

Rhetorics of transformation: A discursive analysis of interviews with teachers

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by

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Abstract

This study examines how teachers at two former white Model C schools construct educational changes rhetorically. The discourse analytic approach of Wetherell and Potter (1992) is employed to interpret interview texts in which teachers talk about desegregation, school governance and finance. Specific constructions of 'race', culture and language and their function as signifiers of sameness, difference and otherness are critically discussed. Two interpretative repertoires are identified. Good Educational Practice contains the concepts of standards, values and naturalness. It is demonstrated how these are used as argumentative strategies to contain and restrict changes taking place at the schools. Managerialism draws on financial and business principles such as entrepreneurship and efficiency to propose a particular view of how educational change should be managed. Connections are made between the effects of these discursive constructions and social practices at the school.

List of abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
AZAPO	Azanian Peoples Organisation
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
CMSA	Curriculum Model for South Africa
CNE	Christian National Education
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DET	Department of Education and Training
ERS	Education Renewal Strategy
GEP	Good Educational Practice
GNU	Government of National Unity
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
MMFC	Middle Class Mandatory Fee Clustering
NECC	National Education Crisis (Co-ordinating) Committee
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
PAC	Pan African Congress
PEM	People's Education Movement
PTSA	Parent Teacher Student Association
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SASA	South African Schools Act
SASB	South African Schools Bill
SIT	Social Identity Theory
SRC	Student Representative Council
TLRC	Teaching and Learning Resource Centre
UCT	University of Cape Town

Chapter 1

Introduction

Significant political changes have taken place in South Africa over the last seven years since the unbanning of the African National Congress and other organisations opposed to apartheid. A democratic government has been elected, a new constitution has been passed and apartheid legislation has been replaced by acts based on the Bill of Rights and the principles of non-discrimination, democracy and redress. In the area of education, this has resulted in the passing of several new acts, notably the National Education Policy Act (1996) and the South African Schools Act (SASA) (1996). Some provincial governments have already passed their school education bills (for example the Gauteng Provincial School Education Bill, 1996) while others are drafting their proposals (for example the Western Cape Provincial School Education Draft Bill, 1997). The process of transformation has not been without controversy, nor has it been completed. As the White Paper 1 (1995) states:

Change is inevitable and cannot be delayed. The issue is whether a new and just dispensation in the schools will be brought about in the new South African way, by negotiating peacefully, according to the spirit and letter of the Constitution, in the service of both national unity and cultural diversity (p. 69).

The current study was conducted in mid 1995, a crucial time during the period of transition in the education system. The Government of National Unity (GNU) had released several papers on education and training for discussion (Draft White Paper 1994; White Paper 1, 1995) and proposals were being negotiated by various stakeholders in the education field. Insight into different aspects of the transition process can be gleaned from studying how possibilities, limitations and expectations of the future are constructed at such times of flux and it was with this in mind that the present study was undertaken.

These changes can be studied at a broad policy or political level as well as at a 'practical' implementation level in schools. This study focuses on the latter, examining how teachers and principals rhetorically (re)construct the meanings and implications of these changes by drawing on a range of discourses. The premise of this thesis is that power is not merely to be found at the level of government directives but also at local level where day-to-day decisions are made in the running of schools. As Foucault argues:

Analysis should not concern itself with the regulation and legitimation of power in their uppermost or central locations. Instead it should be concerned with power at its extremities, in its ultimate destinations, with those points where it becomes capillary, that is in its most regional and local forms and institutions (1980, p. 179).

A central aspect of the changes that have taken place in the education system over the past couple of years has been the racial desegregation of state and state-aided schools. This has meant that schools are no longer exclusively reserved for one specific race group. Another fundamental change has been the transfer of financial responsibility of education to the parent bodies at the majority of previously white schools.

This study arose out of a research project conducted in 1994 by the Teaching and Learning Resource Centre (TLRC) on racism in schools (Eyber, Dyer & Versfeld, 1997). It had come to the attention of the TLRC that problems and tensions exist around racial integration at what were then Model C schools. The aims of the research project were to investigate how racism is understood and what initiatives were taken by teachers in formerly white, Indian and 'coloured' schools to combat it.¹ I conducted interviews for this project with teachers from a range of schools in urban areas of the Western Cape and Gauteng provinces. During these interviews my interest grew in how teachers at predominantly white schools were talking about change, black students, language, culture, and problems with 'race relations'. Many of these teachers painted a picture of racial harmony at their schools: the schools were presented as non-racist as they were now 'open'

¹ Definition of terms: for purposes of this study the term 'black' is used to refer to all people of 'colour' (non-white people). If it is necessary to refer to a specific group the terms African, 'coloured' and Indian will be used. I do not agree with this racial terminology and classification. These terms are only used when informants use them or for reasons of clarity. The terms themselves form part of the discourses to be analysed and it will become clear that they are not fixed, definitive or clear in their use and function.

to all races; fair because parents take financial responsibility; and democratic due to increased community control through the parent body. At the same time, however, there were some practices at the schools and taken-for-granted assumptions of the teachers which made me uneasy: the English language domination, extra bridging classes for black students, the absence of black teachers on the staff and the exclusion of students who were not able to pay the school fees. It came to my attention that, among other things, teachers often seemed to frame change in the education system in terms of finance and management. The discursive construction of these issues through talk seemed not only to relate to, but also to justify the employment, admission and language practices at schools.

I decided to investigate the 'how' and 'why' of the discursive constructions of changes with the aim of understanding their effects on social practices in schools. The focus of this investigation is on former white Model C schools as the primary educational beneficiaries of the apartheid government. While these schools make up a minority of schools in the country they are of interest because of their relative wealth of resources and because of their generally perceived status as 'successful' educational institutions. A focus on these schools allows me to examine white responses which claim to be liberal and non-racist but nevertheless result in managing change in a conservative and conserving manner. This is not an impartial undertaking in that it is informed by Foucault's argument that

the real political task in a society such as ours is to criticise the workings of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticise them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them, will be unmasked, so that one can fight them (Foucault, 1980 in Rabinow, 1984, p. 6).

I chose a discourse analytic framework for analysis as I specifically want to focus on the situated use of rhetorical arguments, their functions and consequences. The main theorists on whose work I draw are Wetherell and Potter (1992) and Potter and Wetherell (1987). The study was conducted in a small coastal town in the Western Cape, referred to as Snoekfontein. Interviews were held with teachers from the two state-aided schools in the town.

Aims of the study

The aims of the study can be summarised as follows:

- 1) To analyse how change is constructed discursively by teachers and principals in formerly white Model C schools and to identify some of the interpretative repertoires and argumentative strategies used.
- 2) To examine specifically how the process of desegregation, the accompanying notions of race, culture and language are discussed, and how changes in school governance and financing are talked about. The functions and variations of the rhetorical constructions are also explored.
- 3) To investigate the relationship between the accounts and the material outcomes of the rhetorical constructions. The aim here is to look at how these accounts impact on actual practices at the school.

Thesis outline

In order to contextualise the study it is necessary to briefly sketch the background to the education dispensation prior to 1995, and to outline some of the central issues of educational debate during the period of transition from 1990 onwards. As the focus of this study is on the process of desegregation, school governance and finance, these will be elaborated upon in detail in chapter 2. In chapter 3, I discuss the theoretical context of discourse analysis within the discipline of psychology as well as within educational studies. The methodological procedures and analytic concepts of discourse analysis are outlined in chapter 4 where I also discuss the issues of reflexivity and agency which arise out of the analysis.

The three chapters that follow immediately from this ‘methodological’ discussion contain my analysis of the interview material. Chapter 5 focuses on race, culture and language as signifiers of sameness, difference and otherness. Here I investigate how the constructions of racism and non-racism operate as binary opposites to one another, and pay particular attention to how culture and language are employed to turn difference into ‘otherness’. In chapter 6, I analyse “Good Educational Practice” as an interpretative repertoire. The concepts of standards, values and

naturalness form part of this repertoire. Chapter 7 provides the concluding analysis which investigates the discourses of 'Managerialism' and its connection to educational transition in South Africa. The concepts of the free market and the school as business are explored here. In the final chapter 8, I return to the issue of reflexivity, examine some of the limitations of my investigation and make concluding comments.

First, however, it is necessary to situate the present study within the context of the educational debates and trends of the transition process. Immediately, I am faced with a dilemma inherent to the discourse analytic orientation that I have chosen: how much attention do I need to pay to 'outside' influences on the 'text', the text in this case being the interviews? Do I see policy documents, 'facts and figures' of education primarily as discursive constructions? How do I discuss these policies and documents? Throughout the thesis, I retain the awareness that this dilemma of textual and material interdependence remains unresolved. This study is a constant struggle to maintain a balance between discourse and what I perceive to be the material conditions that inform and constitute one another. I am guided ultimately by Parker's assertion that power relations endure when the text stops (1992). Let me now turn to an examination of how some of these power relations manifest(ed) themselves in the apartheid education legislation.

Chapter 2

Education in transition: Policy, practice and discourse

It is vital that any discussion of current educational issues be based on a historical understanding of education provision in South Africa. As Nkomo (1990) states:

The future is embedded in the present as the present bears the imprints of the past. Therefore any project that is designed to contemplate a reconstruction of the future of education in a transformed South Africa must first be grounded on a firm understanding of the genesis, evolution and nature of the current educational arrangement (p. 291).

A brief outline of past apartheid educational policies will be given in order to elucidate some of these “educational arrangements”. As this study focuses on former white Model C schools special attention will be given to the policy changes and proposals in regard to these schools since 1990. The three areas of transitional change on which I will focus in my analysis are the process of desegregation, the financing of these schools and structures of school governance. I will briefly delineate the relevant debates informing education restructuring in South Africa. The literature on educational change during the period of transition will then be reviewed. The chapter concludes with an attempt to situate some of this research within a social psychological framework and to point to some possible approaches that could be taken in studying educational change.

Apartheid education

The Eiselen Commission Report of 1951 and the acts of parliament such as the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the Coloured Persons’ Education Act of 1963 and the Indian Education Act of 1965, institutionalised a system which was based on the assertion that different races exist and need to be educated separately (for a comprehensive history of apartheid education see Cross and

Chisholm, 1990; Hartshorne, 1992, and Kallaway, 1984). Notions of identity, culture and language were drawn upon to justify this system. As the National Party Minister Clase stated in November 1988:

The reality of a heterogeneous multiplicity of cultures and cultural communities in South Africa forms one of the basic principles upon which my department's policy rests. Education and culture cannot be separated. Religion, language, history, tradition, custom and usage must be incorporated by the child in a cultural tradition and ethos. A general cultural entity does not exist. This kind of person only exists in the dreams of utopians and universalists who would make of the world a colourless united community. It is an impossible task that cannot be justified educationally. It can only be forced on education by outside non-educational arguments. The truth is that education is inherently connected with upbringing, and upbringing with culture, and culture with a specific cultural community. Whoever wishes to cut this band will take away the educational basis of education (Folb, 1991, p. 6).

The above quote is typical of the apartheid view which informed education policy during 1948 to 1994. As can be seen from Clase's statement, central to the design of South African education was the idea that each culture had to have its own specific form of schooling if the "educational basis of education" was to be upheld. This resulted in 19 different racially and regionally based education departments (ten homeland education departments, five centralised national departments as well as four decentralised provincial wings of the white Department of Education and Culture). From inception, this system resulted in great inequities with regard to the quality of provision and resources among the different departments. This is best illustrated in comparing per capita state expenditure for the former departments in any one year: in 1991 the expenditure for whites was almost four times more than that for African students, and had previously been as much as 20 times the amount for black students (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1992).

The main problems of the apartheid education system were: inequities in physical and human resource provision for different departments; unequal and restricted access to schools, education and training for different racial groups; a lack of democracy affecting all stakeholders in education; poor quality in education provision; administrative inefficiency; and the weakness of school governance structures. While there are many more problems that can be mentioned, these points summarise the 'legacy of apartheid education' (see the Draft White Paper on Education and Training, 1994, and the Hunter Report, 1995, for concise summaries of the consequences of apartheid education).

Apartheid education had always been resisted by various segments of the population. As the Draft White Paper (1994) states:

Because the denial of equal educational rights was an intrinsic part of minority rule, and constituted a frontal attack on the human dignity and life chances of the majority of the people, the struggle for equal citizenship and the struggle for equal education became completely identified (p. 10).

Students, parents, teachers and community activists opposed not only the oppressive implementation of inequities in the education system but also the ideological content of Christian National Education (CNE). One of the most prominent movements against apartheid education was the People's Education Movement (PEM) (see Nkomo, 1990; Unterhalter et al., 1992). PEM drew on the Freedom Charter's principle that "the doors of culture and learning shall be opened to all" (African National Congress, 1955) and led to the formation of the National Education Crisis (later, Coordinating) Committee (NECC) in 1986. Central features of the PEM were the demand for democratisation of the education system linked to structural and political change in the country; and the need for empowerment of students, teachers, parents and community members led to the formation of Parent-Teacher-Student Associations (PTSAs), Student Representative Councils (SRCs), the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU), among others. The influence and agendas of these organisations and movements opposed to apartheid education are relevant to policy decisions made by the present African National Congress (ANC)-led government. The demands for democratic school governance, equal terms of employment for teachers and redistribution of educational resources are examples of this continuing influence.

As the focus of this study is on the white education system, I will briefly review the history of policy changes in white education during the period of transition.

The provision of white education and the Model C system

The apartheid government had been involved in a process of 'reforming' education since the 1980's (Hartshorne, 1987; Kallaway, 1989;). Pressures from the resistance movements as well as

criticism from the business sector prompted the National Party Government to appoint the Human Sciences Resource Council (HSRC) in 1980 to investigate possibilities of modifying the education system. This investigation became known as the De Lange Commission and its findings were published by the HSRC in 1981 (see Buckland, 1984, for a discussion of these recommendations). The key proposals of the Commission were the following:

- There should be one joint education department for all students based on the principal of equal quality in education for all groups.
- A new schooling structure was proposed, consisting of a formal, academic structure and of a non-formal, vocational structure.
- There would be three phases to the education structure: pre-basic, basic and post-basic schooling. Post-basic schooling would be financed predominantly by parents and the business sector. In the formal, academic structure parents would have to pay for their children's post-basic education (HSRC, 1981).

The government of the day mostly ignored the recommendations made by the De Lange commission and reasserted its commitment to the principles of CNE. No substantial or structural changes were made (White Paper on the provision of education in the Republic of South Africa, 1983). A trend was set during this time, however, for the increased involvement of the business sector in education provision (discussed below).

Significant changes in the provision of white education started occurring in early 1990. According to Christie (1995) and Naidoo (1996) 26% of places in white schools were empty in 1989, 203 schools had to be closed in the previous decade due to a declining white population, and demographic shifts made the white over-provision and black under-provision in education untenable. These factors, together with budgetary cuts to white education as an attempt to shift more money to black education, brought about a crisis in white education which could no longer be ignored. At the same time there was a shortage of 60 343 primary and 99 506 secondary school classroom places in the black Department of Education and Training (DET) schools (Bot, 1991). Christie (1995) argues that extra-parliamentary organisations such as the NECC, the parliamentary

Democratic Party and pressure groups such as All Schools for All People forced the Nationalist Party government to consider school desegregation (see also Naidoo, 1996). This occurred in the context of broader political changes, notably President De Klerk's landmark speech of 2 February 1990 and the subsequent repeal of 'cornerstone' apartheid legislation.

The Minister of Education for the House of Assembly, Piet Clase, announced the implementation of a new admissions policy for white schools on the 10 September 1990. White parent bodies had the choice of three models A, B or C which would allow for limited desegregation under strict conditions. Under Model A, schools could become privatised. The Model A school would be run by a management committee or board of governors which employ staff, set conditions of service and decide on pupil admission policies. The state would not interfere in the running of the school as long as the school adhered to criteria regarding curricula. Under Model B, a school would remain a state school under a management committee that would have control over its admission policies. Under Model C, a school would become state-aided or semi-private and would be run by the management committee and the principal. Model C schools would receive a state subsidy to cover about 80% of the operating costs, including a certain number of prescribed staff salaries. The management council would be responsible for raising additional funds. School buildings and grounds would be transferred to the management council. This model allowed for desegregated admission. Model C schools formed a new category of schools and in 1991 the Education Act was amended to include the definition of state-aided schooling (Felgate, 1996). The Act declared that the "management, control and executive power of a state aided school shall vest in its governing body" (cited in Felgate, 1996, p. 21). The rights and duties of a governing body of a state-aided school included financial responsibility for the running of the school, the employment of teachers and the determination of admission requirements.

Initially, strict guidelines were set out by which schools had to comply when deciding which model to choose: a 72% majority of the parent body had to be attained in order to be able to change the school's admission policy; all schools had to maintain a 51% white majority in the school population; the cultural ethos of the school had to remain intact; selection criteria could be

determined by the management council; the opening of schools did not imply that black teachers had to be employed and the payment of school fees of black students was the responsibility of their parents (Carrim & Mkwanazi, 1993). As Christie (1995) puts it:

white schools would remain constitutionally bound to white education departments and would 'render services' to students of other race groups provided that schools remained fundamentally unchanged in the process (p. 48).

A fourth model D became available to schools at the end of 1991 which had no restrictions regarding the number of black students that could be enrolled at a school.² These were schools for black children run by the white education department (Naidoo, 1995).

By the end of 1991, 667 of the white schools had transferred to Model B, 45 to Model C and one to Model A and 35 'empty' schools became Model D (Christie, 1995). The majority of the white schools thus chose to remain segregated state schools. Those schools that did become Model C mostly applied stringent admission tests to the black students in terms of academic and financial suitability (Metcalf, 1991; Carrim & Mkwanazi, 1993). Critics suggest that this meant that only a small, elite (of the privileged class) group of black students were enrolled at Model C schools, usually less than 10% of the student population (Carrim & Mkwanazi, 1993; Christie, 1995). At the beginning of 1992, however, further changes took place in the provision of white education. The government announced that all schools under the white education department would automatically become Model C schools unless the parent bodies voted for maintaining their present status by a two-thirds majority. The reasons given for this by the Minister were that this would help save (white) teachers' jobs through cutting down on government spending on white schools. 95% of white schools subsequently accepted Model C status (Felgate, 1996). Subsequently in 1992, the option of becoming a state-aided school also became available to some 'coloured' and Indian schools.

Criticism of what came to be known as the Clase Models were leveled from all sides. Those who demanded segregated schooling felt that their cultural identity was at stake (Christie, 1995). Some schools who had initially supported the models expressed fear that the desegregation could lead to

² This option was introduced by Minister Marais who replaced Clase in mid 1991.

a lowering of educational standards (Christie, 1993). Most of the criticism came, however, from those on the left of the political spectrum, for example the NECC, who felt that the Model system was not a sincere attempt to address the general education crisis in South Africa. The Model system was also criticised for being politically more significant for white schools than for black schools. The restrictive criteria under which black students could be admitted to white schools were seen as an attempt to preserve the better resources of those schools for whites. Privilege and white dominance were maintained in these educational institutions (Naidoo, 1996). Christie (1995) points out that the deracialisation which the new policy brought with it did not stem from a positive vision of change from the government itself but was adopted in the face of untenable segregation policy and pressure from groups opposed to apartheid education. The Model system allowed for the preservation of white teaching posts and prevented the closure of some white schools that were no longer economically feasible (Carrim & Sayed, 1992). The high school fees that were introduced at Model C schools made the schools inaccessible to most black families. As Naidoo (1996) argues, racial discrimination was replaced by class discrimination (see Frederikse, 1992, for a discussion of this point in a Zimbabwean context).

A major consequence of the Model system was the devolution of certain authority to the parent and governing bodies of the school. The existing white parent bodies were empowered to 'manage' the process of desegregation thereby having the power to limit or prevent it (Christie, 1995). The devolution of responsibilities went hand in hand with the teachers and parents having increased control over the financial running of the school (discussed below). The purpose this decentralisation served for the then-National Party state was that it was able to maintain control at the centre while entrenching the right to an 'own' culture at the school level (Felgate, 1996). Taylor and Methula (1993) argue:

On the one hand, the overriding concern of the state is to maintain control and ensure as effectively as possible the reproduction of existing relations, the consolidation of its authority and the pursuit of its chosen development plan. On the other hand, paying lip service to the logic of decentralisation, together with the devolution of nominal authority to local centres serves two political utilities: it is an effective strategy in the management of conflict, and it functions as an important source of compensatory legitimization (p. 231).

The ANC and the NECC challenged the implementation of the Model system on the grounds mentioned by Taylor and Methula (1993). The changes in the white schools system in the 1990's did not occur in a political vacuum: during this period several policy documents were developed which outlined the proposals and positions of the different groupings with an interest in education. The main documents will be briefly reviewed below.

General education policy developments in the 1990's

The two main groupings whose policy proposals will be reviewed are those of the National Party and the ANC alliance. The National Party government introduced the first draft of the *Education Renewal Strategy* (ERS) in June 1991 and the final version was published in 1993. Another discussion document, *A Curriculum Model for education in South Africa* (CMSA), was released in late 1991. These documents set out the Nationalist Party government's initial negotiating stance on education during the period of transition. They were seen by many as last minute government efforts to control the education system's evolution through a limited education reform and curriculum revision strategy (Samoff, 1996). The two documents marked a move of the old government away from using 'apartheid race' terminology: they stated that race should not feature in the provision of education. They conceded that apartheid education had been inadequate. However

this follows, not so much because the education model seeks to accommodate diversity in our society, but rather because an unacceptable basis for accommodating diversity, namely race, has been perpetuated... instead of diversity being accommodated according to bases *arising naturally* from society by itself (ERS, 1993, p. 21) [italics mine].

The ERS and CMSA also contained the government's proposal for the establishment of management councils at all schools with increasing devolved authority over matters of governance and finance. The idea of a partnership approach to school financing involving user fees was proposed. The theme of gearing education towards the demands of the economy was reiterated strongly in the CMSA and was thereby consistent with strategy outlined by the De Lange Commission in 1981.

Several comments need to be made on the ERS and CMSA. Firstly, the government attempted to present a case for 'autogenous education' while at the same time incorporating the discourse of the opposition into its proposals (Christie, 1994). The talk of non-racial schooling and fundamental rights aimed to gain support for a 'just' dispensation and simultaneously ensure the 'right' of white communities to control their education. Specifically, this led to the agreement in the 1993 Constitution, section 247, that the new government must undertake *bona fide* negotiations with the governing bodies of schools in the public sector before alterations may be made to their rights, powers and functions (Education White Paper 2, 1996).³ Secondly, critics of the ERS and the CMSA noted that the use of opposition rhetoric did not translate into concrete suggestions as to how non-racialism, justice and equality may be realised:

again this is evidence of symbolic policy for hegemonic purposes, rather than material policy to address the pressing injustices of the apartheid legacy (Christie, 1994, p. 49).

The significance of the ERS and the CMSA lies not so much in the practical suggestions they make for change but in presenting the interests of their constituency and as attempts to shift and control educational discourse at a time of change (Christie, 1994).

Let me now briefly examine the policy proposals put forward by the ANC alliance. When it became clear in the early 1990's that a democratic government would be formed, several education interest groups started on the process of developing policy proposals. The most comprehensive policy research was commissioned by the NECC during the period 1990-1992 and was called the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI). Its task was less to formulate policies rather than to explore a range of educational options as the restricted access to information and a political climate which was hostile to debate "have left South Africa with a seriously impoverished public discourse about educational possibilities and alternatives" (NEPI, 1992, p. 3). NEPI was significant in that it signaled the transformation of the oppositional and demands-based strategy of the NECC into the development of concrete educational proposals.

³ These negotiations were conducted through the Hunter Report (1995) and concluded by the publication of the SASA in November 1996.

The other discussion documents which were released at the time of transition were the ANC's *Policy framework for education and training* at the beginning of 1994, and a joint document by the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) entitled *A framework for lifelong learning* (1993). A set of general principles emerged from these documents: the integration of education and training into one unitary system, the provision of adult basic education and training alongside formal schooling as well as mechanisms to ensure horizontal and vertical mobility within the system. However, the general policy formulations within the democratic movement were tentative and broad during the period of transition (Christie, 1994). This was due, among other things, to a tension between transforming the demands of the liberation struggle into practical proposals while building support among groups in civil society and business (Samoff, 1996).

After the election of the GNU in 1994 the proposals for educational policy change became concrete. They were guided by the Interim Constitution (1993) and the Bill of Rights, where individual, group and institutional rights and freedoms which bear directly and indirectly on education, are protected. Primarily this refers to the right to education (section 32) which states that

Every person shall have the right:

- a) to basic education and to equal access to educational institutions
- b) to instruction in the language of his or her choice where this is reasonably practicable
- c) to establish, where practicable, educational institutions based on a common culture, language or religion, provided that there shall be no discrimination on the ground of race (Interim Constitution, 1993, Section 32).

Section 32 (c) provoked debate among stakeholders in education. Ambiguity existed over the interpretation of "culture, language and religion" as was demonstrated in the Potgietersrus Primary School controversy (Mail & Guardian, March 22, 1996), where white parents wanted to prevent black children from attending on the basis of the right to maintain an Afrikaans culture at the school. In the final Constitution (1996) section 32 (c) has been amended to read:

Everyone has the right to establish and maintain, at their own expense, independent educational institutions that

- a) do not discriminate on the basis of race
- b) are registered with the state
- c) maintain standards that are not inferior to standards at comparable public educational institutions (Constitution, 1996, Section 29).

References to religion, culture and language have been excluded and the section has come to guarantee the establishment of private schools.

Other implications that the Interim Constitution (1993) had for the development of education policy are summarised in the Hunter Report (1995) and include the following:

- The governance of schools takes place subject to the Bill of Rights which guarantees the fundamental rights to education, equality and to freedom of conscience
- The right to equality prohibits direct and indirect discrimination and allows affirmative action. Indirect discriminatory effects will be presumed to be unfair discrimination and the onus of proof of non-discrimination rests with the governing body
- The state has the responsibility to co-ordinate school language policies at a direct or regional level, in order to ensure that the public schooling system adequately addresses the language needs of the learners it serves.

A proposal was released for discussion in September 1994 in the form of the Draft White Paper entitled *Education and training in a democratic South Africa: First steps to develop a new system*. This heralded the first official response of the newly elected government:

For the first time in South Africa's history, a government has the mandate to plan the development of the education and training system for the benefit of the country as a whole and all its people. The challenge the government faces is to create a system that will fulfill the vision to 'open the doors of learning and culture to all.' The paramount task is to build a just and equitable system which provides good quality education and training to learners young and old throughout the country (Draft White Paper 1, 1994, p. 17).

The major themes of the Draft White Paper were the reconstruction and development of the education and training programme, the constitutional and organisational basis of the new system, and the latter's funding. Its positive points were summarised by Essop (1995) as the following: a

commitment to lifelong learning and training through the provision of basic education for all; the facilitation of mobility between different levels of the formal and non-formal education systems and a proposal for a new and common qualifications and certification framework. The Draft Paper also sought to ensure that the education and training system will be able to meet the challenges of the global economy. It did not, however, outline concrete plans for the implementation of the principles which it suggested.

The Minister of Education, Sibusiso Bengu, subsequently commissioned an investigation into possibilities regarding the transformation of the systems of organisation, governance and funding of schools. This review committee was made up of representatives from across the educational and political spectrum and became known as the Hunter Commission, under the leadership of Professor A. P. Hunter. The committee submitted its report in August 1995. There were 22 principal recommendations which pertained to the legal categories of schools; the composition, responsibilities and powers of governing bodies of schools; the appointment of teachers; a suggested model for funding the education system and capacity-building programmes for governing bodies, among others.

The recommendations made by the Hunter Report have in part been taken up by the Department of Education.. Since 1995 the government has published its response to the Hunter Report in form of the White Paper 1 (November 1995) and the White Paper 2 (February 1996), has tabled the South African Schools Bill (SASB) (1996) for discussion and has finalised the latter in form of the SASA (November 1996). The National Education Policy Act was also passed in 1996. As this research was conducted in mid 1995, I will mainly consider the effects of policy considerations up to and including that year.

I would like to make some brief, general comments about the policy developments in education during the period of transition. I draw on a paper by Samoff (1996) for some of these ideas. Samoff argues that these policy developments need to be situated within the specific nature of the whole political transition process in South Africa. The nature of this process is best reflected in the

terminology used by the opponents of apartheid: it changed from *seizing power* to *transferring power* to *sharing power*. According to Samoff the eventual transition was thus the achievement not of victorious revolutionaries but of successful negotiators. The negotiated settlement in South Africa has had various consequences for the development of new education policy. Samoff (1996) notes that the negotiating process has been a compromise of fundamental goals for all interest groups and parties involved rather than the new government implementing its proposals after elections. The process of educational change has been slow, marked by a development of 'frameworks' rather than attention to immediate problems. This has meant that there has been little consideration of interim arrangements or specifications of what is to be done between what exists now and the ideal to be constructed.

In 1995, at the time when this study was conducted this was certainly the case: 'rumours' of possible changes abounded but no concrete decisions had been made. The perceptions and roles of educators in the absence of concrete policy becomes an interesting point of focus and illustrates how power (old and new) is negotiated at a locally institutionalised level outside of government. Investigating how teachers and principals in Model C schools construct the possibilities and limitations of change and practices at this time of indecision is thus important in showing how discursive and material practices interact and influence one another.

I will now examine the debates and literature on the issues of desegregation, school governance and finance in more detail as these are the specific areas that form part of my analysis.

Racial desegregation in schools

During the late 1970's limited desegregation took place in some of the white private schools (see Christie, 1990 for a detailed account of this process). This was generally seen as part of the apartheid government's reform strategy which was aimed at maintaining power by accommodating some of the demands of the black majority (Naidoo, 1996). In state schools the impetus towards desegregation only gained momentum after the implementation of the Clase

Models in 1991. Prior to that there had been a flexible admission criteria for Indian and 'coloured' schools but the enrollment of African students at these schools was minimal (Carrim, 1992). In white state schools the only black students that were admitted were the children of diplomats and foreigners. The general requirement of the Departments of Education was that the cultural 'ethos' of these schools remained as it was.

The implications that the Clase Models had for desegregation have already been outlined above. Since then a new unified education system was established in 1995. Several questions regarding desegregation arise. The first refers to the actual level of integration that has taken place since then. As Naidoo (1996) points out, desegregation is not just a question of policy but also of social, economic and demographic realities. The effects of the Group Areas Act as well as the implementation of schools fees in previously white state schools has meant that integration has been limited. The fact that the majority of the school going population is African means that most schools will remain exclusively African. The national average of African students at white or Indian schools did not exceed 15-20% in 1996 (Naidoo, 1996). Although deracialisation has occurred in this sense, this does not necessarily imply that desegregation has occurred as well. Carrim and Mkwanazi (1993) argue that the predominantly assimilationist approach of formerly white, 'coloured' and Indian schools, the small numbers of black students admitted to these schools, and the lack of change in the staff's racial composition, among other factors, have meant that few structural changes in these schools have occurred. According to Carrim and Mkwanazi (1993) it is thus not possible to talk about a *desegregated* education system but only about a *deracialised* one, as the former term implies fundamental and structural change. While I note the arguments of Carrim and Mkwanazi (1993) I use the term 'desegregation' to refer to the process of *dismantling* the segregation of schools, rather than as a comment on how this process is taking place. I make use of the term 'integration' when referring to what happens in the schools once some form of desegregation has occurred.

The second issue refers to what happens at schools once the process of integration has been initiated. Racism, racial conflict and harassment have been reported in the media. For example at

the Elandspoort High School in Pretoria West in May 1997, white and black students clashed after black students had been called racist names (Mail & Guardian, May 16, 1997). While open conflict has not been apparent at most former Model C schools, criticism has been leveled against some of the previously white schools for practising assimilation rather than engaging in a process of transformation: black students are expected to conform to the ethos, cultural and language practices of the school (Eyber, Dyer & Versfeld, 1997). The process of desegregation may require a more fundamental reorientation to structural as well as educational principles in schools, such as examining the underlying assumptions on which CNE has been based in previously white schools.

Intricately bound to racial integration are the concepts of identity, culture and language. As will be outlined in Chapter 5 the concepts of race and culture have a long history in South Africa, specifically in relation to the justification for separate education. Research has focused on three broad areas regarding race and culture in education in South Africa: policy and race; desegregation and integration; and multicultural education. The relationship between policy and race has been explored in numerous studies (see for example Cross & Chisholm, 1990; Hyslop, 1988; Kallaway, 1984; Tikly, 1993; Unterhalter et al., 1992).

There are also an increasing number of studies on the process of desegregation and integration in South African schools (for example Bhana, 1994; Braddock, 1985; Carrim, 1992; Carrim, 1995; Carrim & Mkwanazi, 1993; Christie, 1993; Gaganakis, 1990; Metcalfe, 1991; Naidoo, 1995; Ngubane, 1993; Patel, 1993; Penny, Appel, Gultig, Harley & Muir, 1993; Seager, 1994; Vice, 1991). A number of these studies examine teachers' or students' attitudes to and perceptions of integration (discussed below). Multicultural education in South Africa has been explored by various authors such as Coutts (1992), Lemmer & Squelch (1993), Moore (1993), Nzimande (1991), Smith (1991) and Snelling (1993). The focus of most of these studies is on practical help for teachers who wish to implement multicultural teaching. Relatively few studies have been conducted on the politics and implication of multilingual teaching in schools (Hugh, Siegrühn, & Plüddemann, 1995; Versfeld & Dyer, 1995). No study has focused on the discursive constructions of the concepts of race, culture and language in schools.

The connections between racial desegregation, school governance and the financing of former Model C schools have been explored by Hindle and Morrel (1993). They express the concern that continuing educational privatisation in South Africa may result in a more pronounced divide between a multi-racial, privileged middle-class and the mass of black school-students who remain in under-resourced environments. Again, however, no exploration has been done on the discursive connections between these three different areas which have been affected by educational change.

School governance

The decentralisation of the formerly white education sector was initiated by the Nationalist Party state in the early 1980's when the Education Department of the House of Assembly, proposed that (white) parents enter into a partnership with the state which would give them more authority over *their* schools (Felgate, 1996). This authority included the responsibility for maintaining white culture at schools where parents acted as guardians of their children's cultural heritage (Tikly, 1996). The state thus sought to 'hand over' white education to parents so that continuity in education deliverance could be assured. The result of this was that school governance became exclusive in that only the parents of students at schools 'qualified' as stakeholders in governing bodies (Sayed, 1996).

Since 1990 the debates around school governance have concentrated predominantly on two issues: the legal categories of schools and the composition and functions of the governing bodies. At the time of conducting this study the proposals in the White Paper 2a suggested that there should be only two legal categories of schools in the country: public or state schools, and independent or private schools (this has been confirmed and finalised in the SASA, 1996). The category of state-aided schools would thus fall away. The Hunter Report (1995) suggested that every state school should elect a governing body which would then be awarded certain powers regarding the management and governance of schools in three key areas: policy matters, the day-to-day running of the school and financial matters. In addition they could apply to the Education

Department to attain other powers pertaining to maintaining school grounds and buildings, purchasing equipment, determining extra-mural activities and subject choices and paying for services at the school (this has also been implemented through the SASA, 1996). In practical effect there is little difference between the governance powers of the previous government's state-aided schools and the present proposals for education (Sayed, 1996).

Sayed (1996) in an analysis of recent trends regarding school governance, argues that throughout the development of policy texts the move towards community representation is becoming weaker. He is of the opinion that this trend in turn weakens civil society participation in education matters. In the Hunter Report (1995), for example, the recommendation was that community representatives were to be nominated by parents and elected by the governing bodies. In the White Paper 2 (1996) this was changed to the suggestion that community representatives should only be nominated by the governing bodies, and in the SASB (1996) version, community representatives *may* be co-opted but are not necessary to the membership of the governing body (Sayed, 1996). In addition, community representatives are those with specific expertise (such as financial skills) who can be of use to the governing body, rather than people who are able to reflect the views and sentiments of the community as understood by community-based organisation. This is a marked departure from the understanding of inclusive democracy which gave rise to the PTSAs during the resistance movement. Central to this is the lack of distinction between governance and representation. The NEPI proposals for example suggested that the PTSAs were to be responsible for policy decisions at the school and that the implementation, i.e. governance, would fall to senior staff. This notion has been disregarded in recent policies.

