons! Discipline takes up the majority of my time at the moment.

Another grade head lamented that the lack of an intercom announcement system prevented simplification of this follow up. Also replicating the Kendrick policy in this regard, Ubuntu did not employ the intercom for making general announcements before break or at the end of the school day. The justification for this policy was that the school was small enough to facilitate easy access to all learners, and the need to make announcements did not justify the interruption of academic time. For this grade head, however, the privileging of academic time came at the cost of teachers' and grade heads' time and effort to follow up on learners, as grade heads and teachers now needed to spend significant chunks of time walking from class to class to engage with learners. As already mentioned, this follow up was not always effectively done.

The final manner in which the new school provided forms of capital to its learners, through the provision of quality academic opportunities, is introduced below but discussed more thoroughly later in this chapter.

Providing 'quality' teaching

Prioritising academic time and quality of learning opportunity is defended as the most significant means through which the school can provide its learners with valued forms of cultural capital. As discussed in chapter five, the school planting team idealised the practice of Kendrick teachers, and sought to have Ubuntu teachers mentored into this way. Analysis of teaching practice at Ubuntu, however, suggests that the school's teachers have developed a contextually grounded pedagogy which they believe more accurately meets the needs of the school's learners.

Because of the scope of this discussion, I leave a full analysis of these findings for the next section, where I consider fully the experiences and practice of Ubuntu teachers. Before engaging in this analysis, however, I conclude this section on management at the new school.

Concluding remarks pertaining to management in the school planting interaction

In this section I have analysed how school management strategies related to the developing Ubuntu subfield. While deemed to have brought stability to the Ubuntu start-up, the transfer of Kendrick systems and policies has also resulted in tensions. These tensions between the needs and constraints of the new school and that enabled by the transferred practices and arrangements only become apparent once the Ubuntu subfield had developed over a period of time.

Developed and refined in the settled Kendrick subfield, the practices, policies and arrangements in place at Kendrick serve particular purposes. Teachers, parents and learners in this subfield typically hold shared assumptions regarding the forms of capital that learners bring to school and their ability to play the game of schooling. With competition being a driving force at the school, these assumptions and uniformity have not only informed the task of management but also led management to play the game of school management in a particular way. According to this, a doxa has developed at Kendrick which assumes that sameness equates with fairness and is imperative in 'good' educational practice. In addition to informing the resultant practices and policies at Kendrick, this doxa is strengthened when these practices offer the school immunity against the contestations of parents. Indiscriminately transplanting these practices to Ubuntu, however, leaves the new school with a set of management policies not specifically attuned to the needs of poorly positioned learners. Bourdieu (1974) warns against the effects of doing so:

> … to penalize the underprivileged and favour the most privileged, the school has only to neglect … to take into account the cultural inequalities between children of different social classes. In other words, by treating all pupils, however unequal they may be in reality, as equal in rights and duties, the educational system is led to give its *de facto* sanction to initial cultural inequalities. (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 38)

While the school planting team regularly spoke of the intention to adjust the transferred arrangements and practices to integrate with the context of the new school, there was no strategy for understanding these needs and constraints, interrogating them, or planning any impending adjustment. Rather, their confidence in Kendrick practices, and their resistance to interrogate these practices, is attested to in the

manner in which they distanced themselves from the perspectives of educationalists outside of their circle.

It is not surprising then, that the tensions which developed between the transferred management arrangements and the needs and constraints of the Ubuntu subfield were more apparent to post level one teachers than members of the management team. With the Ubuntu management team, comprised primarily out of ex-Kendrick teachers, mutually reinforcing their habitus and their Kendrick doxa, they not only failed to interrogate the implemented practices and policies, but also failed to acknowledge any criticisms that emerged. The 'selection' of like-minded individuals to the various governance and management bodies at Ubuntu led to an 'echo chamber' which failed to offer alternatives to Kendrick-formed dispositions.

As these tensions developed, so did a rift between post level one teachers and management at the new school. More of these tensions and the resultant polarisation in the Ubuntu staffroom is discussed in the next section, but it is in this light that Biesta's (2017) question of "what works" for different field positions becomes relevant:

> the question can never simply be about 'what works' but always needs to be phrased as the question 'What works for what?' The point is that any idea of 'working' always needs to be understood in relation to the aim or aims of professional action in a particular field. (Biesta, 2017, p. 323).

Serving differently positioned learners, with different dispositions, values, forms of disposable capital, and who are, crucially, differently disposed in terms of competition in the field, Kendrick-formed practices are rationalised according to a particular set of needs. Crucially, when these practices were transferred to Ubuntu, they appeared to be counter-productive in many situations. Given their limited exposure to poorly positioned learners at Kendrick, the habitus and doxa of the Ubuntu management team compromised their ability to perceive the needs of an entire school primarily serving learners from this position in the field. The 'tweaking' of transplanted systems, therefore, reflect privileged, Kendrick-informed perspectives only, and counter for the perceived 'lack' of valued forms capital of Ubuntu learners, rather than seeking alternative ways to play the game for the school's learners.

Ironically, my analysis suggests that it was in classrooms, with diverse teachers reflexively engaging the Ubuntu context from behind their closed doors, that the most effective tweaking of Kendrick practice was achieved. I discuss this finding in the next section, analysing how teachers developed pedagogies

that they deemed to be more useful in meeting the needs of Ubuntu learners than those prescribed to them by the school planting team.

Teaching and teachers in the Ubuntu context

Perceiving that Kendrick teachers held the keys to a highly effective pedagogy, the school planting team sought to reproduce this pedagogy at Ubuntu. To this end, legitimating the authority and practice of Kendrick teachers, a fundamental goal of the school planting interaction was for Ubuntu teachers to adopt Kendrick resources and be mentored into 'the Kendrick Way'. The assumption that the Kendrick pedagogy would automatically relate to the needs and constraints of the Ubuntu context, however, was soon challenged. As Ubuntu teachers grew in their understanding of their learners, their needs and academic challenges, the realisation developed that the new school could not simply replicate the 'Kendrick Way'.

In this section, I unpack this finding, as pertaining to classroom interactions. I explore what the 'Kendrick Way' is, in terms of a classroom pedagogy, and how the transfer of this cultural capital was taken up in different departments. It is important to note that some inter-department interactions were deemed to be more successful than others, mostly those contextually grounded in the developing Ubuntu way. With this in mind, I consider which factors thwarted the intended inter-department relationships, and also discuss various aspects of the developing Ubuntu pedagogy.

Teaching at Kendrick

Kendrick pedagogic practices were taken as a model for Ubuntu teachers. The intention was that inter-department interactions would provide a vehicle to transfer these from Kendrick to Ubuntu. The purpose of this section is to briefly remind the reader of some of the factors which inform the Kendrick approach to pedagogy. In addition to allowing me to draw comparisons between Kendrick practices and how teaching developed at Ubuntu, this analysis will also frame emergent tensions at the new school.

Both Kendrick and Ubuntu teachers believed that Kendrick teachers upheld high academic standards. However, a language teacher from Ubuntu commented that the Kendrick pedagogic approach was not always suited to Ubuntu learners, and that Kendrick teachers, at times, sought to protect themselves in their teaching practices:

> …maybe because [the Kendrick] department is so good, and their kids do so well, I felt some of their stuff was a bit too hard for our [Ubuntu] kids. Especially looking back now, like, there were word lists that our kids will never use. But they want to cover themselves fully, so they want to do everything.

Kendrick learners battling to meet this standard were simply expected to keep up, as explained by Mr Webster: "So, ... sometimes I would talk of Kendrick as a 'sink or swim' place – 'if learners can't manage, well, they must find a way to manage.'" According to a Kendrick subject head, this expectation for learners to keep up was fuelled by the expectation that all Kendrick learners came to the school with strong foundations:

> We get a thousand applicants, and we can only take one hundred and sixty (sic[42]), so we take the cream of the crop. And I think that speaks for the results as well. … at Kendrick we can take the top kids and just assume that they are at a level.

In both academic and disciplinary interventions, Kendrick teachers appeared to carry less responsibility than did Ubuntu teachers. Kendrick teachers commented on the ease with which they could draw on learners' parents to support their classroom interventions in addition to drawing on the support offered by grade heads and the school counsellors:

> I normally just send [parents] an email. … With classroom discipline, I have a system where I give them three tips, I check homework daily, and then the third time I contact home. I used to call, but now I just email, and the kids dread that. So, I don't punish homework myself, I just let the parents know and I keep the records.

While this benefit of having easily contactable, involved parents was used to advantage in the above instance, Kendrick parents were also reported to place teachers under considerable pressure. Many of the school's parents held high expectations for the school and their children, and confidently engaged the school or individual teachers regarding their children's progress:

> We also have the "overachieving parent" and they have high expectations, and that puts a lot of pressure on the kid and also on the teacher. And they come complain that their kid is doing the worst in your subject, but they getting like 78%.

[42] Actual yearly intake is in the region of 180 learners.

In line with these characteristics of well-supported, strongly endowed learners, teachers and management at Kendrick have developed particular assumptions and corresponding practices and policies. Later in this chapter I contrast some of these characteristics of Kendrick teaching practice with that which has developed at Ubuntu. Before doing so, however, I analyse how the intended goal of replicating Kendrick practice and mentoring was received at the new school.

An idealised Kendrick pedagogy vs a contextually grounded Ubuntu pedagogy

Mentoring of teachers into 'the Kendrick Way' was deemed by the school planting team to be a solution to the anticipated need for the new school to employ a significant number of young, inexperienced teachers. Ultimately, as was discussed in chapter five, the strategy of employing inexperienced teachers was embraced and used to nurture a particular pedagogic habitus of teachers in the new school. Teaching either under the guidance of the Kendrick subject heads, or being led by former Kendrick educators who had relocated to the new school, teachers in Ubuntu academic departments were expected to engage with their Kendrick peers over the school start-up period of three years. Kendrick-based mentoring and Ubuntu-based mentoring, however, have resulted in notably different experiences for Ubuntu teachers.

In this section I analyse these inter-department interactions. I begin by describing the assumptions that existed regarding the replication of the Kendrick pedagogy, and how, for Mr Bradley and Mrs Murphy at least, these assumptions were shattered when they realised that Ubuntu learners had different needs to that of Kendrick learners. Thereafter I consider the factors that impacted the intended inter-department interactions across schools before analysing why contextually grounded, Ubuntu-based mentoring appears to have been more likely to achieve its goal than Kendrick-based mentoring.

The assumption of transferability

Intending to establish the school on "a system that works", the school planting team had a firm idea of the institutional habitus they sought for the new school. Aware that the new school needed to serve a different group of learners, however, Mr Venter spoke about being aware of not trying to create a "Kendrick clone." Despite this awareness, my analysis suggests that the overwhelming assumption from a Kendrick perspective was that the Kendrick pedagogy could simply be transferred to the new school. As principal, Mr Venter set this precedent, explaining that he did not perceive that teaching needed to be different at the two schools: "I don't think so… When you teaching kids to go to University, it is pretty

much universal." In the same way, he did not perceive any need to facilitate Kendrick subject heads for their task of mentoring Ubuntu teachers:

> No, I can't say there was any specific training. I think it was something that we generally spoke about. We sort of just trusted that our staff were capable enough to know what to do in their own contexts. There was no specific training.

These assumptions filtered through the school and were held by a number of Kendrick subject heads as well. Consequently, the inter-department interactions were guided by the goal of replicating practice, rather than adapting Kendrick pedagogies to the Ubuntu subfield. When Kendrick teachers did not find Ubuntu teaches receptive to this intention, frustrations and breakdowns in the relationship invariably developed:

> I don't think the teachers employed at Ubuntu were told they were going to be following exactly the same as what Kendrick did, and that they were meant to follow exactly the same methods and procedures, and follow exactly 'to the T' what we were doing. So, I don't know if they were employed under the impression that, so for me, I didn't have an issue with it, but I don't know if they knew they were meant to be doing everything 'to the T.'

For Mr Bradley, the realisation that teaching at Ubuntu needed to be approached differently from what he had initially assumed shattered his previously "uncontested acceptance" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 73) of 'good' teaching practice at Kendrick. He explained that this realisation only came after two terms of teaching, and his first major examination at Ubuntu:

> Well, after five months of teaching [at Ubuntu] I had said to myself: "They have the same teacher [as the Kendrick learners], they have the same subject matter, they have written the same assessments, they are going to write the same exam." And I naïvely thought they would get the same average as the kids at Kendrick. And at the end of the exam, their class average was 10% lower than that of Kendrick. And so that became a bit of a wake-up call for me.

Mrs Murphy described her similar experience as a shock. With hindsight, she was able to recognise the significance of the fact that the two schools served differently positioned learners:

> It was a shock to me! It can't be a 'one size fits all.' If you are starting up a school with a similar clientele, so if it was a successful township school mentoring another start-up township school,

and they've got the same type of [learner] from the same background, then it could be a 'one size fits all.' I think, in terms of curriculum and academics, we went in too high in certain subjects, and then realised our kids come with a very shaky background. We actually need to build from there. We want to be somewhere by grade 10 or 11, but we need to phase it in. We cannot just go in at the same high levels... Like grade 8 English - the Kendrick child comes from an English family and a feeder school to Kendrick where the standards are known. We simply can't teach at the same level from the beginning.

Because of the different needs and constraints of the Ubuntu subfield, but also complicated by a host of other factors, inter-department interactions and Kendrick-based mentoring battled to achieve what it hoped to do. My analysis of these intended structures is discussed next.

The idealised goal of Kendrick-based mentoring

Kendrick subject heads were placed in positions of authority over Ubuntu teachers, ostensibly to oversee their development into the replicated 'Kendrick Way'. However, while many Ubuntu teachers reported favourably on the forms of capital made available to them, the majority felt that the intended goal of mentoring had completely failed. This reflection is typified in the following excerpt from an interview with two Ubuntu teachers:

GS: Were Kendrick mentoring / coaching you?

Both teachers: No.

Teacher 1: Not as teachers, not at all.

Teacher 2: I don't think they have ever seen us.

Teacher 1: Occasionally [the Kendrick subject head] said to me that he would like to come over and see our school, and see how we teach and see our classrooms. He said that two or three times a couple of years ago, but it hasn't happened…

Teacher 2: I also think (pause) the desire to mentor came from Mr Venter, but not every teacher on the Kendrick staff bought into that…. they didn't even give me enough attention to know who I am.

The final comment in this dialogue was confirmed when I interviewed the subject head for this subject at Kendrick. This Kendrick subject head could not recall or correctly pronounce the names of two of the three Ubuntu teachers who, at that stage of the school start-up had been working in this Ubuntu department for two and three years respectively. Both of these teachers were young, inexperienced teachers, typical of who was perceived to need mentoring. This lack of ownership was apparent in most Kendrick-based mentoring departments.

Despite the inter-department interactions being central to the school planting goals, my analysis suggests that the practical application of these interactions was hamstrung from the outset. I discuss the challenges that emerged in the paragraphs below.

Unclear expectations and lack of buy-in negatively affecting inter-department interactions

While the school planting team held particular perceptions of how teachers at the new school would "slot in" to the Kendrick departments, these ideals were far removed from what transpired in reality. Rather than experiencing a relationship in which mentoring, and the transfer of academic resources, could help shape the pedagogy of Ubuntu teachers, teachers at both schools experienced relationships clouded by a lack of common expectations and characterised by frustration. Underwritten by a lack of buy-in from Kendrick staff, the decision to participate in this school planting interaction had unilateral implications for all teachers, regardless of their willingness to participate.

When Mr Venter approached his staff about the proposed school planting relationship, staff were invited to indicate their willingness to be involved, or to be entirely left out of the relationship with the new school. One of the former-Kendrick teachers on the Ubuntu staff explained this:

> When the whole idea of [the Ubuntu school plant] was brought to the Kendrick staff, they were given the choice as to whether they wanted to be a part of it or not. And I think that is where it went skew: So you had staff being blatantly clear that they didn't want anything to do with the new school, but then when the school started they were told "you will now be involved with Ubuntu."

Mrs Murphy explained how these frustrations impacted on the interaction for some members of staff at the new school:

> My frustrations weren't mine so much as what they were other Ubuntu peoples' (sic). There was one day that [a first year teacher] was in tears, because she felt so intimidated and

> unwanted by the Kendrick staff. ... The problem with Kendrick at the time was that not everyone on the staff wanted to be involved. They didn't have total staff buy-in. Staff were very open about it, they would make their intentions known that they weren't quite keen, they had a lot on their plate and they didn't want to be involved. I got very uptight about the way they treated her, because I wasn't treated like that at all.

Mr Venter, however, appeared to be oblivious to these frustrations:

> If there were (Kendrick) staff members who were particularly negative, it didn't come through. I mean, I'm not sure what people said behind my back; no doubt there were some who were sceptical, but there was no negativity.

Resentment against the expectation to include Ubuntu teachers as "part of the Kendrick subject committees," however, manifested in tasks such as the sharing of tests, memoranda or teaching resources. Although Mr Venter, again, did not perceive these challenges as significant, Ubuntu teachers spoke about how relationships, at times, needed to be managed:

> One of the things that I brought up with Mr Webster when we met, was that there were definite members of the Kendrick department that really weren't bothered with the relationship: It was not their job, it wasn't in their job description, they weren't being paid extra. …. I didn't know who it was, and it wasn't obvious. They weren't openly rude about it. But in the working of the relationship, it became clear that there was resentment.

In the very blunt words of a first year teacher who was part of the founding staff at Ubuntu: "I think we did very well to simply not kill one another … three years is a long time!"

While there were differences across departments, most Kendrick based departments reflected some degree of confusion regarding what the expectations of the interactions were. At the most fundamental level, miscommunication resulted in a lack of clear expectations for teachers. An example of contrasting expectations is attested to by two of the former-Kendrick teachers who both ended up relocating to the new school. These contrasting expectations are shared in the two interview extracts below:

> Former-Kendrick teacher: The impression that I got, even as an ex-Kendrick teacher, was that [Ubuntu teachers] were meant to just be taking…

And I didn't have a problem with that. That is what Mr Venter said we should be doing. ….

GS: So how was the expectation from Mr Venter communicated at Kendrick?

Former-Kendrick teacher: I think it was like, "Yes, we (Kendrick) are going to start by sharing our things because Ubuntu is a new school." But Mr Venter also implied that later we (Ubuntu) were also going to give back, but I don't think that went so well. Staff here at Ubuntu were always made to feel like "We have our things here, they work well, we don't need your input" by the Kendrick teachers.

Another former Kendrick teacher, who initially led an inter-department interaction at Kendrick before relocating to Ubuntu, had a different expectation:

> I was head of [a particular subject] at Kendrick, and I liaised with [the Ubuntu teacher] from the Kendrick side. I would hear absolutely nothing from her for the whole term. I would see her at the beginning of the year for the planning, and then hear nothing for the whole term, unless she wanted something. So, I would like get an email saying can I get the exam? Then I would be like: "You haven't done anything, you haven't helped in anyway. Why must I give you the exam?"

In their interviews for posts at the new school, however, Ubuntu teachers were given a clear set of expectations by Mr Venter. Having chaired all appointment interviews, Mr Venter explained this himself:

> When we interviewed and appointed Ubuntu staff, we made it clear that it was the Kendrick system being introduced. … And then we made it clear to those teachers that they were part of the Kendrick subject committees. They had to be committed to the 'Kendrick Way' of doing things, attend meetings, same tests, et cetera. …. connecting with Kendrick was the first line of mentoring. Subject heads at Kendrick needed to look after the subject teachers at Ubuntu.

When this expectation wasn't met by teachers in the Kendrick department, however it led to frustration, confusion and resentment for Ubuntu teachers. These frustrations manifested when teachers were forced to continue submitting to a 'relationship' in which they had long-since lost their faith:

> … this is what the relationship was meant to be, this is what I was told to expect in my interview, so this is what I am expecting. So, when it is not happening, I shouldn't just be grateful for the mere scraps that they are giving me. For me, Mr Venter had an expectation of what his staff would do, and they haven't followed through on that. And maybe he hasn't followed up on that. You know, what are the repercussions if you don't do this? And there weren't repercussions. It was almost as if it was fine to just be dismissive.

Even if Kendrick subject heads reflected positively on the support and 'mentoring' they had provided, the Ubuntu teachers with whom they had interacted did not always tell the same story:

> I've never gone to moderation - so I call [the Kendrick subject head.] He gives me wishy washy information: In my mind I thought you rock up, you put your file over there, somebody checks it out. No "you be there from this time to that time." He never gave me that information! ... I get there; he doesn't even back me up: "I know her, I'm sorry, we had this miscommunication." So I'm left out in the lurch at my very first moderation. There was no ownership taken for the responsibility of helping me along. It really just left a bad taste in my mouth. I want nothing to do with them, really.

The perspective that Kendrick staff took "no ownership" was attested to by numerous Kendrick heads of department. Two such extracts are shared below:

> I mean, we supply [Ubuntu] with the notes, and that's what we expect. We expect them to teach at that level. I have no control over how they teach, I have no control over if they deviate from the lessons, or if they even using the notes. What they do there, I have no clue.

> I don't know about the others, but we never really checked [if the Ubuntu teachers were doing what we told them]. It wasn't like we took responsibility to check what they were doing, or moderated the quality of what they were doing. It was only some of the senior papers that we moderated, or at least their answers, and the teacher's way of marking.

Ultimately, all but one of the Kendrick-led departments shifted the expectation 'to be mentored' to the Ubuntu teachers: In the words of one of the Kendrick HOD's: "We just went on the way we normally did, and they slotted in. Or out! (Laughing)" Participation in this interaction, however, even if Ubuntu teachers sought to willingly participate, was made challenging by impractical structures. I analyse some of these challenges next.

Impractical structures thwarting effective inter-department interactions

One of the most significant challenges to the intended mentoring structures, according to teachers at both schools, was the fact that the main space in which mentoring was meant to occur was not conducive to the extensive interactions needed to shape, or alter, practice: namely, the weekly subject meeting at Kendrick. This finding is summarised in the extract below, from one of the Kendrick HOD's, answering the question of whether or not she saw mentoring as a goal of the planting relationship:

> That was the idea, but that was quite idealistic. Basically, we saw each other once a week, and then that was a very full meeting, with planning for the week and the term, et cetera. And often we didn't get through everything we were meant to.

For Ubuntu teachers, the impracticability of this structure left them feeling too intimidated to ask for the help they might have needed. The teacher quoted below would have been one of at least ten participants in any given subject meetings at Kendrick:

> But, the thing is that you are going to their meeting, and they have a lot to cover in very little time. So you don't really want to jump in there and be like: "I know you guys have been doing this for twenty years, but please help me to mark an essay..." So, probably if I was more pushy, I'm sure they would have agreed to help me, but it would have had to come from my side…

A number of teachers also cited the infrequency of communication and other interactions as a challenge. Ubuntu teachers typically missed a significant amount of informal communication taking place throughout the day between Kendrick teachers. As one Kendrick HOD explained, "Communication even within a single school's department is difficult. When another school's department needs to be included, that challenge becomes considerable." For many Ubuntu teachers, this challenge was compounded by their Kendrick colleagues' lack of willingness for extensive engagement via electronic communication:

> I had several meetings with Mr Webster and Mr Venter asking them to speak to [the Kendrick subject head] and get him to sort out these communication errors, because we were banging our heads against a brick wall. …. there are very few teachers in the Kendrick department who are technologically proficient. So electronic communication didn't happen to the degree that I, or any of us Ubuntu teachers would have been willing to communicate at. ... It really seems as though [Kendrick teachers] only check email every third day or so, or that it is just something they do in the morning, but don't worry about it again.

Two Ubuntu teachers, in different departments, also reported frustrations with Kendrick teachers using outdated software, in particular, a word processing program that was not made available to teachers at the new school. One of these teachers is quoted below:

> And then there is also one of the teachers in their department, a very senior teacher, who uses [a particularly outdated word processing program], which is ancient and nobody else uses it, and he refuses to change. And so, when I taught my senior class in my first and second year, and I was the only teacher working with that grade, all the material came from him, and all of it was paper hard copies. So it was very difficult for me to manipulate it. I did an awful lot of retyping and trying to make sense of these reams and reams of printing that he sent me. It took me hours!

In at least two departments, these challenges manifested to such a degree that teachers at both schools became disillusioned with their respective management teams. However, the two management teams, in turn, were disconnected from the challenges experienced by post level one teachers at their respective schools. I expand on this finding under the next heading.

Management's failure to recognise teachers' frustrations

Blinded by a doxa of Kendrick-excellence, management at both schools have failed to legitimate frustrations experienced by teachers on either side of the inter-department interactions. Neither principal was able to elaborate on challenges experienced by teachers in the school planting interactions. When asked to comment on how the school planting interactions had played out, Mr Venter's only comment was that, in some departments, teachers had clashed with regard to their personalities:

> Yes, some departments have been more successful than others. There have been personality clashes in some departments where the individuals haven't gelled. But Mr Webster and I have monitored these right the way through, and it has never been a crisis. It's never been a problem. It's just … (pause) … personalities.

I contend that, for both Mr Venter and Mr Webster, the inability to recognise and legitimate frustrations stemmed from their assumption that Kendrick practice was excellent and could be transposed to different positions in the field. I also contend that their positive perceptions of the interactions, certainly for Mr Webster, were coloured by his own experience of leading the mentoring relationship in the department in which he taught. Indeed, my analysis finds that Ubuntu-based mentoring was

significantly more effective, and easier to achieve than Kendrick-based mentoring. Before analysing Ubuntu-based mentoring, however, I briefly discuss the one unique case of Kendrick-based mentoring that was deemed to be effective in achieving the goals of the interaction.