While community participation is becoming weaker, the powers of parents are becoming stronger. In the Hunter Report (1995) the suggestion was made that parents should comprise the *largest* group in the governing body. In the final suggestions of the SASB (1996), however, it was stipulated that parents should be in the *majority*. This may seem like an unimportant change but is indicative of the current trend that parents are seen as the most important beneficiaries of education. Sayed (1996) questions this assumption:

Whilst it is obvious that parental participation is critical to ensuring democratisation, this claim begs the question of why the rights of a particular group of citizens (parents) should be privileged in the education system (p. 15).

The unqualified assertion of parental choice and voice could potentially weaken student and teacher representation as well as have the effect of undermining participatory democracy (Sayed, 1996).

The trend towards giving parents more authority in school governance is part of an international shift towards parental choice. These trends have been linked to the rise of the 'New Right' in Europe, North America and Australia (Ball, 1993; Kallaway, 1989; Kenway, 1990). Educationists such as Ball (1993) and Kenway (1990) argue that this is due to the emphasis that the New Right places on the commercialisation of education (discussed in chapter 7). Hall (1996) suggests that methods of application of parental choice vary from country to country because of the different political and economic contexts but that there is a similarity in its 'language' of academic excellence, standards of performance, ability, institutional competition, and deregulation over equity and welfare concerns. The involvement of parents shifts from the notion of participation in the partnership in the running of schools towards parental power as consumers. As Hall puts it

For a brief period in the 1960's and 1970's the involvement of parents with the school was the left's most democratic trump card. The dismantling of this into 'parental choice' and its expropriation by the right is one of their most significant victories. They [New Right politicians and education theorists] stole the idea designed to increase popular power in education and transformed it into the idea of an education supermarket (1983, p. 1).

The view of parents as consumers is closely linked to a neo-liberal conception of education which relies on the principles of the free market system. 'Consumer sovereignty' is seen as central to this process where parents are consumers of education and schools the producers (Hall, 1996). Margonis & Parker (1995) argue that the problems with this approach are that it may lead to a neglect of economic and racial inequality in the distribution of educational resources. In addition, full democratic participation in school governance does not take place as the emphasis is placed on the exchange of services in return for fees.

School financing

A central aspect of recent policy debate has been the issue of how to fund a unitary school system in South Africa. The one position advocates as little change as possible in the pre-election system, while the opposing position proposes radical structural change. The Hunter Commission (1995) outlined three options for reforming school financing, taking realistic national budget constraints into account which prevent the state from raising the per capita spending for all schools to the former white level. The first option was the minimalist-gradualist approach which would be more or less a continuation of the Clase Model system with schools being allowed to levy compulsory fees from parents. The second option was the equitable school-based formula which assumes that the achievement of per capita equity in the allocation of budgetary resources to schools is a fundamental objective. The effect of this approach would be a phased but resolute reduction of the level of provisioning in the well-resourced schools, and a corresponding increase in these levels in the under-resourced schools. The third option was favoured by the Commission and was termed the partnership funding approach. Here a standard fee structure would be determined and the state would supplement low-income households who cannot afford to pay this amount. In considering the options the new Department of Education needed to strike a balance between reallocating resources to the disadvantaged segments of the population and preventing the more wealthy sector of parents from leaving the state system and placing their children in private schools (White Paper 2, 1996).

The Department of Education in fact chose none of these options. Instead they called in two overseas consultants who proposed a fourth option which was finally adopted by the Department. This option is referred to as the Middle Class Mandatory Fee Clustering (MMFC). The main features of this model are that the governing body of a school will be allowed to set its own fees with no limitations imposed by the province. While no child may be excluded on the grounds of not being able to pay school fees, governing bodies are at the same time given the legal right to enforce the payment of school fees (SASB, 1996). It is not clear whether this means that the child of a family who cannot pay the fees will be admitted and the family thereafter sued for non-payment (see Tikly, 1996, and Sayed, 1996, for a critical review of this issue).

At the time when this research was conducted, these policies had not been finalised. The options that the Education Department was considering were to continue with the financing system as before, or to restrict the financial involvement of parents in the school in some manner. Some parents and teachers at state-aided schools voiced strong objections against the possibility that the government would not allow the state-aided system to continue (Felgate, 1996). The arguments and justifications used in white schools for a continuation of a semi-privatised system are thus of particular interest during this time of uncertainty.

I will now briefly review studies conducted on the educational transition process in South Africa. There is a dearth of psychological studies in this area. Since my study originates from within a psychological context, however, I will concentrate on the more 'psychological' premises on which some of the studies are based. My aim here is to link the theoretical and methodological assumptions of the research to specific approaches within 'mainstream' psychology.

Research on educational change in South Africa 1990-1996

A survey of studies conducted in South Africa during the period of transition from 1990 to 1996 shows that research focused on a number of broad issues. While it is not appropriate to review the entire literature here because much of it is not relevant to this thesis, a few key areas of research will be identified and examples of studies will be given. One of these key areas is policy options and implications. A number of these studies have been elaborated upon in the previous sections (for example Chisholm, 1996; Christie, 1993, 1994, 1995; Samoff, 1996; Sayed, 1996; Taylor, 1993; Tikly, 1993, 1994a, 1996). These studies were predominantly written from within the discipline of a critical sociology of education and concentrate on analysing effects of past policy and the possible effects of policy under consideration. Most of these studies use documents and proposals as the basis for their analysis. Tikly (1994a), for example, investigates the impact that conceptions of race have had on educational policy development in the past (Tikly's work will be elaborated upon in chapter 3).

Another issue upon which a number of studies focus is that of identity. An example of this is Gaganakis (1994) who explores how language is used and perceived as a means of maintaining or questioning power relations within formerly white schools, and how this is linked to black students' self-identity. Wedekind, Shange and Piper (1992) use a rural school in KwaZulu-Natal to investigate conceptions of Zulu identity among students. They examine, among other things, how ethnic identity can be accommodated in a curriculum for common citizenship.

A further area of interest is intergroup relations at desegregated schools (Carrim, 1992; Ngubane, 1993; Sasinsky, 1991). Carrim (1992) and Ngubane (1993) use interviews with students and teachers to gauge the level and type of interaction among students. Carrim, for example, suggests that relations among African and Indian students are restricted to interaction during school hours and that very few friendships are formed between students. He counts the frequency of certain responses and uses examples of interview quotes to sustain his arguments. Most of the above studies assert that inter-racial conflict is present to varying degrees and a number of suggestions are made as to how the conflict can be resolved. Sasinsky (1991), for example, develops a conflict resolution model for teachers which they could apply to improve intergroup relations. This model is based on an interpersonal as well as a group dynamic approach to understanding and resolving conflict by a number of researchers.

The experience of minority groups in desegregated schools has been explored by a few researchers. Govender (1991), for example, investigates what problems African students experience at Indian Secondary Schools. She lists academic difficulties, relationships with teachers, socialisation patterns and the language of communication as some of the problems elicited from interviews with the students. Again, this information was gathered by means of semi-structured interviews with students and a basic content analysis was performed in order to obtain results.

A further focus of research has been the attitudes of teachers towards incoming students of a different racial group (Kasiram, 1993; Vice, 1991). These studies propose that the attitudes of teachers towards change are important for a successful transition to occur in South African schools. Vice (1991) uses questionnaires and semi-structured interviews and performs both a statistical and a content analysis to gain her results. She indicates that English-speaking and/or teachers at private schools have more positive attitudes towards integrated schooling. Kasiram (1993) and Vice (1991) conclude, among other things that levels of stress among teachers are high as this group has received insufficient training for the tasks that educational transition has brought with it. Both studies focus predominantly on the obstacles or problems that, according to the teachers, desegregation has brought with it.

Most of the above studies, while drawing on psychological concepts such as attitudes, do not make their theoretical orientations clear. There is no discussion of the definition of the concept of 'attitude' in Kasiram (1993) and Vice (1991), for example. Instead, the authors seem to use these concept 'loosely' in a general descriptive rather than in an analytic way. Carrim's (1992) and Ngubane's (1993) studies, with their focus on interaction between black and white students, do not connect with possible social psychological theories on this issue, such as for example the contact hypothesis or social identity theory. Again, the researchers seem to work from broad, unspecified assumptions about the constructs they are investigating. These studies are useful in terms of providing relevant information about general trends and effects of educational change. However, because these studies are not explicit about the theoretical underpinnings of the constructs they use, it is difficult to gauge their contributions to the field of knowledge of educational change.

Psychological approaches

Most of the research mentioned above draws predominantly on sociological and educational concepts. I will, however, attempt to link some of the psychological constructs used in the studies

to possible ways in which educational change could be studied from within a more traditional psychological orientation.

The psychological approaches could be conceptualised as a continuum which ranges from the *individual*, his/her feelings, attitudes, thoughts and behaviour, at the one end, through to *group* theories and to theories of *ideology* at the other end.

Individual psychological approaches

Here the individual is the primary focus of investigation. There are several ways in which change, resistance to change and relations to an 'other' have been theorised.

The psychodynamic approaches try to locate and understand the individual's orientation towards an 'other' and social change within the intra-psychic dynamics of the person. Theorists suggest that a strong dislike of another group may be due to unconscious mental conflicts that individuals experience and which threaten the sense of self (for example Volkan, 1990). The origin of these conflicts may lie in developmental events in the individual's life. Psychological defense mechanisms such as externalization, projection and displacement are used by the person to deal with these conflicts. The 'other' group becomes the target/container of aggression and unacceptable feelings about the self (scapegoating). Group relations are perceived as "echoes" of the psychodynamics of the individuals that make up the group where identification with one's 'own' group as well as the establishment of shared external targets occurs (Volkan, 1990). Stereotypes of the outsider group develop in order to reinforce differences between one's own and the other group.

Authoritarian personality theorists, while not of a 'purely' psychodynamic orientation, also propose that different psychological characteristics within individuals account for their political persuasion (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson & Sanford, 1950). Specific patterns of parent-child relationships are linked to the development of an authoritarian character structure which in turn results in a set of hostile attitudes towards the 'other':

a basically hierarchical, authoritarian, exploitative parent-child relationship is apt to carry over into a power-oriented, exploitatively dependent attitude towards one's sex partner and one's God and may well culminate in a political philosophy and social outlook which has no room for anything but a desperate clinging to what appears to be a strong and disdainful rejection of whatever is relegated to the bottom (Adorno et al., 1950, p. 971).

One of the implications of the above theories is that negative attitudes towards an 'other' may be interpreted by researchers as being a generalised disposition of an individual (this is a debatable point. See Duckitt, 1991). The connection between the individual and society is theorised through concepts such as normative conformity where elevated levels of prejudice in societies such as South Africa are explained as the result of individuals conforming to group expectations. In an overview of South African studies of prejudice Duckitt (1991) notes that the interrelationship between individual attitudes and social influences is a complex one which needs to take account of group processes and identity formation.

While none of the studies on educational change in South Africa make use of a specifically psychodynamic model, some elements of the research can be related to the above theories. There is, for example, an emphasis on individual's attitudes towards other race groups (Vice, 1991; Carrim, 1992), as well as an understanding of problems with integration as being one of personal prejudice (Govender, 1991). Again, however, terms such as prejudice are not defined and are used loosely.

A second common theoretical approach which focuses on individuals has been to use concepts of attitudes and perceptions to study change. Allport's (1935) definition has been influential in how the concept of attitude has developed:

An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related (Allport, 1935, p. 810).

Foster and Nel (1991) point out that 'attitudes' have been a contested concept in social psychology and that there are different approaches to it: the American 'individualistic' perspective which locates an attitude in the heads of individuals and which is seen to 'cause' or direct

behaviour (e.g. McGuire, 1969); and the European perspective which adopts a more social approach (e.g. Eiser & van der Plight, 1988).

Several ways in which attitudes can be changed have been proposed. One of these is that information will change the attitudes of people (McGuire, 1969). Another, Cognitive Dissonance Theory, suggests that behaviour may change attitudes: if people behave in ways which are inconsistent with their attitudes they may change their attitudes in order to reduce the dissonance created by the inconsistency (Festinger, 1957). A final approach assumes that contact and direct experience with an attitude 'object' may result in attitude change (for e.g. Amir, Sharan, Bizman, Rivner & Ben-Ari, 1978). Research on the contact hypothesis indicates disparate ways in which contact may influence interpersonal and intergroup relations positively as well as negatively (for e.g. Hewstone & Brown, 1986).

Within the field of social cognition, theorists have developed Attribution Theory to explain how people make judgements about situations and others, and how a motivational component may affect these judgements (e.g. Heider, 1958). Recent studies have tried to move away from a purely individualistic approach to encompass social and intergroup aspects (e.g. Jaspars & Hewstone, 1982).

Two important concepts which have arisen out of an attitudinal and cognitive orientation towards change and the 'other' are those of stereotypes and prejudice. A stereotype is defined as

a positive or negative set of beliefs held by an individual about the characteristics of a groups of people (Jones, 1997, p. 170).

Stereotypes can be studied from various perspectives, for example, from a cognitive position, which suggests that an information-overload is processed into categories; from a psychodynamic perspective; or from a socio-cultural position where stereotypes are seen as originating from dominant social and cultural values and beliefs in a society (Jones, 1997). Research has concentrated mainly on how the process of stereotyping occurs or on how to reduce negative stereotyping (for example Katz, 1978).

The literature on the notion of prejudice is vast. Jones' (1997) definition of prejudice is an example of how prejudice is commonly understood:

Prejudice is a positive or negative attitude, judgement, or behavior generalized to a particular person that is based on attitudes or beliefs held about the group to which the person belongs (Jones, 1997. p. 142) [original emphasis].

Again, there are many ways in which prejudice has been theorised. A common feature of these theories is, however, that prejudice is seen as a phenomenon located *within* the individual, in his/her emotional, cognitive, behavioural or motivational processes. Fear of change and negative attitudes towards an 'other' are thus explained primarily as measurable and apprehensible elements of a person or of persons who constitute a group.

As has been pointed out, a number of the educational studies reviewed above make use of the concepts of attitudes and stereotypes without necessarily theorising this notion. Researchers access underlying opinions about change or integration which are seen as more or less stable indicators of disposition (see for example Vice, 1991, and Kasiram, 1993). Wedekind, Shange & Piper (1992) use a Likert scale to determine students' ethnic stereotypes, among other things, but do not critically examine how attitude scales are understood in the psychological literature.

Group approaches

Unlike the above theories, a socio-centred approach does not maintain that individual thought and behaviour is the starting point for explaining all social activity. Instead, social and group processes are studied in their own right as separate phenomena (De la Rey, 1991). Several theories have been developed within psychology to explain and account for some of these group phenomena: Realistic Conflict Theory (based on Sherif's, 1966, studies of intergroup relations at summer camps), Relative Deprivation Theory (e.g. Runciman, 1966), Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and the theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1984 & 1988), to mention a few. I will very briefly mention some of the central features of SIT and the theory of social representation here.

SIT (Tajfel, 1978 & 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1984) proposes that individuals do not only have a personal identity but also a social identity. Personal identity relates to unique aspects of an individual such as personality characteristics or personal tastes etc. Social identity is related to the individual's membership in various groups and has three main components to it: a cognitive component; an evaluative component which evaluates the positive or negative implications of a group membership; and an emotional component which consists of feelings such as love and hatred towards one's own 'ingroup' and others' 'outgroup'. Depending on the context, one's personal or one's social identity may become salient. Turner (1984) suggests that there is a behavioural continuum from interpersonal to intergroup behaviours and that these correspond to one's personal and one's social identity being 'switched on' respectively.

Another central aspect of SIT is social comparison. One's own group is compared to outgroups. This has implications for one's self-esteem where positive results of comparison for one's own group lead to a positive social identity and vice versa. According to SIT people are motivated to achieve a positive 'group distinctiveness' (Turner, 1984) in order to enhance their self-concept.

Racism and discrimination are seen as a problem of ethnocentrism and of explaining how preference for one's own ethnic or racial group is connected to a chain of discriminatory outcomes (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Racism is thus not just expressed as negative stereotyping but also through the general maximisation of the differences between groups and the division and allocation of resources (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). One of the advantages of SIT is that it develops a theory for explaining why people may respond differently in certain situations, depending on whether their personal or social identity is appealed to. Group approaches are touched upon by studies such as Wedekind, Shange & Piper (1992) who acknowledge the role played by ethnic group membership of students in KwaZulu-Natal. The authors do not elaborate, however, how this relates to relations between groups in the schools under investigation.

Ideology

Psychological approaches have usually not taken into consideration social influences such as ideology. I argue, however, that this is crucial in theorising broad social movements, material arrangements in societies as well as commonsensical understandings of these. The study of ideology is closely related to the approach taken in this study, namely that of discourse analysis, and a few comments will be made about how some theorists have understood this concept.

Ideology can be understood in various ways. Often the concept is used to refer to broad belief systems such as Marxism, fascism or other political doctrines. A common understanding of ideology is that it is a false set of statements about what the world is like, false statements that aim to obscure 'reality' and the 'true facts' (Foster, 1991; Thompson, 1987). To be ideological is thus to be in some way dishonest. Some theorists have tried to give ideology a neutral interpretation where it is seen as a belief system without assuming that it is in any way purposefully 'deceitful'. Recent theorists are of the opinion, however, that the study of ideology needs to maintain a critical edge so that it can be used in an emancipatory way. Thompson (1984), for example, suggests that ideology must be conceptualised within a framework of social theory which explores among other things the relations between actions, institutions, power and domination. These relations are not necessarily "a coherent system of statements imposed on a population from above" but instead operate "through a complex series of mechanisms whereby meaning is mobilised in the discursive practices of everyday life for the maintenance of relations of domination" (Thompson, 1984: 63). It is thus the view of this thesis that it is vital to examine the discursive practices of everyday life in order to be able to understand how domination is sustained.

Thompson defines domination as a situation where there are systematically asymmetrical relations of power: "when particular agents/groups are institutionally endowed with power in a way which excludes and to some significant degree remains inaccessible to other groups" (1984, p. 127). To study ideology is to study the ways in which meaning serves to sustain relations of domination. Thompson identifies three ways in which this is done:

- 1) relations of domination may be sustained by being represented as *legitimate*

- 2) they may be concealed, denied or 'blocked' in various ways, in other words *dissimulated*
- 3) *reification* may occur where a transitory, historical state of affairs is represented as if it were permanent, natural and outside of time. As Lefort (1978) put it: "To re-establish the dimension of society 'without history' at the heart of historical society; that is the role of ideology" (cited in Thompson, 1984, p. 131).

There are a number of other significant theorists who have made contributions to the field of ideology studies, among them Althusser (1971), Therborn (1980) and Miles (1989, who focuses specifically on the ideology of racism). An important point to be made about ideology is that it is seen as being material: ideology has very real and concrete effects on people; it is embodied in 'ideological state apparatuses' (Althusser, 1971) such as schools; and it constitutes individuals and fixes them into positions within hierarchies (Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

Thus far, I have reviewed some of the possible approaches that could be taken in studying aspects of educational change within psychology in South Africa. In the next chapter I will outline an alternate theory and method, discourse analysis, which allows me to address the aims of my study (chapter 1) in a more specific way. In order to contextualise this theory I first consider briefly the historical development of social constructionism in psychology. Secondly, the various strands of discourse analysis which have been influential in this study are discussed. Thirdly, a short survey of relevant South African and educational literature that makes use of a discursive approach is presented. Chapter 3 ends with a motivation for using discourse analysis in this study.

Chapter 3

Discourse and psychology

From modernism to postmodernism: Derrida and Foucault

The approaches outlined in the previous chapter predominantly fall within a positivistic orientation towards psychology. The emergence of positivism in psychology is related to modernism (Gergen, 1992). Modernism is characterised by the belief in a knowable world where each discipline specifies the boundaries of its subject matter. There are universal properties and principles which can be discovered through empirical methods. These methods are seen to be impersonal: “when properly employed such methods prohibit the entry of ideology, values or passions into the description and explanation of relevant phenomena” (Gergen, 1992, p. 20). There is thus a passion for external legitimation and a belief in rationality (Kvale, 1992). The modernist conviction is that research is progressive as it is a move towards the establishment of reliable, value-neutral truths.

It must be noted that the vast majority of psychological research is conducted within a modernist framework. However, at the end of the 1960’s and the 1970’s the assumptions of modernist psychology were no longer accepted uncritically. The emergence of postmodernism and post-structuralism led to a fundamental reorientation in the social sciences and humanities. One of the main effects of this was that truth was no longer perceived as absolute but instead as a matter of perspective. Empiricist foundationalism was critiqued where sociologists of knowledge asserted that what passes as knowledge within the sciences may be seen as the result of social processes within the culture of science (Kvale, 1992).

Critical theorists such as Horkheimer, Adorno and other theorists of the Frankfurt School had begun to question the value-neutrality of social science knowledge as early as the 1930's. While it is difficult to determine the exact time periods of specific developments within the field of psychology, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) suggest that there are five broad historical 'moments' which can be identified: the traditional period (1900-1950), the modernist age (1950-1970), blurred genres (1970-1986), the crisis of representation (1986-1990), and postmodern or present moments (1990-present). During the modernist period new qualitative perspectives made their presence felt through theories such as hermeneutics, structuralism, semiotics, phenomenology, cultural studies and feminism (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

Several significant theorists contributed to different aspects of postmodern and post-structuralist theory. I will briefly refer to the work of two of these theorists, Derrida and Foucault, because they may be considered the fore-runners of some of the discourse analytic orientations in psychology. However, the elaboration of their positions is not possible here. Given the scope and complexity of their work, only some of the broadest contours can be outlined here with the awareness that this does not do justice to the contributions they have made.

Derrida (1976) developed his theory of deconstruction in which he posited that language is a system of signifiers from which one can never exit to give a true and accurate portrayal of what is. Signs do not have meanings in themselves but get their meaning by the distinctive place they occupy in contrast to other signs in the network of language. There are no 'positive', true meanings outside of this network of language. It was Derrida's contention that any attempt to move beyond a text to find the true meaning is doomed because the study of the outside is a reading which is given meaning by the context (Parker, 1989a). The context operates as another text and hence "there is nothing outside of the text" (Derrida, 1976, p. 158). There is thus no point in trying to discern the 'true' intentions of an author beyond the text because meaning is constrained through the text, the system of signification. The implication of this for literary theory is what has come to be known as the 'death of the author' where the text speaks the author rather

than the other way around. Thus, "all forms of post-structuralism assume that meaning is constituted within language and is not guaranteed by the subject which speaks it" (Weedon, 1987 cited in Hollway, 1989, p. 30). Out of this arose the notion of deconstruction which opens up all 'texts' (this is taken to mean all writing, speech, socially constructed and shared meanings) in order to show how meaning is organised and what function that organisation serves (Parker, 1989a). Deconstruction can also be defined as "the vigilant seeking-out of those 'aporias', blind-spots or moments of self-contradiction where a text involuntarily betrays the tension between rhetoric and logic, between what it manifestly *means to say* and what it is nonetheless *constrained to mean* (Norris, 1987 cited in Lovlie, 1992, p. 122).

The second theorist whose work I would briefly like to comment on is Michel Foucault. Foucault's work is complex and changed focus during the years in which he developed his theories. It is thus not possible to summarise his work within a couple of paragraphs and my brief observations about Foucault's work should be read only as introductory comments. Foucault investigates the connection between the production of knowledge and power:

Power produces knowledge... Power and knowledge directly imply one another... There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations (Foucault, 1979, p. 93).

He proposes that power dynamics are intrinsic to the theoretical and practical functioning of the human sciences. In the field of psychology these are extra-psychological structures of domination which are present in the production, categorisation, distribution and utilisation of psychological knowledge (Richer, 1992). This has implications for how the individual subject is conceived:

This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others have to recognise in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word, 'subject': subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience of self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to (Foucault, 1982 cited in Richer, 1992, p. 112).

The task for analysis is thus not to find *who* has power and what intentions this 'who' has but to investigate *how* power is employed and exercised through the net-like organisation of social structures of domination. Foucault aims "to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subject" (Foucault, 1982, p. 777). The subject is a product of

discourses where discourses relate and help organise social relations as power relations (Parker, 1989b). Foucault uses the notions of surveillance, confession and discipline in his analysis of how subjects are created through human science discourses. This occurs when discourses of the self become 'technologies of the self'. A central aspect of his theory is the constructing character of discourse where discourses "systematically form the subjects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Foucault pays particular attention to the historical construction of 'truths' about the social and natural world which then become taken-for-granted definitions and categories by which people organise and live their lives.

The implications of Foucault's work for psychology have been significant for questioning the existence of the subject as a reasonable agent of change, as well as the reinforcement of skepticism towards the transparency of talk and interview data as unproblematic sources of information about 'reality', 'truth', 'intent' and 'motivation' (Parker, 1992). Foucault's work has also made explicit the contributions of the discipline of psychology to the power/knowledge structures of life in the twentieth century.

The turn to the text in psychology

In psychology, postmodernism has translated, among other things, into a 'turn to the text'. Increasing attention has been paid to language and the role it plays in constituting psychological reality. Language is no longer seen as merely reflecting the world but as forming it through producing different realities: it is seen as constitutive rather than representational, a matrix of enabling and constraining boundaries rather than a mirror (Kvale, 1992, p. 90). The implications of this are manifold. One of these is what Gergen refers to as "the vanishing subject matter" (1992, p. 23): if there is no reality to apprehend outside of the text, the traditional subject matter of psychology (the individual, cognition, attitudes etc.) disappears. Instead of trying to establish universal properties of one's subject matter the researcher aims for contextual reflection which will account for the historical circumstances of the inquiry.

In addition, the marginalisation of method occurs where methods are seen as “truth warrants for a priori commitments to particular forms of value-saturated description” (Gergen, 1992, p. 24). The grand narrative of progress does not form part of postmodern psychology because both the concept of truth and research as a means to truth are contradictory to its premises. Instead, post-structuralist and postmodern ideas challenge the assumption “that science and technology are benign and that we are on the linear road to improvement, disputing both its linearity as well as improvement” (Burman, 1996, p. 136).

Another implication of postmodernism for psychology is the ‘death of the subject’ where the unified, monolithic, reified, essentialised subject, capable of fully conscious and rational action is replaced by a provisional, strategic, constructed subject (Lather, 1992). Post-structuralism seeks to deconstruct the myth of the self-determining subject of modern political, legal and social discourse. The centrality and sovereignty of the individual which had dominated much of psychological investigation is substituted by analysis of texts and of ‘subjectivity’. The subject is no longer seen as a locus of reason and autonomy. Instead, the interest lies with the competing subject positions which are made available in discourses:

We use ‘subjectivity’ to refer to individuality and self-awareness - the condition of being a subject - but understand in this usage that subjects are dynamic and multiple, always positioned in relation to discourses and practices and produced by these - the condition of being subject (Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn & Walkerdine, 1984, p. 3).

The notion of a unitary self is thus questioned. The focus is on the construction of fragments of subjectivity in different, contradictory discourses (Parker, 1989b, p. 67). These multiple selves of the postmodern subject should not be seen as ‘parts’ which can be selected at will but rather as set in a variety of power-infused discourses.

A term often used in postmodernism and post-structuralism is ‘social constructionism’ (see Danziger (1997) for an overview of approaches to social constructionism). The collapse of the grand meta-narratives of modernity such as those of universal laws and the unique individual, has meant that ‘local’ narratives have come into prominence (Kvale, 1992). There is an emphasis on the constructed and culturally-bound nature of knowledge. Social constructionism holds that all forms of social reality have a human and socially constructed character: ‘knowledge of’ can never

be knowledge of an extra-human-dimension such as objective fact because all knowledge is irretrievably connected to a reality which is produced, bounded and sustained by human meanings (Burman & Parker, 1993). All forms of knowledge, including scientific knowledge, produce images of the world that then operate as if they were true (Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor & Tindall, 1994). For the study of psychology, this means that what constitutes psychology changes from culture to culture, from historical period to historical period, and therefore our knowledge of that psychology will also change (Parker & Burman, 1993). This relativises the discipline.

Postmodern ideas have led to increased interest in qualitative methodologies. Banister et al. (1994) point out that qualitative methodologies did not emerge newly born from the 'crisis' in psychology but that many of these methods have a long-standing history in other disciplines such as sociology and anthropology. What distinguishes qualitative methodologies from quantitative ones is the orientation towards what Woolgar (1988, cited in Banister et al., 1994) has termed the 'methodological horrors': indexicality where an explanation is always tied to a particular occasion or use and will change as the occasion changes; inconcludability where an account is seen as provisional and can always be supplemented further; and reflexivity which takes account of the fact that the way in which we theorise a problem will affect the ways in which we examine it and the explanation we give. While quantitative methods see these 'horrors' as obstacles which need to be overcome, qualitative methods view them as assets and resources on which to draw. Qualitative methodologies do not seek to eliminate outside variables, make research replicable, generalise findings nor to come to 'conclusions'. Instead, they acknowledge that research is always a process of interpretation between us as researchers and what we seek to represent and understand. The aim is to specify in-depth rather than to make replicable or to generalise.

One of these qualitative approaches which has gained popularity in recent years is discourse analysis. I will give a brief overview of the different strands of discourse analysis which have informed my study, namely those of Wetherell and Potter (1992), Billig (1987, 1991), Parker (1992) and Van Dijk (1992).

Different strands of discourse analysis

Central to all forms of discourse analysis is attention to the significance and structuring effects of language (Burman, 1991). There are a variety of approaches to discourse analysis which have different understandings of not only what 'discourse' is but also of how it should be analysed. These different conceptualisations and methodologies have arisen out of various schools of thought in the human sciences and psychology. Some of these have their roots in the Foucauldian and post-structuralist theory briefly mentioned above. Among other things, the concept of subjectivity has been theorised from within a Foucauldian orientation to discourse (for example Hollway, 1984, 1989; Widdicombe, 1992).

Other orientations have been influenced by the sociology of scientific knowledge (e.g. Gilbert & Mulkay, 1984), and by the practice of ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967). Conversation analysis (e.g. Van Dijk, 1985a), narrative theory (e.g. Essed, 1991) and rhetorical psychology (Billig, 1991) have also contributed to the development of specific approaches. While there are contradictions and debates between the theorists concerning the theoretical orientation and practical 'methodologies', these debates will not be outlined in detail here (see Burman & Parker, 1993; Fairclough, 1992, for a discussion of some of these differences).

Two preliminary comments on the review of approaches to discourse analysis need to be made. Firstly, it is not possible to separate theory and method in discourse analysis. The division between theory and method is, as Hollway (1989) argues, based on the positivist assumption which is "encapsulated in the principle of the hypothetico-deductive method which requires that a hypothesis is formulated on the basis of theory and then, quite independently, data is collected which will test this hypothesis" (p. 14). This is not the case in discourse analysis. Instead, the theory-method opposition is deconstructed: the bodies of knowledge as well as psychological procedures are critiqued (Burman, 1991). The theory, formulation of the problem area, the data collection and the analytic concepts used are not only all informed by each other but also emerge out of one another. While the following outline of discourse theory thus forms part of the theoretical overview and the specific analytic concepts which I use are elaborated on in the

“method” chapter 4 of this thesis, this separating out of theory and practice of discourse analysis is to a large degree a false undertaking.

Secondly, there have been a few works which have outlined steps of ‘how-to-do-discourse-analysis’ (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Parker, 1992; Fairclough, 1992). Burman (1996) makes the point that these accounts produce their own textuality and participate in existing technological discourses by engaging with a ‘method’ of doing discourse analysis. In making interventions there is thus the danger that we are participating within those discursive practices we seek to change. What follows should therefore not be read as ‘methods’ of discourse analysis which can be applied to texts but merely as guidelines that facilitate the process of analysis.

Wetherell and Potter

The approach to discourse analysis which forms the basis of this study is that of Jonathan Potter and Margaret Wetherell (Potter, 1988; Potter & Wetherell, 1987, 1994; Potter, Wetherell, Ros & Edwards, 1990; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Wetherell & Potter, 1988, 1992). The tradition of language research out of which these theorists’ understanding of discourse analysis arises is that of speech act theory (Austin, 1962), ethnomethodology and a conversation analytic perspective (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984). In their later work, they also draw on what they call the ‘continental’ discourse analysis of Foucault and other post-structuralists as well as on the sociology of scientific knowledge (for example Gilbert & Mulkay, 1984). In their earlier work, Potter and Wetherell (1987) concentrate on outlining the contribution that discourse analysis makes to the study of social psychology. They hold the view that attitude and behaviour studies have not been able to take into account the contradictions and variations that occur in speech when people find themselves in different contexts. It is, however, through their second major work in the area of discourse analysis that I would like to examine some of the key features of their approach to discourse analysis.

In this work Wetherell and Potter (1992) concern themselves with the study of racism and examine various methods in psychology and sociology which have theorised racism. They propose

that racism should not be defined in terms of its content but in terms of the effects it has, i.e. establishing, sustaining and reinforcing oppressive power relations between people. In addition, they view ideologies, groups, identities and subjectivities as being constituted through discursive practices:

the discursive act creates groups, interests, emotions, similarities and differences, a social landscape, an anthropology, a psychology of identity and even a geography (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 146).

Like other theorists, Wetherell and Potter work from the assumption that discourse is thoroughly constitutive of the world and that there is no 'versionless' reality. They, however, place more emphasis on discourse as a social practice and on the context of use and thereby on the act of discursive instantiations (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Rather than considering how discourses can be derived from materials and how they work together or against one another, they focus on the implementation of those discourses in actual, everyday settings. The ethnomethodological roots of Potter and Wetherell's work become apparent in their concern with "the study of ordinary people's methods of producing and making sense of everyday life" (1987, p. 18).

The main concepts that they use to achieve this are interpretative repertoires and the construction, function and variation in discourses. These are the analytic concepts which I draw on in my analysis and they are elaborated upon in the 'methodology' chapter 4. Suffice it to say at this point that the particular aims of a discursive analysis are to investigate how and what realities, truths and facts are constructed through and in texts⁴, what functions these constructions serve and what variations and contradictions are present in them. Rather than identifying discourses, Wetherell and Potter (1992) prefer to use the concept of interpretative repertoires (see chapter 4 below).

Criticism directed against the more ethnomethodologically-orientated approach of Potter and Wetherell (1987) is that this approach evades the problem of power: it fails to deal with issues of coercion and control in society and social life (Parker, 1989a). Other problems with the approach include the point that it provides no theory of meaning nor of its relation to subjectivity (Hollway, 1989). Parker (1990a) also criticises the concept of interpretative repertoires as implying a closure

⁴ Here taken to mean all forms of spoken interaction and all written texts of all kinds (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 160).

of meaning and as relying on grammatical formalism. In Potter and Wetherell (1987), there is the potential for a slide into voluntarism where people are seen as agents who 'choose' the rhetorical moves they make in talking as opposed to the text speaking for itself. In the later work, especially Wetherell and Potter (1992), some of these 'problems' resolve themselves as the authors include theories of ideology and power in their analysis.

In my analysis I mainly make use of Wetherell and Potter's (1992) approach for the following reasons:

- Firstly, the attention to how people make sense of issues through *everyday talk* suits the aims of my study which focuses on the level of commonsensical constructions of educational transition.
- Secondly, the approach allows me to investigate the *situated use* of discursive constructions and rhetorical argumentation, thereby aiding the analysis of the flexible and varying implementation of different elements of an interpretative repertoire.
- Thirdly, the emphasis on the *functions* of discursive constructions allow me to make links to social practices in the schools.
- Fourthly, the concept of *interpretative repertoires* facilitates an analysis of the texts which is aimed at specific concepts and notions of how educational transition is constructed rather than at a more abstract identification of discourses.

Billig

Billig sees his work as arising from the ancient Greek traditions which asserted that thinking is always rhetorical and argumentative (1991). He develops what he calls a rhetorical approach to social psychology which attempts to reconstruct the rhetorical meaning of ideological thinking (1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1991). The main ideas I would like to expand on for analysis are Billig's conceptions of common sense (commonplaces) and ideological dilemmas. Billig concerns himself with the relationship between common sense and ideology and argues that ideologies do not necessarily function to suppress argumentation and thinking but provide the elements with which people can think and argue about everyday life (1991). He uses the term 'commonplaces' to

denote the commonsensical content of arguments which ideally should be shared by speaker and audience alike (1987). Common sense is a form of ideology in that the continuing history of domination flows through the patterns of commonsensical thinking. Intellectual philosophy becomes 'common sense' as ordinary people repeat homespun versions of the philosophy of the 'masters'. Gramsci (1971) expressed this idea in the following way:

Common sense is not something rigid and immobile, but is continually transforming itself, enriching itself with scientific ideas and with philosophical options which have entered ordinary life. 'Common sense' is the folklore of philosophy, and is always half-way between folklore properly speaking and the philosophy, science, and economies of the specialists (in Billig, 1987, p. 23).