Effective Kendrick-based mentoring: Contextually grounded and personally motivated

The only case of Kendrick-based mentoring deemed by Ubuntu teachers to have effectively addressed the needs of the new school was led by a Kendrick teacher who hailed from, and had significant experience teaching in a school serving learners from a similar socioeconomic context to that of most learners at Ubuntu. This teacher also extended herself beyond the mentoring 'expectations' established by the school planting team. By her own admission, her motivation stemmed from her own experience of having taught in a similar socioeconomic context:

> I certainly saw my role as being a mentor. .... All of the teachers who have taught [my subject] at Ubuntu have been first year teachers in a sense. But I have really enjoyed the mentoring, especially with the aim or focus that Ubuntu has. …. I think I took it upon myself, because of my (previous) experience [at a historically disadvantaged school], and because of having been here (at Kendrick) a number of years.

Having grown up in a segregated, Coloured community during apartheid, this teacher had also taught at a local school in that community for almost twenty years before relocating to Kendrick. As a result, she was embodied with the esteemed Kendrick habitus, while also able to relate to the needs and challenges experienced by both Ubuntu learners and teachers. The two factors that compelled this teacher to extend herself in mentoring – a personal compulsion and an embodied understanding of the Ubuntu context – were also two of the key factors that combined to making Ubuntu-based interactions more successful than those led by other Kendrick subject heads, as discussed in the next section.

Ubuntu-based mentoring: Towards a contextually developed pedagogy

When mentoring of Ubuntu teachers was led by a former-Kendrick teacher currently teaching at Ubuntu, this interaction appears to have been both easier to achieve and more effective in cultivating an appropriate pedagogy. This finding is in line with Mullen's (2012) understanding that mentoring is "inevitably changing, situated, and partial because of its contextual dependency" (p. 8).

One of the initial plans for the school plant was that numerous teachers would travel between the two schools, teaching at both institutions. Logistically, however, this proved difficult and, in the end, only

one teacher, Mr Bradley, did so. The extract below, from an Ubuntu teacher who taught in the department with Mr Bradley, highlights some of the benefits of a mentoring relationship in which daily interaction is possible:

> It was great to have [Mr Bradley in our department]. To have him come in for an hour a day; I could ask him questions. I mean, I attended the department meetings at Kendrick as well, and that was important to me; to have that interaction with them, where are we now, what are we doing next, et cetera? …. But then I also saw Mr Bradley, and so I could chat to him every day: "I know we said this in the meeting, but when is it going to happen?" If I had a question, I could just ask him.

Another teacher, who taught in two departments for the majority of the planting relationship, compared her two 'mentoring' relationships as follows:

> Ja, no, [the Ubuntu-based mentoring] was much better! I think I just felt more that I could - not demand - but I could ask [my subject head] to sit down and explain something… Because we were colleagues, we are at the same school, we have more of a relationship. Whereas with the Kendrick teachers the relationship was much more … (pause) … clinical, if I can say that.

She went on to explain that Ubuntu-based mentoring was "a bit less intimidating. With Kendrick you don't want to look stupid by asking things that you really should know, but with a colleague it is fine to ask those things." Not only having greater confidence and less anxiety accessing the experience of her Ubuntu subject head, she was also more likely to be proactive in pursuing assistance when needed: "We can sit and I can say to him, 'I haven't taught this yet, and didn't do it at school... How would you approach it?'" Left largely to her own devices by her Kendrick mentor, amidst the impractical structures discussed above, she invariably did not access this channel of support:

> The fact that the experienced person is in your school, and not fifteen minutes' drive away, is what really makes the difference. Because the challenges are not things that you think about a month in advance and then you go and arrange a meeting... You could probably do that, but it is not realistic. I mean, you would need to be really demanding to get that time set aside for you, and then also you'd have to really go and reflect on what it is that you need mentoring on. …. But, like, when that person to mentor you is here at school, it's like: "I'm seeing that person now at break." Or, she is right next door so I can just pop in there between lessons.

Teaching in the same department, in the same school, the mentor and mentee in an Ubuntu-based interaction were able to develop a shared "feel for the game" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 66). Significantly for this inexperienced teacher, however, this 'feel' was different from that developed and held by her Kendrick colleagues: "[My subject head] doesn't feel like Kendrick, he feels like Ubuntu!" According to Mrs Murphy, Ubuntu teachers already "started feeling the distance and separating (from the Kendrick 'way') after the end of the second year." She went on to explain her perception of this 'separation':

> I think it is important that senior management and department heads maintain the link with Kendrick, but we will … develop our own way of teaching. The new teacher doesn't have to become the Kendrick-type teacher... The new teachers typically come with their own style, … and we should shape them. Exposing them to the 'Kendrick Way' would be unnecessary. … we must bring them in line with what the 'Ubuntu Way' is. But we need to develop what the 'Ubuntu Way' is, what is the approach to our kids? But that happens over a period of time.

While the school planting team had attempted to limit the ability of non-Kendrick teachers to draw on other dispositions, teachers also reported learning from colleagues who came to the school with experiences of teaching at other schools serving learners of a similar demographic to that of learners at Ubuntu. Amongst others, Mrs Murphy shared her appreciation for the fact that her Kendrick-informed habitus could be tempered by her colleague:

> I was fortunate to have (a particular Coloured teacher) in my department, who came from a school with similar kids [to what we have at Ubuntu], and she has taught me a lot. You know, it's to do with language; it's to do with expectations.

As teachers were left to find the middle ground between the idealised 'Kendrick Way', their own habitus, and the needs of the learners in front of them, their practice appears to have shifted over time. I analyse these pedagogical responses to the Ubuntu subfield in the next section.

Responding to differently positioned learners: Shifting practice towards a new 'way'

Driven by the assumptions of what comprised an ideal secondary education, while perceiving that marginalised learners simply needed more support to acquire the academic capital at stake, the school planting team initially sought to replicate the Kendrick pedagogy at the new school. Ubuntu teachers, however, soon realised that these strategies were not sufficient. For some staff, including Mr Bradley,

quoted below, the understanding of a need for a new pedagogy only developed after a period of time in the Ubuntu subfield:

> Many of the kids at Ubuntu come with a seven year backlog[43]. They don't come with good learning habits. And so yes, [teaching] has to be different. At times you have to say, this is how you do it! I don't care how you used to do it, this is how you need to do it now. And if you think you don't need two hours of homework every night, I'm telling you now you do! They have had to change some of their habits. Whereas, in an advantaged school like Kendrick, many of the kids went to pre-primary for two years, they have come from the top primary schools where they have had the best attention, the best medical aid, the best nutrition, the best carers, the best educational toys. It's a different playing field.

Under the various headings below, I group seven findings of how the practice of Ubuntu teachers differed from that which appears to be characteristic of 'the Kendrick Way'. The focus of these discussions is on how aspects of teaching at Ubuntu were different, or more explicit, than what teaching might have been given the Kendrick doxa new teachers were expected to embrace. In some ways, these findings provide support for Fataar's (2012) argument for

> …an explicit or visible pedagogical approach where the teacher is able to take charge of the scaffolding from horizontal to vertical discourse knowledge insertion. … where space for engagement with students' life world contexts can meaningfully be used as a bridge into the school knowledge code. (Fataar, 2012, p. 54)

The first of these discussions pertains to how Ubuntu teachers sought to explicitly add particular cultural capital to that possessed by their learners.

Teaching more than just the curriculum

From their middle class homes, Kendrick learners brought more valued cultural capital to their schooling than did Ubuntu learners. In the developing pedagogy at the new school, it was clear that Ubuntu teachers were seeking to supplement the world views and general knowledge their learners generally possessed. Either through teachers' own positioning or by virtue of strategic activities, many of the forms of cultural capital teachers sought to develop in this way were typical of middle class norms.

[43] Referencing the time period of seven years that learners would typically have spent in primary school prior to Grade 8 intake.

While not disregarding the need to transform the field, Mills (2008b) finds value in providing learners with these dispositions and forms of cultural capital, especially when they are valued in the educational field and the wider field of power:

> It is also important that students have access to … practices that make up the cultural capital valued by dominant groups. Teachers play a key role in this accumulation process, particularly for students who have 'cultural capital in the wrong currency'. (Mills, 2008b, p. 85)

The value of this strategy is illustrated below. In this case, a former-Kendrick teacher realises how not explicitly developing a middle class vocabulary leaves Ubuntu learners disadvantaged when assessments are not sensitive to the experience of learners:

> …like today, I gave my kids an assignment, and the whole scenario is based around somebody making slip covers for patio furniture. And they need to do cost analysis, size calculations, selling price, et cetera. A child comes to me and says: "Ma'am, what is a patio?" They haven't got patios! I had to *Google* it and show them pictures, they don't know the concept. It's great that we can expand their knowledge and vocabulary, but these kids are disadvantaged in this assignment! Grade 11 level hey! This is an exercise that I have been using for years at Kendrick and now here [at Ubuntu]. They are not stupid kids; they just don't have a patio, so they don't know patio furniture! They don't have a swimming pool!

Numerous other Ubuntu teachers reflected deliberate attempts to expose their learners to middle class resources. The extract below reflects how one of the Ubuntu language departments deliberately compensates for the fact that their learners hail from less literate homes.

> Also, I think Kendrick has a much more literate student body, parents who are educated; upper or upper middle class families. So, in a sense, a lot of the education we feel we give our students, the Kendrick kids get when they go home. [Kendrick parents] are politicians and lawyers and academics, et cetera.

Even when not always implicitly promoting the dispositions and cultural capital of the middle classes, Ubuntu teachers were generally more aware of shifting learners' dispositions than were Kendrick teachers. Teachers in at least three Ubuntu subject departments specifically mentioned the fact that they strategically used their classroom contact time to engage learners on topics not necessarily covered by the syllabus. An example of such an Ubuntu strategy is shared, below, in this case reflecting a

strategic desire to empower learners with the intellectual resources to overcome social inequalities and engage with social justice:

> Can I also add, when my colleague said we are a bit edgier: It's really because in [a language] you are teaching a skill, but really you are exploring ideas. We feel that the material we get from [Kendrick] is a bit empty politically. And I think that is a flaw. So, when I say politically, I am not talking about party politics; I'm talking about challenging students' ways of seeing the world, and ways of being in the world. And I think that is the biggest change we have made: I talk consistently, using subject matter regarding things about social justice and discrimination, identity, gender, race, religion, culture, and for me that is a huge part of the [language] classroom at Ubuntu, and from what I can see, [in the material we get from them,] it is almost entirely lacking at Kendrick.

The teachers from this subject department went on to express frustration that the notes and lesson plans they received from Kendrick did not strive to stimulate learners beyond the academic prescriptions of the curriculum. Rather, the Kendrick prescribed curriculum was described as "empty", "antiquated" and showing a "disconnect with youth culture." Deviating drastically from the material provided by Kendrick, these teachers brought what they perceived to be stimulating, but strategic conversations into their pedagogy. Typical of the developing 'Ubuntu Way,' these strategies also sought to keep learners more engaged in learning than what the original Kendrick material might have done. This strategy was also apparent in numerous other Ubuntu academic departments.

Making school fun: Ubuntu's need to make learning attractive

In line with the understanding that many poorly positioned learners engage in their schooling with neither "the keenness to learn of lower middle class children or the cultural capital of upper-class children" (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 41), numerous Ubuntu teachers and learners, perceived that learning, and school in general, needed to be deliberately 'made attractive' at Ubuntu. Working so as to engage learners positively, Ubuntu teachers employed distinct strategies to be more familiar with their learners, "be the thermostat" and make learning and school less alien than might have been the case otherwise. In the dialogue below, two Ubuntu learners explain this institutional strategy:

> *Learner 1:* I think a lot of lessons have the basic that a teacher can just teach the lesson, and leave the kids to get on with it. You know, just cover the syllabus. But that doesn't happen here. I feel that a lot of the teachers put a lot of extra

information in to make it more interesting than just having to go study the work.

GS: Good, so why do you think teachers go that extra mile in their teaching?

Learner 1: I think if they didn't it would be a lot harder to motivate you, and so it makes the subjects more interesting, and you want to learn.

Learner 2: I also think it creates a better atmosphere in the class. When the teachers do that, [the learners] actually want to learn, they look forward to going to class. Instead of thinking "Ahh, I have to work now" they are actually thinking this lesson is going to be fun because the teacher makes it fun. So we have a happier atmosphere in the class.

Teachers at Kendrick, meanwhile, gave the impression that learners were particularly driven in their personal academic pursuits, even without teacher encouragement: "Ummm, I think most of them want to learn, … The kids are very demanding here. …. keep [us on our] toes." Significantly, the one Kendrick department which mentioned an explicit attempt to "try make it fun" was the Afrikaans department, teaching a language and a subject which is typically resented by learners in English Cape Town schools:

> In grade 8 and 9 we really try to make it fun… So we don't have a bad attitude amongst our kids. In fact, they often say that Afrikaans is their best classes, they enjoy their teachers.

In a similar way, Ubuntu teachers perceived that learners struggled or lost their motivation if they could not follow the links in teaching, and if they could not relate teaching to assessment. At Kendrick, this was not as necessary.

Structured learning: Not assuming learners can draw the links themselves

Ubuntu teachers found that their teaching was more effective when they were explicit with what they wanted their learners to do or achieve. Mr Bradley explains his adjustment, and application of this practice, below:

> Also, at Ubuntu I was more intentional where I would decide what I wanted to do, and how I wanted to get there. So I was more prescriptive. … So for example at Ubuntu I would say things like: "Okay, firstly we are all going to do a diagram. So, all of you, get out your pencils, and draw

> a diagram of what is happening. Now, we are all going to tabulate: write down what we have, the values and the units. Now, all get out your datasheets. What is the topic we are working with, where are those formula's? Right, now, which formula is suitable for us to use?" I would literally take them by the hand in order to teach them structure and good habits. At Kendrick you don't have to be as prescriptive, you can get by leaving the kids on their own! … But it really has made me into a better teacher. I am more aware of these things here at Kendrick as well now, and so am more prescriptive [at Kendrick] too.

Another Ubuntu teacher, who had observed her Kendrick subject head in an attempt to better understand the Kendrick-practice, had come to a similar understanding. Although not able to verbalise it, this teacher recognises the fact the Kendrick learners possess the cultural capital that allows them to work independently, even without being 'spoon-fed' or explicitly led:

> The biggest difference (in teaching at the two schools) for me is the way that Kendrick teachers teach their learners. I feel that their learners, even if they had no teacher, they would still be able to succeed because they just have a different ability to work. Whereas here, I find I have to spoon-feed the learners and still draw the links for them. Our [Ubuntu] learners don't make those links themselves.

With Kendrick teachers less sensitive to this pedagogical need, Ubuntu teachers became frustrated when notes, lessons plans and assessments showed limited connection to relevant curriculum outcomes. Worse yet, was when direct links did not exist between classroom activities and assessment:

> But for me the single most frustrating thing of the [inter-department interaction] was that, for example we would teach a whole lot of language, and then get to the test or the exam, and the test would be examining stuff that we hadn't taught. Or we would teach a novel, and the test would be examining a theme that we hadn't focussed on. And I think that is so unbelievably wrong! It discourages the children! Because then they get this thing that they can't trust the education process.

This teacher's frustration resonates with Feldman's (2015, citing Delpit, 2005) finding that, if learners from poorer environments are not able to draw the links between work done in class and their assessment, a danger exists that they will perceive themselves as a failure and that education is not for them. On the other hand, the finding that, the 'missing links' between work done in class and that

tested in assessments is less crucial at Kendrick is in line with Bourdieu's understanding of the educational system:

> Thus, to take examinations as an example, it is quite clear that the more vaguely what they ask for is defined whether it be a question of knowledge or of presentation, and the less specific the criteria adopted by the examiners, the more they favour the privileged. ... the more they divide the candidates of differing social classes. (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 40-41)

In addition to being prescriptive and explicit when covering new work, Ubuntu teachers also felt the need to constantly measure, and re-establish the academic foundations on which they were building.

Building further while (re)laying foundations

In contrast to the Kendrick-assumptions that learners possessed strong academic foundations, Ubuntu teachers were not necessarily able to trust the academic foundations their learners brought to school. Mr Webster explained that this was something the new school had been aware of from the outset of the start-up:

> Definitely the early years at Ubuntu, the grade 8 and 9 years, to adjust the curriculum and the style of teaching, et cetera. To bear in mind that a number of kids are going to need bridging from what they had at primary school. Either topics that haven't been well taught, or haven't been covered, or gaps in understanding, Whereas Kendrick would assume much higher base-level understanding, and move on quickly from there.

Despite this, Mrs Murphy felt that the school still "went in too high." By the school's fourth year, however, many Ubuntu teachers possessed an understanding of the need to scaffold learners in their engagement with the curriculum. Many of these teachers were particularly sensitive to the relative language skills of their learners:

> One that certainly stands out for me is the terminology used in test and exam papers, and also in normal teaching. … if we are using notes from Kendrick, we need to be aware of that. A silly example: when I was teaching at Kendrick and I spoke about *genres* in Arts and Culture, maybe I was wrong to do this, but I didn't necessarily go on to explain what I meant. But here, the first time I taught that work, I said the word genre and kind of got a couple of looks. So I was like,

> "okay, do we understand the term genre? What does it mean?" So at Kendrick, the assumption was that the kids knew.

For one of the language teachers, the challenge was related to learners' grasp of grammatical skills:

> … a lot of our students come from homes that aren't text rich, and so aren't literate in a sophisticated sense. And so I would imagine; I've never marked a set of Kendrick papers, but I would imagine that their style of writing is considerably different. Like here, I'm trying to teach kids how to write a sophisticated literary essay, but I'm still teaching them how to use capital letters...

In order to overcome these weak foundations, while dealing with current curricular demands, Ubuntu teachers needed to find a balance between ensuring work was well-understood, and simply completing the syllabus. Carrying learners through these challenges became a significant responsibility for Ubuntu teachers, especially in light of what appears to be a greater need to ensure that their learners remained positively engaged, and upbeat, regarding their academic endeavours. I analyse this need next.

Compensating for brittle shells: Developing confidence through structured lessons

For many learners, schooling at Ubuntu left them feeling constantly like a fish out of water, to use the Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992) analogy. While most learners reported significant drops in their marks at High School, it is worth remembering that they had been very strongly selected to attend Ubuntu, and had invariably been recognised amongst the top achievers in their primary schools. To feel like they were failing academically was not only a foreign experience for them, but one which was made even worse when they felt out of place in an institution modelled on a "White … upper class school."

Bourdieu, and Moore (2012), predict this anxiety, particularly for poorly placed learners in a school modelling itself on another institution near the top of the field:

> …learners possessing higher degrees of 'distinction', being more familiar with the 'legitimate culture', will engage in the process of education with more confidence, authority and assurance. Learners not possessing the valued cultural capitals, however, will come across as 'vulgar', unsure of themselves and disorientated, being left with high degrees of anxiety. (Moore, 2012, p. 101).

While many teachers could relate to this anxiety, it was unfounded: “Our kids’ confidence in their own ability is much lower than Kendrick kids. So for me, we have to motivate our kids, and convince them and encourage them that they are as good, if not better.” In this way, the holding of the ‘support net’ I introduced in chapter five became an integral part of their classroom pedagogy as teachers challenged, pushed and motivated their learners to succeed. According to the Ubuntu school counsellor, however, the classroom was a crucial space of belonging, and if learners slid down the academic track, she found they battled to find their way back again:

> So I think [our learners] need to develop more of that ... (pause) ... self-belief. When I see kids failing academically, I see them losing hope and not feeling that they can fight back and turn that around.

In order to ensure that learners remained engaged, and not losing hope in his lessons, Mr Bradley explained that he learnt to structure lessons in such a way that learners become empowered and encouraged throughout the lesson, building confidence in their ability as they progressed:

> I had to really work hard at starting my lessons more simply to engage [the Ubuntu learners]. And I also found that I had to rework some of the exercises that I had always used into really well-graded exercises, with the problems getting more complex. And I also tried to make use of learning problems.

The challenge for teachers to keep their learners engaged was made even more necessary by the understanding that the most poorly placed learners invariably went back to homes where their challenges at school were neither understood nor supported.

> … the most challenging thing … must be breaking their mould and their cycle of poverty. Because we push them and mention things that must sound like the American dream; “you get high maths and science marks, do well and go to university.” But at the end of the day, mom and dad gets by, they pull grant, mom gets around from job to job and dad is never there, but they get by. And if your parents are your role-models, then why would you want to break that cycle?

In supporting learners through these challenges, as well as to facilitate the learner development they sought, I find that Ubuntu teachers often engaged learners more intentionally than appears to have been the case at Kendrick. I present this analysis next.

Engaging learners through intentional pedagogical relationships

As Ubuntu teachers sought to assist learners in developing the forms of capital and habitus valued by the new school, they tended to be notably more intentional and relational in drawing learners into their lessons than appeared the norm at Kendrick. For many teachers, the reserved, disengaging manner of Ubuntu learners in class caused them frustration. For teachers who had taught at both schools, this non-engagement was notably different from the confident, entitled manner with which Kendrick learners engaged their teachers and schooling in general.

Mrs Murphy describes her perspectives of the contrasting classroom interactions in the extract below:

> … our kids don't ask questions. We've been struggling for four years now with this current Grade 11 class, and they simply don't ask questions. They don't feel confident; they don't feel empowered. The Kendrick kids are over-confident, and don't even hesitate to ask something. Whereas the Ubuntu kid feels: "You are the adult, I can't ask you anything..."

These reserved characteristics of the Ubuntu learners resonate with the insights of Moore (2012), as quoted in the previous section, and Lareau (2011) : "In crucial ways, middle class family members appeared reasonably comfortable and entitled (in their academic pursuits), while working-class and poor family members appeared uncomfortable and constrained" (p. 242).

Invariably seeking interactive and enthusiastic classroom engagements, Ubuntu teachers needed to entice learners into this participation:

> At Kendrick, the majority of the class would say: "Ma'am, we need to get this work done!" Whereas at Ubuntu, you as the teacher have to almost psyche them up, saying "come on guys, *WE* need to get this done." At Ubuntu, the teacher needs to be the emotional thermostat.

For another teacher, engaging learners was necessary as a means to ensure learning had taken place:

> [When I still taught at Kendrick] I would explain the whole topic, and just expect them to get on with it. Whereas now, [at Ubuntu], I am telling myself that I have to have a discussion with them afterwards to get where they don't understand. So for me, at Kendrick, you would teach and the kids would question, and then you would go on. Whereas here, you need to make sure they are thinking and they get it!

A pair of grade 11 learners also identified that Ubuntu teachers were more deliberate than they might have expected. Further, for them, it was a characteristic of teachers who had been immersed in the Ubuntu subfield for a period of time:

> The teachers that have been here for a while kind of have this culture of a relationship between the students and the teachers, and so when a new teacher comes in, they can be coming from a different school with a different culture. And so I think it can be quite hard for the students to relate to that.

These relationships were not only significant for engaging learners in academic lessons, but also for supporting learners through personal challenges, as well as for disciplinary interventions:

> Sometimes when they are angry and naughty in your class, it's because of issues and things going on at home. If you actually engage with them, you know, pull them aside and chat to them, then things change. Because then you understand, and they know that you know, and that you care. And that's very important; that they know you care.

Two teachers specifically compared their developing Ubuntu pedagogy to the strict, authoritarian-type structures that had previously been their default strategy:

> Sometimes you have to break it down … if you just shout at them and tell them they are wrong they would just crawl into their shell. ... So I have learnt to adapt to the kids, and … interact more at their level rather than from an authoritative level, because some kids just don't respond to that “authority at the top, shouting down.” You know? We need to get to their level and have a chat: “Can you see why I am angry?” Or, “What is wrong?”

For another teacher, this shift in practice was indicative of a shift in her own habitus:

> Coming from my previous school which had a very forceful, authoritarian approach, I think the biggest lesson that I learnt here in the first six months [was that that method wasn’t working here]. I finally learnt that with these kids it is so much better to have a conversation with them: “Do you understand why I am upset? Do you understand that what you are doing could have more of an impact than just making you feel better at this point?”

Engaging learners in this way, through teaching as well as in other aspects of pedagogical intervention, left teachers feeling drained and exhausted. In addition to the emotional demands of these

interventions, the time required to effectively engage learners in disciplinary, emotional or academic interventions was often considerably more than teachers had available to give. Despite the cost, these support efforts did not go unnoticed, as perceived by many Ubuntu learners.

Placing learners in the centre: "It feels like the teachers care more than other schools"

In line with the institutional goal of ensuring that "relationships are right, to hold the support net," many members of the Ubuntu subfield perceived its teachers to be extending themselves beyond the call of duty. As one learner put it, "It feels like the teachers care more than other schools." Contrasted to the manner in which Kendrick learners were required to "sink or swim", Ubuntu teachers lived out the expectation to meet the learners at their point of need, in many cases availing themselves outside of class contact time: "The teachers say that you can go to them any time with your work if you don't understand. They are very kind."

Amongst others, this expectation was created by Mr Webster regularly reinforcing the goal for staff to create a "general ethos of being a caring, community-conscious school." This ethos is attested to by a grade 11 learner, below:

> I think it is just that the teachers have a great interest in their learners, not just academically; I think they just want to know that their students are doing well, that they are feeling happy at the school. For example, [a particular post level 1 teacher] will always come and ask me about how this thing is going at home. And once I told her about something that I wanted to speak publicly to the school about, and she arranged the grade assembly for me to do so. It's personal things, and the teachers don't get paid for it, they just have such an interest in their students. It's great.