The ordinary person, in using commonsensical reasoning, is thus simultaneously the agent of thinking as well as the passive recipient of thoughts. The theoretical aim of a rhetorical analysis of discourse is to investigate how wider patterns of society such as its inequalities and histories of domination flow through patterns of living and thinking which seem ordinary. By doing this the analyst is able to gain insight into how ideas and practices become accepted as logical and natural.

According to Billig (1987), this type of analysis also highlights the two-sidedness of human thinking as there are many contrary themes within common sense. Conflicts and tensions, debates and arguments are characteristics of discourse. Contrary themes in conversations are dilemmas which need to be negotiated by speakers and audiences. The rhetorical analysis looks at arguments that occur within cultures or ideologies between opposing principles of commonsense. The focus is not on individuals or their attitudes as people already possess counter-attitudes: when the argumentative context changes it may be the counter-arguments which are required and used (Billig, 1987). Instead, the analyst focuses on the dilemmas which are being negotiated in certain contexts.

Ideological dilemmas may occur when disputes arise regarding the values to be applied to particular issues. Billig emphasises that versions of reality are constructed in order to make an argument, but in so doing, these versions also function *against* alternative constructions. The analyst needs to understand what is being argued against in order to understand what is being

argued for (1991). In arguing, one not only expresses one's own position but seeks to criticise and thereby negate the counter-position. Billig also reiterates the need for analysis to focus on contrasting types of thought which will help the analyst to take account of how negation, justification and criticism function in the rhetorical negotiation of dilemmas.

Some of Billig's premises such as the idea of locating the dilemmatic conflict within the individual rather than in the 'text' sit uncomfortably with a post-structuralist orientation to discourse analysis. However, Billig has highlighted how contrasting discourses offer mutually coexistent and competing accounts of reality which exist by virtue of their relation to each other (Burman, 1991). The contributions of Billig's work to discourse analysis have been the emphasis on the argumentative and ideological nature of commonsensical thinking and it is precisely these that I draw on in my analysis.

Parker

Parker's work (1989a, 1989b, 1990a, 1990b, 1992, 1996) is grounded in the post-structuralist tradition and draws on Foucault's conception of power and knowledge. Central to Parker's work, is the contention that discourses are social practices: they have material effects in terms of power relations, domination, ideology and institutions.⁵ The most comprehensive text suggesting ways of 'doing' discourse is Ian Parker's *Discourse dynamics: critical analysis for social and individual psychology* (1992). In it, he elaborates on the connection between discourses and their material consequences. He differs, however, with Foucault's (1972) conceptualisation of discourses and practices as one and the same thing and argues for a distinction between meanings, the expressive, and physical changes, the practical order. Discursive practices are those that reproduce institutions, among other things. According to Parker, this conceptualisation requires the analyst to look beyond the text to the context. This is one of the unresolved tensions in discourse analysis as it raises the question of how far beyond the particular text the researcher must go in order to arrive at an interpretation of what is happening (Burman & Parker, 1993). Parker (1992) suggests

⁵ Parker defines a discourse as a system of statements which constructs an object (1992).

that analysts can start by identifying institutions that are reinforced when a particular discourse is used, or conversely those that are attacked or subverted.

Parker asserts that discourse and power are intricately linked but that they should not be equated or seen as necessarily entailing one another (1992). The analyst should look at how power is entangled in discourses of both oppressive and resistant discourses. By distinguishing between discourse and power it is possible to support the empowerment of those who are disadvantaged by dominant discourses and discursive practices. Parker suggests that it is important to identify the categories of persons who gain and lose from the employment of a discourse, and to look at who would want to promote or to dissolve a particular discourse. Discourses also have ideological effects. Parker notes that the category of ideology has almost disappeared in discourse analysis, mostly because of Foucault's insistence that 'regimes of truths' in which one regime is no more correct than any other, more adequately deal with the issues of truths than ideology does. Parker, however, argues for a retention of the concept of ideology in discourse analysis without buying into what he calls the "mystification and false consciousness" package that Foucauldians caricature. In order to retain possible progressive effects of the category of ideology, the analyst has to avoid a position in which s/he claims that all discourses are ideological or to try and identify those that reflect the 'truth'. Instead, ideology can be seen as a description of relationships and effects at a particular place and historical period. The analyst should thus show how discourses connect with others which sanction oppression and how discourses allow the dominant groups to tell their narratives while preventing others from making history.

The progressive possibilities of discourse analysis are important to Parker. Attention needs to be paid to the historical variability of discursive relations as this enables analysts to identify progressive or reactionary features of discourses. It also allows for an analysis of domination, contradiction and difference, thereby highlighting the multiplicity of positions afforded by competing discourses (Burman & Parker, 1993). This may facilitate the disruption of dominant discourses and the construction of positions of resistance. At the same time, Parker (1992) stresses that the preoccupation with language in contemporary psychology may be a symptom of

the evasion of the material basis of oppression. Analysts may become too absorbed in the technology of symbolic domination, thereby treating the discursive as a purely symbolic relation and forgetting the material and historical basis of oppression (Burman, 1990). The problems that especially feminists have with some post-structuralist approaches is summarised by Burman:

Highlighting the materiality of language carries with it the danger of tackling the representation at the expense of engaging with the political reality; using the multiplicity of readings to indicate ideological operation of dominant discourses opens the project up to liberal pluralism; acclaiming the subjects' multiple positioning in discourse as facilitating contradiction and resistance also presents the prospect of fragmentation and incipient dissipation of political energies; and focusing on a politics of subjectivity can lead to a celebration of difference rather than a galvanising into action (1990, p. 218).

Parker (1992) argues against the post-structuralist slide into relativism through anchoring the dynamics of discourse in a sense of some temporal/material reality which prevails outside of the text.

Some of the criticisms which have been directed against Parker's approach are the potential for abstraction and the reification of discourses where discourses are seen as free-floating tectonic plates, as "potent causal agents in their own right, with the processes of interest being the work of one (abstract) discourse on another (abstract) discourse" (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 90). While I do not use a 'Parkerian' approach in my analysis, I find the emphasis on institutions and power useful in relating discourse and social practices.

Van Dijk

Van Dijk's orientation to discourse analysis stems from the traditions of linguistics and conversation analysis. In his earlier work, van Dijk is interested, among other things, in analysing the relations between linguistics, text grammar and pragmatics (for e.g. 1977, 1981). Here, he aims to develop a model of 'strategic discourse processing' which will take into account a cognitive theory of speech act processing and communication, as well as the properties of social structure and a theory of action (1981). 'Story grammars' and the cognitive orientation to coherence in narratives form part of the focus of this work. The emphasis of van Dijk's studies then moved from a structural, linguistic approach to a strategic one where van Dijk becomes

more concerned with identifying rhetorical, stylistic and conversational strategies on the one hand, and the semantic 'macro-structure of the discourse plan' on the other (Van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983).

In his later work, van Dijk focuses increasingly on the role of discourse analysis in media studies, with an emphasis on investigating the reproduction of ethnic attitudes and prejudice in the media (1984, 1985b, 1987, 1991). The media is seen to play a prominent role for white people in 'western' societies in the construction of an interpretative framework for the understanding of ethnic events and in the acquisition of opinions of minority groups (1991). Van Dijk argues that an analysis needs to take account of both a macro-sociological level as well as micro-semantic and syntactical level. In the studies, van Dijk thus analyses narrative, argumentative strategies, the underlying structures of the social cognitive basis of prejudice, the communicative sources of conversations and their social contexts (1987, 1991).

My interest in van Dijk's approach to discourse analysis lies in some of his work on the discursive strategies in the denial of racism in everyday conversation (1992). He investigates the interpersonal, political and cultural functions which are served through this strategy such as positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, the managing and controlling of resistance to racism, and the reproduction of 'white-group' dominance in the social and political life in 'western' societies. While the approach that I have chosen for analysis differs from van Dijk's, I will draw on some of his ideas which make explicit how dominance is related to the complicated rhetorical construction which involves impression management, other-presentation and justification in the reproduction of racism and hegemony (van Dijk, 1992).

Discourse analytic studies

I will now briefly review some of the studies conducted from within a discourse analytic framework in South Africa and then turn to some of the significant research done in this field by education theorists.

South African studies

In South Africa, there have been an increasing number of studies in psychological research which use a discourse analytic approach. Two main areas of interest for discourse analysts have been gender/women studies and race and racism.

Some of the research that makes use of discursive techniques to study issues relating to gender are those of Belling (1992), Harris, (1992), Kaminer (1993), Levett (1988), Long (1994), Luyt (1994), Strebel (1993), Van Der Riet (1995), Wilbraham (1994) and Wilson (1995).

Discursive studies focusing on race and racism have been concerned with a range of topics. Kottler (1990; 1996) examines discourses of similarity and difference in South African psychology and academia in the 1980's. The author discusses how a discourse of similarity was taken up by progressive social scientists during the apartheid era and how it continues "to hail participants and prompt them to act as a certain type of self" (Kottler & Long, 1997: 56). Dixon, Foster, Durrheim and Wilbraham (1994) analyse the interplay of race and space in a small town where ecological discourses were used by residents to try and prevent the development of an informal settlement in their area. The authors show how these discourses justify the continued racist division of space. Lea (1996) investigates how issues of race and racism are talked about by young, white South Africans who define themselves as 'Nationalist'. She identifies two dominant discourses in their accounts, namely those of biologism and cognitivism. In a study of a group of South African psychologists and a group of black parents, Duncan (1993) examines the meanings that are given to racism and how these meanings are linked to existing relations of domination. The author concludes that the discourses produced by the group of psychologists reflect attempts to legitimate and reinforce racist relations, and that the discourse of the black parents' group, among other things, serves as a site of resistance against dominant discourses. Duncan (1996) illustrates how media discourses on public violence in South Africa can be seen as aiding in the reproduction of the ideology of racism. The author concludes that the media consistently constructs a negative representation of black people which does not differ much from that constructed by apartheid ideologues of the pre-1970 era.

The most comprehensive and recent collection of South African studies on discourse and domination is edited by Levett, Kottler, Burman and Parker (1997). In it, authors concern themselves with a range of issues such as the discursive expressions of the process of dismantling apartheid, particular methodological applications and problems arising from discourse analysis in South Africa, the wider contexts of transition in which this work is being conducted presently, and issues of gender, power and sexuality. Two of these studies will be briefly mentioned here. Kottler and Long (1997) analyse the process of how people at the University of Cape Town attempt to implement structures and policies for dealing with institutional and individual racism. They point out how institutional group processes can work to silence the progressive potential of such an undertaking: discourses of resistance are restrained through discourses of transformation and academia. The emergence and proliferation of 'peace talk' in South Africa is discussed by Durrheim (1997). The author analyses the intimate relationship between peace and violence where he suggests that peace talk may also function as a form of violence through the process of subjectification and surveillance.

Discourse analysis in education

As in other disciplines, there are a variety of ways in which the notion of discourse is used in education (see for example reviews by Gee, Michaels & O'Connor, 1992; and Luke, 1995). I will only make mention of some of the studies which see discourse as systematically structuring versions of the social and natural worlds and positioning subjects in relations of power (Williams, 1992, in Luke, 1995, p. 8). In some of these, Foucault's work is drawn upon in analyses of pedagogic discourse as implicated in systems of 'governmentality', surveillance and moral regulation (Hunter, 1988, in Luke, 1995). Ball (1990), for example, edits a collection of articles investigating multicultural policies, the urban school teacher and the notion of power/knowledge in pedagogical practice, among other issues. Other studies emphasise the concepts of voice and subjectivity in the education of girls (Cherland, 1994; Gore, 1993) and minorities (Giroux, 1993; McLaren, 1994). Teacher education, the construction of particular areas of school knowledge, curriculum and face-to-face classroom interaction are some of the other areas that have been examined from post-structuralist and postmodern perspectives (Luke, 1995).

Attempts at reformulating educational research in terms of discourse practice have also been undertaken as part of a move away from data collection and the 'experimental mode' of the positivist orientation (Lather, 1991). Skepticism regarding the orientation of some of this discourse work, is however, expressed by authors such as Apple (1996) who note that a mere awareness of discursive practices is not enough to warrant the label of 'post-structuralist'. According to Apple, some studies use the pairing of ideology-critique plus human agency, thus becoming a postmodern modernist undertaking without engaging in the problematising of educational metaconcepts (1996, p. 46). The latter, Apple argues, is necessary in order to maintain the critical stance of post-structuralism.

I turn now to three authors whose work on discourse and education has influenced this study. The first is Stephen Ball (1990, 1993, 1994) who uses critical policy analysis, post-structuralism and critical ethnography to analyse education systems and pedagogic activities. One of Ball's (1990) central tenets is that the normalisation of social principles and institutions of modern society occur through certain knowledges and practices such as education. These knowledges and practices provide modes of classification, control and containment which are often linked to the humanitarian rhetoric of reform. In his analyses, Ball (1990, 1994) postulates that schooling is increasingly subject to the logics of industrial production and market competition. A discourse of self-management, a moral technology *par excellence* (Ball, 1990, p. 156), is emerging in recent policies of reform in the United Kingdom and the United States. A shift is occurring in the forms and methods of organisational control in schools: increasing emphasis is placed on free-market and management principles in how the education system operates. The 'managerial technocratic mode' (Therborn, 1987, in Ball 1994) is employed to legitimate the management of schools and teachers through a discourse of autonomy and collaboration. Ball argues that management functions as a polyvalent discourse that both liberates and enslaves, empowers and subjects. Its effects are that teachers engage in a practice of self-regulation and self-improvement while gaining more autonomy in practical pedagogic matters. The schools are at the same time seen as entrepreneurial sites that need to participate in income generation and maintaining client/consumer relationships with the parent body. Ball (1993) suggests that this provides the possibility for the

pursuit of class advantage and generates a differentiated and stratified system of schooling. In chapter 7, I elaborate in more detail on some of the discursive concepts that Ball proposes.

Ball's interest lies in policy formation and broad ideological and institutional practices. His analysis thus remains at a macro-level and does not investigate how discourse and power connect with social practices in schools. A micro-level analysis of the discourses Ball identifies could be valuable in providing insight into the specific constructions that teachers draw on in their talk about school policies. This is attempted in this study.

Kenway (1990) examines the debate between private versus state schooling in Australia from a discursive perspective. She seeks to identify the key features of the discourse of the New Right and situates her analysis within a broader understanding of Australian society. Gramsci's concepts of hegemony and common sense as well as Foucault's notion of power/knowledge are used as theoretical tools. Kenway's study is of interest in showing how the New Right in Australia draws on a variety of discourses such as those of democracy, conservatism and liberalism to justify the continued existence and expansion of private schools. The author argues that this constitutes a regime of truth which includes arguments about educational standards, tradition, self-reliance, the free market and creates the subjectivity of the 'Concerned Parent'. Kenway's study provides an example of discursive analysis of speeches, articles and policy proposals that illustrate the rhetorical flexibility within which the debate on school financing is constructed. While no direct comparison to South African debates on this issue is possible, some elements of the discursive constructions in the two countries are similar and these will be referred to in my analysis.

The third author whose work has been influential in this study is that of Tikly (1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1996). Tikly is concerned with analysing educational policy discourse in South Africa from 1948 to the present, specifically with the aim of developing a discursive framework within which the role of racist discourse in policy change can be understood (1993). The author makes use of the Foucauldian concepts of power/knowledge, the archaeology and genealogy of discourses, as well as of Wetherell and Potter's (1992) recent study of racism in New Zealand. This approach

allows for a flexible definition of race and racism which in turn facilitate the exploration of how different elements of a discourse can be employed to varying effects. Tikly examines liberal, Nationalist/conservative and radical/neo-Marxist discourses on race and education and shows how concepts such as nation, community and culture are used in these various traditions. An argument is developed for situating discourses of race in a historical, economic and political context in order to further analyse the rhetorical functions of different versions of policy change. In more recent work, Tikly (1996) applies his discursive framework to an analysis of post-election policy as the outcome of contestation between different discourses concerned with race, culture and education. As with Ball's work, Tikly's interest is in policy development rather than in how policy is put into practice, resisted or (re)constructed by students, educators or parents. In other words, the analysis does not include the institutional school level.

Discourse and education in South Africa

Apart from the work done by Tikly, there have been relatively few South African studies employing a discourse analytic framework to study education. The De Lange and Buthelezi Reports are the focus of Buckland's work (1982, 1983, 1984), in which the author identifies discourses of reform and technicism. Buckland uses the concept of hegemony to explain the power of the technicist discourse in education: the goal of finding practical, efficient solutions to the educational problems caused by apartheid in the 1980's has the potential to circumvent questions of social and political justice (see chapter 7 below). Soudien (1994) investigates racial discourses in the Eiselen Commission which construct the identity of the "true Bantu" (p. 2). This construction was used by the Eiselen Commission as a basis for justifying white trusteeship of the "Native" as well as separate education. In an article on violence and the discourse of apartheid in education, Soudien (1995) examines schooling and racialisation as inscriptions of subjectivity of young South Africans. He argues that these inscriptions generate particular forms of common sense and knowledge that allow no ambivalence. If these forms of common sense are disrupted, violence is used as an attempt to restore the coherence and rationality which apartheid society has provided.

Prinsloo (1987) uses a Foucauldian framework to analyse the changes in the terminology of literacy work, specifically terms such as 'adult basic education' and 'non-formal education'. The author suggests that these terms serve a function of boundary maintenance where solutions that are non-political and non-organisational are found to the 'literacy problem': the problems are 'educationalised' and individualised. Other studies on education in South Africa use the notion of discourse in a general rather than an analytic sense, for example some studies referring to discourses of liberation and People's Education without situating these within a theoretical framework (Mashamba, 1990; Bruner, 1996).

There have been no analyses of discourse as impacting on the social practices at schools, how discursive constructions are employed in everyday talk by teachers, students or parents, nor of how key actors draw on varying discursive resources in order to achieve certain functions. This is an area which perhaps does not hold the interest of education theorists as they often focus more on broader policy discourses. However, as Samoff (1996) points out, policy is made as much, or often a good deal more, in practice as by pronouncement. The actual policy, that is, the working rules that guide behaviour, is what teachers are doing at schools. Stated policy may thus be very different from policy in practice. Samoff (1996) suggests that it has been a shortcoming of current policy makers to focus exclusively on authoritative statements by government and to ignore the unofficial, multiple policy environments at schools. An argument could thus be made for more attention to practical policy investigations that take into account the (re)constructed implementations of official directives.

I will end this chapter by summarising the advantages of using discourse analysis for my study.

Motivation for a discourse analytic approach to studying educational change

As has been noted in chapter 2, most of the studies conducted on and during the period of transition have focused either on the policy level, on specific educational practices in school or on attitudes and perceptions of role players at schools. These studies have provided valuable insight

into both macro- and micro-level issues affecting the transition process, such as policy considerations, how particular schools adjust to change and how teachers react to the changing classroom situation. From a discursive perspective, however, issues of policy, attitudes and perceptions are seen as rhetorical constructions that constitute the 'objects' and 'subjects' of transition in specific ways. Policy decisions are seen as being (re)constructed, contested and changed by teachers, parents and students both through talk and through actual practices in schools. Attitudes and perceptions are not seen as accurate reflections of people's reality but as specific versions of realities: these versions serve functions and display variation depending on their situated use (see Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Consider, for example, how teachers at a former state-aided school might present their opinions of integration and change to a representative of the Education Department, to a prospective black parent or to a white parent body. One may expect not only variation *between* these accounts but also variation *within* each account, possibly related to what aspects of change are discussed.

It is my argument that it is important to examine the way in which central issues of change are talked about as this will have direct effects on practices at schools. One of the 'categories' of schools which have arguably been affected substantially by educational changes are what were termed state-aided or Model C schools. The study focuses specifically on former white schools in this category. I will use a discursive approach to investigate how teachers talk about change in their schools in order to:

- Focus on arguments and justifications used to explain practices at schools,
- Investigate central issues of transition in schools, such as 'standards', racial integration, school financing and governance,
- Examine the more subtle forms of opposition, domination and exclusion at formerly white schools which would not be picked up through attitude surveys or questionnaires as these methods do not pay attention to variation in language and
- To link broad trends in education discourse, such as the linking of commercialisation of education provision, to the rhetorical construction of arguments around financing in local schools.

Chapter 4

Analysing discourse

A brief overview of the area in which the research was conducted will be given. This will be followed by a description of the participants and the interviewing procedure. The analytic concepts are explained thereafter and in conclusion some issues concerning the analysis are raised. Three initial comments must be made regarding this methodology section, two general comments and one specific to this research.

Firstly, it must be kept in mind that there is no set procedure to follow when doing discourse analysis. To a certain extent, each study depends on its motivation, texts and analytic outcomes for the specific application of discursive methodology. In this sense, the analysis is guided by the text.

Secondly, issues of power between researcher and participants need to be acknowledged from the outset. While I have taken steps to be ethical in conducting this research and to protect participants from negative consequences, I am aware of the fact that there is a power imbalance in the research process from which it is not possible to escape. I became most acutely aware of this when recording the methodological procedure as my values and decisions have affected every step of the procedure profoundly. As Banister et al. (1994) note:

It is the researcher who is firmly positioned by participants as knowledgeable, who sets the process in motion, who decides on the initial research issue, which frameworks to use, which prospective participants to contact and what happens to the final product. In the final analysis it is the researcher's version of reality that is given public visibility (p. 155).

The third point relates to a change in research aims between the time period when the study was conducted and between the final writing-up of it. When I first designed this study, I intended to study the way teachers talk about and construct educational change during the period of transition, specifically whether and how teachers from the different school categories construct educational change differently, that is, how teachers from Model C schools as opposed to teachers from state schools draw on and discursively constitute changes in their schools. I looked for a contained geographical area with a limited number of schools so that I could interview teachers at all these schools in that district and investigate, among other things how relations between schools are presented by the teachers. I chose to conduct this study in a place I shall call “Snoekfontein”, a small coastal town in the Western Cape.⁶ It is situated about 20 km away from a large urban centre and has five schools, two of which were then Model C schools. I conducted interviews with teachers and principals at the two Model C and the three state schools. On preliminary analysis, it seemed that the way in which teachers at state schools as opposed to Model C schools talked about changes differed so substantially (for example in the way in which school financing was discussed) that it would have been necessary to undertake two separate analyses. I therefore decided to focus my analysis only on the interviews conducted with the teachers and principals at the Model C schools as these schools seemed to face the most significant educational changes under the new dispensation. With that decision, the aims of my study also changed and are now those outlined at the end of chapter 1.

Setting the scene: an introduction to Snoekfontein

There appear to be three distinct communities in Snoekfontein, generally referred to by the participants as the Port, the Village and the Chris Hani Settlement. These three communities are not homogeneous but nevertheless seem to have particular, dominant trends in terms of racial population, geographical location, socioeconomic level and languages spoken. These will be outlined briefly. The following statistics and information, supplied by the Data Bank at the

⁶ All names of places, schools and interviewees have been changed in order to protect the anonymity of the participants. Pseudonyms have been given to all places and people.

Provincial Services Town Planning Department in Cape Town, apply for the time period in which the research was conducted, namely in mid 1995.

There is a 'fishing community', the Port, which consists predominantly of 'coloured' people whose income depends mainly on the fishing industry. They live on the hill above the harbour in what are mostly flats or two-roomed houses. The population of the Port was estimated at 6 112 people in April 1995. The community was described as generally poor by the interviewees with a high rate of unemployment especially among younger people. Gangsterism, alcoholism and teenage pregnancy were mentioned as other factors which affect this area of Snoekfontein adversely. The dominant language spoken in the Port is Afrikaans. There are two schools in this area: a primary school, Port Primary School, with 704 students and a high school, Port High School, with 371 students in 1995. Both schools are state-run, Afrikaans-medium schools.

The second distinct community in Snoekfontein is the Village. This is the predominantly white population which lives on the other side of the Port in the valley and along the hills overlooking the beach. The population in this area was estimated to be 10 448 in 1995. The geographical location of this community is widespread and not as contained as the other two areas are. The notable characteristics of the Village community are its affluence and its high economic status. Employment is usually outside of Snoekfontein with working people commuting to other urban centres daily. The dominant language spoken in this area is English. There is a primary school, Snoekfontein Primary School, which has 440 students. The school is state-aided with dual medium Afrikaans and English for Junior Primary and English medium for Senior Primary. There is also a state-aided pre-primary school, Village Pre-Primary School, in the area which caters for 120 children. Interviewees did not mention striking social or economic problems in this area of Snoekfontein.

The third community is an informal settlement, referred to in this study as the Chris Hani Settlement. The majority of the people living in this area are African people, some of whom originally came from the Eastern Cape at the beginning of the 1990's. On arrival, they were settled

in a forest area on one of the hillsides of Snoekfontein. The estimated population in 1995 was 3 656. The rate of unemployment is high in the settlement with a large sector of the community struggling to maintain themselves financially (Personal communication: Secretary of the Civic Association, Chris Hani Settlement, 12 September 1995). The area could be described as having a high level of poverty. The dominant language spoken in this community is Xhosa. There is a creche in the informal settlement which caters for about 35 young children. According to a survey conducted by the Principals' Forum of Snoekfontein in November 1994, less than half of the children of school-going age attend school or creche. The majority of the children who do attend go to the church-run primary school, Yellowwood Primary, which is located in close proximity to the settlement. This school is administered by the church, but salaries and equipment are provided by the state. Exact figures could not be determined at the time, but the deputy principal of Yellowwood Primary estimated that there were about 400 children at the school in 1995. The conditions of this school are the worst in comparison to the other two primary schools in Snoekfontein with teachers teaching between 50 to 60 students per class and complaining of a lack of available resources.

The three communities described above are not homogeneous. In each, there are people who do not have the general characteristics which I have attributed to the different areas. In the Port, for example, there is a housing section which can be described as middle class, as well as some English-speakers and African residents. In the Village there are 'coloured' as well as African residents. Not everybody who lives in the Village is affluent. In the Chris Hani Settlement, there are 'coloured' residents. Some of the people in the informal settlement are relatively wealthy. It is thus not possible to make generalisations regarding the populations of these different communities. The overall trends, however, are indicated above.

For the purpose of this study, it is important that some of these characteristics of the three areas are noted because the analysis of discourse is in direct relation to the 'realities' of these different communities. It is necessary to take note of the geographical situation, the language, race and socio-economic factors as these are the con-text to the 'text': discourse and material aspects

constitute and reconstitute one another. An analysis of discourses thus needs to examine both discursive as well as practical patterns. This raises the issue of text and context: how much 'beyond' the text does a researcher have to go in order to conduct an appropriate analysis (Parker & Burman, 1993)? While views on this debate vary, the position taken in this study is that a basic background to the text needs to be given in order to better understand the implications and consequences of the discourses for material practices. The focus nevertheless remains on discourse as an active constituting force of material relations.

Another reason why it is important to give the brief background information on the areas is in order to situate the study within the South African setting. The divisions along racial, language and economic lines are significant in terms of historic apartheid segregation. Originally, the choice of Snoekfontein as an area of study was in part guided by my awareness that these three distinct communities exist in the town and that they are in close proximity to one another. Snoekfontein thus seemed to be a miniature version of a 'typical' South African town with 'old' apartheid divisions in place, while simultaneously close enough to a large urban centre to be more readily influenced by political change than for example remote rural areas.

On the one hand the decision of where to conduct the study was therefore guided by the characteristics of the area and the schools. On the other hand, however, the choice of Snoekfontein as an area of study was to a large degree arbitrary as discursive research is based on the assumption that

the information derived from *any participant* is valid because that account is a product ... of the social domain. If this domain is analysed in its specificity, the resultant interpretation is valid without the support of statistical samples; that is without evidence that whole groups do the same thing (Hollway, 1982, in Hollway, 1989, p. 183).

It is assumed that there are discourses that are available as resources in any society on which participants can draw in order to construct versions of the world, facts and realities. It is thus possible to 'tap into' these discourses regardless of the specific personal characteristics of the sample or the interviewees. As the focus of my study shifted from studying change in state and state-aided schools to investigating only formerly white Model C schools, the choice of schools and participants became less critical. I could have conducted this study in other Model C schools

in suburban areas anywhere in South Africa, not with the assumption that I would have received replicable results, but with the knowledge that the characteristic of being Model C schools is more central to this research than the regional situatedness of the schools concerned.

Discourse analysis does not claim to be representative. No claims are made about whether or not the repertoires identified in this study are exemplary of current discourses of education in South Africa, of teachers at state-aided schools, nor of coastal towns in South Africa. Discourse analysis, situated within a postmodern framework, does not aim to make statements or broad empirical generalisations about the outcomes of studies. Instead, the focus of the analysis is on a specific discursive situation: the application of specific discursive resources to achieve certain effects.

Sampling: the schools and the teachers

The two schools which were used in this study have already been briefly described above, namely Snoekfontein Primary and the Village Pre-primary School. Both schools had been exclusively white schools and government-funded prior to 1992. In 1992 they became Model C schools and started accepting black children. As the focus of this study is on desegregation and school governance, it is these two above mentioned aspects of the schools what I am interested in.

I contacted the principals at the two schools telephonically and made appointments with them. At Snoekfontein Primary, two interviews were conducted, the first one with the principal, who I shall call Miller, and the second one with two teachers, referred to as King and Larson. The second interview was arranged with the help of Miller who made suggestions as to which teachers, in his opinion, would provide me with the most worthwhile interview. He recommended King, the head of the Junior Primary section, and Larson, a Grade 2 teacher who had been at the school for the past 13 years. I took up his suggestion as I wanted to interview teachers who had some knowledge of how educational changes have affected their schools and who were involved with the running of the school.

At Village Pre-Primary only one interview was done, albeit with the entire staff of the school participating. The principal, who I call Uys, had understood my telephonic request to mean that I wanted to interview the whole staff at once and has requested that all the teachers be present. This was not my intention as I had anticipated a first interview with the principal, among other things, to gain permission for conducting interviews with the other staff members. I decided nevertheless to go ahead with the interview of the entire staff. The other six teachers present at the interview are referred to in this study as Foster, Green, Vale, Wood, Young and Zeeman.

The significant shared features of the participants are that they were all teachers at state-aided schools. The two principals at the schools were also teaching a few classes each. All the participants were white and apart from the principal at Snoekfontein Primary, Miller, all were female. The teachers' 'characteristics' are mentioned because this will have affected the interaction with me, a white, female researcher and will be discussed in more detail under the reflexivity section in chapter 8.

The decision to use only the three interviews of the Model C schools raises the issue of sample size. Potter and Wetherell (1987) argue that "for discourse analysts the success of a study is *not* in the least dependent on sample size. It is *not* the case that a larger sample necessarily indicates a more painstaking or worthwhile piece of research" [*italics mine*] (p. 161). The interest of the analyst lies in language use rather than in the people generating the language: "because a large number of linguistic patterns are likely to emerge from a few people, small samples or a few interviews are generally quite adequate for investigating an interesting phenomena" (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 161). Parker (1994) discusses the potential disadvantages of quantitative attempts to use a large sample size:

... the greater the sample size, the less the researcher is able to respect the specificities of each subject's response and the meanings of the response to the subject. There is always the 'problem' that another account can be added, and as the number of subjects rises more of the material goes missing as responses are gathered together into manageable categories for statistical analysis (p. 12).

The focus of this study is therefore on the specificities of each participant's response and on the "discourses that hold the text together" (Parker, 1994, p. 12).

Process and procedure

The interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted. The advantages of this are two-fold. Firstly, it allows the researcher to explore a relatively standard range of topics with the participants. An interview schedule was drawn up that covered the following topics:

- the changes that have taken place in the school from 1990 till the time of the interview
- how teachers, students, parents and the broader community feel about the changes taking place
- how these changes are linked to the broader process of transformation in national education
- how the process of desegregation is proceeding
- issues of conflict at the school
- changes in school culture
- admission criteria
- language issues
- changes in curriculum
- changes in school governance
- the financial management of the school
- what future changes are anticipated and/or desired

While all the topics were covered in each of the interviews, the semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed for flexibility in terms of how and when the specific issues were raised in the interview. The same themes could also be addressed in a variety of different contexts. This occurred with the issue of language, financial management and race relations to mention a few.

The second advantage of using semi-structured interviews for discourse analysis is that it allows the researcher room for active intervention (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). As Wetherell and Potter (1992) point out, this involves the interviewer both as an animated conversationalist who provides 'back channel' responses characteristic of informal talk, as well as an argumentative participant in the interview. The latter requires a more confrontational interviewing technique where the

interviewer generates a variety of interpretive contexts, offers counter-examples, asks for clarification and so on. Central to this process is the understanding that the interview is treated as a piece of social interaction in its own right (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). The interviewer contributes as much as the interviewee and both construct versions based on interpretative resources. The interviewer is thus not neutral and uninvolved but generates 'text' which needs to be analysed as part of the process. The interviews are not aimed at producing clear and consistent responses as is the case with more orthodox applications of the interviewing technique. Instead, it is part of the aim to produce variation in responses in order to be able to analyse discourse construction in relation to its function.

These techniques were applied and the above considerations taken into account in the three interviews conducted. The interviews each lasted an average of 1 hour 30 minutes. All interviews were conducted in English as all interviewees were English-home-language-speakers. The first interview was conducted in the office of Miller, the principal. The other two were conducted in the staff rooms of the respective schools. At the beginning of the interview, I introduced myself and the purpose of my research, explaining that I was exploring how teachers perceive, understand and talk about change in their schools. I told the participants that they would remain anonymous and that I would not identify them or their schools in any way. I asked for and received informed consent from the participants to use a tape-recorder during the interviews. Again, it must be noted that the procedures of introducing myself, explaining my research aims and asking for consent to use the tape-recorder are power-imbued processes. In the reflexivity section I will discuss some of the observations I made regarding these procedures in more detail.

Transcription

All interviews were transcribed and the interviews which were used for analysis, i.e. the ones conducted at the Model C schools, are attached in Appendix 2. The choice of transcription convention was based on a consideration of what information was required for the specific analysis undertaken. As the interest of the analysis lies with exploring the construction, function and variation of talk rather than conversational coherence and turn-taking, the overriding criteria

was that of readability of content. It must be acknowledged that all transcription is already a form of analysis as it is a reading imposed on what is heard (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Some conventions need to be employed, however, in order to provide coherence to the material. I was therefore guided by Wetherell and Potter's (1992, p. 225) 'cut-down' version of Jefferson's (1985) conventions for conversation analysis.⁷ The people who speak are indicated by the first letter of their name, for example **L** for Larson. The interviewer is indicated through the letter **I**.

Coding

A series of codings was performed. This involved searching through the material for a number of themes in order to make "manageable chunks" out of the body of transcript (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 172). It must be noted that this process is not to be equated with the actual analysis of the material as the goal of coding is pragmatic rather than analytic: it helps to focus on relevant issues (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). The themes arose both from the original research questions and from the content of the material itself. An example of the former is the theme of "finances" which was elicited through the interview questions. An example of a category arising from the material itself is that of "teachers' stress" which was not anticipated prior to conducting the interviews. The identification of themes and their analysis was a cyclical process in that themes merged, new ones were identified and consolidated as analysis progressed. The following 11 themes were finally identified:

- 1) finances and money
- 2) teachers' stress
- 3) change
- 4) education
- 5) students
- 6) parents
- 7) black people
- 8) race and culture
- 9) language

⁷ The transcription conventions are attached in Appendix 1.

10) Snoekfontein

11) politics and the New South Africa

The coding into these themes was not clear-cut as there was overlapping between categories. An extract about black students could thus be coded under three categories: “students”, “black people”, and “race and culture”. The process of coding material into categories was as inclusive as possible where all references to a theme were selected. The relevant pages were then photocopied and files compiled for each theme. Cross-referencing across files was done during the process of identifying and redefining categories. The files then served as a basis for detailed analysis.

The analysis

There is no mechanical procedure that can be applied to a text to yield analytic results. Wetherell and Potter (1992) point out that the concept of ‘method’ comes from a discourse of positivist, quantitative methodologies where certain statistical and other procedures are seen as providing scientifically reliable and valid results. The process of doing discourse analysis is, on the other hand, a “craft skill, something like bicycle riding or chicken sexing that is not easy to render or describe in an explicit or codified manner” (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 101). Intense reading and rereading of the material was undertaken in order to identify organisational features of the text. It was not read for gist but for nuances, contradictions and vagueness. I was concerned with the fragmented and contradictory detail of the text (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) in order to examine what was actually said rather than what seemed to be intended.