As mentioned earlier, the challenges of teaching in this environment were often framed as "exhausting", leaving teachers "drained" and "burnt out." In the next section, I briefly analyse the comparatively high turnover rate of Ubuntu teachers in the school's short history.

Teacher turnover: Frustration in a disrupted field

Expected to play the game in a particular way according to the ideals of the school planting interaction, but responding to the field position of their learners, many Ubuntu teachers found themselves pulled in conflicting directions. In many cases, this tension led to significant frustration and has contributed to an unexpectedly high turnover rate of post level one teachers during the school's first six years. In this

section I briefly consider the turnover statistics, and discuss some of the factors that appear to have contributed to the frustrations of these teachers.

Of the thirty-three teacher appointments made during the first five years[44] of the Ubuntu start-up, sixteen (48%) had left the school by the end of its sixth year. For post level one teachers, this statistic is actually 55% (15 out of 27 having left the school), as only one out of six members of the management team (17%) appointed during this time had vacated their posts. Significantly, three of the four Black teachers appointed to the school in this time vacated their posts, also with various degrees of frustration. While it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss fully the reasons for these teachers' departures, it is significant to note that at least eight of the sixteen members of staff who had vacated their posts during this time admitted to being frustrated with various aspects of the school's management, its transplanted systems or policies, or the institutional expectations placed on the school's teachers.

Lupton (2005), writing about the challenges of teaching learners in disadvantaged contexts, discusses some of the challenges these teachers would have experienced:

> Pupil–teacher contact time was diverted from teaching and learning activities in a variety of directions: counselling pupils, giving out and collecting equipment, dealing with major behavioural problems, and reinforcing school rules and classroom order in the face of myriad minor distractions… Time was not the only issue. These situations could be emotionally stressful for teachers, creating personal and professional vulnerability and calling on high-level interpersonal skills in situations where to do or say the wrong thing could result in loss of control or respect from the whole group. Having the confidence to negotiate such situations, minimise disruption and concentrate on teaching and learning was not easy, especially for newer teachers or those transferring from less challenging settings. (Lupton, 2005, p. 597)

In addition to challenges regarding their preparedness for the school's context, many of the Ubuntu teachers felt that their professional autonomy was compromised by the school planting interaction. With the school planting interaction imposing particular institutional conditions and expectations on staff at the new school, the established Ubuntu subfield was neither organically developed nor autonomous in its functioning. While staff did appreciate the associated benefits of the interaction, as

[44] This analysis includes part-time staff who have remained at the school for more than one year, excluding part-time staff who taught at Ubuntu for one year only.

discussed in chapter five, the imposed expectations of the school planting team, also denied them the opportunity to employ or develop their own, contextually relevant strategies. As mentioned earlier, this frustration was either with transferred management structures or with activities and approaches imposed by departments, if not a combination of these and other factors:

> Sometimes I just feel that, although [Kendrick teachers] are better able to interpret aspects of the curriculum, I sometimes feel that they are too dogmatic with enforcing how lessons need to be taught, and not wanting to hear what you want to say. …it has been frustrating.

This turnover of teachers has had additional implications for the staff who remained at the school. With numerous new teachers constantly joining the school, because of both a high staff turnover and natural growth as the school grew to full capacity, teachers who had been at the school for longer were required to carry a higher load of responsibilities. The high frequency of this turnover, almost double that of Kendrick over a comparative period of time, therefore, must also be considered as an additional cost of the school planting interaction and start-up.

Concluding remarks pertaining to teaching in the Ubuntu context

In this section I have analysed the experiences and reported practices of Ubuntu teachers. The pedagogy which developed at the new school was notably different to that deemed as 'ideal practice' at Kendrick in ways that had not been expected by the school planting team.

Partly as a result of the divergent practices which emerged at Ubuntu, the intended mentoring structures did not achieve what the school planting team had hoped they would. This was particularly true for interactions led by Kendrick-based teachers. On the whole, Kendrick based mentors were not able to help teachers at Ubuntu to address the needs of less advantaged learners. The potential for effective mentoring was further constrained by impractical mentoring structures, misunderstandings and a breakdown between the ideals of the school planting team and those of post level one teachers at Kendrick. When led by Ubuntu-based teachers, however, mentoring was deemed to be notably more effective, easier to achieve and, significantly, contextually grounded.

The 'Ubuntu Way', informed by the needs of learners, dispositions of teachers and availability of resources, developed throughout the school start-up period. This is in line with Bourdieu's view that, while habitus generates activities, habitus develops differently in different contexts.

> It is only in the relation to certain structures that habitus produces given discourses or practices. … We must think of it as a sort of spring that needs a trigger and, depending upon the stimuli and structure of the field, the very same habitus will generate different, even opposite, outcomes. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 135)

The fact that teaching practice shifted, however, as quickly as it did in the absence of strategic staff development in this regard, provides an indication of just how different the Ubuntu subfield is from that of Kendrick.

It is in light of these pedagogical shifts, however, that a significant contradiction plays out: While the practices of individual teachers, and even that of specific academic departments, were able to shift relatively fluidly over the course of the school start-up, the practices and policies of the school management team were more rigid. This inertia in management, underpinned by a doxa of Kendrick-excellence embodied by the majority of the school's management team, led to various tensions as post level one teachers experienced the misfit between arrangements and expectations prescribed by management, and the needs and urges of their developing pedagogical habitus. Consequently, post level one teachers at Ubuntu became frustrated and disillusioned with the school's management team.

In the next chapter I present my conclusions and discuss the emergent themes from this and the preceding chapters.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I consolidate the themes that have emerged from my analysis in order to answer the research questions, summarise my findings, and raise some pointers which might inform further research.

This study has sought to interrogate the impact Kendrick has had on the Ubuntu start-up, and the ability of the start-up team to interpret the needs of learners from poorer homes. I have done so by analysing the decisions and actions of the school planting team, as well as the responses to the school planting intervention. In doing so, I have also called into question the social hierarchy that was legitimated by asking Kendrick to lead this start-up and interrogated the implications of this hierarchy for learners from poorer social contexts.

Overview of study

This was a case study of an intervention in which Ubuntu, a new school strategically seeking to serve historically disadvantaged learners, was modelled on an existing school, Kendrick, which served a privileged community. The study presented an opportunity to explore broader assumptions that education offered in middle class schools is in some way inherently 'better' than that offered in working class schools, that it is suited to learners from all social contexts, and that it can be taken as a model for education in schools that serve poorer learners. The case-specific question asked in this study is:

> How has the institutional habitus of Kendrick, its capitals, and its position in the field of education impacted the establishment of Ubuntu?

The more generalised, and possibly more important question, however, asks what the findings of this research suggest with regards to the imposition of middle class perspectives and norms in the provision of education for working class learners?

The school planting intervention played out over a period of three years, during which the school planting team sought to replicate the institutional arrangements and resources that Kendrick had developed at the new school. These interventions, which included the relocation of Kendrick teachers, the replication of various arrangements and practices at the new school, and the mentoring of staff into 'the Kendrick Way', has been analysed as school planting strategies. The experiences and responses of teachers, learners and parents at both schools were also analysed with regards to these interventions.

To conduct this study, Bourdieu's "thinking tools" (Wacquant, 1989, p. 50) were used. Bourdieu's concept of capital was useful for understanding characteristics of Kendrick which were valued, and therefore replicated or used to establish the new school. This included cultural capital in the form of knowledge and pedagogical or managerial expertise. By virtue of their relationship with Kendrick, Ubuntu was granted social and economic capital through Kendrick's social network and resources. At the same time, Kendrick gave the new school symbolic capital by virtue of association with Kendrick's reputation as a leading school. The concept of habitus, or embodied dispositions, gave me a language to describe the mannerisms, orientations and perspectives of various individuals as they fulfilled their responsibilities or responded to the school planting interventions. The concept of institutional habitus has assisted in describing how the 'Kendrick Way' was transferred to the new school with regard to institutional arrangements and activities. Implicit in these transfers, however, are various assumptions. In the case of the Kendrick doxa, these assumptions were mutually held and reinforced by multiple research participants all embodying a Kendrick-informed habitus. For me, it is in interrogating these assumptions that some of the most significant findings of this study emerge.

To position this study, I presented literature reviews on three topics. I discussed how many studies of South African education follow the school effectiveness framework. Writers who adopt this approach tend to assume that there is a 'context neutral' approach to delivering effective schooling in all social contexts. Generally, they do not acknowledge that the approach they advocate has emerged in one particular – usually middle class – environment (see S. Taylor, 2011; van der Berg, 2008; Winnaar, Frempong, & Blignaut, 2015 for examples of this approach, and Thrupp, 2001 for a critique on school effectiveness research). I also introduced literature which, invariably opposing the arguments of school effectiveness protagonists, focuses on the significance of context in education. Thereafter, a brief discussion was presented pertaining to literature on school start-ups, and on various forms of collaboration and collegiality within and between schools.

As a participant researcher in this case study, I was afforded an insider's perspective into the workings of the school planting interaction. While I was aware of researcher's bias, this positioning provided me with valuable insights into the interaction and the roles and experiences of various research participants. To obtain data for this study, I consulted numerous historical documents, conducted multiple individual and group interviews, and drew on personal observations. The analysis of this data was presented in chapters five, six and seven.

In the remainder of this chapter I discuss four dominant themes which have emerged from my analysis. Underlying all these themes is the assumption held by the school planting team that the 'Kendrick Way' could simply be transferred to the new school as if education activities were neutral in relation to social context. The findings discussed below question this assumption and suggest that the strategies of the school planting team reflect the dominant field-position served by Kendrick, but are not necessarily suited to the intended beneficiaries of this school planting interaction.

Support and stability through a 'settled' environment

Regardless of the different social contexts from which learners at the two schools were drawn, there were clear advantages to the strategy of initiating the Ubuntu start-up. By adopting established systems and utilising the teaching resources made available, all Ubuntu staff had some of their responsibilities reduced and simplified, and the school was afforded a 'settled' environment from the outset. These advantages were especially apparent during the first two years of the school planting interaction, while the new school was still small and growing.

Kendrick made various forms of capital available to Ubuntu, including cultural capital transferred in the form of experienced persons, technical 'know how' and institutional arrangements. These transfers reduced the need for the new school to develop their own policies and arrangements. In addition to saving the Ubuntu management team considerable time and effort, the implementation of these policies and arrangements were simplified by the fact that a number of Kendrick teachers, familiar with these systems, also transferred to the new school. The result, as reported by numerous participants, was a 'settled' and well-organised structure from the moment the school was established.

The arrangements and structures carried over from Kendrick by the school planting team were known to all former-Kendrick teachers who were employed at the new school. Deemed effective at Kendrick, this institutional culture, or way of doing, was viewed as an exemplary set of arrangements and practices.

The privileging of Kendrick arrangements and procedures at Ubuntu meant that Kendrick teachers found the prospect of moving to Ubuntu attractive, while applicants from Kendrick were preferred when management and teaching posts were to be filled at Ubuntu. By the time the school reached capacity in its fifth year, five out of six members of the school's management team were former-Kendrick teachers. These appointments strengthened the hierarchy and desired institutional culture the school planting team were hoping to develop.

While all Ubuntu teachers who participated in this research perceived value in the relationship between the schools, the school planting interaction was also contested. Frustrations developed regarding the logistical arrangements pertaining to inter-department interactions and the proposed mentoring arrangements. Tensions also developed when Ubuntu teachers came to believe that transferred Kendrick arrangements did not meet the needs and accommodate the constraints experienced by learners at Ubuntu. These tensions are discussed next.

Distinct field positions, distinct needs

The school planting team deliberately intended Ubuntu to serve learners who were from a poorer socioeconomic environment than those attending Kendrick. The school planting team did not, however, consider the implications of this different positioning, and underestimated the extent to which the two subfields would call for different strategies. As a consequence, the modelling of the Kendrick Way and replication of a Kendrick institutional culture contributed to various challenges for both teachers and learners.

In this section, I discuss how the goals of the school planting interaction related to the different positioning of the two schools with regard to: (a) shifts in teaching practice at Ubuntu, (b) differentiated responses from learner groups at the new school, and (c) the manner in which transferred management arrangements and practices were taken up in the Ubuntu context.

Divergent teaching practices

The initial understanding of the school planting team was that teaching did not need to be approached differently at the two schools. It was therefore intended that the Ubuntu teachers would, over the first three years of the school start-up, be mentored into the Kendrick pedagogy to establish the idealised teaching practices at the new school. As Ubuntu teachers came to an understanding of their learners, however, their pedagogy deviated naturally from that prescribed by Kendrick subject heads.

It is in this deviation that the differences between the two subfields became apparent to teachers at the new school. This reflexivity in teaching practice is significant in how it contrasts with the considerably slower reflexivity in management structures. Operating with the “autonomy …(that)… is integral to the field of education; …the iconic figure of the lone teacher with her/his class in a single classroom…” (Thomson, 2010, p. 13), teachers were able to show greater sensitivity to contextual conditions when engaging individually in the Ubuntu classroom than when sitting around the management table.