The process of analysis involved two phases. Firstly, after a series of false starts and ‘red herrings’, a systematic patterning emerged. This pattern was examined for both consistency as well as for variability of the content. Variability is important in that it shows that different ways of constructing events, facts and versions of the world are used to achieve different effects (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). This is related to the second phase of the process where the researcher forms hypotheses about the functions and consequences of the patterns identified in the

first phase. I then searched for linguistic evidence of the repertoires which had to be able to explain both the broad organisation and the moment-to-moment detail of the text. The two phases did not follow consecutively on one another, but were again part of a cyclic process. Moreover, the writing of the report helped clarify issues of methodology which in turn lead to re-analysing previous results which had originally appeared coherent. Several drafts of the results were thus written before the final one presented here was arrived at. Like Wetherell and Potter (1987) I found that

discourse analysis involves fluid movement between the different stages, with coding, analysis, validation and writing each leading back to earlier phases and ultimately to the talk and writing which were the original point of departure (p. 174).

Analytic concepts

Some comments about the concepts used in the analysis need to be made. Construction, function and variation were crucial to the analysis. Wetherell and Potter (1992) distinguish three senses of *construction* in analytic practice. Firstly, referential terms and descriptive phrases construct objects which are then treated as 'real' by people rather than as constructions of invoked objects. Secondly, certain ways of talking and writing give an effect of realism due to their historically developed familiarity which allows them to operate transparently. Thirdly, texts and talk are organised in specific ways which make a particular reality appear factual and stable. It is the third sense of construction which I draw on mostly in the analysis.

The construction which occurs in a text is intricately linked to the *function* which is served (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). These may be direct functions, self-presentation or ideological functions. The function served cannot be understood in a mechanical way but needs to be analysed in terms of its context and in terms of the particular readings that the analyst her/himself brings to the text (discussed below). As functions of talk change, so do the constructions of accounts. Wetherell and Potter (1992) suggest that *variation* is a feature of discourse which is dependent on the purpose which the talk serves. In order to gain understanding of how discourses are employed, it is necessary to examine all three features: construction, function and variation. The presence of

variation validates the other two components of discourse analytic research, construction and function.

Following Wetherell and Potter (1992) I use the concept of *interpretative repertoires*. These are “broadly discernible clusters of terms, descriptions and figures of speech often assembled around metaphors or vivid images” (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 90). Interpretative repertoires are seen as systems of signification and building blocks used for manufacturing versions of actions, self and social structures in talk. This can be compared to an available choreography of interpretative moves from which particular ones can be selected to fit a specific context.

There is a debate among different approaches to discourse analysis over the use of the terms ‘discourse’ as opposed to ‘interpretative repertoires’ (Parker, 1990a & 1990b; Potter et al, 1990). Several points need to be born in mind. Repertoires are not to be understood as linguistic units as the focus is not on the stylistic and grammatical elements but on the content of discourse (Potter et al., 1990). In addition, the use of the term ‘interpretative repertoires’ emphasises the situated use of discourse as social practice rather than its abstract meaning or organisation (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Everyday conversations and texts are the focus of the analysis and for this purpose Wetherell and Potter have found the term ‘interpretative repertoires’ more appropriate. They point out, however, that they have no objection to the *term* ‘discourse’ and often use it as an alternative to ‘interpretative repertoires’. I follow their example and also make use of both terms interchangeably.

For the analysis, I also draw on some of Billig’s concepts of rhetorical psychology (1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1991), mainly those of common sense (commonplaces) and ideological dilemmas.

Issues arising out of the analysis

Two points regarding discourse analysis need to be raised here. The first relates to what Wetherell and Potter (1992) call the ethnographic understanding of the researcher. They argue that an analyst always brings with her/himself a set of cultural assumptions and expectations. On the one

hand these taken-for-granted assumptions and unexamined techniques of sense making need to be questioned and problematised. The researcher must critically interrogate her/his presuppositions in order to avoid imposing an uncritical reading on the text which merely substitutes one discourse for another:

The starting point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and 'knowing thyself' as a product of the historical process to date which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory (Gramsci, 1971, cited in Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 102).

On the other hand, the researcher's ethnographic understanding can be used as a resource. The knowledge of a society/culture and its discourses are important for contextualising the analysis and providing additional insight into current discursive constructions. My being a white, middle-class, South African has thus contributed to an understanding of past and current cultural trends. This knowledge was drawn upon in the analysis. It does not imply a lack of analytic rigour as the focus of the study remains on the discourse and its operations rather than on general interpretations.

To some degree, however, it is inevitable that any discursive analysis is an imposition of a reading on a text. Analysts are not only readers but also producers of discourse (Parker & Burman, 1993). It is crucial that attention be drawn to the constructed nature of the analyst's reading through a constant process of reflexivity on behalf of the analyst. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, the analyst must be aware that s/he is implicated in the production of the forms of knowledge s/he describes: "to offer a reading of a text is, in some manner or other, to reproduce or transform it" (Parker & Burman, 1993: 159). The researcher is thus always seen as a participant of the process that occurs and of the analysis offered (Potter, 1988). Secondly, reflexivity is necessary in order to counter the temptation to try and close the text to alternative readings (Stenner, 1993). Introducing closure "is to do violence to the variety of possible interpretations that could be given to the text when it comes to life in a discourse analytic reading" (Parker & Burman, 1993: 157). Discourse analysis should not be seen as a closed process with a finished product.

The concept of reflexivity also raises the issue of the power of the analyst to impose meanings on somebody else's text (Parker & Burman, 1993). These ethical considerations require that the

reflexive process not be hidden but becomes part of the analytic write-up so that the reader is given the opportunity to offer alternative readings and better constructions of the text (Potter, 1988). Given the above points, an attempt is made to engage with discourses in light of the various influences that affected my reading of the texts. Note is taken of the warning expressed by Parker and Burman (1993), however, that this should not entail shifting the focus from what is being accounted for to the account itself as self-referentiality can breed solipsism:

wallowing in the researcher's interpretive assumptions and processes can detract from the importance of the topic and possible political interventions (Parker & Burman, 1993, p. 168).

A second issue which arises out of the analysis is the issue of agency (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). There is a tension between seeing people as conscious 'users' of discursive repertoires who achieve certain constructions of events and realities in order to perform specific functions, and the constraining and productive forces of the discourses themselves that only make available certain 'moves'/routines for people to use. In the latter version, the discourses 'speak' the people rather than the other way around. A number of concerns arise in this debate: how much agency can be accorded to people when they make use of repertoires; how much power do people have to resist or undermine dominant discourses; how much emphasis should be placed on the discourses as opposed to their situated use; how (re)productive are discourses of material conditions (Potter & Wetherell, 1987)? Theorists with a post-structuralist orientation propose that the question of agency is transcended by the focus on the text rather than on the 'subject-who-does' (see for example Lovlie, 1992).

Criticism is leveled against Potter & Wetherell's (1987) position which is seen as placing too much emphasis on the rhetorical tactics used by agentic individual speakers (e.g. Parker, 1990a, 1990b). Instead, these critics argue that attention should be paid to power relations, ideology and subjectivities (Parker, 1992). According to this view, agency should therefore not be an issue with which analysis has to concern itself. The position taken in this thesis is, however, less definite. It is my opinion that the tensions which Potter & Wetherell (1987) point out cannot be resolved in a clear-cut manner. The theorists note the 'dangers' of emphasising one aspect at the expense of the

other: it is only when the analyst takes account of both the constraining power of the discourse as well as the functions served that s/he will be able to walk the tightrope of the thoroughly constituted and constitutive nature of discourse. In my analysis, I take this position which accounts for the functions served by repertoires as well as the limitations which they bring with them.

Chapter5

“Everyone’s different but we’re also the same”: sameness, difference and otherness

Wetherell and Potter’s (1992) study “maps” the language of racism in New Zealand: “chartering themes and ideologies, exploring the heterogeneous and layered texture of practices, arguments and representations which make up the taken for granted in a particular society” (p. 1). Following this, the first chapter of my results creates the discursive context against which the next two chapters need to be read. This chapter thus functions as a map that charts the domain to be explored and this domain is about similarity, difference and otherness. The chart uses the concepts of race, culture and language as markers, signifiers, that indicate the route. I have chosen these three concepts because of their particular significance in the South African social and political context. It needs to be acknowledged that different people create different maps. Somebody else may explore different routes, emphasise different features and use different markers for her/his map. This is an inevitable part of discourse analysis. While attention will be paid to justifying the concepts I have chosen, it is a process with no finite endings. It is with the knowledge that the material I have used is open to further interpretations by readers that these chapters are written.

In chapters 6 and 7, three repertoires will be explored. They operate in a ‘positive’, productive way in the Foucauldian sense: They exercise power not through coercion and repression but through “producing reality; [...] domains of objects and rituals of truth” (Foucault, 1977, p. 194). The repertoires are those of “Good Educational Practice”, the “Free Market” repertoire and “Managerialism”. They serve a variety of functions and are employed as discursive strategies to

deal with a range of practices within the schools. Let us now first examine the contexts against which these repertoires need to be understood.

Race, culture and language

Signs are part of an ideological struggle that attempts to create a particular regime of representation and serves to legitimate a certain cultural reality (McLaren, 1994, p. 55). I argue that race, culture and language serve this function in creating a cultural reality in schools. I will examine how similarity and difference are constructed in the interviews through the use of these three signifiers. The relationship between signifier and signified is always an insecure and unstable one:

signs and significations are essentially unstable and shifting and can only be temporarily fixed, depending on how they are articulated within particular discursive and historical struggles (McLaren, 1994, p. 53).

The politics of signification are not dependent on the *cultural obviousness* of race, culture and language which assumes that these are naturally arising categories. Instead, these concepts are constituted through historical, political and cultural contestation.

The naming and defining of differences is complex. Consider, for example, this extract:

Extract 1:

- I:** And at the moment what is your percentage breakdown in terms of white children, black children?
- M:** We've got about we've got about ah 6% Afrikaans, about 11% other cultures. I say other cultures that's black and so-called 'coloured' if we speak talk in those terms. The rest is all whites.

The question is framed by me in terms of "black and white" categories. As interviewer, I therefore create these categories in the conversation and invite Miller to collude in them with me. Miller responds by making use of three different ways of categorising people: racial, cultural and linguistic criteria ("coloured", "other cultures" and "Afrikaans"). The use of race categories is contested in South Africa and has been for as long as the apartheid ideologues have tried to impose them on the population. The term 'coloured' is often prefixed with the term 'so-called' to indicate that the speaker does not identify with the terminology used. Miller uses this distancing device and adds the phrase "if we talk in those terms". "Those terms" are apartheid terms and

Miller places himself outside of this discourse by making clear that he is merely borrowing them to talk about a group of people. A similar euphemistic effect is achieved in the interviews when teachers talk about children in terms of their area of residence in Snoekfontein. Instead of referring to white, 'coloured', black or African children, the teachers talk about "a child from the Village" or from "the Port" in order to indicate identity. These examples reflect that the naming of difference is not a simple, straight-forward matter.

The divisions of apartheid were of a dual nature: they were discursive as well as material.⁸ The economic, social and political oppression of black people was rhetorically justified through arguments that referred to differences as immutable and given. One of the ways in which this was done was through the concept of race. This concept has been discredited internationally by scholars in the last few decades. It has generally become unacceptable in 'western' countries to talk about different racial groups possessing specific characteristics, or to use genetic arguments to substantiate 'natural' domination of one group over another (Boonzaier, 1988). Researchers in the area of racism have noted that different ways of talking about race and difference have evolved as a result of this taboo (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988). Modern racism or inferential racism was said to be a shift from old-fashioned forms of racism to more subtle and less obvious forms of discrimination (Barker, 1981; Reeves, 1983). The concepts of culture and cultural differences have come to replace racial ways of constructing difference:

the culturalism of the new racism has gone hand-in-hand with a definition of race as a matter of difference rather than of hierarchy (Gilroy, 1990, cited in Giroux, 1993, p. 99).

This is not a new phenomenon: even the apartheid government used euphemistic terminology to substitute direct reference to race. Terms such as 'population groups', ethnic, tribal and cultural groups were used to serve this purpose (Boonzaier & Sharp, 1988; McClintock & Nixon, 1986; Norval, 1996; Ashforth, 1990). Theorists with an interest in observing how the concepts of ethnicity and culture have come to supersede 'race' describe the concepts of 'cultural racism' and differentialist racism (Balibar, 1991; Barker, 1981). They argue that similar discriminatory outcomes can be achieved with these categories where "*culture can also function like a nature*"

⁸ I hesitate to use the past tense as this implies that these discursive and material divisions have ceased to exist. This is obviously far from true.

[original emphasis] (Balibar, 1991, p. 22). Racism thus functions without the concept of race. Balibar argues that there may be a suppression of the theme of hierarchy in this form of racism but that this may be re-constituted in the practical application of the doctrine.

Ambivalence surrounds the ways in which people are categorised. There is a need to examine how divisions and differences are now currently constructed and what their practical consequences for educational transition are. Culture and language, I argue, are two prominent ways in which this is done. It is my argument that these constructions are used in a rhetorical manner to justify the controlling of change in the schools at present. A central part of the way in which discussion of sameness and difference allows this to take place is to deny the relevance of race. Let us examine how this takes place.

The repertoire of Racial Harmony: non-racialism as colour-blindness

A central aspect of the way in which the teachers present the changes taking place is that racial harmony prevails at their schools. This harmony is depicted as being due to the practice of equality, the presence of non-racialism and the principle of colour-blindness.⁹ I will explore here how the concept of non-racism is presented as being primarily about colour-blindness. The limitations of this discursive construction will be pointed out. The use of the binary opposites of non-racism and racism will also be investigated.

Extract 2:

L: In fact, it's difficult for me to think now ... who's not white and who's black and you don't even think of the children as being of different colours. They're all just children. And I think it's the same on the playground.

Extract 3:

Z: And my little one, she's here [at the pre-primary school], she doesn't have a clue. Like she she'll describe a child to me, the last thing she'll tell me about is their colour ... She'll say you know that boy, come Ma, come Ma, help me, I want to show you that boy on the playground that hurt me. And I'll say what does he look like and she'll say red jersey. She'll describe everything and then finally say oh it's that one.

⁹ Various theorists have proposed specific definitions of terms such as racism, racialism and racialisation (for example Miles, 1989). The terms themselves are, however, constituted through their use in discourse and their meaning changes depending on their function. Only a broad definition of terms can thus be given. Non-racialism is here taken to mean the rejection of racial labelling.

A central aspect of the notion of colour-blindness is being 'blind' to 'different colours'. The argument of colour-blindness rests on the common sense assumption that one cannot be racist if one does not *see* colour. Race is constructed as an outwardly visible, physical characteristic of a person or group. One of the possible implications of this is that to be colour-blind means to be above artificial ways of categorising people or *seeing* difference on this level. In addition, it serves the purpose of defending against accusations of racism: how can I be racist or discriminatory if I cannot even see which of my students are black and which are white?

The idea of colour-blindness is steeped in a history of liberalism. Goldberg (1993), in an analysis of the liberal centre of modernity, states that there is a widespread commitment to colour-blindness in the 'west' which has a long-standing tradition. It is based on the idea that race is a "morally irrelevant category" and therefore not a valid means of differentiating between people:

A morally irrelevant difference between persons is one they cannot help, for which they thus cannot be held responsible. To count as relevant, the persons in question must have had a 'fair' opportunity to acquire or to avoid [the property or capacity]. [...] Accordingly, it is basic to the dominant portrait of social identity in modernity that moral subjects must avoid choices that appeal to 'those contingencies [like race] which set men at odds and allow them to be guided by their prejudice' (Goldberg, 1993, p. 6).

The teachers present themselves as unprejudiced and not influenced by "morally irrelevant" characteristics such as skin-colour. Goldberg (1993) points out that for the liberal the standard of non-discrimination necessarily entails a commitment to non-racialism which is interpreted as being the same as ignoring race. Differences between children are thus not constructed in terms of race categories and are denied, implying that there are no racial differences. This, however, does not prevent the teachers from talking about black students or constructing differences in other ways. In the two examples above, the teachers talk about black students, despite a confusion about "who's not white and who's black". This will be discussed in more detail below. Here I would just like to point to the theme of violence and 'the other' in extract 3 above: Zeeman, in trying to illustrate the non-racial and colour-blind approach of the white children, chooses an example which is essentially about identifying a black child which has hurt a white child. While I cannot speculate about why she specifically chose this example a discursive analysis of the interviews suggests that it may form part of a repertoire around difference, otherness and violence.

MS
The repertoire of racial harmony includes the notion of non-racialism. The concept of non-racialism has a particular historical significance in South Africa: it was used as a counter-hegemonic repertoire to oppose the racial ideology of the National Party government (Taylor & Foster, 1997). The anti-racist resistance movement used the argument that 'races' do not exist from which to launch their ideological attack on apartheid. Academics as well as activists advocated a 'no such thing as race' stance (Boonzaier & Sharp, 1988; Cape Action League, 1987) and argued that race categorisation were based on a false premise and arose from a particular racist world view (Kottler, 1996). Non-racialism was thus a progressive argument which expressed the vision of a united South Africa with common citizenship, rights and opportunities regardless of race, culture or gender (Tikly, 1994b).

Arguably, non-racialism has become part of a liberal repertoire and possibly a commonplace value in South Africa. Consider an example of its 'official' use given by President Mandela during a talk-show where he addressed an audience of black and white children:

I don't see colour. For me they are all children (SABC 1, Felicia Mabuse-Suttle Show, 17 March 1997).

It could be argued that national discourses of reconciliation and nation-building are at work here. The promotion of harmony between 'groups' is a major endeavour of the newly formed government (Norval, 1996). Tikly (1994b) suggests that non-racialism has now reached near hegemonic status among the majority of South Africans.

The effects of constructing the notion of non-racialism as colour-blindness 'depoliticises' and defuses the possible progressive effects of this concept. This may result in a simplification and reductionist view of non-racialism that turns the concept into a mechanism which may ignore a commitment to ensuring equal status among black and white South Africans. In formerly white Model C schools this may lead to disregarding black experiences, for example through the assimilation of black students into the dominant ethos of the school. In addition, the 'no problem here because we are all colour-blind' approach of teachers provides a justification for continuing

with current educational and social practices without having to consider the possible implications of desegregation.

It must be noted that non-racialism was never the only counter-argument to apartheid. There were and still are strong objections to this concept from groups within the anti-apartheid movements. Organisations and movements such as the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), and the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO) have at times opposed the concept of non-racialism and colour-blindness, one reason being that it is politically crucial for black people to identify themselves as African and/or black. (AZAPO, 1991; Biko, 1978). The repertoire of non-racialism is just one of a number of counter-hegemonic discourses to apartheid. None of these, apart from non-racialism, are in evidence in the interviews.

Another central discourse in South Africa during the time of transition is the 'rainbow discourse', a term first used by the South African media to describe the Rivonia trialists who consisted of black and white activists. Later the term was popularised by Desmond Tutu who used it on 11 February 1990 in a speech delivered on the Grand Parade in Cape Town when Nelson Mandela was released. Tutu referred to South Africans as "the rainbow people of God", implying that South Africans come in all 'colours' but all form part of one big whole, the nation (Tutu, 1995, preface). The rainbow discourse is a national discourse which appeals to South Africans to consider themselves as equal, colourful contributors to something unitary and beautiful. The rainbow is a metaphor which could be explored further in terms of its prominent status in New South Africa-speak (Boyce, 1997, for explorations of the Rainbow Nation thesis).

The discourses of colour-blindness and of the rainbow nation may serve different functions: the one denies that 'colour' differences are important, thereby de-emphasising difference; the other attempts to celebrate difference, thereby drawing attention to it (Boyce, 1997). The rainbow discourse is complexly situated within overlapping notions of race and culture. Arguably, the discourse has come to mean that cultural rather than racial or 'colour' differences are of importance and should be acknowledged. A common characteristic of both discourses is,

however, the appeal to the notion of *harmony* among South Africans. Both discourses are self-explanatory in that they do not have to refer to a specifically South African past for their internal workings: instead, they present a 'happy' story of nationhood which has no beginning and middle but only an amicable end.

While the teachers do not use the concept of rainbow nation directly, they do simultaneously deny and celebrate differences. This becomes most obvious when teachers talk about culture (see below). The flexibility with which teachers employ the colour-blind or rainbow concepts, depending on the rhetorical use to which these concepts are put, demonstrates how discourse functions in situated use: at times it is expedient for teachers to deny that they can recognise differences between children; at other times it is useful to demonstrate their awareness of difference in order to justify positions taken on issues such as standards for example. In a similar way, discourses are not in themselves inherently ideological: the concept of colour-blindness can be used to progressive ends as this was done by certain parts of the anti-apartheid movement. In these interviews, however, the concept functions to silence any interpretation or use of non-racialism as promoting structural change, redress or justice. It has a constraining effect in that it defines clearly the boundaries of possibilities. Wetherell and Potter (1992) argue that discourses and arguments become ideological at the moment of mobilisation. They point to the possibility of constructing effective counter-positions from rhetorical resources.

The presentation of racism in the schools

I would now like to examine the construction of racism in the interviews as this will begin to demonstrate some of the ideological effects that the racial harmony repertoire produces. I argue that racism provides the necessary contrast to the notion of racial harmony: it is part of the binary opposite which makes up the discussion of 'race relations'. The construction of racial harmony versus racism has particular effects on how the transformation of the school is framed and the possibilities that therefore come to exist in terms of how and what changes can take place.

Despite the fact that teachers emphasise the presence of racial harmony in the schools, in all the interviews teachers mention that racism does indeed take place. Consider the following extract:

Extract 4:

I: And the students, do they mix well, do they get on?

M: Yes, extremely well. Extremely well. We've had the odd incident but that you will also find in all schools.

I: Can you give me an example of an incident?

M: Ahm racialistic remarks. I would say that is perhaps one. But children do that you know. A child a boy will call a girl ah an ugly name, ah a girl will call a boy an ugly name or kick a boy where it hurts and things like that. That happens on a school playground in a primary school. Children are known to call each other names and this is nothing unusual. I don't think there's great malice intended or any malice intended for that matter. It's just a natural process [unclear]

I: So do you think that involves prejudice at all or //

M: // Yah, I'm sure there are people that that have prejudices they might have ah at the school. Adults and that of course rubs off on the children. I'm sure that is the case. But ahm they are few and far between.

Racist remarks are constructed here as “odd incidents” which occur when children interact with one another. They are examples of normal childhood interaction which can be equated with girls and boys calling each other “ugly names”. Children will fight and they will call each other names - this is an indisputable fact of life. Miller uses a distancing device here which serves to establish this as an out-there fact that everyone knows about: “children are known to call each other names”. Miller is merely repeating a well-known truth. The rhetorical device of normalisation is used by Miller when he claims that name-calling, rather than racism, is a “natural process”. This has various effects. Firstly, it provides a particular background to these ‘incidents’ against which they must be understood: an educational context is created where one recognises these occurrences as nothing more than ordinary elements of growing up. The incidents are thereby removed from any political or social context - they are not significant as acts of discrimination or racism but merely examples of how children deal with conflict. The effect of this is that attention is drawn away from the content of the remarks and directed towards the type of interaction which occurs - name-calling. The type of interaction, being *normal*, is not seen as being motivated by malice. Notably Miller mentions that there is no intention to do harm but he does not discuss the effects that these racist remarks have on the children they are aimed against. Racism is thus constructed as what white children *do*, not what black children *experience*.

Secondly, racism is portrayed as ‘incidents’ that occur seldom. Racism can be neatly contained within this construction as a few isolated acts, perpetrated by a few individuals (**“But ahm they are few and far between”**). These events can be clearly identified: they are obvious acts such as racist name-calling. No ambiguity exists about their definition. There is no debate about what racism is and the various forms in which it can express itself. Their origin can also be clearly explained: the children learn prejudice from their parents at home. This exonerates Miller from having to account for the acts of racism and allows him to distance himself and his school from them.

The portrayal of these incidents falls within a prejudice framework of understanding discrimination which constructs prejudice as deviant and exceptional acts perpetrated by individuals. This is opposed to seeing racism as systematic, institutionalised oppression and discrimination which has its origins in historical and ideological processes (see Billig, 1988a for a discussion on the prejudice problematic).

Examine, for example, the following extract from the interview with the pre-primary school teachers. The discussion had been concerned with racial harmony when Wood suddenly said: **“But we had trouble with that before”**, referring to racism. Zeeman concurred with this: **“Last year we had racist children”**. The conversation then continued for a while on the topic of how well the children were integrating until I asked:

Extract 5:

- I:** And when you said last year you had some problems?
Z: Yah, we had some very racialistic children last year. // They obviously get that from their parents.
I: The older children or the younger children?
Z: In my class, yah, older children saying I’m not (.) my father says I’m not allowed to sit next to you at the table, I’m not allowed to eat at the same table as you. That kind of //
G: Ooh, really?
V: // Yah, I had racialism last year too.
U: But then out of a school of 120 we’re talking at the most 2, 3 children (W: Yah, yah).
I: Now, how do you deal with that kind of thing?
Z: I don’t handle I don’t actually accept that at all (I: Mm). I say that they are hurting that a person’s feelings and that we’re all equally able to sit at the same table and eat. We did try and do we did a lot of stories and [morning] rings to do with feelings. And

how everybody's different. We start off the year by talking about our bodies and what's the same and what's different and every single term we do something about how everyone's different but we're also the same. And we do a lot of things on feelings. We talk about how we can hurt people's feelings or how //

V: // But I think that comes from home though.

Racism is exemplified by not wanting to sit at the same table as a black child or refusing to eat with her/him. The teachers do not specify whether this involves only white-on-black racism or also black-on-black racism. I work from the assumption, however, that they are referring to the former type. The clear delineation of what racism is allows for specific action to be taken. The extract gives an example of how racism can be 'managed' when it is defined as individualistic prejudice: children need to be taught about difference and similarities. The effect of racism is that another person's feelings will be hurt. By using this understanding of racism, teachers remain firmly within an inner-psychological realm.

What is the function of the construction of both racism and how the teachers deal with it? Firstly, it silences other possible constructions which take into account historical and political processes. Issues of racism become depoliticised and de-ideologised. Secondly, non-racialism is normalised and this is confirmed by the construction of racism as abnormal and unusual. In Billig's (1991) terms this could be described as a commonplace which inevitably includes contrary themes which are crucial in order to create the contrast between them. Billig argues that common sense always consists of composite strands of conflictual notions which are used by people to debate and resolve dilemmas. In this instance, the general portrayal of the school environment and the staff as non-racial is allowed through the contrast created with 'The Racists', or as Miller puts it in another part of the interview, with those people who **"are just not prepared to accept what's come"**. The positioning of the self and the school in this discourse is thus that 'we' are unmistakably in the camp of the non-racialists, "we are accepting what has come" and are thereby part of the New South Africa. "We" are reasonable agents of change. This points towards prejudiced whites as the 'other' (Tikly, 1994a).

Non-racialism and racism are constructed as a

system of differences organised *de facto* and *de jure* as binary opposites - white/black, good/bad, normal/deviant, etc. - with the primary term being privileged and designated as the defining term or the norm of cultural meaning, creating a dependent meaning" (McLaren, 1994, p. 55).

McLaren argues that the secondary term does not really exist outside of the first but that it in effect exists inside it, "even though the phallogocentric logic of white supremacist ideology makes you think it exists outside and in opposition to it" (1994, p. 55). Non-racialism is designated as the defining term in this binary construction of opposites and is imbued with positive meaning which is dependent on the contrast to what has been defined as racism.

In the repertoire of racial harmony race is largely eliminated as a basis of constructing difference or as a source of problems with the transition process. Nevertheless, differences are constructed and they serve specific discursive functions. One of the ways in which this is done is through the concept of culture.

"All cultures and such": culture as difference and otherness

It is an unquestioned notion in the interviews that different cultures exist and that these cultures have specific characteristics or features. Various forms of discursive work is done through the construction of culture. Consider, for example, the following two extracts 6 and 7 where Miller discusses 'issues of culture' as they impact on the school. The extracts are lengthy but need to be produced in full in order to analyse the shifts in the construction of 'culture'.

Miller is talking about the black Xhosa teacher that the primary school has employed:

Extract 6:

M: ... She's well liked by the by the pupils and staff, lovely person. Has not only brought the language into the school but the culture into the school. She's got her own classroom that she can ahm decorate according to the culture with you know setting up the ah the clothing that they're dealing with at this point in time, ahm she can actually create a very very nice atmosphere in her class.

I: Have you what do you mean ahm about the changes in culture?

M: Well, it's just the mere fact that ahm she's ah a black person with different values, and different ah ah way of living and ah has brought that into the school and has made us aware that it's not always seen from a white perspective, there's a black perspective as well. And that has been most exciting and most interesting. Simple scenario,

disciplining children (I: Mm). She's found that in her culture they would still smack children and a child doesn't backchat, a child doesn't you don't ask a child for his point of view. You tell the child and the child shuts up and he listens. Now here she's had to change her style and realise but children are going to ask her But why, M'am? Why are you saying that? She's found that very difficult to understand (I: Mm). She's found it difficult not to smack a child when the child appears to be cheeky according to her way of upbringing.

Later on in the interview I ask Miller if he sees a need for multicultural education at his school.

Extract 7:

M: I've just read an article there, the American experience of multicultural education. I think that people have climbed onto the bandwagon as far as multicultural education is concerned. I think one has got to and that's why I said just now the needs of the school is different. Ahm in a in an environment where you have a great cultural mix by all means, you know that principal really needs to address multicultural education (.) In a school like this with a very small mix of other cultures our point of departure is just that we are all equal. We are all brothers and sisters. Ahm there is no need to ahm emphasise any differences to make children aware of certain cultural differences that exist. You take for instance a pupil from the black community. He's taught that when an adult talks to him you don't he doesn't look me in the eye. I as a white man see that as ah insubordination. I don't know that the culture (I: Mm) and therefore I reprimand the child for being disrespectful to me: Why aren't you looking me in the face? Look at me when I talk to you. And he's been brought up: No, I mustn't look at him. Ahm I've had parent interviews and the parent comes into my office and he and he won't ah walk in first, he want you to walk. Because when you go to his home he'll walk in first. He leads the way. That's his sign of respect (I: Mm). You know we tend to do things sort of slightly different in in some instances. Greeting, for instance. The black child won't greet first, I've noticed. I may be wrong, I may be totally wrong but that's been my ah what I've observed in my dealing with these kids. Because they've been taught that they the adult should greet first. Otherwise they would be seen to be forward in greeting. But that is the traditional aspect. The little child today in our schools don't bother about things like that. More and more it's become less I would say, this whole emphasis of he's got his own little culture. And ah the parents that have we encourage the parents too because some of them come in here with their Xhosa names and they've changed it to English names. For the sake of us dealing with them. And we've said to them no man the child has got a name. Leave it as such, don't please don't for our sakes change the name to an English name. Now suddenly he's Tom Jones and he's supposed to be something totally different. He's got his own tradition, you must be proud of that. You know (.) I don't know if I've answered your question right.

Let us first consider extract 6. Here culture is constructed as a definable set of characteristics such as clothing, language and different values. The black teacher is able to 'teach' her culture to the students: it is factual information on traditional cultural aspects which can be conveyed to those who do not know them. Culture thus becomes a fixed, definite property of groups which can be

named and defined.¹⁰ The black teacher has **"her own classroom"** in which she can do this. This could possibly be interpreted as the containment of black culture in a physical, enclosed space: it can be compartmentalised and restricted.

Noteworthy is the example of cultural difference that Miller uses in extract 6: he emphasises the positive changes that the presence of the black teacher has made (**"... has made us aware that it's not only seen from a white perspective ..."**) but then illustrates this with a **"simple scenario"** where the black teacher is depicted as the one who has to adapt to the school. A contrast between the two 'cultures' is set up: the white culture where modern, liberal education allows children to ask and question; and black culture which is conservative and authoritarian.

This serves three functions. Firstly, the extract can be interpreted as what van Dijk (1992) calls positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. This supports the construction of dominant white consensus: it justifies the continuation of 'our' way of running things. Secondly, the passage can be seen as an example of what bell hooks (1992) describes as a fascination that whites have with otherness: the 'other' culture is seen as a commodity which is 'interesting'. Knowledge of it can be used for self-enhancement. Finding out how blacks teach and relate to children is, as Miller says, **"most exciting and most interesting"** but ultimately illegitimate as is seen by the fact that **"she has had to change her style"**.

Thirdly, difference is constructed in the extract. The black teacher and black culture are named as different. The definition of difference results in creating an identity for black people. Through this an 'other' is formed. This is not merely a process of distinguishing between people and groups, but establishes difference in relation to oneself or one's 'own' group. In other words, a process of converting difference into otherness takes place. By comparing the black teacher to **"our way"** of doing things Miller defines her way as 'other'.

¹⁰ For an alternative view and critical response to this approach to culture in schools see Goldberg (1994).

Said (1978) in his study of orientalism claims that power is exercised epistemologically in the dual practices of naming and evaluating. Naming the racial other, for all intents and purposes, is the other. Part of the process of 'othering' is the collection/production of information about "them". Said argues that there is no other behind or beyond the invention of knowledge in the other's name. What is created is knowledge about the other:

Production of social knowledge about the racialised Other, then, establishes a library or archive of information, a set of guiding ideas and principles about Otherness: a mind, characteristic behaviour or habits, and predictions of likely responses (Goldberg, 1993, p. 150).

This can be seen in both extracts where Miller not only creates the 'other' through his construction of culture, but where he also recounts some of this knowledge which he has gained. An example of these cultural 'facts' is that looking somebody in the eye is a form of disrespect in black culture.

If one takes Said's concept of 'othering' further, one can draw a parallel between the black teacher employed at the school and what Said (1978) calls an "informant", a representative translator of culture. These informants originate from the group of the other and serve to provide the dominant group with knowledge about "them", similar to what the white staff gain in information from the black teacher. The process of othering is problematic: the 'other' is denied the right to self-presentation and is instead presented through the eyes of the dominant group. The limits and possibilities of the 'other' are created for them. They are *fixed* in time and space, they are defined and silenced (Goldberg, 1993).

Let us now look at extract 7. This part of the interview took place about 20 minutes after the discussion in extract 6. Miller starts off by arguing *against* taking culture into account, in seeming contradiction to what he stresses in extract 6, namely the benefit derived from cultural learning. Miller implies that it may be better *not* to draw the children's attention to difference: **"There is no need to ahm emphasise any differences to make children aware of certain cultural differences that exist"**. There is a "small mix of other cultures" in the school and that is why it is not important to teach about these differences. Miller makes use of a discourse of similarities (Kottler, 1990, 1996) which is based on the principle of equality: **"Our point of departure is just**

that we are all equal". Through the universal similarity implied in the phrase "we are all equal, we are all brothers and sisters", the need for taking difference into account falls away.

Goldberg (1993) discusses the response of liberal modernity to racial difference and suggests that there are two dominant reactions to it: either to deny otherness, or at least its relevance; or to admit the other's difference but to tolerate it. It seems as if both of these processes are taking place in extract 6 and 7. Miller's initial response in extract 7 is to deny the difference and to emphasise similarity:

The liberal would assume away the difference in otherness, maintaining thereby the dominance of a presumed sameness, the universally imposed similarity in identity (Goldberg, 1993, p. 7)

After having constructed his argument *against* taking difference into account, Miller suddenly starts talking about the differences he has noticed and gives examples of cultural practices. Differences, however, are here defined as the "slightly different ways of doing things". The dilemma that he is negotiating in this extract is to balance the denial of difference with an awareness of issues around culture: he needs to show that he is knowledgeable about these things. Miller shows his competence among the multicultural swamp by firstly letting me know that he has read the relevant literature on multicultural education, secondly that he is knowledgeable about black culture and a black way of doing things, and thirdly that he is tolerant of difference by encouraging the children to keep their Xhosa names. It could be argued that Miller also just 'falls' back into the discourse of 'othering' where the other is created through the description of the different cultural customs.

The discursive work done in this extract is contradictory: Miller denies difference, then gives examples of existing differences, subsequently denies their importance and simultaneously manages to present himself as informed, knowledgeable and tolerant. Extract 7 presents a typical example of variation which occurs in the discourses where a dilemma needs to be negotiated: in this case it is the need to simultaneously deny the importance of difference while acknowledging it, or as Goldberg puts it, to admit to difference in order to tolerate it. The effect of the contradictions in this extract is what Young (1990) refers to as the paradoxical oppression of

dominated groups where they are both rendered invisible and at the same time marked out by stereotypes.