Ubuntu teachers deviated from lesson and curriculum plans, as well as from the teaching methodology typically employed at Kendrick. These deviations were driven by a developing understanding that teaching and learning at Ubuntu should be paced more slowly so as to build learners' confidence while providing more opportunities for learners to consolidate prior knowledge. These pedagogical shifts also sought to provide cultural capital that appears to be taken for granted at Kendrick, in line with Bourdieu's understanding that poorly positioned learners "can acquire only with great effort something which is *given* to the children of the cultivated classes" (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 114; original emphasis). Ubuntu learners were reported to respond better to classroom activities when significant aspects of lessons were made explicitly clear. Ubuntu teachers also made an effort to relate lesson content to the lives of their learners, and to make learning and classroom interaction less alien. These strategies were often most successful where teachers were able to engage learners individually, drawing on personal relationships if such relationships existed.

The school start up included plans that new Ubuntu teachers receive mentoring from senior teachers in the same subject areas. Most of these mentors were based at Kendrick. Following this divergence of teaching practice, but also critical of arrangements which did not allow for effective mentoring, many Ubuntu teachers began to grow disillusioned with the 'mentoring' relationships to which they were expected to submit. Mentoring by senior teachers based at Ubuntu, however, was more positively received by Ubuntu teachers, partly because Ubuntu based mentors were perceived as being more sensitive to the needs of Ubuntu learners and the Ubuntu context.

In the next section, I discuss the responses of learners at Ubuntu to the start-up process.

Learner responses

While some Ubuntu learners achieved results that parallel the achievement of Kendrick learners, others struggled to come to terms with the demands of the new school. In this regard, it is significant that the school experienced a drop-out rate that was notably higher than initially expected by the school planting team. It is also significant that Coloured learners distinctly outperformed their Black peers academically, and that Black learners were 50% more likely to drop out than were Coloured learners.

In the South African context, these statistics reflect the country's stratified historical inequality, with Black South Africans historically the most disadvantaged group. As detailed in chapter six, Black learners at Ubuntu generally hail from poorer families than do their Coloured classmates. In terms of their class habitus and disposable forms of capital, Black learners are generally positioned further from the

'Kendrick Way'. As a result, they are more alienated in the Ubuntu subfield. Coloured learners, on the other hand, generally hailing from more middle class homes, are more closely attuned to the transferred Kendrick arbitrary and, therefore, better positioned to exert their dominance in the developing subfield. Thomas (2002) talks to this different positioning within an institution:

> If a student feels that they do not fit in, that their social and cultural practices are inappropriate and that their tacit knowledge is undervalued, they may be more inclined to withdraw early. This can be contrasted to a student from the dominant social class who, in Bourdieu's words 'encounters a social world of which it is a product, it is like a "fish in water": it does not feel the weight of the water and it takes the world about itself for granted.' (Thomas, 2002, p. 431; citing Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 127)

The alienation of Black learners at Ubuntu is given further context by the fact that three out of the four Black teachers employed during the start-up period also left the school during the start-up period. Two of these teachers were particularly frustrated, feeling alienated from the Ubuntu institutional culture.

At the level of classroom interaction, Ubuntu teachers lamented the fact that they did not receive any specific training or sensitising to the needs of their poorly positioned learners. Feldman (2015, referencing Hattam et al, 2009) speaks specifically to the pedagogic strategies that teachers might utilise in order to compensate for poorly positioned learners. She suggests that schools and teachers should find "ways to design curricular and pedagogical work to include the literacy and other cultural dispositions of less powerfully positioned students in order to redistribute the 'culture of power' more equitably" (p. 136). With Ubuntu teachers not specifically compensating for the unequal positioning of their learners, they effectively allowed the perpetuation of historical inequalities between the learners in their classrooms:

> … by treating all pupils, however unequal they may be in reality, as equal in rights and duties, the educational system is led to give its *de facto* sanction to initial cultural inequalities.
>
> (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 113)

To compound this undifferentiated pedagogical positioning, institutional arrangements at the new school further served to disadvantaged the most poorly positioned learners. I discuss some of these emergent findings in the next section.

Management arrangements

Embedded in the transferred forms of capital and embodied in the habitus of former-Kendrick teachers were assumptions and practices which were simultaneously carried to the new school. These assumptions and practices were based on ideological and practical conditions within the 'model' school and were not necessarily compatible with the field position served by Ubuntu. Disjunctures soon emerged between these assumptions, which were premised on 'sameness' and the need to be 'fair' at Kendrick, and the diverse developmental needs of learners within the Ubuntu context.

In this section, I discuss three significant examples of how the transferred management arrangements appear to have been inappropriate strategies for the field position served by the new school context. The first of these examples pertains to staff development.

Staff development

Earlier in this section I discussed the development of a contextually grounded Ubuntu pedagogy. While teachers who were able to compare teaching at Ubuntu with their experiences at Kendrick were able to recognise the need for a different pedagogy as early as six months into the planting relationship, other teachers reported that it took them a considerable period of time to adjust to the needs of their learners. In the absence of strategic guidance regarding teaching to the needs to poorly positioned learners, teachers effectively needed to 're-invent the wheel', themselves. Ironically, with the school planting team prioritizing the appointment of teachers from privileged backgrounds, expertise from this part of the field was generally limited at Ubuntu.

Not sharing a class habitus with their learners, nor possessing an intimate knowledge of the field positions they occupied, a number of these teachers criticised the school's management team for not providing them with more school-specific staff development which would allow them to relate to their learners more seamlessly. This lack of contextually grounded, school-based staff development, however, reflects how staff development is engaged at Kendrick, where a homogenous school subfield, with well-positioned learners being taught by similarly positioned teachers, has less need for integration.

For Ubuntu teachers, a lack of understanding of the lived realities and home circumstances of their learners also complicated the support role teachers were expected to play, as discussed below.

Support networks

The school planting team anticipated that Ubuntu learners would need more support than was typically provided to learners in the Kendrick subfield. These assumptions about what support was needed, and

how to best provide it, were grounded in the views of the school planting team, as perceived from Kendrick's position in the field. As a result, Ubuntu teachers were not given structured opportunities to develop insights, strategic support mechanisms or arrangements which responded to the true needs, experiences and constraints of Ubuntu learners.

The only structured way in which Ubuntu learners received more support than did Kendrick learners, in the end, arose from the fact that Ubuntu was a smaller, more intimate school than was Kendrick, and that the new school provided academic support in the form of tutoring, although this was not available for all learners. Additional support needs, as and when they emerged, were simply picked up informally by staff who consequently carried a greater burden of learner support than did Kendrick teachers. Ubuntu teachers also carried a greater load than did Kendrick teachers with regard to learner stimulation and development, with poor parents less able to contribute valued forms of capital to their children's development.

These responsibilities led to fatigue and frustration for Ubuntu teachers. Teachers were also thwarted in the development of meaningful support relationships with their learners because of some of the management arrangements transferred to the new school, as discussed.

Role of school and teachers

At Kendrick, where learners have greater access to all forms of capital, learners are less dependent on the school and their teachers than is apparent at Ubuntu. As a result, Kendrick is able to implement policies which play down the role of the school or the individual teacher in learner development. At Ubuntu, however, many learners show a greater dependency on the school and their teachers to access and develop that which is valued in the field of education. The start-up management team did not recognise this dependency, and so did not introduce strategies that enabled teachers to become familiar with, and respond to, learners' differentiated needs. Instead, they replicated Kendrick policies that disrupted continuity in teacher learner relations and diminished the role of individual teachers in learners' lives. This approach turned out to be counter-productive for both teachers and learners.

One example of a counter-productive management strategy was the Kendrick-informed policy of mixing and rotating classes at the end of each year. I have mentioned above that it took teachers time to come to an understanding of their learners. Similarly, Ubuntu learners reported that it took them a period of time to adjust to their teachers when they were allocated to a new teacher at the start of an academic year. Disrupting pedagogical relationships, then, not only disrupted learners in their academic endeavours, but also compromised the support roles teachers might have played. Crucially,

individualised knowledge of learners and their contexts was not easily transferred from teacher to teacher as learners transitioned in and out of various teachers' classes or grades. This arrangement also resulted in additional work for Ubuntu teachers, as the task of coming to understand new learners' needs and contexts were compounded when teachers were saddled with a high percentage of new learners every year.

With regard to these and other 'incompatible management arrangements,' members of the Ubuntu management team remained largely oblivious to these tensions, despite considerable frustration in the Ubuntu staffroom. I discuss this lack of reflexivity in management circles next.

Individual reflexivity vs collective doxic assumptions

While teaching practice at Ubuntu proved to be reflexive, shifting in response to the Ubuntu context, management practices and arrangements at Ubuntu remained rigidly unwavering in their replication of the Kendrick Way. Rather, despite the stated intentions to adjust management arrangements in time, members of the Ubuntu management team obstinately defended many of the Kendrick-formed arrangements, even when criticised by other Ubuntu teachers. Significantly, this resistance contrasted with the reflexivity that these same individuals have shown in their own teaching at Ubuntu. In this section, I relate these contrasting responses to management and teaching responsibilities to differing degrees of autonomy with regard to how teachers were able to 'play the game' in their teaching activities, as opposed to management activities at the new school.

The study suggests that the maintenance of the 'Kendrick Way' in Ubuntu management arrangements had two roots. The first of these stems from the fact that Kendrick-disposed members of the management structures, including five out of six members of the Ubuntu management team and the other members of the school planting team who were based at Kendrick, held a doxa of 'Kendrick-excellence.' According to these assumptions, 'anything' from Kendrick was excellent and transferable to the Ubuntu subfield. Informed by this perspective, members of the Ubuntu management team deemed that Kendrick practices and arrangements were infallible, and simply needed to be applied correctly to yield the desired results at Ubuntu. As discussed, however, these assumptions failed to recognise the significance of the contrasting field-positions of the two schools.

At the same time, the tendency to introduce 'the Kendrick Way' in the new school was also facilitated by the inexperience of the Ubuntu management team. Contrasted to the experience of Mr Venter and Mr Bradley and others in school management at Kendrick, the school managers on the ground at Ubuntu

had very little experience. As discussed in chapter five, only Mr Webster had held any experience of management responsibilities prior to his early appointment as the Ubuntu deputy principal, and even this experience had been at the lowest level of school management, an HOD post. According to the established school planting hierarchy, any adjustment to management arrangements would need to be approved by the school plant management team. For inexperienced school managers to stand up against this authority was not only daunting, but also defied the premise of the school planting interaction: mentoring inexperienced school managers and teachers into the Kendrick Way. Consequently, 'officialization' was a natural course of action:

> Officialization (sic) is the process whereby the group (or those who dominate it) teaches itself and masks from itself its own truth, binds itself by a public profession which sanctions and imposes what it utters, tacitly defining the limits of the thinkable and the unthinkable and so contributing to the maintenance of the social order from which it derives its power. (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 108)

As long as former-Kendrick members of the Ubuntu management team continued to promote the Kendrick arbitrary as legitimate and infallible amongst themselves, the doxa of Kendrick excellence was maintained. Crucially, however, also because of this doxa, these former-Kendrick teachers were oblivious to the significance of their own pedagogical shifts. Behind the closed doors of their own classrooms, away from the sustained and mutually reinforcing effects of a shared Kendrick habitus, their teaching practice shifted significantly from that which they proclaimed for others: 'The esteemed Kendrick Way'. This was perceived as hypocrisy by frustrated staff when the management team allowed themselves the agency to deviate from the Kendrick Way, but continued to expect non-former Kendrick teachers to submit to Kendrick mentoring, even despite significant frustrations in some of these mentoring relationships. I discuss the hierarchy implicit in these arrangements next.

Replication of societal hierarchy

The transfer of staff and management arrangements, legitimating the Kendrick Way in a subfield with different needs and constraints, implicitly created a hierarchy of value. According to this hierarchy, Kendrick teachers, Kendrick learners and Kendrick practices were deemed to be 'better' than Ubuntu teachers, Ubuntu learners or developing Ubuntu practices.

This hierarchy led to tensions on a number of fronts. As already discussed in chapter six, many learners were left feeling inadequate and powerless in their perceptions that Kendrick learners saw themselves as "better than us." A grade eleven learner explained this on behalf of her friends:

> I know a lot of the kids have felt that Kendrick have this arrogance, if I can say it like that. They say that it feels like the Kendrick kids feel as though they are better than us.

A number of Ubuntu teachers recognised these emotions. They recognised the implicit class dynamics in relations between learners at the two schools.

Within the Ubuntu subfield, the racial overtones of the hierarchy coincided with the stratification of socioeconomic classes. It was only in Ubuntu's sixth year, however, that the Ubuntu management team realised the negative consequences of their ideals for a particular staffroom culture and institutional habitus, which had privileged the appointment of White, middle class applicants. Teachers who had been marginalised by this hierarchy, however, had been expressing these frustrations from as early as the school's third year:

> So, even if it is not done consciously thinking that we are segregating these people, but if you keep employing White members of staff, you are sending a message implicitly that this school believes in the ability of White teachers only. And I believe that the kids see this and internalise it as well.

The teacher quoted above, a Black teacher who hailed from a low-income Cape Town community, left Ubuntu after only two years, disillusioned with the transformational ideals of the Ubuntu management structures. Another Black teacher perceived things similarly:

> Teacher: So, in Cape Town, if we start with the broader picture, there is a pecking order. The Whites are at the top, then it is the Coloureds and Indians, and then the Blacks are at the bottom. And even if the unintended consequence of that pecking order is that it has ended up like that here: … you have a White male at the top, Coloured females below that, and Black people at the bottom…
>
> GS: Are the kids seeing this though?
>
> Teacher: They are definitely seeing it!

Notwithstanding the racial overtones, this implicit dilemma was only recognised by a handful of teachers. Consciously aware of it or not, this hierarchy undermined many of the efforts Ubuntu teachers made to play the game according to their reflexive reading of the Ubuntu context. When forced to continue participation in Kendrick-based inter-department interactions, however, or when their criticisms of transferred arrangements and practices from Kendrick were not acknowledged, these teachers were left feeling frustrated and undermined. For one teacher, this led to significant frustration:

> I want nothing to do with them, really.

For another:

> They feel that our opinions matter less than theirs because they have been in the game for longer than us. I'm not sure if this is a bad thing or a good thing, but … I think doing things someone else's way can be a path to learning.

By privileging the cultural capital valued at Kendrick above all others, the Ubuntu management team essentially denied the school the opportunity to diversify the types of cultural capital that might have been valuable in the context served by the school. This finding is ironic considering the school's goal to broaden access to the field of education through establishing a school that specifically served poorly positioned learners. In other words, by privileging the Kendrick arbitrary as a model to be replicated in this context, the school planting team denied themselves and their teachers the opportunity to act "as agents of transformation rather than reproduction" (Mills, 2008b, p. 84). I return to this finding in the final discussion of the thesis, which considers the contribution this work has made to the field.

In the next section, I present a summary of my findings, and explore the implications for schooling, similar educational interventions and further research.

Summary of findings and implications for schooling and further research

The focus of this study is broad, and more work is needed to explore the emergent themes discussed in this chapter. Even more so now than when I started this study, however, I am convinced that more work must be done to truly understand how poorly positioned learners are marginalised in schools and through schooling. Indeed,

> …increasing awareness of the mechanisms at work in the reproduction of disadvantage in education may help by offering a measure of freedom to those manipulated by these

> mechanisms and improve access, participation and educational outcomes for marginalized and disenfranchised groups. (Mills & Gale, 2007, p. 444-5, referencing Bourdieu, 1998)

In this section, I summarise the findings of this study and, where appropriate, make suggestions as to how these findings might inform further research and schooling in general.

This study has essentially asked the question of whether it works to transfer educational expertise, resources and arrangements from a middle class school to another school, positioning itself to serve learners from poor and working class contexts. It is my finding that, while some aspects of schooling and school management are more transferable than others, the over-riding consideration in any such transfer should be on the contextual sensitivity of implementation. To this end, I am led to agree with Lingard et al. (2003), who find that there is no blueprint for school change or leadership, but that leadership is rather a response from within the "combination of individuals and circumstances, habitus and field" (p. 111). While I believe there is value in the transplanting model, it needs to be done with great contextual sensitivity. In this regard, my findings support that of numerous other authors, referenced in Chapter Two, who highlight the significance of contextual sensitivity in education. According to this study, when educational practices, arrangements and resources are indiscreetly transplanted from middle class environments to working class contexts, tensions are inevitable and learners' needs are unlikely to be met effectively.

It is a feature of schools and schooling, however, not only in South Africa, that diverse student populations inhabit schools, and that teachers and school managers, arrangements and resources are fluidly moved (voluntarily or inadvertently) across varied school contexts. We must, therefore, develop an understanding of how educational practices, arrangements and resources may be transferred, or utilised, in diverse or different socioeconomic contexts. These, in some ways at least, are answers to Ainscow et al.'s (2006) questions; "What sorts of conditions are needed in order to ensure that school-to-school collaboration has an impact on student outcomes?" and "What new forms of management and leadership will this require?" (p. 201). The findings of this study suggest that such educational 'transfers' would be best implemented with ongoing reflexivity, preferably involving extensive dialogue and critical interrogation with individuals from a broad range of contexts. Crucially, the leadership structures to manage or lead such interventions would also challenge the established power dynamics of fields as described by Bourdieu, whereby key 'leaders' of the field "command the whole structure" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 243). To this end, it is apparent that in the field of education, those positioned as leaders in the field due to their positioning as 'experts' in the provision of education to

middle class learners are *not* necessarily adequately positioned to inform the provision of education to poor and working class learners.

It follows that all schools, but especially those serving diverse learner populations, would only stand to benefit from increasing the diversity of voices in the staffroom, classrooms and around the management table. To quote Wray, Hellenberg & Jansen (2018), the "challenge to school leaders is to seek out difference – to push against the human attraction to sameness and the comfort of familiarity" (p. 85). It is apparent to me that any routinized activities, of teachers or in management arrangements, are likely to enable certain outcomes while constraining others. If these routinized activities or management arrangements become characteristic of an institution and accepted as such, or become embedded as unchallenged doxic assumptions, the danger exists that certain groups of learners – most likely those most poorly positioned in the field – will be left marginalised. As predicted by Bourdieu's field theory, applied in the South African context, those in positions of power in this school planting interaction reflected the perspectives of privileged and well positioned individuals, and learners from working class contexts were left disadvantaged. Intrenched in a doxa and embodying a habitus correlating with that of a middle class institution, the school planting team failed to recognise the contextual sensitivities of the disadvantaged field position in which they were seeking to intervene. Not being explicitly aware of the contextual sensitivities of their practices, nor the origins of the routinized activities and arrangements to which they were predisposed, they failed to interrogate the arrangements they transferred to the new school, also failing to legitimate voices from alternative positions of the field.

This finding emphasises how challenging it is for a school manager to escape the grasps of the doxic dispositions to which he or she is predisposed, especially if these dispositions are continuously fed into and sustained in an institutional 'echo chamber.' If we hope for unequally positioned schools to collaborate in the future, or educational practitioners from privileged parts of the field to engage in schools serving disadvantaged or working class learners, we must seek to broaden the power-base for such interactions, or the 'sounding board' for those involved in such interactions. Similarly, teacher training programs should ensure that all teachers, regardless of the field position from which they hail, are developed to embody the dispositions needed to engage in field positions characterised by disadvantaged and working class learners. At the same time, given the context of diversity and change in South African schooling and society more generally, platforms should be created whereby multiple and diverse voices may be heard. If those predisposed towards the Kendrick Way had had their doxa of

excellence ruptured, many of the tensions that have characterised the Ubuntu subfield might have been interrogated sooner.

Similarly, I would like to call into question the characteristics of any institutional habitus in diverse schools. While I have shown that Kendrick was characterised by assimilation, at the school this was believed to be, and defended as, a healthy culture of integration. The attempted replication of these conditions in a new, raw, subfield resulted in considerable tension. Possibly, some questions for further research include:

- In what ways do institutional cultures mask and suppress personal dispositions in diverse schools?
- What kind of institutional culture can promote environments which allow individual dispositions to be exposed, interrogated and understood in their diverse contexts?

I contend that it is only when we understand the impact of an institutional habitus, or the workings of shared assumptions in diverse school contexts, that we will develop an understanding for the potential of improved, contextually grounded practices and arrangements in established schools. This suggestion is given context through this study, by my discussion earlier in this chapter on how teachers from Ubuntu's management team showed notably more reflexivity in their teaching practice than they did around the management table where the transferred institutional habitus and their doxa of Kendrick excellence was mutually supported. What conditions of leadership will effectively allow individual lessons in a diverse subfield to permeate intrenched management structures and arrangements?

This interrogation of a 'school culture' should become increasingly prominent in the discourses of school leadership and management for diverse schools. This is particularly relevant in the South African context, where most former 'Model C' schools now serve diverse learner populations, despite institutional arrangements and power structures invariably still reflecting those of middle class field positions (Dolby, 2001; Hunter, 2016). To this end, it is significant to note that Kendrick prided itself as a diverse and transformed school, sensitive to the needs of historically disadvantaged learners. I contend that, while historically disadvantaged learners in these schools academically outperform their peers in historically disadvantaged schools (N. Taylor, 2011), the achievement of these learners could be significantly improved if their schools were more sensitive to the needs of poorly positioned learners. This finding has relevance pertaining to school improvement for many of the schools currently deemed as 'effective' and exemplary in the South African context.

While it is beyond the scope of this study to comment on this with any degree of certainty, Mrs Murphy's suggestion that two similarly positioned schools might have interacted more seamlessly is an interesting thought:

> It was a shock to me! It can't be a 'one size fits all.' If you are starting up a school with a similar clientele, so if it was a successful township school mentoring another start-up township school, and they've got the same type of [learner] from the same background, then it could be a 'one size fits all.'

Significantly, this relates to the finding made by Christie et al. (2007), who recommend to the Minister of Education that differentiated policies are necessary for schools in different contexts.

> We suggest that under these circumstances, the Department should recognise that if a 'one size fits all' approach to policy implementation is applied, the majority of schools will have little chance of moving towards, let alone reaching, the quality of the privileged schools that are the hegemonic but not the numeric norm. Differentiated strategies for policy implementation that recognise the depth of inequality and the extent of poverty and social suffering in school communities need to be devised and put in place. (Christie et al., 2007, p. 103)

The findings of this study support this appeal. I have shown that the support structures implemented at Ubuntu, as perceived adequate from a position of the field informed by middle class learners, were inadequate given the dependence of working class learners on their teachers, and their various support needs. According to this, I contend that schools serving disadvantaged learners need to be provided with considerably stronger support resources than schools serving middle class learners. Where possible, given funding constraints, this should be addressed by those responsible for funding education. At the same time, opportunities for further research exist in exploring the most effective manners of providing personal and institutional support to poorly positioned learners.

Considering the findings of this study summarised in this section, I make the following concluding statement.

> While the interventions implemented in this study were attributed to have provided Ubuntu with a 'settled' start-up environment, these arrangements and assumptions have not necessarily served the needs and constraints of poorly positioned learners. I contend that the cost of these transfers, in terms of what they have constrained in the Ubuntu context, have outweighed the

short-term benefits of the school planting intervention. These findings should also serve to interrogate the way school improvement and school effectiveness studies characteristically look to middle class contexts to inform interventions for working class schools.

My response, then, is to suggest that interventions for working class contexts need to draw organically on resources within poorer communities to more acutely inform the development of school policies, management arrangements and strategies that would enable school managers, teachers and learners to 'play the game' of schooling and effectively allow poorly positioned learners to develop the valued forms of capital.

This recommendation, in many ways, defies the logic of the field and its tendency to 'the middle class way.' It is in this that my study makes a contribution to the field of education. I conclude my thesis with this discussion.

Contribution of this study to the field of education

It is known, and has been known since the (then) controversial Coleman Report, that schools "bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his [or her] background and general social context" (Coleman et al., 1966, p. 325). It is a travesty that studies of educational institutions are still making this finding fifty years on from the study cited above. It is of similar concern that an intervention specifically seeking to meet the needs of poorly positioned children has failed to do so. In this section, I discuss the sociological forces at work which bring to bear this unfortunate finding, again, in this case study and in the workings of the educational field in general.

Bourdieu knew, and wrote extensively of how the education system operates in ways which reward those who already possess what it looks to provide. For him, the dominant class implicitly controls the education system, and so doing ensures that the rewards of success in the field of education remain attainable for their own. According to this, learners enter the schooling system having already acquired dispositions which set them apart. Learners from the middle classes, embodying the dispositions of the dominant group in society, are already in possession of the cultural capital which will facilitate their transcendence of the school code. They are empowered to excel in the field of education and are facilitated to occupy positions of influence and power in society. At the same time, poorly positioned learners, not possessing the valued forms of capital, are "obliged to expect and receive everything from school, even if it means accepting the school's criticism of them as 'plodders'" (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 39).

Very few of these learners excel in this field, and very few of them enter positions of power with the ability to transform influential societal structures.