The way in which the teachers use the concept of culture indicates that culture is something for 'the other'. Culture is not what the white teachers, children and their parents do but the exotic, unfamiliar and strange things that black people do. There are further ways in which the teachers create 'the black other' in the interviews and these will be briefly examined below in order to investigate the discursive functions served by this process.

More comments on 'othering'

'Other' is what-is-not-white and what-is-not-us. In some instances the terminology used by the teachers indicate a clear 'us' and 'them' barrier:

Extract 8:

K: And it's not that we're trying to mould *them* into speaking like *our* children [italics mine].

At other times the construction of black people as alien outsiders is pervasive, subtle and insidious. Contrasts are constructed which invariably portray the 'other' as less able, less experienced and in some way less better off. Not all contrasts or images of black people are negative. Due to the limited scope of the thesis, I am unable to present examples of analysis of all the different ways in which black people are talked about. I will therefore only outline the most analytically significant ones.

Black people are associated with threat. Phrases like "getting swamped by the unknown" (p. 7) and being "inundated with applications from that sector of the community" (p. 6) have connotations of being overrun by the black masses which are in some way 'unknown', alien, unfamiliar. There is an element of hazard in this image as it implies a sense of being overwhelmed and out of control. The association between violence and the other is recurrent in some interviews. The staff of the pre-primary school discuss the behaviour of the black children which, according to them, is often aggressive:

Extract 9:

Y: For arguments sake we've got a lot of problems up at the Port at the moment with gangs, that sort of thing. You find that the children are quite stressed who live in that area. So they come to school and they play out their kind of stressful experiences at school ...

Extract 10:

Z: Whereas I must say I have noticed a lot of aggression among ah I've got three little black boys who really close and they always stick together and they can be very aggressive ... But I do they have to kick and they're very boisterous and and some of the other children are quite scared. They stick out (I: Mm) they're quite violent, you know.

W: This might of course be role model stuff, you know from the squatter camp.

The staff discuss the fact that some of the children have witnessed violence first-hand and that this is reflected in their art work. The discussion leads to the violence in the Port area in general and what that means for 'their' children. Of great concern to them is the 'fact' that the white children cannot go and visit the black children where they stay because of the potential risk involved. This is especially a concern for the teachers' own children:

Extract 11:

F: You see, this now Lucy's a very good friend at her class at Snoekfontein Primary, little 'coloured' girl who desperately wants Lucy to come and play up there, she's coming to play at our house this afternoon (I: Mm). I don't know if I really want to send Lucy up there (p. 87).

[...]

W: And we wouldn't call that bias or prejudice ..., you know, the point is that as parents and as teachers we simply have to ... be physically protective of the kids (I: Mm).

I: And the parents of the children, how do they feel about that? I mean if do they have a similar view that it wouldn't be safe to go there or //

V: // Of course, it's a great concern to them because it is unsafe.

Note the remedial work done here by Wood who disclaims racist motivation for the opinions expressed: "And we wouldn't call that bias or prejudice". The real reason why the teachers do not want their children to go into black areas is because they need to be practical in their protectiveness of the children. My asking whether the other parents also feel like that brings about a near-crisis point in the interview. Vale's response is definite and strong: "because it is unsafe". Wood's statement in extract 10 about "role model stuff", for example, categorically designates the informal settlement as a violent area where children learn aggressive behaviour. The 'other' area is seen as being volatile and unstable where bullets are flying (see further on in the interview), people get shot, alien activities such as gang warfare happen and white lives in particular are

threatened. The reality constructed here is one where black areas present danger to their children - and black people generally may present a danger to 'them' as white people:

Extract 12:

U: It's like at 2:30 yesterday there's this guy standing in the road with this knife at his side, like this, so I locked my door as I drove past.

The theme of violence here becomes generalised. It is no longer just about 'our' children not being safe in 'their' areas; it also about the teachers feeling threatened in their personal safety "at 2:30" in the afternoon. No positive statements are made about the black areas and the teachers display no other knowledge of the area or employ other discourses than the one of philanthropy (chapter 7) when talking about the areas. It must be noted that the construction of 'other' as violent simultaneously defines 'us' as victims of violence who have to defend against the threat to personal safety. Investigating the connections between victims, perpetrators, the 'other' and discussions on national crime could be a worthwhile undertaking outside the scope of this thesis.

In the middle of the conversation about the violence in the Port, Vale suddenly interjects with a statement which suggests that the talk may not merely be about the lack of safety in the area but may possibly form part of a broader discussion about the other:

Extract 13:

V: But to get them in the beginning to use the bathroom, och (laugh). I kept finding them in the weeing in the sandpit or behind the trees or (...) or even next to the toilet.

Z: They're better now though.

F: Yah, they were poohing on the floor.

Zeeman's response, "they're better now though", can be seen as an attempt to counter the impact of Vale's statement. Foster, however, reiterates the point. In this extract, the black children are constructed as being uncivilised and the teachers are constructed as custodians of appropriate behaviour. This may be linked to the previous discussion on violence through a general construction of black people as living in disorder and chaos, as unpredictable and unrefined. The theme of 'other' as uncivilised also becomes evident when teachers talk about the need to maintain "Good Educational Practice" at the school (see chapter 6).

Overall a picture is painted which portrays black people in a problematic light. Arguably, this portrayal justifies the need to contain 'the other' and remain in control of change. I would now like to examine another signifier of difference: language.

Language as difference and as cultural heritage

In the interviews language is used, among other things, as an objective distinction to be made between children: they are all children who just happen to speak different languages. The construction of this difference is a fact, an out-there reality. It presents a practical, apprehendable problem which has been brought about by the desegregation of schools. It requires practical solutions. I argue, however, that the constructions of language-as-difference and the solutions proposed, are not merely neutral nor value-free.

Language as difference

The presence of children who speak different languages in the school is primarily presented as a difficulty as opposed to, for example, a resource. The teachers state the difficulties with giving instructions and communicating effectively, as well as being "held back" from delivering a higher standard of teaching:

Extract 14:

F: Years ago, when they were all English speaking and they were all on the same level, you could your pace was so much faster and do so much more with the children. Now not only the skills hold you back but also the language. Because we get our children in here and they don't speak a word of English for at least the first few weeks or months of the year. They don't even understand what you're saying. So we now have English, Afrikaans and Xhosa children, we used to have English and Afrikaans.

The new, incoming students cause the teachers additional work. While this is no explicit criticism directed at black students themselves or the process of desegregation, it contributes to establishing language as difference and therefore the presence of the black students as a difficulty. This difficulty ultimately affects "Good Educational Practice": standards are compromised by the teacher having to spend more time and attention on the children who do not speak English as a home language. The association between the black children and language 'problems' is pervasive and rests on the assumption that a lack of knowledge of English and Afrikaans is a problem: a

problem in terms of communication, educational success and effective integration into the school environment. The problem is defined as “they don’t even understand what you’re saying”, not for example as “I don’t even understand what they’re saying”.

It could be argued that black children are portrayed as being in some way inadequate and out of place through the ‘lack’ of (English) language. A child that comes into the school and cannot speak English or Afrikaans is under-skilled according to the criteria applied by the teachers. Carrim (1993) refers to this construction as the ‘deficit framework’ which seeks to locate the cause of the deficit in the students themselves or in the apartheid system but never in the power imbalances or practices of the (white) schools. The deficit framework does not include a construction of multiple languages as an asset which can be drawn upon in a school.

Pronunciation and accents are another aspect that teachers mention. Consider the following extract. The teachers are discussing a black girl at the pre-primary school who they describe as being “anti-white”. Uys recounts an incident that occurred with this particular girl:

Extract 15:

U: But I laughed at her ahm when Hani was killed. She told me she said to me, how did she say it: ‘It was De Kleerk, De Kleerk and the police who shot Hani’. She came to school (Z: Yah): ‘My daddy says it was De Kleerk and the police who shot him’ (laugh). De Kleerk.

While this extract can be analysed in a number of ways I would like to draw attention to the way in which the girl’s pronunciation of the name De Klerk is related here as a funny event. I argue that this may function as a means of asserting the teacher’s position over that of the ‘other’.

The children and to a certain degree the parents (see interview with King and Larson) are given a ‘lesser’ voice to speak as their language, accents and pronunciations are different from the norm. They are, if not silenced, at least relegated to a less competent space in which they can communicate. As Thompson (1984) points out, linguistic competence is also the capacity to make oneself heard. None of the teachers who were interviewed could speak Xhosa and black children and parents at times have to use interpreters in order to make themselves heard and understood. Bourdieu (1981) discusses the symbolic domination that those “dispossessed of the official

language” experience. Part of the effect of this dispossession is the lack of authority that accompanies it:

Language is not only an instrument of communication or even of knowledge, but also an instrument of power. One seeks not only to be understood but also to be believed, obeyed, respected, distinguished. Whence the complete definition of competence as right to speak, that is, as right to the legitimate language, the authorised language, the language of authority. Competence implies the power to impose reception (Bourdieu, 1981, p. 20).

Linguistic competence is linked to the distribution of ‘symbolic capital’. Bourdieu (1981) stipulates that there are different kinds of capital: economic, cultural and symbolic capital which can be converted into one another, for example educational qualifications can be converted into economic capital. Symbolic capital allows individuals or groups to mobilise more or less of the authority of an institution, depending on how much of this capital they possess. Those who are fluent in the dominant language or in the dominant mode of language use possess a lot of this symbolic (linguistic) capital. They, in this case the teachers, can “exploit the system of differences to their advantage and thereby secure a profit of distinction” (Thompson, 1984, p. 50). The system of differences they use is pronunciation and accent which allows them to distinguish themselves from their ‘new’ students.

Language as cultural heritage

The teachers make various suggestions about how the language ‘problem’ can be resolved. One suggestion made by the pre-primary school teachers is to have separate classes for the different languages. Another ‘solution’ mentioned in all three interviews is building a school in the Chris Hani Settlement which would provide Xhosa-medium teaching for the Xhosa-speaking children. These two suggestions present a dilemma to the teachers: a situation may result where black and white children are educated separately and this may give the impression of apartheid reasoning.

This dilemma is negotiated by appealing to the notion of cultural heritage. Consider these two extracts in which arguments are being made for separate Xhosa-medium classes at the pre-primary school:

Extract 16:

U: And they [the African parents/people advocating education in home language] don't want them to loose their culture and think that their language are inferior (I: Mm). That they now have to speak English because ahm that is a better language. They want the children to keep their culture, to know that they can be proud of their language and be educated in their language but then at the same time then just learn English as well by being in an English environment.

Extract 17:

Z: Then you get people who will say that will become that's even more ahm like apartheid (F: Mm) because then you're having the black children and the white children separated (W: Yes). But if it can be explained in terms of that they're learning in their own language and they're learning their own culture and they're doing everything their own way (Y: Then the Afrikaans-speak //) maybe that we can give parents the choice and say this is the Xhosa-speaking class.

In both extracts the concepts of language and culture are seen as connected: "learning in their own language and they're learning their own culture and they're doing everything their own way". Educating children in their home language is seen as being intricately linked to passing on the cultural heritage of which "they" should feel proud.

The parents are presented as the custodians of this cultural heritage and are simultaneously appealed to as the ultimate authority and as the 'Concerned Parent' in regard to making these decisions. In extract 16 Uys emphasises that it is the Xhosa-speaking parents who want their children to be educated in Xhosa.¹¹ In this way the responsibility for the creation of separate educational spaces based on language is taken out of the school's hands. This could be interpreted as making use of a liberal form of the 'rights' argument: it is the parents' right to choose the medium of instruction for their children. The reverse side of this is that it would be unfair and eurocentric to expect black students to learn in English. This could be seen as an example of a common discursive move which Tikly (1993) describes: to use an argument against eurocentrism as a defence of segregated schooling.

The issue of language practices in the schools is depoliticised in the interviews. The way in which language is constructed as difference and/or as cultural heritage presents the possibilities of

¹¹ Minister Bengu has announced the new language policy in general and further education in July 1997 (see Department of Education, *Statement by Prof SME Bengu, Minister of Education on a new language policy*) which confirms the right of learners to choose the language of learning and teaching. School governing bodies are required to announce the school's language policy.

educational change in a specific manner. It only allows certain limited moves to take place, and these are essentially about assimilation and/or language segregation. It could be argued that they silence other alternatives of engagement with transformation, for example one in which the choice of medium of instruction is seen within a political and historical context.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined some of the ways in which race, culture and language become signifiers of sameness and difference. The claim to universal sameness, the denial of 'colour' difference, the acknowledgement of cultural heritage and the rhetorical strategy of othering are all discursive mechanisms which the teachers draw upon in making sense of and proposing specific versions of change.

Arguably, the notions of *control* and *containment* are central aspects of the realities which are constructed. Difference is acknowledged and accepted as long as it does not disturb things as they are. If difference does disrupt then it needs to be constrained. A crucial aspect seems to be the timing and control over the processes of change that are affecting the schools. Consider the following extracts:

I asked the teachers how a change in demographics of the pupil population would affect the school, i.e. if significantly larger numbers of black students would be accepted.

Extract 18:

K: It would definitely change. And we would become ahm a combi more of a combination of two cultures or perhaps forge a new culture. It would not be one culture imposed on the other. We have as a staff been through a training course on this very issue and it came out quite clearly that if you have a small number of different people in your school it's still easy to maintain your ah the majority culture. But soon as you have a larger number you find the blending of the two cultures. And I think many things would change ...

This was presented by the teacher as a positive development:

Extract 19:

K: I think also what will come in is different music, choir, religions, all that will come in naturally. And I don't think it will be a huge threat. I think it will be a natural development: oh well, this is what the school needs now because we've got different people in the school.

L: Yes, it will be more an African //

K: // Yah, afro-eurocentric. Yah, whereas at the moment we still impose what we want or what we've grown up with (I: Mm). Because we've got // such a minority.

What King and Larson are talking about here is enculturation. This is presented as the mutual blending of the African and European cultures to create a composite culture. Their argument is constructed along the lines of a logical three-part sequence: *If* our numbers of black students increase *then* our school culture will change *but* this has to happen naturally. Several points need to be made about this. Firstly, the institutional culture of the schools and its accompanying "Good Educational Practice", will be maintained for as long as possible.

Extract 20:

K: We're waiting to see what changes but I think our attitude has been don't pay too much attention to rumours, ahm get on with the job now. As changes come in we will accommodate them.

Secondly, change becomes depoliticised and ahistorical. The social or political context which has brought about change in the educational system is not referred to. Change is presented as being merely a matter of 'blending' two cultures. The potential for radical change is thereby neutralised. Differences in culture and in general are seen as being free from ideological interests. This delegitimises difference as a terrain of political struggle and contestation (Giroux, 1993). There is no talk, for example, of the Africanisation of formerly white schools. Thirdly, the emphasis on *natural* change taking place is linked to being able to control 'the threat': natural change relies on leaving things to develop by themselves. It is presented as a process independent of power relations and without agents.

Power relations organise difference. The connections between the discourses of colour-blindness, the rainbow nation, cultural heritage and different kinds of power need to be made. McLaren argues that differences must be rewritten as differences-in-relation, as fundamentally political and never free-floating, in order for this connection to be made: "differences are not seen as absolute, irreducible, or intractable, but rather as undecidable and socially and culturally relational" (1994, p. 58). This understanding of 'relational' difference must go hand-in-hand with attempts to change material conditions that allow relations of domination to prevail. Clearly, this will be a complex undertaking as can be seen, for example, in the discussions about building a Xhosa-medium school in Snoekfontein.

Power relations also function discursively, however, through repertoires which make only very limited use of the concept of difference. I will examine three repertoires in the next two chapters that achieve this. These repertoires contain minimal reference to race, culture or language. Their effect, however, may in part be to restrict the threat of difference and otherness to the educational establishment.

Chapter 6

The repertoire of Good Educational Practice

Good Educational Practice and the educator

The premises of this interpretative repertoire are both complex and simple. The most fundamental assumptions are the following: a school is an educational institution with the role of providing students with a particular set of skills and knowledge; there are criteria which can be employed to determine whether or not this is taking place; it is possible to grade or evaluate the quality of the educational practice which is delivered. “Good Educational Practice” (GEP) is essentially a humanist discourse in that it draws on the idea that children have the right to adequate education. This includes the idea that education of the ‘whole child’ needs to take place: good education is a ‘broad’ education which addresses not only the mental but also the physical and moral development of the child (see Marshall, 1995 for a critical overview of the development of these concepts in education). The provision of this education is seen as being ultimately for the common good, benefiting both individuals and the nation (Marshall, 1995).

According to the method outlined by Potter and Wetherell, I searched for “broadly discernible clusters of terms, descriptions and figures of speech often assembled around metaphors or vivid images” (1992, p. 90). A cluster of terms and images around the concepts of *standards*, *progress* and *naturalness* emerged from my reading and I identified these as forming part of a repertoire of GEP. In the interviews there are many references to “Good Educational Practice” and implied references to bad educational practice. Only in a few instances did teachers elaborate on what they

mean by these concepts. After analysing the situated use of this repertoire, it became apparent that there was little need for teachers to give content to it. It functions as a moral reference point in the conversations and therefore does not need to 'explain' itself. This could be due to the most striking characteristic of GEP, its given nature. It contains a 'taken-for-granted' set of ideas that the interviewee perhaps assumes I, as interviewer, share. The teachers who use the repertoire of GEP are seldom in any doubt as to its definition and are in no doubt that it is an exclusively positive concept.

GEP takes on the status of an independent entity, outside of time and history (Thompson, 1984). It is presented as being inherently logical and legitimate. In Billig's (1987) terms GEP is a commonplace: a commonly held and shared value or belief in what good education is. I will examine how this version of good education is discursively constructed. It is generally accepted and understood that it is the aim and responsibility of teachers and schools to provide students with good education. Consequently, it is unreasonable to argue against GEP.

Consider the following extract:

I have asked M if the admission of black students to the school has brought about any changes

Extract 21:

I: Has that brought about any changes?

M: No, we've not been, we've not been ah inundated with ah applications from that sector of the community. Ahm we're very pleased to have them, ahm provided that we can you know we can ah maintain the standards of the school. We are not prepared to ah or would I should rather say we're very we would be very unhappy to see what has been built up over the years, the high standards just ah whittle down to ah third-world scenario whereby you know we don't have sport in the afternoons anymore and the requirements to pass are so ridiculously low that just anyone gets through the standard, you know. That type of scenario would be very very unfortunate in education if that ever happened.

In this extract GEP is defined as 'maintaining the high standards'. Standards refer to levels of educational advancement and are a means of controlling access to privileged resources, such as employment opportunities or high status positions. They also function as criteria by which difference is measured (Kenway, 1990). Standards assume an importance because they operate as

a system of “marking and classification” (Foucault, 1977). In most societies, a system of differentiation is in place which allows social and economic values to be attached to people. This is only possible if there is a norm against which difference can be defined. The concern that the teachers have with maintaining standards is the following: if standards are removed, how will one determine a norm, lay claim to privilege and how will one justify ‘achievement’? Standards can thus be seen as embodying a pedagogic norm which functions by simultaneously homogenising and individualising people. Standards, as signifiers of differentiation, indicate

membership of a homogeneous social body but also [play] a part in classification, hierarchisation and the distribution of rank. In a sense, the power of normalisation imposes homogeneity; but it individualises by making it possible to measure gaps, determine levels, to fix specialities and to render the differences useful by fitting them to another (Foucault, 1977, p. 184).

Pedagogic norms such as examinations and standards subjectify and objectify those who are evaluated. They allow individuals to be described, judged, measured, compared with others, and also create subjects who need to be trained, corrected, classified, normalised, in- and excluded. The individual is thereby constituted as effect and object of power, and as effect and object of knowledge. This is

the appearance of a new modality of power in which each individual receives as his status his own individuality, and in which he is linked by his status to the features, the measurements, the gaps, the ‘marks’ that characterise him (Foucault, 1977, p. 192).

Standards are dividing practices in which the subject is objectified by a process of division, in this instance, from others (Rabinow, 1984).

Foucault (1979) discusses the disciplinary effects that the development of examination techniques had in schools and hospitals. It is his contention that the age of the ‘examining’ school marked the beginnings of a pedagogy that functions as a science. The concept of standards can be seen as an extension of this as standards operate as ‘objective’, value-free criteria. By referring to standards teachers locate themselves within a discourse of science, pedagogy and neutrality.

In extract 21 Miller asserts that GEP is presently happening at his school, an institution of educational excellence. The continued existence of GEP is linked to the ability to control the

numbers of black children admitted to the school. Miller's first response to my question about changes is to say that there have been no changes because the school has not accepted many black children. He does not refer directly to black children but instead uses the phrase "**that sector of the community**". There is an implicit assumption that accepting a large number of black children will lead to a lowering of standards where good education delivery cannot be guaranteed. The use of the word 'inundated' is noteworthy as it implies being overwhelmed, being out of control - images of black masses posing a threat to the white minority are conjured up here. A contrast is created between 'them' and 'us': 'they' are the ones who make demands, who break down what we have built up, who must be controlled and who have low standards - they are the third-world (Goldberg, 1993). 'We', on the other hand, are the ones who have worked hard over a long period to build up standards. While we are open and welcoming to them this has its limits. 'We' are definitely first-world. Miller uses the pronoun 'we' instead of 'I' - the 'we' could refer to him and his staff, the parent body, the white community in general. It indicates that this is not his own personal opinion but one that is based on consensus and has strength because of this. Note also the process of 'othering' that occurs here (see preceding chapter for a discussion of his concept).

The repertoire of GEP relies on creating binarism. Binarism is "a practice that is both powerfully generative and profoundly restrictive and regulatory in terms of how thinking and discourse proceeds" (Green, 1986, cited in Kenway, 1990, p. 199). It constructs positive and negative poles as the central organising mechanism within discourses. The simple binary opposition that is created is that of Model C (state-aided) schools versus state schools. Consider the following extract in which Miller, is talking about future changes taking place in the education system and the possibility of the newly elected government opposing the existence of Model C schools.

Extract 22:

M: It would be ridiculous of the government to do away with ahm Model C schools where ah if if they're gonna have state schools then we're going to run a scenario that's that's just going to run the education system down. Where they get everything free, free books, you know, free this, free that. Then you're going have a scenario of no grass and fields, no sport in the afternoon, ahm in other words the child's development is going to be stunted because it's no you won't have cultural activities. So you're only going to have literacy education. That's all, literacy education. You're not going to be able to offer all the these benefits (I: Mm) which is important. We want to compete with the outside world and keep up with technology, surely.

I will not examine the implications that the above extract has in terms of financial management of the school as these will be analysed at a later stage. Let us instead examine the binary opposites which operate here: on the one hand there is established educational practice, based on the idea of a broad education that addresses all of a child's developmental needs, including sporting and cultural activities. This is embodied in Model C schools. On the other hand there is disintegration and educational, social and economic decline. Kenway (1990) points out that binarism often works by creating a series of ideological oppositions which have "the power to map out the world of problematic social reality in clear unambiguous polarities ... it provides a moral reference point which both grasps experience and sorts it into evaluative categories" and so displaces "political issues with conventional moral absolutes" (Hall, 1980, cited in Kenway, 1990, p. 199). The absolutes created by contrasting Model C to state schools present a particular picture of state schools as run-down institutions with poor facilities. There are elements of derision, exaggeration and stereotyping in Miller's description. Model C schools are by contrasts presented as being the only institutions able to supply a good education - provided they are not subject to government interference. This may relate to the notion that whites and formerly white schools own the culture of learning in South Africa as opposed to Africans who are portrayed as operating in a state of cultural delinquency (Tikly, 1993).

The above extracts indicate that the maintenance of GEP is dependent on the ability of the teachers at state-aided schools to control the demands made on their finite educational resources. This points to two functions that the repertoire serves: to justify minimal state interference, and the limiting of the numbers of (non-paying, non-English-speaking) black students. Billig (1991) points out that arguments *for* something inevitably are arguments *against* something which may not always be immediately apparent. The repertoire of GEP contains elements which can be discursively mobilised in either direction: to argue for the maintenance of current practices and against the changes taking place. In extract 22, Miller is arguing *against* giving up this control, *against* the threat of bad quality education, *against* the 'other' taking over, *against* chaos "where you have no sport in the afternoons anymore and the requirements to pass are so

ridiculously low". It is also an argument against the state and its interference with good education:

Extract 23:

M: // Well, unless the authorities, Professor Bengu and company come to their senses and forget about the political statements that they are making and be real about the good that Model C, the purpose that Model C schools serve, the better for education in this country.

Every discourse produces things: identities, objects, versions of the world, facts. The repertoire of GEP also produces subject positions. One of these is 'the educator' who has the interests of education at heart. The educator speaks from a position of authority and knowledge. The advocacy of GEP allows Miller to appropriate an identity of the 'good practitioner', someone who is not defending his own interests but who is concerned about the interests of the children and the benefit they will derive from education. This is more clear in the following passage:

Extract 24:

M: It's no use that the department is just saying, No, stick them in this school. That's that's not going to work, that's not in the best interests of the children, I don't believe.

Here the argument is aimed against a policy of the Education Department which seeks to have children admitted to Model C schools where the student numbers are lower than in state schools. Notably, Miller does not specify who the children are whose interests need to be protected: the children in his school who will have to contend with greater numbers of students per class, or the children who are not able to attend school at all because the schools are full. "**The children**" is thus a universal term which is used in the repertoire as justification for constraining change. In a similar way, good education is a universal concept which applies to all children everywhere. GEP allows blanket statements to be made about the interests of the children regardless of social, political or cultural contexts.

At the same time the repertoire of GEP 'interpellates' me, as a participant in the interview, by addressing me, the researcher, as a (white) fellow human being who also has the best interests of the children at heart. The concept of interpellation originates from Althusser (1971) who proposes that ideology functions by 'recruiting' and transforming individuals who then become the subjects of a particular ideology. This is done by 'hailing' the individual ("Hey, you there") and the

individual recognises this address and is placed as a subject (Foster, 1991). In a similar way, discourse functions by interpellating people. In this case I, as the interviewer, am 'hailed' to be a sensible participant in this discourse: I cannot reasonably wish for a child's development to be stunted nor to substitute the range of educational activities with mere **"literacy education"**.

GEP is beyond challenge. As an argumentative strategy it is effective and powerful in that it leaves no readily available alternative positions open. Taking a stand against Miller's statement on the need to limit student numbers would imply that one is arguing against the interest of the children, against GEP and against Miller as the carrier of appropriate educational standards. GEP has the weight of experience behind it as it is presented as having been successfully practised in formerly white schools. Using GEP as a rhetorical tool is persuasive because it speaks the language of pragmatism: it is a practical concept in that it offers solutions such as restricting numbers of students and conserving the traditions and values of the school. The power of discursive constructions is demonstrable here: GEP has very real implications for the transformation process by constituting specific teaching, admission and financial practices in the school.

GEP has an intricate link to the repertoire of the "Free Market". Educational standards not only have to be presented as marketable goods (see chapter 7) but also need to be up-to-date in terms of new developments: **"We want to compete with the outside world and keep up with technology, surely"**. The need to keep up with technological developments is constructed as a necessary part of good education. Possible connections could be made with a liberal and modernist world-view which advocates optimism about change, progress and the advancement of 'civilisation' (Hall, 1986). On the one hand the repertoire thus serves a conserving/conservative function by arguing for things to remain as they are. On the other hand it operates as an argument for advancement. Again, this is an example of how repertoires contain variation which allows them to be mobilised as arguments in different ways, depending on the discursive need.

Imparting values and certain norms of interpersonal behaviour form part of GEP. I asked Miller how the school prepares it's students for a New South Africa:

Extract 25:

M: ... to make pupils aware constantly through good value teaching. It's important to stand when an adult comes into the classroom, it's important to say good morning, good afternoon, greeting, irrespective of whom [unclear] you are or what colour you are. Sound manners, ahm neatness on your person, the way you play outside, ah you know respect for others. That type of way, we've been able to ah to prepare our pupils for what is just should be a norm out there, respect for others and love for others.

There are multiple ways in which this extract can be analysed, for example to examine how schools function as a socialising and moralising enterprise through teaching norms and values (Rose, 1990). A 'wholesome' education incorporates the teaching of conventional values. They form part of the ethos of the school. The values that Miller describes could be seen as being primarily of an individualistic nature: "respect for others and love for others" translates into personal and interpersonal ways of behaving and being. Other values which could be important for a New South Africa such as teaching about democracy, non-racism, non-sexism or citizenship, are not mentioned in the interviews. Teaching values as part of GEP is also seen as important to the parent body as is illustrated in extract 26.

Extract 26:

K: Often parents send their children here because they value what was here and they don't want you to change dramatically. Ahm because the very qualities are the ones of discipline, this, that and the other that we've been imposing.

GEP draws on tradition as a justification for continuing sound value teaching. Noteworthy is the absence of any need to re-examine this aspect of education delivery: the values mentioned above are universal and unchangeable. Instead emphasis is placed entirely on 'conserving' them. As with the other two repertoires examined below, GEP uses the parents as an ultimate authority on what is required from the school.

Good Educational Practice and naturalness

The repertoire of GEP is not a unique feature of South African discourse. Studies conducted in Australia and Britain have examined how various discursive constructions are used to achieve similar effects (Kenway, 1990). What distinguishes the discursive use of this repertoire in South Africa, however, is its context. It is used in and against the background of dismantling apartheid education. I have demonstrated that its defining characteristic is its function as an exclusionary and

restraining force that serves to allow its users to ‘control’ the process of change. I would now like to examine how GEP works in conjunction with the rhetorical tool of *naturalness* to achieve a certain version of the process of transformation, thereby creating and limiting possibilities of change. The concepts of sameness and difference inform the context within which this is accomplished.

As noted in chapter 5, the teachers draw on a repertoire of racial harmony during the interviews. There are several suggestions in the interviews that the presence of black students and teachers has enriched the environment for all concerned. Let us examine how the construction of racial harmony and enrichment connect with the concept of naturalness.

Extract 27:

L: In fact I had an experience the other day, I had one of my good readers helping a little Xhosa girl who’s battling with her reading. And she went and sat next to the little Xhosa girl and she put her arm around her shoulder. There was this little blond-head sitting with the little black one, the arm around her, helping her with her reading and I thought that was so fantastic to see. There was nothing forced, there was nothing ahm nothing it wasn’t a put-on thing. It was totally natural. And it’s actually lovely to see how well they are integrating.

The image of the two children, one white and one black, sitting together with their arms around each other immersed in their task of reading, has great emotional appeal for many South Africans. It is reflected in countless advertisements in the media which make use of similar imagery of black and white unity as well as of children as symbols of racial innocence. In the example that Larson chooses in extract 27, it is the white child who helps the black child. No examples are given in the interviews of black students helping white students.

Note how a specific picture of how integration should be taking place is constructed. Part of the appeal of this situation, as Larson describes it, is that it is a *natural* thing: “There was nothing forced, there was nothing ahm nothing it wasn’t a put-on thing. It was totally natural”. Naturalness is used primarily in order to juxtapose or imply an opposite which is defined as unnatural. In the above extract, a racial interaction which is spontaneous and sincere is portrayed as opposed to one that is forced, contrived and insincere. The interaction between the children is

positive and unpremeditated and therefore without ulterior motive. The contrast created can be compared to Billig's (1988a) study of prejudice where participants create a contrast between a rational, reasonable justification for a position they hold, thereby implying an opposing position which is irrational and unreasonable. Larson's argument implies that little benefit would be gained from engaging in *unnatural* activity, i.e. forcing interaction between children or adults. This is most adequately established in the discussion about employing black staff at the predominantly white primary school.

In the following extract King and Larson offer a justification for not employing black teachers at the primary school other than to teach Xhosa. They also propose a natural - as opposed to an artificial - process of change which needs to take place at the school. The extract is lengthy but is replicated here in full so that the discursive strategies can be analysed in detail.

I asked about staff changes, mentioning specifically the employment of black teachers in the future. King and Larson argue that employing black teachers at the moment would be an artificial event:

Extract 28:

K: We've made a start by having a Xhosa-speaking teacher teaching Xhosa ahm. But I think if our numbers of non-white and black children increased we would have an ideal opportunity to include non-white and black teachers. I think it would be slightly artificial if we were to employ a black teacher to tea.. to teach in an English/Afrikaans school ahm just for the sake of having a black teacher.

I: You feel that would be tokenism

K: Tokenism, totally. But if we were to inst.. start a Sub A Xhosa class it would be the ideal opportunity to introduce a Xhosa teacher. Then those children would go on to Sub B, we could have a second teacher and then when we came to Standard 3,4, 5 and the children were doing it in English we could then have an English-speaking Xhosa, an English-speaking Afrikaans person, that could be fine. Ahm and in that way could a natural progression.

L: Yes, I don't think it should be a colour-thing at all.

K: It would be artificial if we now were to advertise for a black person just for the colour of it.

I: How do you think the parents would feel about that? Do you expect any //

K: // Ah I don't think you'd have an outcry if it were a natural development. But if you'd put someone in the class who wasn't able or qualified, obviously we // would then have that kind of response.

L: // But I mean it's not only a colour thing: if you put an Afrikaans-speaking person into a English class // you [unclear]

K: // You'd have an outcry, definitely. And their way of responding would be to take children away from the school. And that's another thing, it's accountability. We have to keep our parents happy now.

- I: So you feel that it would primarily be like a language thing?
- K: Oh yes, I think it would be a language (L: Yes, definitely) thing, definitely more than colour. It would be language and ability.
- L: I think in our primary and junior primary, I think when it comes to high school it probably will be different when you work you know when it's math and science (K: A subject) where you get a subject. You get someone who's really ahm a very good math teacher, it would be totally immaterial (K: It wouldn't matter who they were), you know ... Just for us because whatever we teach is very language-orientated. And of course we you know it's a lot of language development in junior primary. By the time the child gets to high school that's already been established.

The central argument in the extract above revolves around when, how and why black teachers should be employed or not employed at the school. Both teachers argue that at present it would not make sense to employ black teachers. Their argument contains three aspects. Firstly, the teachers refer to 'colour' issues: **"But I think if our numbers of non-white and black children increased we would have an ideal opportunity to include non-white and black teachers"**. This could be seen as an argument for 'each teach their own': while there are predominantly white children at the school there is no need to employ black teachers. On the contrary, it would be artificial. Black teachers can be employed when there are enough black children for them to teach: **"But if we were to inst.. start a Sub A Xhosa class it would be the ideal opportunity to introduce a Xhosa teacher"**. Realising the potential for appearing racist with this assertion, Larson states that it **"should not be a colour-thing at all"**. That it is a "colour-thing" is clear from King's response to my question about how parents would react to having a black teacher teach their children. She makes an immediate association between a black teacher and a lack of ability and qualification: **"But if you put someone in the class who wasn't able or qualified..."**. Surely the employment of any unqualified teacher by the school would result in protest on behalf of the parent body, regardless of her/his skin-colour. King, however, makes this statement specifically in regard to black teachers, the automatic link being that a black teacher is not necessarily qualified or able, something that would be inappropriate and intolerable in a school of GEP. The connection between black teachers and the inability to perform are confirmed by Larson when she says: **"But I mean it's not *only* a colour-thing"**, and by King when she says: **"definitely *more than colour*"** [italics mine]. By disclaiming the racial reasons for excluding black teachers, Larson states that while racial reasons are not the only reasons for not employing black teachers this is part of the reasoning.

The above statements are contradictory to the concept of colour-blindness. Earlier in the interview, teachers claimed not to see colour and thereby constructed a picture of their school where race does not play a role. It seems, however, that the employment of black teachers is framed primarily as an issue of skin-colour and skin-colour is linked to competence: black teachers should teach black children, and, possibly more importantly, white teachers should be employed as educators of white and black children.

The second aspect of the discussion is the use of the teachers' language as a justification for employment policy. The use of linguistic categories to refer to people is indicative of this. King initially contrasts a **"black teacher"** to **"an English/Afrikaans school"**, using racial and linguistic categories. She gets into a more complicated entanglement later on in the conversation where she refers to **"an English-speaking Xhosa"** person and **"an English-speaking Afrikaans person"**. The terms 'Xhosa' and 'Afrikaans' are used here as substitutes for racial categories of black, African and 'coloured' people. The possibility that there may be an English-speaking black person available to fill a post does not seem to be an option in the discursive realm created here through the use of linguistic identities. The argument becomes framed in terms of language issues: in primary school one needs a home-language speaker in order to achieve GEP. By constructing the criteria which a good primary school teacher needs, as being in full command of the English language, the teachers try to move away from possibly racial interpretations of their argument. Apart from the exclusionary nature of this criterion, it also takes on 'fact' and 'reality' status: it is absolutely necessary to employ a mother-tongue speaker to teach a specific language. This is stated as indisputable and unrelated to discrimination. The **"very language-orientated"** nature of primary school teaching necessitates this. Larson achieves further distancing from the issue of employing black teachers by drawing on concepts which are defined as specific to primary school teaching. The repertoire of GEP is once again drawn upon to justify particular practices at the school, in this case exclusionary employment practices.