It is within this framework that the challenge for transformation of the field is taking place. Bourdieu explains that…

> A field is a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and people who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which the various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. (Bourdieu, 1998a, p. 40-41)

When an individual comes into a position of power and influence within a field, structural pressures cause him or her to give voice to certain embodied dispositions in response to various subjective and explicit expectations. These forces are related to the forms of capital that have allowed him or her to assume this position and are invariably subconscious. Referencing 'professions', and the relative expectations in their various fields, Bourdieu explains this:

> Everything becomes different, and much more difficult if, instead of taking the notion of 'profession' at face value, I take seriously the work of aggregation and symbolic imposition that was necessary to produce it, and if I treat it as a field, that is, as a structured space of social forces and struggles. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 243)

Socially constituted, the field of education is filled with actors, or professionals, who are competing for domination. Crucially, when these actors are in positions of power, embodied with the dispositions and valued capitals of the dominant, and are surrounded by others who are also similarly predisposed, the hegemonic tendencies of the field will be for the preservation of the field. Even if the individual's ideal is for transformation, and localised dispositions exist to transform the field, the field will draw back and call forth that which it rewards, like a magnetic field (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

My study has shown this tendency within the Ubuntu subfield. I have shown how the same actors in collective settings (around the Ubuntu management table) gave voice to dispositions of preservation, while in individual settings (behind the closed classroom door) transformation of practice become evident. While the school planting team all knew individually that contextual factors demanded that the new school *not* be a "Kendrick clone", when it came to practical implementation, they replicated the Kendrick Way? Over and over again in education, within the South African context and internationally,

the tendency is to assume that middle class arrangements, values and norms are ideal, exemplary and the benchmark for all schools. While the dispositions of transformation might be embodied in an individual, consciously recognising and legitimating them remains masked in the relational and practical workings of the field.

As discussed, the tendency to preservation is the hegemonic norm of those well positioned in the field. If this is the primary habitus of those in positions of power, it comes naturally. If an individual has transcended the field from an original position of disadvantage, or is 'enlightened' to the need for transformation, he is potentially equipped for a transformation of the field, but will need to use his position of power and influence to overcome the field and its hegemonic forces in order to succeed in its transformation.

In this case study, management arrangements did eventually shift away from the 'Kendrick Way' to accommodate the different needs of learners at Ubuntu. A critical number of teachers came to recognise the need for change, and they began to erode the local 'force field'. But these shifts were not achieved easily, and the process was not without contestation. These individuals had to fight to reach the point where their voices became loud enough to be heard above the hegemonic norm. For some, this was too difficult, too painful, and they left before the work was finished. Some of them transferred to other schools, while some left the field of education completely. Some left with the pain of feeling racially marginalised and disillusioned. Transformation of the field is not easy. Fields are dominated by those whose practices, while appearing to be neutral and superior, are invisibly aligned with the interests of the powerful and whose habitus blinds them to alternative Ways.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Categories of research participants

Research participant(s)	Goals for this interview / these interviews
WCED official	Understand the rationale behind the school planting interaction, and perspectives on what had transpired.
Members of the Kendrick SGB	Understand the perspectives of Kendrick parents regarding the school planting interaction.
Members of school management, at both schools	Understand the logistics of how the school planting interaction was engaged, and interrogate their reflections on what had been achieved.
Subject heads of various subject departments, at both schools	Understand the nature of interaction between various departments, and interrogate the reflections of subject heads from both sides of the school planting relationship.
Post Level 1 teachers at Ubuntu	Interrogate the perceptions of Ubuntu teachers regarding their department's interaction with Kendrick. Also, interrogate their perceptions of the Ubuntu's management team's implementation of the school planting interventions.
Black teachers at Ubuntu	Develop an understanding of how power structures at the new school had contributed to a sense of marginalisation of Black learners and teachers.
Counsellors at both schools	Understanding of the perceived support needs of learners at the two schools, and the respective support expectations experienced by these counsellors.
Ubuntu learners	Interrogate learner responses to the school planting interaction. Gr 11 learners, who had been part of the founding class, were also asked questions pertaining to the early start-up years.
Kendrick learners 1) Interacted with Ubuntu learners during the school start-up. 2) Not been actively involved in the start-up.	Interrogate the perspective of Kendrick learners regarding the role their school played in the start-up. Questions were tailored appropriately for if learners had or had not been actively involved in the interaction.
A teacher who had taught part-time at both schools.	Comparative insights from a teacher and experienced school manager who taught simultaneously at both schools.

Appendix 2: List of interviews

No	Interview type	School	Position	Additional considerations 1	Additional considerations 2:
1	Practice Interview	Kendrick	Former principal	Practice interview	
2	Semi-formal	Kendrick	Principal		
3	Semi-formal	Ubuntu	Principal	Former Kendrick teacher	Founding teacher
4	Semi-formal	Ubuntu	Deputy principal	Former Kendrick teacher	Founding teacher
5	Semi-formal	Kendrick	PL1		Subject Head and Grade Head
6	Semi-formal	Ubuntu	SMT	Former Kendrick teacher	Subject Head and Grade Head
7	Group interview	Ubuntu	PL1	Founding teacher	Subject Head
		Ubuntu	PL1		
8	Semi-formal	Kendrick	SMT		Subject Head and Grade Head
9	Semi-formal	Kendrick	PL1		Subject Head and Grade Head
10	Semi-formal	Kendrick	PL1		Subject Head
11	Semi-formal	Kendrick	School counsellor	Also involved in sport and academic interactions	
12	Semi-formal	Kendrick	SMT		Subject Head and Grade Head
13	Semi-formal	Ubuntu	PL1	Founding teacher	Subject Head
14	Semi-formal	Ubuntu	School counsellor		
15	Group interview	Ubuntu	Gr 11	Founding class	
16	Semi-formal	Kendrick	SGB Parent		
17	Group interview	Ubuntu	Gr 11	Founding class	
18	Group interview	Ubuntu	Gr 11	Founding class	
19	Semi-formal	Ubuntu	SMT	Founding teacher	Subject Head and Grade Head
20	Group interview	Ubuntu	Gr 9		
21	Group interview	Ubuntu	Gr 9		
22	Group interview	Ubuntu	Gr 9		
23	Group interview	Ubuntu	PL1		Subject Head
		Ubuntu	PL1		
24	Semi-formal	Ubuntu	PL1	Taught in multiple departments	
25	Semi-formal	Ubuntu	PL1		
26	Group interview	Ubuntu	Gr 9		

27	Group interview	Ubuntu	Gr 11	Founding class	
28	Group interview	Kendrick	Gr 11	Had interacted with Ubuntu	
29	Semi-formal	Ubuntu	PL1		
30	Semi-formal	Kendrick	PL1		Subject Head and Grade Head
31	Group interview	Kendrick	Gr 11	No interaction with Ubuntu	
32	Semi-formal	Kendrick	SGB parent		
33	Semi-formal	Kendrick	Deputy principal		
34	Semi-formal	Kendrick	SMT		Subject Head
35	Semi-formal	Kendrick	Deputy principal		
36	Semi-formal	WCED	Dept. official		
37	Semi-formal	Kendrick	Deputy principal	Involved in Management at both schools	Taught at both schools
38	Semi-formal	Ubuntu	Principal	2nd Interview	

Appendix 3: Consent form and letter for teachers

Information sheet for participation in Masters[45] Research

University of Cape Town

Transplanting institutional DNA: Exploring school mentoring in an example of cross socio-economic school planting

Garth Shaw

Description of the research and your participation

You are invited to participate in a Masters Research project conducted by myself, Garth Shaw. The purpose of this research is to better understand the effectiveness of the school planting relationship between Kendrick and Ubuntu.

Your participation will involve answering questions by means of an interview. Subject to your approval, the interview will be recorded. The purpose of recording the interview is to allow me to focus on your answers and ask appropriate questions, but still be able to reflect on your answers at a later stage. If you give consent to have the interview recorded, I will transcribe the entire interview and send you a copy of this transcript for your approval.

The interview should take no longer than 20 minutes. The questions will focus on the lessons to be learnt from this planting process, particularly in understanding what worked well, but also to understand what might need reconsideration if this model is to be used again in future school plant relationships.

Potential benefits of the research project

This research will help us to better understand the practices put in place during the school planting process. It is hoped that this will assist the start-ups of other schools in the future, especially if they are established by similar means.

Protection of confidentiality

I will do everything I can to protect your privacy, ensuring that your real name is not used in any publication or correspondence outside of our interview. I will also attempt, as far as possible, if at all

[45] My study shifted from what was a 'Masters by dissertation only' to a Doctorate degree. It is for this reason that these consent forms reflect consent for a Masters study. Due process was followed to authorise this shift, with permission being granted by the UCT PhD committee

possible, to avoid giving specific descriptions of your role at the school. (E.g. I will attempt to avoid saying things like: Teacher A, the head of the science department, said....)

The identity of the two schools will be disguised by means of pseudonyms. The unique nature of the planting relationship, however, makes it almost impossible to hide who these schools are to people who know the history of Ubuntu, or of Kendrick's involvement. There is, unfortunately, not much that can be done about this situation. Added to this, people who know the schools might be able to guess at the identity of the some of the key participants. Although I understand that this lack of true confidentiality might compromise your willingness to participate in the project, I trust you will see the value that your perspectives hold for this research.

Voluntary participation

Your participation in this research study is voluntary. Given the identifiable nature of this research, as discussed above, it is important that you understand that your participation in this research is not compulsory. You may choose not to participate and you may withdraw your consent to participate at any time.

Please don't hesitate to talk to me is you have any queries in this regard.

Contact information

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please don't hesitate to contact me on 082 868 826, or by email on garth.shaw@gmail.com.

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact the University of Cape Town at 021 650 2776.

Yours truly

Garth Shaw

Consent form for participation in Masters Research

University of Cape Town

Transplanting institutional DNA: Exploring school mentoring in an example of cross socio-economic school planting

Garth Shaw

Name of participant: _____ **School: _____**

Position at school: _____

Consent

1. **I have read this consent form along with the information sheet and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give my consent to participate in this study.**

Participant's signature: _____

Date: _____

2. **I give consent to have this interview recorded using a sound recording device.**

Participant's signature: _____

Date: _____

Researcher's signature: _____

You may keep the first page of this consent form. You are also reminded that you have the right to withdraw your consent to participate in this research at any point.

Appendix 4: Consent form and letter for learners

Indication of interest for participation in Masters Research

University of Cape Town

Transplanting institutional DNA: Exploring school mentoring in an example of cross socio-economic school planting **Garth Shaw**

Name of learner:_____ Class:_____

Please describe briefly why you would like to participate in this research:

……

……

……

If you were asked to share a few comments of how you feel about the role Kendrick has played in the establishment of Ubuntu, what would you say? Please say no more than three points, but feel free to elaborate on each one. Use the reverse of this page if you need more space.

1)……

……

……

2)……

……

……

3)……

……

……

Information sheet for participation in Masters Research

University of Cape Town

Transplanting institutional DNA: Exploring school mentoring in an example of cross socio-economic school planting

Garth Shaw

Dear Parent / Guardian

You son/daughter has indicated that he/she would like to be participate in a Masters Research project which I am doing. The purpose of this research is to better understand the effectiveness of planting a school as done by Kendrick and Ubuntu.

Your child's involvement will be to participate in a group interview. The interview will be done at school in groups of approximately 4 learners, either during an extra mural session or during a break time. No academic time will be disrupted. The questions will focus on the lessons to be learnt from this planting process, particularly in understanding what worked well, but also to understand what might need reconsideration if this model is to be used again in future school plant relationships.

Subject to your approval, the interview will be recorded. The purpose of recording the interview is to allow me to focus on the learners' answers and ask appropriate questions, but still be able to reflect on the answers at a later stage.

Potential benefits of the research project

This research will help us to better understand the practices put in place during the school planting process. It is hoped that this will assist the start-ups of other schools in the future, especially if they are established by similar means.

Protection of confidentiality

I will do everything I can to protect your child's privacy. You child's name will never be disclosed, and I will avoid giving specific descriptions of your child's involvement at the school. (e.g. I will avoid saying things like: Learner A, the captain of the soccer team, said....)

The names of the two schools involved will also always be withheld, or replaced with false names rather. The unique nature of the planting relationship, however, makes it almost impossible to hide who these schools are to people who know the history of Ubuntu, or of Kendrick's involvement. There is, unfortunately, not much that can be done about this situation. I don't believe, however, that anyone will be able to guess at the identity of the learners who participated in the research.

Voluntary participation
Your child's participation in this research study is voluntary. You or he/she may choose not to participate and may withdraw from participating at any time.

Contact information
If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please don't hesitate to contact me by email on garth.shaw@gmail.com.

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact the University of Cape Town at 021 650 2776.

Yours truly

Garth Shaw

Consent form for participation in Masters Research
University of Cape Town

Transplanting institutional DNA: Exploring school mentoring in an example of cross socio-economic school planting **Garth Shaw**

Name of learner: _____ Class: _____

Learner's consent:

I, _____learner's name_____, hereby acknowledge that I have read the information sheet and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I would like to participate in this research study, and give my consent to do so.

Learner's signature: _____

Parent's Consent:

I, _____name_____, the legal guardian of _____learner's name_____, hereby acknowledge that I have read the information sheet and have been given the opportunities to ask questions. I give consent for my child to participate in an interview for this research.

Parent's/Guardian's signature: _____ Date: _____

I also give consent for this interview to be recorded using a sound recording device.

Learner's signature: _____

Please return this form to Mr Shaw as soon as possible.
You may keep the first page. Also, you and your child have the right to withdraw your consent to participate in the research at any time.