Further, the non-employment of black teachers is justified in terms of keeping the parents happy. King and Larson imply that they would be acting irresponsibly if they employed someone “just for the colour of it”. The result of such an act would be that the parents would be dissatisfied. The responsibility for this issue is thus located at the doorstep of the parents. In the last instance, King and Larson can abdicate from decision-making and justification to a certain degree by referring back to those with whom the power lies, the parents. The construction of parents as decision-makers is closely related to their subject positioning as ‘customers’ in the “Free Market” repertoire which will be explored in the following chapter. There is also an appeal to commonsensical notions of ‘the concerned parent’ here where, as Kenway (1990) notes,

it is accepted as common-sense that most parents believe that they have rights as parents, endorse a concept of choice, and wish for good quality teaching and high educational standards for their children (p. 201).

This is presented as a normal state of affairs and draws on a discourse of democracy to which rights, justice and choice are central. The discursive work done here is to achieve closure around the meanings of these terms. In GEP the terms of democracy (rights, justice, choice) are fixed entities that ‘belong’ to the predominantly white parent body of the school.

Extract 28 is permeated with references to naturalness and artificiality. There is, for example, constant reference to natural development and progression: K: “Ahm and in that way could be a *natural* progression” and “Ah I don’t think you’d have any outcry if it were a *natural* development” [italics mine]. The concept of naturalness is used mainly as a mechanism of managing the timing of the integration process. GEP therefore does not function exclusively to oppose change, it may also operate as a means of control. King expresses this when she discusses the future changes which could take place at the school:

Extract 29:

K: I think also what will come in is different music, choir, religions, all that will come in naturally. And I don’t think it will be a huge threat. I think it will be a natural development, oh well this is what the school needs now because we’ve got different people in the school.

A last comment on GEP and the educational practices it justifies needs to be made here. As part of the endeavour to ‘maintain standards’, the school has developed a system of providing additional

help in the form of 'extra classes' for those students who are not meeting the requirements to pass. The discursive construction of these additional classes is discussed more fully later on. Carrim (1993), in a paper on the use of Academic Development Programmes at formerly white universities, engages critically with this concept. He argues, firstly, that black students are subjected to symbolic violence when they attend an institution which inferiorises them on the grounds that they are not sufficiently skilled to meet 'standards'. According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1977, in Carrim, 1993, p. 19), "all pedagogic activity is, objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power". What is defined as GEP is always dependent on the existing 'arbitrary' (as in: not inherently meaningful) systems of knowledge construction.

Secondly, Carrim asserts that there is no questioning of the existing cultural capital basis of these knowledge systems. The canonical assumptions that constitute what are and are not acceptable forms of knowledge have not changed. There is a need to challenge the cultural capital of institutions in order to end the symbolic violence which is being exercised. GEP and the patrolling of its 'borders' through the concept of standards thus have to be understood as allowing or disallowing access to this cultural capital. When black students do gain access to institutions they are assisted in making the cultural capital their own - the foundations of the capital, however, remain as they are.

Conclusion

The repertoire of "Good Educational Practice" draws on and creates concepts of standards, progress and natural change. It is a rhetorical tool which can be used to justify the exclusion of black students and teachers, as well as their limited access to the schools. GEP functions with minimal reference to issues of race and racism: there is no overt racism or discrimination in evidence. Instead, reasonable and rational arguments concerning educational standards 'disguise' racist assumptions regarding the consequences of having (more) black students and teachers at the schools. GEP's effectiveness lies in its ability to frame the discussion about transformation in

terms of pedagogics rather than in terms of politics. It establishes a norm and a concept of natural change that achieves discursive closure on issues of educational transition.

The success of GEP as a plausible explanation of educational change, depends on its connection with the other repertoires of colour-blindness and rainbow-talk. The latter provide the necessary positive self/school-presentation which 'proves' that teachers are in favour of change and hold non-racial views. Their reservations about changes are thus to be read not as prejudice or discrimination but merely as educational concerns. In more traditional attitude research it is unlikely that the some of the problematic consequences of these constructions would be revealed. One of the advantages of a discourse analytic approach is thus evident here: by focusing on discourse and its construction, function and variation, as opposed to trying to define and measure prejudice, it is possible to point to the flexible way in which relations of domination are justified through talk.

Chapter 7

Managerialism: the Free Market and the School-as-Business repertoires

As has been noted in the introductory chapters, an increasing commercialisation of education has been observed by policy analysts in various parts of the world (e.g. Ball, 1993), including South Africa (Kallaway, 1989). In my analysis of the interviews, it became clear that educational change is often talked about in economic and market terms which seems to correlate with the above observations. In this chapter I propose that there are two interpretative repertoires on which teachers draw in constructing specific versions of changes taking place, namely the repertoire of the “Free Market” and that of the “School as Business”. Both of these form part of what Ball (1994) has termed a new ‘moral technology’ in education: “Managerialism”. “Managerialism” functions in the following way:

Management is a theoretical and practical technology of rationality geared to efficiency, practicality and control ... it embodies a clear empiricist-rationalist epistemology. Organisational control and individual action are subsumed within a technical perspective, a view that contends that social life can be mastered scientifically and can be understood and organised according to law-like generalisations. The selection of appropriate courses of action rests upon and is limited to the expertise of those, the managers, who possess appropriate scientific knowledge and training. It is thus a closed system which separates policy from execution, and reserves policy making to those designated and trained in its techniques. Furthermore, it presents itself as an objective, technically neutral mechanism, dedicated only to greater efficiency: the one best method (Ball, 1990, p. 157).

I will investigate how new capacities are constructed through the exercise of managerial power in schools. Power as a positive and productive force rather than as a negative, restraining one can be seen in operation in the way teachers construct their initiatives towards control over school governance and financial administration.

Financial principles and the market: The Free Market repertoire

In South Africa, the trend towards the commercialisation of education is apparent through the increasing 'corporatisation' of knowledge through business funding of research, the semi-privatisation of research organisations such as the HSRC and growing links between the education and the private sector (Tikly, 1993). Studies evaluating the effectiveness of teaching have become more in demand in countries like the United Kingdom and Australia. While these have not received as much emphasis in South Africa, Tikly (1993) asserts that the principles on which they are based are in evidence in policy papers such as the ERS (1992) and the ANC's *Policy framework* (1994). This may indicate a shift towards cost-effective education in South Africa.¹²

Ball (1994) asserts that schools are increasingly subject to the rules of the market where they have to produce knowledge in order to sell it. Education is reconstructed as a consumer good where children and their 'performances' are traded and exchanged as commodities. A process of 'marketisation' occurs where market models are extended to new spheres, in this case education (Ball, 1994). Through this process, educational institutions become concerned with the 'bottom line'. One of the effects, as Giroux (1993) suggests, is that ethics are subordinated to issues of management and efficiency. Another is that the locus of control is shifting from the producer (the teacher) to the consumer (the parent) where consumers determine the direction and content of the schooling. In Australia, for example, schools compete among each other for the high achieving and wealthy students (Ball, 1993). Ball suggests that this is a direct consequence of the marketisation of education.

In my interviews, the teachers frequently referred to the management of finances and resources, fundraising, public relations and the changing roles this work brings with it for them. Increasingly, it appears that the operation of (former) state-aided schools in South Africa is being governed by free market principles. The term 'free market' is controversial in that it implies freedom which is not necessarily present (Shand, 1990). For the purpose of this discussion, however, I use Shand's

¹² The current trend to emphasise outcomes-based-education (OBE) may also fall into this framework and may be worth investigating in this light.

definition of the capitalistic free market which refers to a society in which there is private ownership of property, freedom to carry money, and the right to accumulate capital (1990, p. 53).

A fundamental assumption is that parents have the right to 'buy' education with their money.

Consider this extract:

Extract 30:

- L:** I I personally think that in time we're going to get more private schools and I also feel that we can't ahm we've got to continue with this kind of school that we've got now which they term Model C school. But we we've got to have schools where the people who can afford it can have ah the quality that they enjoy at the moment, that they can continue to have that. They've got the money to pay for it and I don't think they want to see that all just disintegrate. They want to see a library, well stocked with books for their children to read, they want to see equipment in the schools that really they are paying for. And I think that is what's happened in Model C schools. Now if they do away with that and they just say right there is no such thing as a Model C school and everybody must be accommodated everywhere then I think the people who have actually got the money will move their children into private schools.

The free market economy is based on the principle that consumers and producers have specific rights to buy and sell. As consumers, parents have the right to make demands and determine the nature of the product they want. The 'product' is quality education, equipment, good grades and a particular school ethos, in other words "Good Educational Practice". The producer, on the other hand, should be allowed to sell any product at any price that s/he wants to, subject to market forces.

Depending on how much money the customer has, s/he can buy different quality products, for example Model C type schooling or the more expensive private schooling. But the 'choice' must be available: where there is a demand there must be a supply. Logically it does not 'make sense' for the government to eliminate a cheaper product from the market and thereby upset the market equilibrium. An argument for a minimalist model of government is thus made here. In addition, in extract 30 Larson emphasises the right to ownership where parents pay for the equipment at the school and therefore 'own' it in the sense of being able to enjoy its benefits and use. Free market theorists such as Shotter (1985) suggest that the Lockean idea that people have an inviolable right to keep what they have earned is part of the individualistic philosophy underlying the free

market.¹³ Justice and fairness, as understood within a liberal capitalistic framework, are also appealed to here.

The assumption that the whole country stands to benefit from allowing the Model C system to continue, is best illustrated in extract 23 (discussed in chapter 6) where Miller says:

M: // Well, unless the authorities, Professor Bengu and company come to their senses and forget about the political statements that they are making and be real about the good that Model C, the purpose that Model C schools serve, the better for education in this country.

In this extract there is a shift from focusing on individual rights (parents should have the right to choose Model C schooling) to focusing on the social good (South Africa gains from Model C schooling). This conception of the social good is, however, contingent on an understanding of individual advancement through education and does not necessarily encompass equity in resources or access to schools for the majority of the population.

The capitalistic market relies on the exchange of goods for money. 'Giving away' goods for free disrupts the functioning of the market. The reverse side of this position is that the quality of the goods will be adversely affected if they are free. In the next extract, Miller advocates 'paying for what you get'. The comparison between his state-aided school and state schools demonstrates this principle. I refer back to extract 22 (discussed in chapter 6):

Extract 22:

M: It would be ridiculous of the government to to do away with ahm Model C schools where ah if if they're gonna have state schools then we're going to run a scenario that's that's just going to run the education system down. Where they get everything free, free books, you know, free this, free that ... So you're only going to have literacy education. That's all, literacy education.

According to the scenario presented by Miller, making education free is a recipe for disaster and inadequate provision. There is an explicit association between 'free' and 'poor quality'. Education for which one does not pay loses its (exchange) value.

¹³ When Model C schools came into existence ownership of the school grounds, building and assets were legally transferred to the governing body. This decision has been reversed by the SASB (1996) where immovable assets revert back to the state.

Extending Miller's analogy further, a comparison can be drawn between a free education system and the nationalisation of a resource. Turning state-aided schools into government-run schools could be compared with removing the product, education, from the market and nationalising it. This may be seen as removing an incentive from the 'producers' to perform well in their jobs and may lead to inefficiency, ineffectiveness, a lowering of 'standards' and a decrease in commitment from the 'producers'¹⁴.

Extract 31:

M: You can go and have a look at schools, state schools, not state-aided, state schools where school fees are not compulsory. They've got no facilities. They don't offer a extra-mural programme, they don't have computers in their school (I: Mm). They don't have ahm an efficiently run organisation as we do. My teachers here leave at half past four in the afternoon. My secretaries work until that time as well. I leave here late in the afternoon. You go to these state schools you won't find a teacher after 2:30. They're not there. They don't offer what we offer.

The comparison of his efficient institution of educational excellence with that of mere 'literacy education' falls into a "Good Educational Practice" repertoire (see chapter 6). It also resonates with a Free-Market repertoire which constructs state-owned systems as lacking the motivation for making a 'profit', in this case achieving a high quality in educational delivery and 'producing' good grades.

A further effect achieved in the extract above is that it manages to present the teachers of the state schools as somehow responsible for the situation at the school: "you won't find a teacher after 2:30. They're not there". The difference between the two types of schools, as portrayed by Miller, may be found in the 'fact' that one operates on financial incentive and the other does not. Within the repertoire of the "Free Market" other historical and political reasons for entrenched discrepancies in educational resources and structures are recast as a matter of work ethic.

The idea of 'earning' something through work is reiterated by Miller more directly at various points in the interview. Only when one has worked for what one gets will one have the 'appropriate', appreciative attitude towards it and towards oneself. In relation to education

¹⁴ Model C schools were paying their teachers higher salaries than state schools. This is still presently the case. Teacher's salaries are under negotiation with the Department of Education and the Department of Labour at the moment.

delivery this means that parents need to pay for the services they receive at state-aided schools. It also means that poor people need to work in order to improve their situations. This is illustrated where Miller talks about the need for a school in Chris Hani Settlement. He suggests that the community should build its own school.

Extract 32:

M: I wish the community of Snoekfontein would rally to our call and say: please guys, let's not provide a school for them but let's provide the material for them. Let them, there's 60% unemployment, ah you know let's let's use those people who are sitting around on the hill [unclear]. Have you been to the Settlement? (I: No) How many people are just sitting around their little fires, got nothing to do. Waiting for work to come their way. They're waiting to hear from the forest forestry department: We'll notify them if there's a job. Yah, I don't believe I said earlier, my firm belief is don't give hand-outs. Make the people work for it. Nothing you don't shouldn't get anything for nothing. Even if you pay pittance for it.

Miller expresses the ABC of capitalism in this extract: There ain't no such thing as a free lunch (and the corollary: And even if there were, it wouldn't be good for you to eat it). At another point in the interview Miller states: "That you can expect in today's modern techno technological world to get something for nothing as important as education. Totally impossible". With this principle Miller justifies the continuation of an order which systematically preserves privileges for those who can pay the bill on the one hand, and excludes those who cannot pay for their lunches on the other hand. This order creates a cycle which reproduces a class-based education system where highly skilled and educated people will be found among the wealthy strata of society and less well educated people among the poorer ones (Ball, 1993).¹⁵ Since in South African society apartheid strategies have resulted in immense discrepancies in wealth between black and white people in general, Miller's 'reality' cannot be divorced from issues of racial domination and exclusion. A characteristic of the "Free Market" repertoire is, however, that it operates without reference to race, culture or language as it refers to neutral economic forces.

Miller's comment about people sitting around their "little fires" constructs a contrast between those people who do something about their situation and those who do not. The 'other', the people in the Settlement, are portrayed as passive and dependent: "waiting for work to come

¹⁵ Theories about the connection between the state and the economic system are complex and diverse. See Carnoy and Samoff (1990), Salter and Tapper (1981) and Torres (1995) for overviews of approaches to this issue.

their way". The speaker and the people he includes in his 'we', as not-other, are the opposite of this: strong, competent and able. 'We' work until late in the afternoon.

The dependency of poor people on the middle-class should not be encouraged because 'it is bad for them'. In Miller's presentation the people in the Settlement are "expecting something for nothing" and he reiterates his belief in not giving hand-outs. Hall (1986) suggests that 'welfare' in the sense of state socialist intervention or redistributing resources is opposed in a liberal market philosophy: it is seen as drying up sources of energy, undermining the independence of the individual and the will to work. At the same time, however, liberals advocate 'capitalism with a human face': some form of assistance and benevolence has to be extended to the poor. In the extract above, for example, Miller advocates that materials should be provided for the community in the Settlement so that they can build their own school.

Let us examine the notion of 'capitalism with a human face' more closely. Miller, for example, 'contradicts' his stated "firm belief" in not giving hand-outs a few minutes after he has declared it:

Extract 33:

M: We've started cricket coaching for the talented pupils in the underdeveloped areas, Chris Hani and the 'coloured' community in the Port. We've sent over carpets, clothing and we've got this type of scheme going as well whereby we had a collection, we took a whole combi load of clothing through to the local school in the Chris Hani ... Dropped that off. Not that we want to be praised for anything but of course we believe that that is the right thing to do. We're extending a hand of assistance where we can ah because they don't have and we have.

This discursive construction of the relationship between the school and the black community of Snoekfontein is at odds with the "no-free-lunch" sentiments expressed earlier. In the above extract Miller lists the charitable contributions they as a school have made, thereby illustrating their philanthropic orientation.

The question poses itself when and why this notion of charity and good-will is drawn upon as opposed to the more business-orientated "Free Market" repertoire? Firstly, 'image work' (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) is being done by Miller in the above extract. He has repeatedly stated in his

interview that people should not receive anything for free. This could result in him being perceived as unsympathetic and insensitive to the poor, those “who don’t have”, however, and this needs to be rectified. The business person is thus replaced here by the committed citizen who is informed about and concerned with the general situation in the community and actively involved in alleviating it. Miller’s disclaimer “not that we want to be praised” indicates his awareness that this list of charitable actions may be understood as being part of positive self-presentation. According to him, however, the actions should be seen as mere pragmatics where the school does what it has to do. The notion of charity compliments the “Free Market” repertoire in that it creates the ‘humanist’ balance to the reality of the business world.

Secondly, philanthropic concepts are drawn upon when the teachers are faced with the dilemma such as the following. Miller is talking about the wishes of the school governing body to have a swimming-pool built and that financial planning needs to take place around this.

Extract 34:

M: And people might turn around and say: well, fine, ah your school is looking at a luxury like that but yet on your doorstep you’ve got a a Chris Hani Settlement where there is no school for for the community.

The dilemma is that the privileged amenities of Snoekfontein Primary cannot be justified in the face of the lack of the most basic educational resources in the Settlement. Miller, therefore, lists the number of charitable activities undertaken by his school in extract 33. The variation occurs in the way in which ‘free’ goods are constructed: in the repertoire of the “Free Market” giving something away for free is seen as irresponsible whereas here it is presented as being socially responsible. The difference, it could be argued, is that giving charity does not threaten the privilege that the system of Model C schooling has created.

King and Larson, talking about the growing need in their school to fund-raise and attract the ‘right’ parents, those with money, express the contradictions in terms of striking a balance between having poor and rich children at their school:

Extract 35:

L: But I think you must have a balance, We’ve got to have a balance. And I think that is ah as long as you don’t have an imbalance.

K: I think it's part of the new South Africa. We realise that this, not just the new South Africa, but this area is so unique and if we can make it work here by taking in the have-nots and the haves and helping each other, that's the way the future lies.

In this quote, the South African reality is defined as being about haves and have-nots and about creating a balance between these two groups. As long as market and financial principles underlie the operations of this balance it is unlikely, however, that the asymmetrical relations of power will be significantly swayed in favour of the poor. The repertoire of the "Free Market" dominates and incorporates the notions of charity and philanthropy as the latter have no critical edge which questions the construction of concepts such as inequality, redistribution of resources and social justice.

The free market repertoire functions by monopolising the definition of what the market is and how it operates: the market is presented as competitive, logical, impartial and unrelenting in that there are no other alternatives. Ball (1993) reminds us, however, that markets are neither neutral nor natural phenomena: they are socially and politically constructed. The particular version of market theory which has been analysed above, avoids issues of power or political structure in explaining economic principles, thereby establishing a 'regime of truth' which attempts to silence other ways in which educational alternatives can be understood. The history of the struggle for a free and unitary education system in South Africa, for example, has no voice with which to speak.

"Managerialism" in education does not only rely on the 'hard facts' of the economic system, however. It also justifies practices at the schools in terms of running a business.

The School as Business repertoire

In the interviews the running of schools is presented as being a managerial/bureaucratic concern. I will examine how the "School as Business" repertoire is created through the use of the concept of managerialism and what effects this has on practices at the schools. I draw mainly on Ball (1993, 1994) in my analysis.

Good management relies on the efficient and pragmatic running of a business. In a similar way, the school is presented as needing to be as competent as possible in its organisation and education delivery. As Ball (1994) points out, efficiency itself is taken as self-evidently a good thing. Efficiency and good management are treated as if they were neutral and technical matters rather than as being tied to particular interests.

Consider this extract:

Extract 36:

M: We are as a governing body as a Model C school we have we have parents paying school fees, we are able to we are in a fortunate situation where we can ah use the expertise of our parents to save us an incredible amount of money in tackling tasks like this: expertise of engineers, of quantity surveyors, ah you name it. It's out there among our parent body. We are doing just that at the moment, closing off little nooks and crannies that are wasted space (I: Mm), turning them into little remedial classes, ahm turning them we we've started now a pupil support system to to assist the teachers with their larger classes.

The staff and parent body of the school are situated within a language of pragmatism. They are actively engaged with the task at hand: they "use expertise", "save money"; "tackle tasks", "start classes". These are positive, adaptive and commonsensical ways of responding to a situation of change. These initiatives are aimed at ensuring not only the competent running of the school but also indicate the ability to be self-reliant. The governing body utilises the resources available to them in all possible ways. They draw on the financial assets of the parent body; make use of the parents' skills and access their willingness to be involved in the pupil support system. The enterprising nature of managerialism assumes that all resources that are available to the school need to be used. As a circular from the British Ministry of Education puts it:

Effective schemes of local management will enable governing bodies and headteachers to plan their use of resources - including their most valuable resource, their staff - to maximum effect in accordance with their own need and priorities, and to make schools more responsive to their clients - parents, pupils, the local community and employers (cited in Ball, 1994, p. 53).

Efficient management is a rhetorical strategy which allows the teachers to portray themselves as being able to manage change:

Extract 37:

K: We're waiting to see what changes. But I think our attitude has been, don't pay too much attention to rumours, ahm get on with the job now and as changes come in we will accommodate them. I don't think we have a great fear that everything is going to

change, and it's going to be something we can't cope with. Our attitude in this particular school has been ah we are really still in charge of what we te.. of how we run our school and teach. And it doesn't really matter how much comes from the outside, you implement it still the way you see fit for your school. Ahm I don't think everybody's terrified of what's going to come.

Change is portrayed here as a potentially threatening phenomenon. This is indicated in King's use of the phrases: "I don't think we have a great fear" and "I don't think everybody's terrified". The denial serves as a disclaiming mechanism and shows that the initial perception of change is negative. This is contained, however, through the assertion that "we are really still in charge". The message to teachers and parents is that 'there is no need to panic'. As a staff the teachers need to inspire confidence in their customers, the parent body, in order to keep them investing their time and money in the school. The way they do this is by taking a practical and rational approach to change: they are not swayed by hear-say nor by emotions and instead assert their 'right' to run their school the way they want to. Autonomy and self-determination are stressed as positive and adaptive values that will enhance good service delivery. The "School as Business" repertoire relies on presenting a 'clean', sanitised version of weathering crises that assail any enterprise.

Like any other discourse, "Managerialism" creates subject positions. One of these is that of the dynamic manager. Miller, the principal, assumes this role. Very early on in the interview he positions himself as a 'New South African' principal:

Extract 38:

M: Yes, there's been tremendous change. Firstly, we had a principal change, change of principal (I: Mm). Ahm my predecessor was here for 17, 18 years. Obviously over that time he's built up his own style and was very much part of the so-called old South African system and I found as a young principal, being in the job now for nine months, that changes have been absolutely incredible in education. It's all sort of seemed to have happened all in the nine months that I've been here (laugh).

Miller creates a comparison between himself and the previous principal who was part of the "so-called old South African system". From the outset, Miller positions himself as politically correct, liberal and on the cutting edge of new developments in the education field. This serves two functions: self-presentation on the one hand and ideological presentation on the other (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Miller also asserts that the school needs to have a competent leader at the helm of the organisation who can take command and steer it through this time of change. In other

words, the school needs a young, dynamic manager. Miller presents himself as such: he is innovative, committed, energetic and knowledgeable. The role of dynamic manager requires a person of action who can introduce necessary and unavoidable changes into the school, and simultaneously not lose control of the process.

One of the characteristics of a competent manager is resourcefulness and the ability to develop enterprising characteristics. Keats and Abercrombie (1991) investigate the current political rhetoric of enterprise culture in Europe and argue that a specific set of 'enterprising' qualities has come to be regarded as intrinsically desirable. These qualities are

... a rather loosely related set of characteristics such as initiative, energy, independence, boldness, self-reliance, willingness to take risks and to accept responsibility for one's actions and so on (Keats & Abercrombie, 1991: 3).

A similar discursive 'profile' of the school manager is created in extracts such as the following:

Extract 39:

M: At times I I just want to run and go and have a swim in that lovely ocean over there (laugh) and just keep swimming because it just seems to get the water seems to get hotter and deeper all the time. But it's amazing, man was made to cope, man. You think you're not going to make it and yet you look again and you've made a plan.

'Managerialism' incorporates diverse aspects. Ball (1994) identifies three varieties of management discourse employed in schools presently in the United Kingdom. Firstly, there is the discourse of professional management. It starts from a concern with managing change, specifically through the production of school development plans which aim to improve the quality of teaching and learning through "the successful management of innovation and change" (Hargreaves & Hopkins, 1991, cited in Ball, 1994, p. 67). This discourse provides a vocabulary which links management directly to classroom practice and is process-orientated, rational and technical. It divorces management practices from values and politics: it is 'clean' management as it treats the school in isolation and as context-free.

While Ball conducted his analysis of managerialism in Australian, British and American schools this type of managerialism is evident in my interviews, albeit with an emphasis on maintaining control over changes that the new National Education Department is implementing. Administering

resources, promoting staff training, producing high quality output in terms of results ("Good Educational Practice"), stressing efficiency and hard work all contribute to the construction of professionalism in the running of the school.

There are echoes of the technicist discourse of the 1980's in "Managerialism". Buckland (1983, 1984), in an analysis of the De Lange Report (1981), describes technicism as the technological mode of rationality which is applied to education in order to silence other contending ways of conceptualising schooling. Stanley defines technicism as

essentially ... a state of mind that rests on an act of conceptual misuse, reflected in myriad linguistic ways, of scientific and technological modes of reasoning. This misuse results in the illegitimate extension of scientific and technological reasoning to the point of imperial dominance over all other interpretations of human existence (1978, in Buckland, 1983, p. 2).

The technological mode of rationality is applied to social and educational issues to the exclusion of all other modes of knowing and thereby acts as a set of lenses which focus only on some issues and filter out all others. In terms of the De Lange Report, the language of science conveys the idea that the report is value-free and apolitical - it is assumed that the educational problems are primarily technical ones that can be solved by technical solutions. Buckland (1983) argues that the conception of educational change within this discourse of technicism cannot be anything more than reformist: the status quo is not questioned and therefore not challenged. Instead of focusing on fundamental questions such as "How does it work ?" and "Who benefits?" the technicist discourse circumvents these by asking "How can we make it work better ?" In the De Lange Report questions of efficiency and control become of utmost importance.

Buckland (1983) suggests that, like other dominant discourses, technological rationality forms part of the prevailing hegemony. It seems as if the language of technology and the ways of thinking that are associated with it deny the vocabulary and conceptual tools to critique this hegemony. "Managerialism" operates in a similar manner to technicism by producing a reality where a well managed school can only ever be presented as a positive achievement while dissimulating the exclusion of the 'other' (non-paying, non-English-speaking) students and the preservation of privileges and resources.

The second type of managerialism is financial management. Ball (1994) names its characteristics as a concern with balancing books, maximising the budget and with doing educationally what can be afforded. It corresponds to a corporate or 'big business' perspective which is based on the speed of decision-making, cost improvement, coordination and accountability. Here, the 'bottom line' rules, or to use Miller's terms, the "pie charts" rule:

Extract 40:

M: What we do there is a means test ah we interview the children all the pupils and all parents who come into the school (I: Mm). No matter what race, colour or creed. We discuss openly, the budget is open. How, there are my pie charts. I can show the parents: that is the income, these are our school fees, are you able to afford the school fees? Yes or no.

The pie charts indicate income and expenditure, central aspects of the financial operation of the school. By stressing the openness of budget and procedure. Miller implies that there is an objective reality 'out there' which is not influenced or manipulated by him: the pie charts are fact, tangible and demonstrable objects with an independent existence. Miller has the responsibility of making the books balance. By implication, he cannot accept all students into his school regardless of whether they can pay because this is not one of the possibilities created by the actuality of the pie charts.

Miller stresses the openness of the budget to indicate that there is no secret agenda. Logic and reason dictate that, when all facts are visible, everyone will reach the same conclusion: no money, no high quality education. The means test implies neutrality as the principal highlights the fact that all potential 'clients' undergo it, regardless of their 'colour'. Pie charts do not discriminate. They ask only one question: "Are you able to afford the school fees?"

An issue of concern for both principals of the schools is how to negotiate the terrain of students who cannot afford to pay the fees. Miller explains the dilemma:

Extract 41:

M: Well, this exactly the predicament that I find myself in as principal. I may not turn away a pupil due to financial constraints yet I have to maintain my grounds and buildings and my school. I employ three teachers over and above ah what departmental allow me to, paid out of school ah parents funds. And that includes a

mother-tongue speaker Xhosa. If it wasn't for us paying her there wouldn't be Xhosa in the school (I: Mm). So it's a catch-22 situation.

Miller does not continue to discuss how he deals with his predicament. An indication of how he resolves the problem is given in the extract 40 where he explains the procedure he follows: he shows prospective parents the pie charts, explains why he needs school fees to be paid, and asks them whether or not they are able to do so. The options for parents are thus limited: "Yes or no". Miller is silent on the other factors of the situation, as outlined in the White Paper 1 on Education (1995): that parents have the right to have their children admitted to his school. Again, the silences of the repertoire of managerialism are significant. Instead, a "catch-22 situation" is outlined: Miller has to accept non-paying students into his school. At the same time, however, the 'good' that his school is doing, such as employing a black Xhosa teacher, is constructed as being dependent on generating school fees. According to this scenario, if Miller is prevented from generating fees he will not be able to continue with this good educational delivery. And this, as has been outlined earlier, would be to the detriment of education in general.

The third type of management discourse is entrepreneurial management. It's central features are a small business perspective based on market criteria, pricing and competition (Ball, 1994). Income generation is important. This type of management is self-evident in schools who see their primary task as providing a service for local industry and commerce by educating 'useable' workers. Ball (1994) quotes Stanley Goodchild, the principal of a school in the United Kingdom, who states that he sees "the school very much as business - where the business is educating young people" (p. 68). In a similar way it can be argued that the schools in my interviews are also in the business of "educating young people", albeit less to 'produce' workers but rather to generate marketable graduates who can take their place in appropriate secondary schooling. The school as business needs to engage in income-generating activities such as fund-raising:

Extract 42:

M: Well, well (.) because people have realised that ah you know if they want to reduce their school fees they've got to fundraise. And now they're undertaking all kinds of exciting ventures to raise funds. So that you know to keep expenses down. Sponsorship is another (.) So yah no, we are challenged. The school has become more like a business nowadays, you've got to run it like a business.

The application of 'business' discourse to education "does profound ideological work in relation to the conception and conduct of schooling" (Ball, 1994, p. 71). It allows no conceptualisation of education as divorced from market forces.

In order to effectively apply entrepreneurial management to the school, a culture of entrepreneurship must be cultivated among staff, parents, the governing body and the community.

Keats and Abercrombie describe this process in the following way:

The task of constructing an 'enterprising' culture is (at least) twofold... First, a wide range of institutions and activities must be remodeled along the lines of the commercial enterprise, including its orientation to the demands of the consumer. Second, the acquisition and exercise of enterprising qualities must be encouraged, so that the increasingly commercialised world will itself take on an appropriately 'enterprising' form (1991, p. 5).

At Snoekfontein Primary the 'enterprising culture' is presented as something that not only the principal subscribes to but the governing body and staff as well. King and Larson discuss the implications of entrepreneurship for their work:

Extract 43:

- K:** It's more work for us because we are required to now give a presentation to business because we want funding. We are we are required to contact people, to look for sponsorship, things like that. Ahm we all think in a much more business like way. We can't write to the department and say we need things, if we want things we need to come up with a way of funding. Each head of there are various heads of different areas in the school and they each have a budget. They have to control the spending on the budget which we never had to do before. Ah you have to okay if someone wants to buy something, you have to find the cheapest prices, you have to try and get it for nothing first, those sort of things // so yes it is changing.
- L:** // I think we're also under pressure to promote our school. To attract the children ah or attract (K: Finance, it's money) finance, that's right. (K: We want people to) There's money. We've got to have the people that are going to bring money into the school.
- K:** In the community we want to play a far more visible role because we want people to advertise through our school. And therefore we want them to take note. That has changed.

Image and public relations work is presented as central to the entrepreneurial undertaking. Staff need to learn what makes the business work: "we've got to have the people that are going to bring money into the school". The portrayal of changes which have occurred in the formerly white school are exemplified by King when she contrasts previously writing to the Department with now having to control budgets, find sponsorship, locate cheapest prices, do business

presentations and public relations work. Security, stability and thus survival of the school are presented as being culturally and organisationally founded upon and orientated to issues related to income generation (Ball, 1994).

A central aspect of all three discourses of management is the focus on the parents, the customers of the school. The schools project themselves as service providers to clients. Because they now have to pay for educational service, parents at state-aided schools are seen as having the right to influence processes at the school. As King put it:

Extract 44:

K: I think that's the basic change is that the parents are now ... a greater say in what they want for their children. And if they want the say, they have to pay.

Ball (1994) sees the function of management at the school as mediating between production technology and the customer. The manager needs to balance external quality control and internal cost control. 'External quality control' can be equated with what is generally referred to as 'standards' and "'Good Educational Practice'" at the school. Clients are concerned about the quality of product they are receiving. The quality may not be compromised through inadequate financial management.

One way of ensuring customer satisfaction is by letting the client pay directly for services. Miller gives an example of what he calls private enterprise at the school: a teacher will come in during school hours to do remedial, extension or enrichment lessons with the children. This teacher is not employed by the school but is paid directly by the parents to whom

Extract 45:

M: She sends out little accounts at the end of the month to charge (...) you owe me x amount of money. Like like a doctor would do.

The teacher thus sells her product to the parents directly with whom she has a private arrangement. The school serves merely as a site for this business transaction. The advantages of this arrangement are that it is more convenient for parents to have these lessons located at the school (improved customer service) and that external quality control in the form of enrichment classes can be provided. Parents of children who are at the top of the class in terms of marks can 'buy' more education for their children:

Extract 46:

M: You know we tend to in the past we've had to ah we we aimed our teaching at just the average guy. We plodded along. That poor guy that was the little boffin in the class he got so bored in school. Couldn't extend him. Now we're looking at extending that pupil as well. So that's another area. And it's only the start. I'm not saying that's the answer but you see what this this whole change has brought about. It's changed our way of thinking (I: Mm) about education.

In this instance, Miller presents change in a positive way in that educational service provision has become more able to meet the diverse needs of the customers. It has resulted in innovative ways of conceiving of the business of educating.

The self-management of schools can be seen as the panopticon of modern educational organisation: "a generalizable model of functioning; a way of defining power relations in terms of the everyday life of men" (Foucault, 1979, cited in Ball, 1993, p. 65). Management is both a professional and a professionalising discourse which produces the subjects and objects about which it speaks: the teachers as managers and organisers, the parents as customers. A moral technology is productive rather than merely coercive. Power is increased for individuals while they are made more docile at the same time:

Management is both a body of precepts, assumptions and theory, to be learned by managers, and a set of practices to be implemented, encompassing both managers and managed.... This is a microphysics of oppression, not that is, the long and coercive arm of the state at work but a bottom-up capillary process of local and unstable relations (Ball, 1993, p. 67).

Ball suggests that the discourse of management plays an essential role in achieving more state control over schools in countries such as Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States. The discourse in these countries is government-advocated and operates as a 'no hands' form of control as far as the relationship between education and the state is concerned. Instead there is 'steering at a distance' as an alternative to prescriptive control: "constraints are replaced by incentives. Prescription is replaced by *ex post* accountability based upon quality or outcome assessments. Coercion is replaced by self-steering - the appearance of autonomy" (Ball, 1993, p. 54). In South Africa the repertoire of managerialism functions primarily to justify privilege in terms of providing a certain type of education for people who can pay high school fees. It is also a 'no hands' form of control in that it denies agency to individuals, communities or groups of people - instead it is the market who 'steers' and determines the direction of education developments.

The repertoire is used to argue *against* state intervention and for autonomy from the new Education Department.

Finally, management is an imperialistic discourse. It seeks to impose order on a world beset with irrational chaos:

It constructs its superiority via a set of potent discursive oppositions; order is set over and against chaos, rationality against irrationality, sanity against madness, neutrality against political bias, efficiency against inefficiency, and meritocracy against personal influence (Ball, 1993, p. 157).

For teachers from Model C schools the discursive oppositions are to be found in state schools. The rhetorical strategy of 'othering' is employed in order to create the necessary contrast between their schools of order, progress and good educational delivery, and schools of 'free education' where disorder reigns. This provides a justification for maintaining things as they are (discussed in chapter 6). Miller describes state schools in the following way:

Extract 47:

M: They've got no facilities. They don't offer an extra-mural programme, they don't have computers in their school. They don't have an efficiently run organisation as we do.

Order is imposed through the financial and managerial resources available to Model C schools. Model C schools are thereby portrayed as achieving a higher level of structural development. The repertoire of "Good Educational Practice" works in conjunction with managerialism: the former is achieved and maintained through the latter.

Conclusion

The repertoire of managerialism makes use of the concepts of efficiency, rationality and business principles in order to present a particular picture of what education transformation is or should be about. It serves ideological purposes by justifying the continued existence of semi-privatised schools while removing this issue from the realm of politics. As Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982) put it:

Political technologies advance by taking what is essentially a political problem, removing it from the realm of political discourse, and recasting it in the neutral language of science. Once this is accomplished the problems have become technical ones of specialists (p. 196).

The implications of this are that certain practices such as determining the admission criteria for students, policies of fee payment and issues of school governance become matters divorced from their educational and social context. Like the repertoire of GEP, “Managerialism” functions almost entirely without the concept of race, thereby ‘forestalling’ accusations of racism and discrimination. As Wetherell and Potter (1992) point out, it is important to engage with the discursive strategies which result in justifying relations of domination despite their neutrality, in order to construct effective counter-positions.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

In the above analyses I have attempted to show how aspects of educational change are constructed discursively by teachers in two Model C schools and have highlighted some of the possible effects these constructions could have on practices at the schools. The implications of these analytic results are explored below. First, however, I will (re)situate this study in its original context, psychology, by paying attention to some of the contributions that a discourse analytic approach has made to examining issues of change, racism and domination.

As has been noted in chapter 3 of this study, discourse analysis provides a critical account of the function of the field of psychology itself in that it facilitates a historical account of how knowledge has come to be constituted in this discipline (Burman & Parker, 1993; Parker, 1992). By seeing language not merely as representational and reflective but as constitutive of reality, discourse analysis challenges the fixed and unitary meanings which psychological accounts have tried to attribute to notions such as the individual subject. Discourse analysis also emphasises reflexivity which requires a transformation of how methodology is understood within the discipline of psychology (Burman & Parker, 1993). While most of psychology operates within a modernist framework, discourse analysis, as an element of the postmodern paradigm, claims that the researcher and her/his orientation, values and theoretical approaches cannot be separated from the 'object of study'.

As stated in chapter 2, some 'traditional' approaches in psychology have focused on concepts such as attitudes and prejudice. Often, the attitude is considered to be separate from the 'object of thought' where people give their views *about* something. Discourse analysis claims, however, that this separation becomes impossible to sustain in light of the varying ways in which the object of thought is formulated and constructed in discourse (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). This has been shown in my study where teachers do not merely express an opinion about educational change but are defining and constructing what this change is about during the interviews. Chapter 6 and 7 illustrate, for example, how the notions of standards, values, naturalness, the 'other' and efficiency become entwined with how the teachers present issues of change. Discourse analysis thus allows for an investigation of how diverse versions of an object are manufactured through talk, i.e. it examines the rhetorical construction of phenomena. The constructed version of an object is already an evaluation. What is explored through discourse analysis, and in this study, is how these evaluative expressions are produced and what consequences their use may have: value-imbued concepts such as standards and efficiency convey a particular version of what good education is about which in turn justifies how the possibilities of transformation are defined.

My analysis indicates that teachers do not construct unitary representations or consistent stereotypes about categories such as 'black students'. Instead, teachers engage in a varied process of identifying difference, emphasising similarity, and 'othering' black students, depending on the rhetorical context of the conversation. Factors such as language (do the black students speak English) and finances (can their parents afford to pay the school fees) contribute to how the 'object' is constituted and created in and through talk. Discourse analysis criticises 'traditional' psychological constructs such as prejudice and stereotyping for relying on the idea that speakers use a distorted picture of an "unproblematic objectively identifiable category of people" (Potter & Wetherell, 1987: 53). Instead, the variation which is in evidence in talk becomes the focus of attention.

If the teachers in my study were to be evaluated against a set definition of what racism is, they could be described as being tolerant, unprejudiced and in favour of educational change. Beliefs of

innate superiority and inferiority, anti-black affect or ideas of hierarchies of civilisation, for example, are not present in their conversations. The accounts that the teachers use in explaining school practices are much less objectionable than such overtly racist notions, but nevertheless result in a justification of uneven power relations in regard to education and its possibilities of transformation. Without an analysis of the rhetorical constructions, power and the shifting ideological focus, it is difficult to pinpoint the potentially racist consequences of 'neutral' repertoires such as "Managerialism". From a discursive perspective, the content of racism does not necessarily have to be specified in order for it to be examined. Wetherell and Potter (1992) suggest that defining what racism or racist discourse is, could be a waste of effort because of the pace at which racism changes. A specification of racism would need constant revising. Instead, some discourse analysts shift the focus to investigating discourse that results in sustaining and justifying relations of domination. This is related to the functions served by rhetorical strategies.

In this study, insight has been gained into the more subtle ways in which domination may possibly express itself at former Model C schools. One of these ways explored in this study is the process of othering. It is important to identify the forms that legitimation takes and to chart the fragmented and dilemmatic nature of everyday discourse so that points of fracture and contradiction, and the scope for change and the redirection of argument, can be recognised (Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

I will now make a few comments about the results of my study before I conclude with a detailed reflexive account of some the factors which are part of the study but have not previously been mentioned. Certain possibilities and limitations of change are constructed in the interviews. A reality is created in which the school needs to be concerned with the 'hard facts' of economic survival, meeting the demands of parents and the moral obligation to provide GEP. The way in which issues of race, culture and language are presented lend support to the arguments and justifications of the repertoires of GEP and "Managerialism".

It is not possible to separate discursive constructions from material conditions. The relations between discourse, social structures, practices and processes are complex (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Consider this example of the 'reality' of education provision in Snoekfontein: Snoekfontein Primary School is planning to build a swimming-pool for its students while the majority of children in the Chris Hani Settlement, less than 2 kilometres away, have not got access to places in schools (see chapter 4). The decision to build a swimming-pool in the former Model C school could be explained and justified through an appeal to parental authority, increased efficiency and standards, and the right to employ finances in whatever way deemed suitable by the governing body. The discrepancy in educational resources demonstrates the materiality of power relations in South African schools. As has been indicated in the analysis chapters, social, financial and admission practices at the schools are similarly (re)constructed through discourse.

The results of this study need to be situated within current national and international trends within education. The increasing commercialisation of education provision seems set to continue in South Africa with the new legislation passed in the SASA (1996). If this is so it is necessary to analyse the possible positive and negative effects of this trend for different interest groups and for the broader aims of transformation of the education system. It could be argued that current legislation has not significantly altered the educational and economic power base in this country: privileged education is still being preserved for the wealthy few who can afford to pay school fees. Similarly, the international trend towards parental choice needs to be examined critically in the South African context. Insight could be gained into the progressive as well as the conservative potential of this pattern. Discourse analysis facilitates research into how these trends manifest both in policy decisions, as well as in arguments used on a 'local' school level.

Discourse analysis facilitates the theorising of the connection between the different levels of the transformation process in education, for example how legislation passed by the Education Department is 'filtered down', interpreted and reconstituted rhetorically by teachers. This may be a worthwhile endeavour in terms of understanding how 'grey' areas such as financial exclusions are negotiated by principals or how recent language policy is construed and applied in schools.

The analytic results of this study indicate that this is a far from straight-forward process: consider, for example, how the 'reality of the pie charts', the specific construction of non-racialism and the notion of language as cultural heritage influence the practices at the schools in this study.

Analysing the way in which teachers and other role players talk about change gives indications of possible areas of conflict or resistance to policy decisions. Resistance and 'protective moves' on behalf of teachers are, for example, evident in the way they talk about issues of free schooling and standards. Discourse analysis has the potential for supporting the process of transformation in former Model C schools constructively, by highlighting these areas and exploring different ways in which they can be understood.

There are limitations to using discourse analysis as an approach to studying educational change. One of the limitations is that this research does not allow for generalisations. It is at times difficult to make connections between a specific text and the wider context which may result in an inability to generalise results and thus be a "failure to theorise universal processes" (Gill, 1993, p. 123). While I can indicate certain possible trends that are reflected in the talk of teachers at the two schools and in recent policy documents, I cannot make claims that the repertoires I have analysed here are used in other former state-aided schools in South Africa, nor can I make claims to the dominance of these repertoires. This may limit the critical effects that the results of this study have in terms of commenting on general processes.

The above point is related to difficulties associated with communicating the results of discourse analytic research to people unfamiliar with the approach. Discourse analysis does not lend itself well to concise summaries which convey the 'essence' of the rhetorical arguments presented. It is necessary to demonstrate how certain repertoires function in texts and contexts. Findings can be abstract and long-winded and this may make the outcomes of analysis less accessible to people.

I will now make some observations regarding other factors of this research which have played a role in constituting this study. As has been noted above, reflexivity is an important part of

discourse analysis as it allows the researcher to situate her/himself within the study and examine how her/his values and characteristics form part of the research process.

Reflexivity

In reflecting on this study, I would like to draw attention to four areas/aspects of the research: myself as the researcher; Snoekfontein and its specific history; the interaction between the participants and myself; and the design of this study. While there are many more issues on which I could focus I have chosen these four as the most significant influences on this investigation.

Me

Like any other researcher I had an agenda when I embarked on this study. As mentioned in the introduction, my aim was to probe and challenge the discursive presentations of change in Model C schools in order to gain insight into the practical effects of some of these constructions. From the outset I was aware of the potential for letting this agenda influence my analysis of the text, and attempted to contain this by letting other people read my analysis and engaging them in discussion about the text. On a practical level reflecting on my 'agenda' has meant questioning myself constantly: what are my values and how do they constitute the analysis? What take-for-granted discourses do I as a white, middle-class, South African, female, student of psychology bring to the interview process? What discourse, categories, realities do I create through the interview? How is this reflected in my vocabulary and terminology? How did 'my' characteristics become part of the interviewing process, especially as I was an outsider to Snoekfontein? How did I present myself to the participants in order to gain access and appear trustworthy? Before attempting to address some of these issues I will turn briefly to the specific context of Snoekfontein which affected the interaction between me and the participants.

Snoekfontein

When I chose Snoekfontein as an area in which to conduct my study I was unaware of the specific dynamics that existed in that town, nor did I anticipate that my research would be affected by

relations between the different 'sectors' there. Recent events in the town did, however, play themselves out in the research process. These were the following: Snoekfontein had seen the establishment of an informal settlement in its area during the past 6 years. This had not only caused a certain amount of conflict between the incoming and the established residents, but also brought media attention to the town. For the five schools in the area this had meant that two newspaper reports had focused on the lack of educational provision for the mostly African children from the settlement. Complaints from African parents were reported in the media about the primary school nearest to the settlement which used only Afrikaans-medium instruction and where facilities were underresourced.

When I arrived at this primary school, referred to here as Yellowwood Primary, for the interview the entire staff had been called together by the then acting principal. I explained the purpose of my research, the use of the tape recorder, what would happen with the recorded material and gained permission to record the interview. However, after I asked the first question and an answer was given by one of the teachers the acting principal asked me to switch the tape recorder off:

I: Ahm how teachers feel about change, what kind of changes have taken place at your school? Any positive changes, anything that you're finding more difficult?

T: More difficult, yah. Because you see our school had a very big change. Especially where language is concerned. Now for me it's a very big change because now I have to do with Xhosa children and I cannot speak the language (I: okay). So that is the one thing that is very very difficult for me to adapt to //

P: // I prefer that you put this off please. Because the first statement that already binds us. So if you don't mind.

I: Okay, sure.

(tape switched off).

In the final analysis, I only used the interviews from the state-aided schools and so did not take the above interaction into consideration. This incident did, however, make me acutely aware of my position as an outsider who could potentially harm the school in some way with the knowledge gained from the interviews. Yellowwood Primary fell into the category of church school at the time of the interview and none of its staff members had permanent employment contracts. The salaries paid by the Education Department were directly related to the numbers of children attending the school. From a prior unrecorded interview with P, the acting principal at the school,

I learnt that the establishment of a school in the Chris Hani Settlement would probably result in the closure of Yellowwood Primary as the school would then not have sufficient numbers to justify its continued existence. P told me that they as a school were thus opposing the initiative to establish a school in the settlement. I was also told by the principal at the Port High School that the predominantly white Model C schools were supporting the establishment of a school in Chris Hani Settlement because then they would not need to take in so many of the African children.

These statements could not be used as part of my analysis but made me pay attention to the issue of language in the Snoekfontein schools, as the lack of Xhosa-medium provision seemed to be a point of conflict. I also realised the need to familiarise myself with the history of the communities in which I was conducting the research. The advantage to being an outsider to Snoekfontein, however, was that I may have been perceived by the participants as someone with no stakeholder involvement or prior knowledge of the issues. The openness with which some of the interviewees discussed matters relating to school relations in the area may be due to this.

Interaction with the participants

The above incident where I was asked to switch off the tape-recorder is an example of one of my participants taking control of the interviewing process. The issue of power is important as I realised that the participants had very different perceptions about what it was they were doing during the interviews. The following comments are my own personal observations which I recorded directly after the interviews and are therefore not part of the analysis. It was my impression, for example, that while the acting principal at Yellowwood Primary may have perceived me as a potential threat to the school, the rest of the teaching staff used the interview as a means of venting their frustrations. I base this on the fact that this interview lasted for almost two hours in which teachers participated in an animated manner. Two comments were made by teachers at the end of the interview who said that it was good to talk about all the problems they are having and that I should come back so that they can get it all of their chests again some time. I had a similar experience with the principal at the Port High School who already told me over the phone that she had plenty of things to say about changes taking place in her school and a lot to

complain about. At the Village Pre-Primary School I had the impression that teachers saw the interview as 'helping' me to do a project: they mentioned that they had done this before for two students who came to interview them on environmental issues in pre-primary schools. The staff was very obliging about providing me with this help.

I also found that I presented myself to the participants differently. I stressed the fact that I myself am a teacher much more when talking to the teachers and presented my interest as stemming from that of a colleague whereas I emphasised the research aspect of my work more with the principals. This was not a conscious decision I had made but only became aware of when I analysed my own talk. Clearly, I was positioning myself in certain ways by doing this. For discourse analysis this is not necessarily a 'problem', as I did not anticipate or strive for consistency in how I present myself or 'create' the interviewing situation. Instead, the variation in my own talk showed how the interviewer becomes part of the texts created.

On analysis I also felt that the 'presence' of the tape-recorder influenced the interviewing process in other ways than the one described above. Let me describe another occasion in which the use of the tape recorder was directly addressed in the interview.

Miller had told me about a parent information evening that the school was planning to hold and I had asked if I could attend that meeting:

M: You're welcome to attend that meeting. But I wouldn't like you tape it though.

I: Okay.

M: I wouldn't like you to tape it (I: Mm). Because ah yah I would I would be very strict about that because ah very personal things are often asked by parents ahm at a meeting like that. And you know just to save embarrassment to anybody else, whether it be for the parent or for the school or whatever the case might be ... You're welcome to take notes, you're welcome to take notes, you know, jot things down but nothing must go to the press.

Again this incident demonstrated the wariness which principals showed towards media involvement in Snoekfontein, the potential of 'abuse' of the information I was gathering as well as the 'delicacy' of school governance issues in the school. It also made me aware of the impact the presence of the tape recorder had on Miller, for example, and I reflected on how the interviews would have been different if I had not recorded them. In the interview with Village Pre-Primary

School the teachers expressed some nervousness about being taped, and joked that I should have just hidden the tape-recorder and switched it on without them knowing about it so that they would have been less conscious of it. In a sense there were three participants in the interviewing process: the teacher(s), the interviewer and the tape-recorder.

It is difficult to speculate on how 'my characteristics' affected the interviewing process. To the black participants I may have been perceived as a 'double' outsider whereas white participants may have assumed a shared background and understanding of the issues facing them. The assumption of a shared understanding may have been thrown in doubt at various points of the interviews, notably at the 'crisis' points which occurred in two of the interviews. The first was with Miller when I asked him about the possibility of free schooling in the future. He became visibly irate and raised his voice, expressing his opinion that this was not an option. The second crisis point occurred in the interview with Village Pre-Primary School where the teachers had been discussing that it is unsafe for their children to go into the black areas. I asked if the other parents also felt that way and the responses from two teachers seemed to indicate that they were indignant that I could question this. While it is not possible to determine how this influenced the process, it is important to keep in mind that these factors combine to make each interview a (unique) discursive event.

The study

Finally, some comments will be made about the study itself. The process of determining the initial aims, collecting the data, analysing it, reformulating the aims and re-analysing the data several times was a time-consuming and, what felt at times to be, a confusing process. I felt the familiar hesitation of the discourse analyst who is not sure whether repertoires are present in the text as discrete phenomena or whether they emerge from my reading of the text. Having decided that the latter is the case, how can I be sure that I have 'identified' a repertoire? I experienced the feeling of "But everybody knows this" and "This is all common sense" while doing the initial analysis. I contemplated doing more interviews while already having more 'text' than I could hope to do analytic justice to. I felt overwhelmed by the seemingly endless possibilities of analytic approaches

to the text. While my reading cannot be privileged over another there is a danger of 'falling' into a liberal pluralist position when theory is disconnected from any political position (Parker & Burman, 1993). In order to avoid that, I make it clear that I am presenting a particular reading of the text which has the particular critical motives outlined above.

Further research

In order to attempt some kind of connection between the micro- and macro-levels at which educational changes are implemented, further research could take into account policy documents and other written submissions to the Department of Education. A discursive analysis of these documents may lead to the theorising of how the possibilities and limitations of change are constructed by different stakeholders both at the decision-making as well as implementation level. Interviews with prominent policy-makers may be of discursive interest here.

Research needs to pay attention to theorising the fluctuations and changes in discursive relations as discourses should not be viewed as fixed, timeless and universal. Terminology, meanings and rhetorical strategies shift and change and a critical analysis needs to take account of this. A further focus of study could thus be to investigate how different socio-political elements are incorporated at various times into the commonsensical construction and situated use of rhetorical arguments. In the field of educational change, this is of particular interest as debates between various stakeholders in education are set to continue.

Application

The idea with which this study was designed was that the results of this research would be made public and especially made available to teachers and teachers unions. It is hoped that this will contribute a critical voice to the process of examining educational change in practice. In particular, the aim is to open up further possibilities of disrupting the hegemonic status of certain repertoires and thereby contribute to the problematisation of dominant accounts of how change is conceived of and implemented in schools. Overall, the study is intended to play a part in resisting the

continuation of inequity in different schools and the discursive justifications thereof while at the same time heeding Foucault's (1980) warning not to merely substitute one regime of truth with another.

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Appendix 1

Transcription conventions

The transcription conventions follow those of Wetherell and Potter (1992) which are loosely based on the set of conventions developed by Jefferson (1985).

The following examples illustrate the main conventions used:

Starts of overlap in talk are indicated by a double oblique (/). Pauses were not timed, but marked with a dot in parentheses - (.). Omitted material is marked by three dots.

For example:

I: It also raised issues about what principal role is and // and how their role is changing

M: // Yah, absolutely, totally, totally (.) I miss my teaching although I've become involved in teaching ... And I do sport coaching two afternoons a week. But you wouldn't find that in a state school because they lock up and go home

Speech errors and particles such as "ah, mm, ooh" are indicated. Commas, full stops and question marks have been added to improve the readability of the extracts. Comments or acknowledgement tokens (e.g. yes, mm) from the interviewer and other participants are placed in round brackets with an indication of who is making them. Short comments and/or interruptions made by other participants while somebody else continues to speak are also placed in round brackets with an indication of who makes them. Explanations and clarifications which I have added are placed in square brackets []. Where material could not be understood on the tape this is indicated through the word 'unclear' placed in brackets (unclear). When quoting from the interviews the speakers are referred to by the initial letter of their name, for example U for Uys and I for the interviewer.

For example:

[Discussing that they do not allow their own children to visit friends in the Port area]

W: And we wouldn't call that bias or prejudice (U: It's just not safe), you know. The point is that as parents and as teachers we simply have to (F: Be responsible) be physically protective of the kids (I: Mm).

Appendix 2

The interviews

Interview 1:

Miller, the principal of Snoekfontein Primary School

- I: Okay, first question. Ahm (.) has there been change in your school over the last or in this school over the last four or five years?
- M: Yes, there's been a tremendous change. Firstly we had a principal change, change of principal (I: Mm). Ahm, my predecessor was here for 17, 18 years. Obviously over that in that time he's built up his own style and was very much part of the so called old South African system. And I found as a young principal, being in the job now for 9 months, that changes have been absolutely incredible in education. It's all sort of seemed to have happened all in the 9 months that I've been here (laugh). Ahm, yes, so there's been tremendous change in the school.
- I: Can you give some examples of positive change and maybe not so positive change
- M: Ahm, well first of all, ahm, let's talk about the academic side of the school. Ahm (.) the syllabus has changed tremendously as we all know. There is now a national core syllabus and ah the national core syllabus is making all kinds of ah interesting, I call them interesting, changes (I: Mm) for the teacher. And that really challenges the teacher now to ah become innovative and creative. Ahm and teachers don't take too kindly to change (.) They feel very cosy, teachers in general feel very cosy and like to feel very safe within their classrooms and like to have them ah have a a system whereby they do things and feel comfortable and safe in. Ahm and now suddenly they are being extended, they're being pushed to get to change a mind have a complete mind-set as far as this ah the academics is concerned (I: Mm). So we've introduced a thematic approach, the integrated thematic approach in the senior primary classes and basically all that means, we've moved away from subject teaching in primary school and only only our Standard 5s have subject teachers. We've gone back to the style of the junior primary whom we can learn a great deal from. The way they manage their classes, group work (I: mm), the emphasis on group work, the emphasis now being not on rote learning and feeding the empty vessel but now actually the teacher becoming the facilitator, the pupils buying into the system by participation, ah actively being ah ah part of a group and and contributing and the teacher taking very much more ah a backseat. Ahm so ahm the pupils are challenged to think laterally now in the new system far more than before (I: Mm) [unclear].
- I: Ahm do the teachers feel a need for retraining or additional training or do you feel there is a need?
- M: I think what needs to happen is that the teachers have been given 1995 as a time of ah adjusting to the change (I: Mm) and they we're doing just that. We are setting time because time is the most critical aspect of this whole change. Everything is just dumped on us, that's how we feel as teachers, we ah you know all the change is just dumped on us and we've got to deal with it (I: Mm). Now we can either deal with it in a positive way or in a negative way. We can throw our hands up and say sorry we're getting out of this or we can accept it as a challenge and try and move along with which the times (mm) ahm. Sorry just get back to your question again? I (.) I [unclear]

- I: Ahm we're talking about the changes and you mentioned curriculum (M: Yah) as an example. Ahm in terms of curriculum what other further changes need to be made according to you?
- M: Yes, ahm we're actually now looking at changing our school because we are faced with larger classes (I: Mm), more pupils to enrol in the school. There's a tremendous amount of wasted space in this particular school. We are as a governing body as a Model C school we have we have parents paying school fees, we are able to we are in a fortunate situation where we can ah use the expertise of our parents to save us an incredible amount of money in tackling tasks like this expertise of engineers, of quantity surveyors, ah you name it. It's out there among our parent body. We are doing just that at the moment we are closing off little nooks and crannies that are wasted space (I: Mm), turning them into little remedial classes, ahm turning them we we've started now a pupil support system to to assist the teachers with their larger classes, the more pupils in their in their class (I: Mm). More pupils mean more problems. That seems to be an equation almost at this school at this point in time because nowadays you don't say no to the pupils coming into your school. So you're taking pupils from all sectors of the community and you are landing yourself with pupils that should would normally not have been in a school like this.
- I: And the admission criteria, are there any admission // criteria?
- M: // Yes there are admission criteria. The normal Model C admission criteria apply.
- I: Ahm what are those?
- M: Well, I can basically only ah turn pupils away ah on on two criteria that is age, the pupil is too old for the standard, (I: Mm) and that is academically not suited to the school, in the sense that he's special class material and I don't have in this school a special class facility (I: Right). So he would not benefit by being in a school like this. He would have to attend a school where they have a special class. For instance Sentinel Primary School, my neighbouring school across the way, they have a special class. If the pupil comes here and he's special class material that means an IQ below an 80 ah he would never function in this, it would be cruel to put a child in this school. He should rather go to that school.
- I: Financially, what about children who come where the parent say they cannot afford the school fees? Do you accept these children?
- M: Yes, I can't turn away a child due to financial constraints ah by the parents. What we do there is a means test ah we interview the children all the pupils and all parents who come into the school (I: Mm). No matter what race, colour or creed. We discuss openly the budget is open. How, there are my pie charts. I can show the parents: that is the income, these are our school fees, are you able to afford the school fees? Yes or no. If the income is below a certain amount and this is determined by the province. It's not determined by us, that's government policy. If the income is below a certain amount then they may apply for state subsidy (I: Okay). Ahm we loose out because the state subsidy and our school fees is a big discrepancy (I: Okay) so we loose a lot of money [unclear]
- I: So the individual parent would get state subsidy or does the school get subsidy?
- M: No no no, the the parent gets subsidised. The parent might not pay anything for that matter (I: Mm), depends on their income and the state subsidy would be paid to the school, yes. (.) Doesn't get paid to the parent it gets paid to the school.
- I: Ahm and at the present moment is this is this becoming a problem // in any way
- M: // Well yes, (.) ah our if you look at the pie chart if you look at the pie chart over here, ah loss of income this here (I: Yah). That this was 1993s pie chart but this sector has become much much bigger than it was. Because more parents are coming in that are not in a position to pay

our high school fees. We have high school fees for primary school. But it's an all inclusive deal. Ahm that means that where other schools would charge lower school fees but would levy the parents for every class excursion, ah visit, ah guest speakers to the school, ah CAPAB visiting the school, each pupil bring in R 2 to ah pay for the the activity. We don't do that (I: Mm). The school pays upfront because the parents have paid upfront. All inclusive.

I: What about ah a kind of future scenario of ahm saying that everybody must be accepted regardless of whether they can so nobody has to pay school fees. How // would that

M: // Totally impossible in a situation like this. How people can think that way is beyond me. That you can expect in todays modern technolo technological world to get something for nothing as important as education. Totally impossible.

I: So it would be something that for this school you cannot you cannot [unclear] //

M: // I cannot foresee a school run without school fees. Totally impossible. If you look at our facilities (I: Mm). The biggest expenditure of this school is the maintenance of grounds and buildings. The pie chart shows it to you. We employ over and above the number of staff that department allocate to us we employ extra staff to be able to cope with the workload out there. You can go and have a look at schools, state schools, not state-aided, state schools where school fees are not compulsory. They've got no facilities. They don't offer a extra-mural programme, they don't have computers in their school (I: Mm). They don't have ahm an efficiently run organisation as we do. My teachers here leave at half past four in the afternoon. My secretaries work until that time as well. I leave here late in the afternoon. You go to these state schools you won't find a teacher after 2:30. They're not there. They don't have extra-murals, they don't offer what we offer. So what I'm saying in a school like this that offers what we offer and other Model C schools impossible to run a school without school fees. The people that have thought of this is ah that's to my way of thinking a political statement that they make.

I: But how how does that work now with the admission criteria because you said you you don't turn away pupils that are unable to afford //

M: // Well, this is exactly the predicament that I find myself in as principal. I may not turn away a pupil due to financial constraints yet I have to maintain my grounds and buildings and my school. I employ three teachers over and above ah what departmental allow me to, paid out of school ah parents' funds. And that includes a mother-tongue speaker Xhosa. If it wasn't for us paying her there wouldn't be Xhosa in the school (I: Mm). So it's a catch-22 situation.

I: How do you envisage this in the future? Will you be able to //

M: // Well unless the authorities, Professor Bengu and company come to their senses and forget about the political statements that they are making and be real about the good that Model the purpose that Model C schools serve the better for education in this country (I: Mm).

I: And in terms of the Western the changes in the Western Cape education ahm department, has that impacted on the school in any way?

M: Ahm, (.) changes there I would say is mainly ah head office is changed, of course your your ah your staffing, people that you dealt with in the past in the old system are no longer there. They've been replaced. The systems are slowly but surely starting to change. The structures, the administrative structures are starting to change, ah syllabi as I say have changed, ahm yah no so Western Cape changes have certainly affected us. No doubt about that.

I: And the ratio proposed ahm

M: At the moment we're looking at 35:1, 35:1.

I: That's what you have presently?

- M: No, we don't. We don't. But ah we're aiming to, we will have that by by next year, we should have that (I: Mm). And there are reasons why we haven't had that. We got a very small percentage of Afrikaans pupils in the school only 6% of our school is Afrikaans. And there the parents the Afrikaans parents had to make a choice. They either keep their children at this school or send them to an Afrikaans school. Out of the Village. A lot of them have opted to do so, others have opted to keep them here. So we have only 18 pupils in the class. But they are Sub A, Sub B and Std 1, all pooled together in one class with one teacher (I: Okay). But once they get to Std 2 they get assimilated into the English class. But //
- I: // Is this for Afrikaans speaking // students
- M: // Afrikaans speaking pupils. Then they become assimilated, they go into we are a two-streamed school. So we've got an English ah two classes per standard, receiving English tuition. The Afrikaans pupils in Std 2 to 5, our Afrikaans speaking pupils will go into let's say the B class of Std 2, 2B. They will receive tuition in Afrikaans, they hear tuition spoken in English and Afrikaans. They will receive their notes in Afrikaans and their textbooks will be Afrikaans. Xhosa speakers ahm are assimilated into the English stream because that's their choice. They want to be assimilated. We do not offer Xhosa, first language, we offer Xhosa, as I say, second stroke third language along with Afrikaans.
- I: From Std 2 onwards?
- M: From Sub A up.
- I: From Sub A up.
- M: Yes that's a change, that's another change. We've introduced Xhosa as a as a language to our Sub As as well. It's actually starting at pre-primary school which is our feeder school just across the way here, Village Pre-Primary. They've actually started that (I: Mm). And we've got a mothersp a mother-tongue teacher. We are we've embarked on a very exciting programme of twin ah twinning ah or team-teaching as it is also called whereby we've got this mother-tongue speaker who's never taught before. She's a a diploma holder and she's come fresh into the school, never had doesn't have any experience as a teacher and we have a Xhosa teacher who is very experienced, started Xhosa at the school nine, ten years ago, wants now to phase out. But before we phased her out we brought in the mother-tongue speaker so that they team-taught together and and the apprentice is learning from the master if I may call it that. And by the end of the year the master will move out and this girl will be allowed or will be able to stand on her own feet and run the Xhosa department on her own (I: Mm). She's well liked by the by the pupils and the staff, lovely person. Has not only brought the language into the school but the culture into the school. She's got her own classroom that she can ahm decorate according to the culture with you know setting up the ah the clothing that they're dealing with at this point in time, ahm she can actually create a very very nice atmosphere in her class.
- I: Have you what do you mean ahm about the changes in culture?
- M: Well it's just the mere fact that ahm she's ah a black person with different values, and different ah ah way of of living and ah has brought that into the school and has has made us aware that it's not always seen from a white perspective, there's a black perspective as well. And that has been most exciting and most interesting. Simple scenario, disciplining children (I: Mm). She's found ah that in their culture they would still smack children and and a child doesn't backchat, a child doesn't you don't ask a child for his point of view. You tell the child and the child shuts up and he listens. Now here she's had to change her style and realise but children are going to ask her "But why mam. Why are you saying that?". She's found that very difficult to understand (I: Mm). She's found it difficult not to smack a child when the child appears to be cheeky according to her way of of upbringing. It's, it's
- I: And how has how has the staff changed, at all or has it changed?

- M: No, we don't have a a great turn-over of staff. We're a very happy little school, staff are very content (.) We've just done a climate survey ah of the staff and that is what has been borne out by the results there. Ah the fact that not many of them leave the school, they've been here for a number of years. Ahm so there haven't been much or there haven't been many changes as far as the staff is concerned. The only changes staff-wise is teaching styles have had to change (I: Okay). People that have that have perhaps had ten years ah repetition and one year's experience that that has had to change.
- I: And how have the teachers generally felt about about that?
- M: Ahm, initially I think ah they were rather lethargic. But you know we all (.) change is never easy, for anybody. Ahm it's never easy in the beginning and you don't you don't feel like doing it. You get up in the morning and perhaps you you don't have that little spring in your walk as you used to but as you get used to the system and the change and you see that the fruits of what you're doing and that it's put put into the bigger picture ah and you start seeing what you are actually achieving (I: Mm). I think they've adapted quite well to the change.
- I: Ahm and then in terms of integration, has when did the school ahm start being open?
- M: Well, when we became Model C schools in 92, that's (I: 92?). Yah, (.) so yah then the schools doors were open to all cultures and such, when Model Cs came about.
- I: Has that brought about any changes?
- M: No, we've not been we've not been ah inundated with ah with applications from from that sector of the community. Ahm we're very pleased to have them, ahm provided that we can you know we can ah maintain the standards of the school. We are not prepared to ah or would I should rather say we're very we would be very unhappy to see what has been built up over the years, the high standards just ah whittle down to ah a third-world scenario whereby you know we don't have sport in the afternoons anymore and the requirements to pass are so ridiculously low that just anyone gets through the standard, you know that type of scenario would be very very unfortunate in education if that ever happened (I: Mm).
- I: You anticipate that happening?
- M: No, I don't at all, I don't at all. Some people would like to see, would like to believe that that's what's happening. But being in education now for the last 23 years I I can clearly say that it depends on the staff.
- I: And and the parents how how are they how have they been dealing and coping // with changes?
- M: // With the change. Ahm there's been a bit of ah you know let's hold back on school fees type of thing. That's the one way the one area that we did notice it. Let's see what happens. Are we going to get swamped by the unknown, question ah big question mark. Ahm are private schools an option, you know.
- I: Have parents pulled out their children?
- M: Oh yes, some have, some have. But not in numbers, not in great numbers, no. Ach, the individual some have gone to Australia, New Zealand especially, ah immigration has taken place. But that you find in all schools. That's the scenario, that's the South African scenario, people are just not prepared to accept what's come and they can't live with it and they've opted out.
- I: Generally the parent community of Snoekfontein Primary?

- M: Very positive. Lovely community to work with. Ahm I would say ah I'm very fortunate to be in a school like this where where people are able to pay for good quality education. I can imagine it would be a lot a lot more tough and difficult to run a school where you know in a subeconomic situation. Ah it must be very tough. But yah it's quite quite challenging and very rewarding. Exciting things have happened.
- I: And the students? Do they mix well, do they get on?
- M: Yes, extremely well. Extremely well. We've had the odd incident. Ahm the odd incident but that you will also find in all schools.
- I: Can you give me an example of an incident?
- M: Ahm racialistic remarks. I would say that is perhaps one. But children do that you know. A child a boy will call a girl ah an ugly name, ah a girl will call a boy an ugly name or kick a boy where it hurts and things like that. That happens on a school playground in a primary school. Children are known to call each other names and this is nothing unusual. I don't think there's great malice intended or any malice intended for that matter. It's just a natural process [unclear].
- I: So do you think it involves prejudice at all // or
- M: // Yah, I'm sure there are people that that have prejudices they might have ah at the school. Adults and that of course rubs of on the children. I'm sure that is the case. But ahm they are few and far between.
- I: Amongst your teaching staff?
- M: Very very happy, (I: Mm) very happy to, you know, the best person for the job, that would be the policy here. Any staff, as the new system is anyone applies now, anybody applies and it's the best person for the job. We have no qualms about that whatsoever. That person be green, pink, yellow or what doesn't matter. [unclear] the appointment will be made on merit.
- I: And at the moment what is your percentage breakdown in terms of white children, black children?
- M: We've got about, we've got about ah 6% Afrikaans, about 11% other cultures. I say other cultures that's black and so called coloured if we speak talk in those terms. The rest is all whites.
- I: So how many children do you have at Snoekfontein Primary all together?
- M: 440 pupils (I: Mm). And it's interesting I've become involved here in the, I, the school was instrumental in starting a principals forum.
- I: I've heard of that, yes.
- M: You know, and we we meet once a term and we're meeting now on the 18th of May now over at the at the Port High School. It's their turn to host it //
- I: // I've just come from there.
- M: Yah, it's been absolutely wonderful to to to sense the good spirit among the the schools. They supported us here the other day with our children's fare, we invited them along. They had their own stall, sold curry and rice, made lots of money for their school that way. Ah the the other schools in the community joined us, ahm we've had athletics meetings together, ah sport fixtures have taken place (I: Mm). Ah they joined us with the Christmas Carol service, // they send choirs across

- I: // Yes, I heard about that. Won't you tell me about that?
- M: Well, we we started a Christmas Carol evening. We invited extended an invitation to the community, the schools in the community and we had one or two of the schools participate. Next year we hope to have more schools participate (I: Mm). It was just a lovely evening ahm celebrating as Christians the birth of ah Christ and a very very blessed evening we had. Lovely spirit prevailed, candles burning, [unclear] singing carols and the choirs of the various schools sang, it was lovely.
- I: On that point, religion, is that in any way ahm an issue of conflict in the school?
- M: Not at all. No, we've got, we're basically a Christian based school, ah yah. I'm a Christian myself and most of my staff are Christians. We do not have any Muslim teachers or ahm other religion, of other religion as such. We have the odd Muslim child in the school, ahm we have Jehovahs Witnesses in the school. We've got we've got Jewish children in the school. So but very very few very few and ahm (.) it's the freedom of religion, freedom of of speech, a freedom of you know.
- I: So is religious instruction offered // for the
- M: // Yes, ahm not for the others religions, not at this stage. We're looking at ahm at addressing that to see what the need is. There's such a great need generally in in the various sectors of the school to to you know achieve your objectives all in nine months. It's not been easy. So I'm still hoping to you know address that pretty soon whereby we could possibly bring in parents ah or ministers from the other religions (I: Mm) to deal with the Islamic faith and ah the whole multi-religion approach. So that you know children must never feel that they're different because they are Muslim or of another faith. We we ah don't treat anybody different in this school. Everyone is treated as equals whether it be race, colour or creed (I: Mm). That's the basic policy here.
- I: And in terms of language, ahm do the kids speak whatever the language they want in the playground and in the classroom?
- M: Yes, absolutely. Afrikaans mix, the Xhosa speakers mix here. We had a little girl here for instance a little while, a little black girl she could hardly speak English. She was ahm almost adopted, I could say, by an English family in the community. The entire family, the mother works as a char, ah stays with this family. They came to this school, they enroled here. This young girl oh she came from the Transkei, she was absolutely at a loss. But she's very intelligent you could see that. We picked that up in the little tests that she did, very intelligent little girl. And she came to my office here the other day, she brought me a little essay that she wrote. Oh man, the little face just lit up. It's as if the light has been switched on, you know. That I suppose, that's what makes teaching so rewarding. When you when you pick up these almost sad cases and you actually see them grow and become different people. Very rewarding. The other change that I must also mention to you, very exciting one, I'm in the process of appointing someone now. We're looking at [unclear] a private enterprise at the school whereby the teachers are dealing with larger classes. So more problems I said earlier on. Ahm now how to deal with it. The teachers have come up with a very innovative suggestion, I believe. We went to our parents and we said to parents in the junior primary that's Sub A, Sub B and Std 1, or Grade 1, 2 and 3 as it's now going to be called: "Parents, we want you to make a commitment. Moms, make a commitment, you that are not working that are sitting there as housewives, drinking tea in the morning. Ah offer one hour of your week to become a teacher assistant (I: Mm). The only qualification we ask is love and care for children. So they come in now on a roster basis, every day, four five days a week, for an hour, that gives you two moms per class per day. Two hours a day, whereby the teacher is set free to pay attention to the problem areas (I: Mm). While the mother occupies the larger group with a story or phys ed or games outside, the teacher can actually now pay really close attention to the child who needs math, language, whatever, bridging whatever the case may be. So that seems as it's only just started now about a week two weeks ago and the and I'm

sure this will just, you know it will snowball and just get bigger (I: Mm). The parents are very excited about that.

- I: So instead of like bridging classes or extra classes for the weaker children in the afternoon what you're doing is in this way trying to (M: Right) address //
- M: // The teacher does it within a classroom context. Because she's enabled to do so by the mother coming in to support her. And now to deal with the senior primary, Std 2, 3, 4 and 5, we're looking at appointing ah a teacher, qualified teacher, that will come in school time (I: Mm). She will and parents will pay for that. They will pay for extra lessons or extension lessons, enrichment lessons. They will sign up and it will be a private arrangement. This teacher she doesn't get paid by us at all. The parents pay her.
- I: Is that what you mean with private enterprise?
- M: Private enterprise. So she sends out little accounts at the end of the month to charge [unclear] you owe me x amount of money. Like like a doctor would do.
- I: But only for extra lessons or //
- M: // Extra lessons and extension lessons.
- I: And is that during school hours?
- M: During school hours. But the child gets released during the practical periods, like in singing for a double period (I: Yah) which is an hour. So a lesson like that would last for 50 minutes. The teacher that teacher can now give individualised attention in languages, English, Afrikaans, possibly Xhosa, I don't know at this stage how it's going to develop, and math. Those are the areas of need really. So let's say now a parent in Snoekfontein doesn't have to ride all the way to Wynberg to go and have an extra math lesson in the afternoon (I: Okay). It's happening in school time.
- I: And that, but what about the parents who can't afford that?
- M: There we are. Now we now here we go once again into the community. We go to companies and we say: "We'd like you to become involved through sponsorship in the school. Let's set up a trust fund for pupils like that (I: Mm). I don't believe that pupils or parents should get anything for nothing. Anybody should get anything for nothing. I really believe that. Honestly. Ahm and here is a case where for instance a parent, let's say a parent can't afford to pay for Johnny. We don't want to exclude any pupils because their parents can't pay out of this programme. Whether it be for remedial or for enrichment (I: Mm). So we would then say to that parent: "Come and talk to us. Come to the office and let's discuss your financial finances". Let's say for arguments sake the lessons cost R 20 per session, which is a 50 minute session. The parent says: "Ah I can't pay, can't afford that". Right. "Mrs so-and-so, Mrs X, how much can you afford to pay?" "I can only afford to pay R 5 a lesson". Right, now I go to my trust fund and I sponsor that parent. So then the teacher doesn't come short. But we've built into our planning, the whole strategy, supporting those parents, supporting those pupils. So we call it our pupil support system (I: Mm). Whether it be support, offering them a crutch just on a temporary basis until they've caught up that math and they've built up their self-esteem and now they exit the programme again. They don't stay in it permanently (I: Mm). It's an entrance exit situation. And the same goes for enrichment. This pupil is a real little boffin in Sub B math, I had one here this morning in my office. Just gets everything right. Now we've had we've had to start looking at how we're going to extend this pupil, are we going to take that pupil and stick him into a Std 2 class where he can rather work at Std 2 level. Because he's at that level. It's like going into computers. You know we tend to in the past we've had to ah we we aimed our teaching at just the average guy. We plodded along that poor guy that was the little boffin in the class he got so bored in school. Couldn't extend him. Now we're looking at extending that pupil as well. So that's another area. And it's only the start. I'm not saying that's the answer but you see what this this whole the change has

brought about. It's changed our way of thinking (I: Yah) about education. Dealing with the needs and let me tell you the needs differ from school to school.

I: Yah, it seems like it. Ahm and areas of conflict in the school. Are there any?

M: Ah, the usual. Interpersonal relations (laugh) I would say is the main culprit here. Ah certain times of the year, towards the end of a term when the people are stressed and deadlines have to be met and they're not met and people start getting edgy. You know that sort of situation. An irate parent, lack of communication. There's another change that we've brought in. That was one of the areas when I came here that I picked up in ah strategy planning that that my predecessors had done that there was a lack of communication. Parents didn't know what the devil was happening in the school. We send out now a newsletter every week, every Wednesday is newsletter day. And there are copies of my newsletters, you can have a look for yourself. You know, parents are kept informed about everything and anything. We we're having ah parent information evening on the 7th of June, Wednesday the 7th of June whereby they can ask all the questions they like about income and expenditure, finances. They can.. they're going to be informed about the changes regarding reports and the teaching style.

I: Would it be possible, I don't know if you would agree to this but would it be possible for me to attend that meeting?

M: You're welcome to attend that meeting. But I wouldn't like you to tape it though.

I: Okay.

M: I wouldn't like you to tape it (I: Mm). Because ah yah I would I would be very strict about that because ah very personal things are often asked by parents ahm at a meeting like that. And you know just to save any embarrassment to anybody else, whether it be for the parent or for the school or whatever the case might be. I would request certainly insist that no tape (I: Yah). But you're welcome to attend.

I: Yah, I think that that might be very interesting in terms of // where people are at //

M: // You're welcome to take notes, you're welcome to take notes you know, jot things down but nothing must go to the press // and ah yah

I: // Oh absolutely. Also the research that I am doing I'm doing it completely without identifying schools and without identifying individuals (M: Yah) so I mean that's not my intention.

M: I've got nothing to hide. I you're welcome to attend. By all means.

I: That would be very interesting. Ahm what I was going to ask you was there was something else (.) Ahm yah ahm do you see and this links with language and curriculum and changes etc but do you see any need for something like multicultural education at the school and of what form? Or is that something that maybe you're already doing?

M: I've just read an article there, the American experience of multicultural education. I think that people have climbed onto the bandwagon as far as multicultural education is concerned. I think one has got to and that's why I said just now the needs of the school is different. Ahm in a in an environment where you have a great cultural mix by all means, you know that principal really needs to address multicultural education (.) In a school like this with a very small mix of other cultures our point of departure is just we are all equal. We are all brothers and we are all sisters. Ahm there is no need to ahm emphasise any differences to make children aware of certain cultural differences that exist. You take for instance a pupil from the black community. He's taught that when an adult talks to him you don't he doesn't look me in the eye. I as a white man see that as ah insubordination. I don't know that the culture (I: Mm) and therefore I reprimand the child for being disrespectful to me: "Why aren't you looking me in the face? Look at me when I talk to you". And he's been brought up "No, I

mustn't look at him". Ahm I've had parent interviews and the parent comes into my office and he and and he won't ah walk in first, he want you to walk. Because when you go to his home he'll walk in first. He leads the way. That's his sign of respect (I: Mm). You know we tend to do things sort of slightly different in in some instances. Greeting, for instance. The black child won't greet first, I've noticed. I may be wrong, I may be totally wrong but that's been my ah what I've observed in my dealing with these kids. Because they've been taught that they the adult should greet first. Otherwise they would be seen to be very forward in greeting. But that is the traditional aspect. The little child today in our schools don't bother about things like that. More and more it's becoming less I would say, this whole emphasis of he's got his own little culture. And ah the parents that have we encourage the parents too because some of them come in here with their Xhosa names and they've changed it to English names. For the sake of us dealing with them. And we've said to them no man the child has got a name. Leave it as such, don't please don't for our sakes change the name to an English name. Now suddenly he's Tom Jones and he's supposed to be something totally different, he's got his own tradition. You must be proud of that. You know (.) I don't know if I've answered your question right.

I: (laugh) So you don't really think that there is a need for multicultural education?

M: No, I'm not saying that. I'm saying looking at your school's need. In this school we've not as a staff felt it necessary to make an issue of multicultural education. Because we don't feel the need for it. If I had a cultural mix that ah expressed the need, yes I would I would certainly make an issue of it and ensure that my teachers are afay with what multicultural education is all about. But as I say here the policy's just been we treat everybody the same.

I: And so there's been no racism in any way?

M: No ways, no ways (I: Mm). Ahm we don't have a mixed governing body and a mixed [Parent Association], that's the parent association, at this point in time, simply because those parents have just not come forward yet. But it will happen (.) In the long run it will happen.

I: And then how do you feel that the school should be preparing its students, its pupils for a new South Africa? What what kind of things do you think that your pupils should know, differently to what was in // the past

M: // Yah, this this whole thematic approach aims now at not teaching the content, the content is not just a sideline really. But it's the skills and the concepts that are coupled now hat are so important (I: Mm). Ah so the skills and the concepts and the knowledge now that's the added, the added two dimensions. And then also the ahm just repeat your question again?

I: Ahm what do you do to prepare your pupils for a new South Africa?

M: Well, we've introduced the new style of teaching the thematic approach as I said and ah to make pupils aware constantly through good value teaching. It's important to stand when an adult comes into a classroom, it's important to say good morning, good afternoon, greeting, irrespective of whom [unclear] you are and what colour you are. Sound manners, ahm neatness on your person, the way you play outside, ah you know respect for others. That type of way, we've been able to ah to prepare our pupils for what is just should be a norm out there, respect for others and love for others.

I: I think that just about brings it to (.) ahm one other question I had was about issues around assimilation and transformation. Where do you see your school, if you're thinking about the changes that have been happening, is it more towards the transformation of the school, in whatever way, ahm or do you see it more assimilating new ideas and the new students that you are having?

M: I think there's been a bit of both I might say. We've assimilated pupils obviously in our system, ah for instance the Afrikaans pupils being assimilated into the English classes and hearing more English than Afrikaans. The Xhosa pupils the same, the Xhosa speaking pupils.

So there we've had assimilation. But we've also seen the need to transform the school by better utilising our our vacant spaces. Transforming the school as to what parents want and the parents are saying we believe that ah we should have, for instance, I'm not saying we're going to have it but I'm just I'm just plucking out of the air now, parents might say to me ah what are you doing about swimming in the area. There's no swimming in Snoekfontein. There's no pool, there's a [name] pool and that is all. Ahm but that is one question that I have been asked: "Surely swimming, we're right at the sea, it's a life skill, all children should be able to swim. There's no facility in Snoekfontein. What is the school going to do about it?". Now you know there for instance the governing body and the planners of the school would have to most probably sit down and and ah look at what the need is and if the funds are available and how funds could be made available for something like that. And people might turn around and say: well, fine, ah your school is looking at at a luxury like that but yet on your doorstep you've got a Chris Hani Settlement where there is no school for for the community. You guys are spending money on pools or want to or intend to or thinking of. So yah, (.) so it's been a bit of assimilation and transformation.

(tape turned)

M: [unclear] clearly said that. We want our own school. We want to have mother-tongue education up to Std 2. Thereafter medium of instruction English. Surely they you know Bengu and guys like this, the planners, I know it's a matter of finance. There isn't finance available just to wave the magic wand. I wish I could do that and I wish the community of Snoekfontein would rally to our call and say: please guys, let's not provide a school for them but let's provide the material for them. Let them, there's 60% unemployment, ah you know let's let's use those people who are sitting around on the hill [unclear]. Have you been to Chris Hani Settlement? (I: No). How many people are just sitting around their little fires, got nothing to do. Waiting for work to come their way. They're waiting to hear from the forest forestry department. We'll notify them when there's a job. Yah, I don't believe I said earlier my firm belief is don't give hand-outs. Make the people work for it. Nothing, you don't shouldn't get anything for nothing. Even if you pay pittance for it (.) Ahm but we've actually built up a very good relationship with the folks at Chris Hani. Ahm we've opened up our fields to school children, school groups. We've had Port Primary School, ah we've had the Port High School make use of our cricket nets. We've started cricket coaching for the talented pupils in underdeveloped areas, Chris Hani and the coloured community in the port. We've sent over carpets, clothing and we've got this type of scheme going as well whereby we had a collection, we took a whole combi load of clothing through to the local school in Chris Hani.

I: Which is Yellowwood //

M: // Yellowwood. Dropped that off. Not that we want to be praised for anything but of course we believe that that is the right thing to do. We're extending a hand of assistance where we can ah because they don't have and we have.

I: What are relations at the moment like in Snoekfontein in term of Chris Hani and the Port community and the Village

M: Yah there seems to be (.) ah no one knows what the devil's going on, who's the regional services council, who [unclear] no one knows really. I've got ahm I'd like to still meet these people so that we can actually sit down around a table and plan things more constructively. I just feel everyone is ah looking after their own needs at this point in time. There could be a far greater pulling together and and people would only just get together. That is what I would ultimately like to aim to do, is to get people, the right people to sit around a table with us, the principals, say 50% of South Africa's population today is under 20, under the age of 20. A million children are born in South Africa per year. So education is a must. It's something that you can plan for. What are we doing about Snoekfontein, are we just crisis managing. And as we did a survey in Chris Hani we found there are lots of kids that are waiting for education. Where are they gonna go who's going to educate them? The school can take only so many.

Ah we aren't full but we will be full next year because we will have reached that quota. There are reasons why we are not full at the moment because we've got small Sub Std 5 class and a small AB1 class but once those two classes have been filled up which is happening very rapidly we'll be at our quota. And then the school can't you can't accommodate just sticking pupils into a classroom like a bus, fill up the taxi to overflowing with the heads peering out the windows. Surely that's not conducive to learning. Although that's what the authorities want us to do. And we are very aware of the the need out there. And we are aware of 60 pupils in a class and and 80 pupils in a class. I have sympathy, don't think that I don't have sympathy for them. And if I could help them in any way I will do so. But ah I can only deal with the Snoekfontein community. And that was the whole idea of the principals forum. And I believe that we've manage to achieve something by getting two classrooms donated, ah although they are prefabs.

I: Where are they?

M: At Yellowwood Primary (I: Oh right). That all happened through pressure from the principals forum on the officials. We managed to get a delegation from the department, from Martha Olckers and company down. They sent their delegation of (.) representing all the various you know the the different departments in education [unclear] and they came here and we had a lovely meeting, very constructive. We had all the sectors of the community represented. The church was involved [unclear] //

I: // Where did you have the meeting?

M: Here at the school. At Snoekfontein Primary.

I: When did that meeting take place?

M: Ah towards the end of last year. End of 94. Sort of Dec.. November, December. We'd met before that, we'd we'd planned before. Ah when I arrived here that was one of the first things I did in June last year was to actually go and meet the various principals of all the little playschools and creches as well so that I knew what I was dealing with (I: Mm). And then met up with the civic folk from the Chris Hani Settlement and ah there's so much that can happen here, it's a lovely community, man. There's a lot to be done and a lot that can be done. All we need is people to work together.

I: What what would you like to see happen in terms of your school ahm and the other schools in the Snoekfontein area?

M: Oh, I'd love to see, I'd love to see a school, number one a school going up in the black community whether it be an extension of the Yellowwood school, whereby proper facilities are made available there. Utilising existing structures, where that school very much the same size as mine but Port Primary is 800. I think Yellowwood's about the same as I am perhaps a little less. But they don't they're also filled to capacity. So there's a great need for another school (I: Mm). It's no use that the department is just saying, no stick them into this school. That's that's not going to work, that's not in the best interests of the children, I don't believe. I don't believe it. And we've got the situation, you can't just ahm you can't just send anybody to this school because although that is the policy, the national policy, if the child lives in the area I can't turn him away, except for those two reasons really. But ah what is going to happen to the standards, what's going to happen to your programme that you offer.

I: So how do you see those changes taking place in the future?

M: I I would say that Model Cs would continue for as long as they are allowed to continue, how ever long that may be and hopefully it's forever in my opinion. Parents will have to realise that they'd have to pay fees, they can't have education for nothing. Ahm that you'll still have your differences, ah you won't have one educational system as such, you'll have your state schools, you'll have your state-aided schools. It would be ridiculous of the government to to do away with ahm Model C schools where ah if if they're gonna have state schools then

we're going run a scenario that's that's just going to run the education system down. Where they get everything free, free books, you know, free this, free that. Then you're going have a scenario of no grass and fields, no sport in the afternoons, ahm in other words the child's development is going to be stunted because it's no (.) you won't have cultural activities. So you're only going to have literacy education. That's all, literacy education. You're not going to be able to offer all these benefits (I: Mm) which is important. We want to compete with the outside world and keep up with technology, surely.

I: So anything extra and beyond the free books and the free whatever would be something that the parents have to contribute?

M: Absolutely, absolutely, yah. And, you know, we have a system here too whereby if a parent can't if he comes here, and it's all communication, it's all about communication, a parent comes here and he says to me: "My business' run dry. I I've been [unclear], I'm in financial you know big problems". We talk about it. We invite the parents to do that, it's an open door policy and parents do do that and they come back and they say: "You know I can't pay my school fees this month but what what else can I do for your school? Ahm I'm a mechanic but I've been made redundant. Can't I service your school buses this month" or whatever, you know that type of ah action on behalf of the parent or offered on behalf of the parent that ah compensates the school in a way different to paying school fees (I: Mm). Yah. But it's exciting I must say, it's a hang of a challenge. Very exciting and and I look forward to, well I don't want to do anything else, to be quite honest. At times I I just want to run and go and have a swim in that lovely ocean over there (laugh) and just keep swimming because it just seems to get the water seems to get hotter and deeper all the time. But it's amazing, man was made to cope, man. You think you're not going to make it and yet you look again and you've made a plan.

I: It seems like tremendous things have actually taken place in this school, from what you were telling me.

M: We we try, we're trying hard to be preemptive. Not just to crisis management. Although that does also happen (laugh) let me tell you. Today was definitely such a day of crisis management. It was a crazy day. But nevertheless we try and be preemptive in our planning, we've got a excellent governing body. We've got very motivated recently established parent association because parents never used to be involved in the school. Now suddenly they are involved.

I: Why do you think that has happened?

M: Well, well (.) because people have realised that ah you know if they want to reduce their school fees they've got to fundraise. And now they're undertaking all kinds of exciting ventures to raise funds. So that you know to keep the the expenses down. Sponsorship is another (.) So yah no, we are challenged. The school has become like a business nowadays, you've got to run it like a business (I: Mm). We as school teachers were never trained to do that. Financially I've never received training, over and above my own my own ah house ah household budget. Now suddenly to be saddled with the school's budget and to to manage those school's budget, we weren't trained to do that. I was trained to be a teacher. Now suddenly my role has changed completely // management, business management

I: // It also raises issues about what principal role is and // and how their role is changing

M: // Yah, absolutely, totally, totally (.) I miss my teaching although I've become involved in teaching. I still I teach the little Sub Bs and Sub As phys ed and just to let them run around so that they get to know me and I get to know them. And I do Std 5 math, basically, just as sector of the math, not everything. And I I do sport coaching in the afternoon as well, two afternoons a week. But you wouldn't find that in a state school because there they lock up and go home. Whether they're working at home is a different situation scenario, I don't know. But I know my teachers are here till late in the afternoon (I: Mm). My staff work hard.

I: Yah ahm (.) thank you very much.

M: It's a pleasure.

Interview 2:

King and Lotter, two teachers at Snoekfontein Primary School

- I: Okay, like I said I'm doing a masters thesis in psychology and ahm (.) I'm also a teacher so I have an interest in psychology and education, specifically looking at how those two overlap. Ahm and what I'm looking at in my thesis is perceptions of change that teachers have. And specifically sort of looking back over the last sort of four or five years. Ahm so the there're a number of issues that I want to cover. But just to start of, generally has there been changes at this school and what kind of changes?
- K: Yes, there definitely have been changes. I don't think they've been very dramatic in Snoekfontein. My classes are not much bigger than they've been in the past. We have children from other race groups. We have children perhaps that are not always school-ready, that haven't been through pre-school. Ahm we also accept children more generally whereas before we were able to say your child is not school-ready, your child perhaps would be better off in another school where the education is a bit different kind and we don't do that as much anymore. We try to accept as many as it's humanly possible from our area. And I think just the composition of the class, the the average skills in the class I think have changed.
- L: I think that sums it up (laugh) [unclear]. You've said everything.
- I: So what kind of ahm what kind of differences has that made? // I mean
- L: // I think it's made it more difficult for the teachers, definitely (K: Yes). It's more stress on us.
- K: The workload has definitely increased. But that comes about through accommodating a wider variety of people (I: Mm) in your group. I think before our groups were more ah we could control the ah not level, not //
- L: // I think there wasn't such a a difference (K: Great difference) between your slow group and your group that's in the fast track. There is now a huge difference.
- I: Is there is there streaming at the school or do you just have all the kids together in one classroom and then try and accommodate different groups?
- K: All in one class, all the groups are in one class. But within the class the individual teacher streams (I: Right). Teaches a group that are fast, a group that's average and a group that's slower and then a group that perhaps is not ready for that class at all. So it would come to about four groups within a group of thirty.
- L: I'd say it's virtually teaching four classes (I: Right) in one class.
- I: Can you give me an example of how you would go about doing that in your class?
- K: Do you want to do Sub B?
- L: You know, [unclear] language. You actually already stream them in Sub A already into groups so by the time they get to Sub B they're already in their groups and we we adjust those groups according to the child's progress, has made now really made fast progress they might move up a group and a child is finding it increasingly difficult to cope that can move down. But we (K: Hugely) the Sub A teachers do the streaming //
- K: // It's done basically on how they cope. We present the work the same to everyone and immediately some children know it before you've mentioned it, some are not ready to receive it. And so they more or less group themselves. The math groups, the number work groups

may be different to the language groups (I: Mm) as a child may be perfectly able to do number work but have a reading problem. So they may be in the top group for the one and second group for the other. But generally they seem to slot in if they're in the first language group they're probably in the first math group. And the other comment is just that they don't it's not a group they stay in, once they're in they're in permanently. They move up and down depending on other factors like if they've been absent from school and missed work they may drop a group. If they suddenly have a breakthrough, the child suddenly understands things they would move up a group (I: Mm). // Then you

- L: // I I think we've got more language problems in our class now because the children come from ah backgrounds where they use both languages, English and Afrikaans.
- K: And Xhosa (L: And Xhosa, that's right). The children are not always learning in their first language anymore (I: Right). So and we are, Sub A stream, we are teaching them to be literate, to read and write. So the spoken language of the first five years at home there has tremendous bearing on what we're going to do. And we have a child coming in who perhaps has not had English at home at all, and a child who's had a combination of English and Afrikaans. And then we have other ahm children who come from very enriched homes (I: Mm) where parents may have put a lot of time and effort into encouraging language development. So you can imagine the vast range.
- I: What difference has it made having children in your class whose home language is not either English or Afrikaans in terms of your teaching?
- L: You know (.) they're in a group, the way we teach in groups, so they would be in one of the groups. And we do a lot of language enrichment with those children. We've also got ahm extra class twice a week where those children (K: Attend extra) language enrichment courses.
- I: Is that during the school day or //
- L: // It's in the afternoon, after school.
- I: Oh right, okay. So it's a little bit like bridging classes or // extra
- K: // The idea is that the teacher would go back to the basic language that a child would have been acquiring in the first six years at home and deal with words like above, below, ah colours, (L: Tenses) time, yesterday, today, tomorrow, all those sort of terms that the child actually needs to be able to read and write and do arithmetic.
- I: And and that happens from Sub A onwards?
- K: We've got it for Sub A, Sub B // oh
- L: // I've got Sub Bs.
- K: Sub As, Sub Bs, Std 1, yes.
- L: I think they have Std 1s as well. Junior primary children. I find that doing reading stories to them or you doing anything that involves language I suddenly find that the child really just doesn't even understand very basic ahm terminology or the very basic vocab which you just take for granted the children understand (I: Right) when you're reading or when you're speaking about something.
- I: So a lot of it is sort of vocab based, not necessarily grammar based?
- K: Grammar is not vital. It is vocab, basic vocab and understanding basic little words like before, after, above, below. If you don't understand that you don't follow a lot of instructions. If I say start at the top, start on the left, do this before you do that, a child can be totally lost if

I've just given four instructions and they've missed those major words in the four instructions.

- I: And if you think back on the last four or five years ahm would you say that there've been any differences in if one can call it that, school culture in any way?
- L: I've found that a lot of children are noisier perhaps because they've just grown up in a different environment. They're perhaps more boisterous I find with a number of children in my class. And they they obviously haven't grown up with the same discipline that we've perhaps had in the past. You know children go home and parents work, they run around, they play on the streets, they return home quite late. I've had parents complain that children come in when it's dark. So even at home I don't think the ah the same control over the children. I think it has made a difference as far as discipline is concerned and (.) I think it's maybe harder for us as teachers to cope with that with the discipline in the school (I: Mm).
- K: But on the other side, I really do and I find it a daily experience, the children that have come to us from the Port area, which are coloured children mainly and the black children have enriched the environment in an unusual way. Their humour, the way the other children in the class respond to them is really quite interesting. And I think it has taught our white children ahm how to get along with other people in an amazing manner. And I think it's taught the teachers a lot as well. // The experience is very enriching
- L: // I think (.) Very much so. In fact I had an experience the other day, I had one of my good readers helping a little Xhosa girl who's battling with her reading. And she went and she sat next to the little Xhosa girl and she put her arm around her shoulder. There was this little blondhead sitting with the little black one, the arm around her, helping her with her reading and I thought that was so fantastic to see. There was nothing forced, there was nothing ahm nothing it wasn't a put on thing. It was totally natural. And it's actually lovely to see how well they are integrating (I: Mm).
- I: And you feel that that is something that the white children also are benefiting from //
- L: // Oh definitely. But even here we've got children that go over and sleep over. I've got a little white girl sleeping over with a little coloured girl in the harbour tonight for instance. We had a sleep we had a sleep-over birthday party a week ago and the little Xhosa girl was fetched because obviously her mom is a domestic servant. She ah hasn't got transport, so she was fetched. She was included in that birthday party and children from the harbour area and there they were all together and I thought that was really (I: Yah) fantastic.
- K: I find also the way the children talk, it's ah it's perhaps more spontaneous, more entertaining and often we have a good laugh and a comparison amongst the classes to (.) what does that mean and how do you. And they bring out their personalities quite happily in the classrooms. And it's not as if we're trying to mould them into speaking like our children. Ahm I just find it really does enrich the day and the environment. It makes you very exhausted (laugh).
- I: And sort of percentage wise, how many white children are // and
- K: // You see we've got a very low percentage, if if you take it on the whole school. I would I really don't know numbers. But just looking, my class I would have five, six, ah about say seven or eight of thirty who are not white which is not a big number at all. Last year was the first year I had a little black boy and there was only one. He was treated like a mascot by the whole school and drove me up the wall.
- I: Is he the little boy in the (.) oh no. I was looking at the photos. Is he in the athletics, but no that can't be.
- K: Oh no, he was (.) no. But there were a couple higher up in the school. But this boy come in in Sub A and he was cute and he was different. And they drove us crazy because the rest of the school just mothered him so and (laugh) and it was impossible.

- I: And are most of the black children from the camp or are they children //
- K: // Ah, no. There're a number from the Port, we've got a couple from the Chris Hani Settlement this year. Ahm we've got a couple whose parents would work in Snoekfontein so they come in with them every day. But being Snoekfontein and fairly insular we don't have a train and a bus service coming through so we don't (.) oh thanks (name) [accepts a cup of tea from Lotter], we don't have a lot of passing people. You have to act you would be in the area before you would come. And we do have a very adequate good school in the Port and along the road here, just at the bottom of Chris Hani Settlement (I: Right). So we haven't (.) I don't think we've turned away anybody. We haven't had a great demand.
- I: Right, okay. And then you you from what you're saying it sounds as if relations have been friendly between the children.
- K: Oh, definitely. Hm, I ah we're speaking for younger children. It's quite possible that when they begin socialising, Std 4, 5, it becomes I think more difficult for the minority group. Because of girlfriends, boyfriends at that stage. Because I've seen that in the beginning of the high school as well. I don't know how they overcome it but we certainly don't see it down in the six, seven, eight year olds at all (I: Mm).
- I: Ahm, you mentioned language earlier. Is language sometimes a problem for the children to communicate or maybe to make friends or socialise or //
- K: // It doesn't seem to bother the children (L: No). The Xhosa children will interpret for each other. If I talk to a little girl in my class who doesn't speak much English her friend will ask her in Xhosa and then they will translate for me and they love it. We have Xhosa lessons in the school and when they go to Xhosa they're faces are beaming. No, the children don't seem to find it a big problem.
- L: I think we find it quite difficult to communicate to the parents of the children who don't understand us. And the little Xhosa girl in my class, I've really wanted to communicate with her mom and I find it very difficult. So now I've got the Xhosa teacher to in fact translate in writing what I've written for her mom (I: Okay). And that seems to work much better. But I think it is quite difficult sometimes for us to really to just discuss perhaps a problem or anything we would like to discuss. Because we've got to try and find ways and means of saying things that we know they're going to be able to understand and perhaps relate to better (I: Mm).
- I: And you you don't have any ahm reservations about ahm other languages being spoken in the classroom? I know that I've talked to other teachers at other schools and they felt that the best thing to do was just to immerse the child in the language, either English or Afrikaans, which ever one they're learning.
- K: We certainly do immerse them in it and we as teachers would use it but if the child is struggling and there's a Xhosa child to help her I would never say don't speak that language here (laugh). And I said to her today you'd better help me to learn that language, you're going to [unclear] and she just beamed. We had a Spanish boy a while back and couldn't speak a word of English when he came. Then we found a Spanish child higher up in the school and he'd come down and get going like that. The home language, I found with Spanish certainly dropped away after a while and English took over. Whereas the Xhosa children are going home and speaking Xhosa in the afternoon. Or they're in an environment where there is a lot of Xhosa. So it will take a bit longer.
- L: Also you'll find that the parents aren't helping with reading things [unclear] because they can't read English or they they don't always quite understand what they're reading so can't really discuss the story with the child.
- I: And playground, on the playground?

- K: They all participate.
- L: Not that I (.) I certainly (.) there's I don't have any problem in my class at all. In fact it's difficult for me to think now (K: Who's who) who's not white and who's black and you don't even think of the children as being of different colours. They're just all children. And I think it's the same happens on the playground (I: Mm).
- I: So in terms of conflict, has there been conflict?
- L: Once, I think once we had an incident (I: Mm).
- K: Very isolated.
- L: Very isolated. I think it was a little bit (.) I think it was it actually came from home ah where there is a little bit of anti-feeling in the child and I'm sure that [unclear]. It doesn't happen really, it's come from home. But it really by the end of the year ah I think that whatever the attitude was // it vanished
- K: // I think it's less and less as well. Maybe initially there were (L: initially, yes) a few more, yes. Comments from the kids and children and things like that. Ahm and initially I think we had a few problems with handing out birthday invitations, things like that where parents would ahm not include everyone in the class or make a point of not. And quite honestly that within the first year I think, after we mentioned to them if you want to hand out invitations and they're not for everyone please do it out of the classroom and so on. And now I don't think it's issue at all anymore. I think the children are included in all the parties (yes). But initially I think there was.
- I: So from the side of the teachers, you feel that the teachers have adopted (.) adopted (laugh), adapted well to the change?
- L: Yes, I think it's made teaching more interesting and I think that we see a we see life or a part of living that others don't see and never experience. I don't actually know, you know what it's all about and //
- K: // You must remember that Snoekfontein is also a very unique area and we're very protected. We don't have conflict on the staff because we haven't got a lot of teachers coming in from other environments. We've got one Xhosa teacher who is black. And it's difficult I think for her to fit in, ahm and also because she's part-time so she's not here all the time. But quite honestly things haven't changed dramatically for us (I: Mm). We haven't had to make huge changes, ahm we've been able to continue similarly as we have in the past. I don't say we're not accommodating and we're not trying to change all the other children into white children as it were. Ahm it's not like that.
- L: We've been flexible (I: Mm).
- K: But the school has gone on much the same as before. Whereas if we had a 50 / 50 we would obviously have different problems to then cope with.
- I: Is there any chance of that of that kind of situation arising in the near future?
- K: If we were to be able to grow. At the moment we don't we haven't been had to turn children away so we haven't got a waiting list. If we were (.) Our school is full, we haven't really got space to put in more. But if we were to build more classrooms we could get to the point where we could have that.
- L: You know we've got quite a large squatter community and apparently the plans are on the cards to build a school in the squatter camp which will teach children through their own medium, through Xhosa.

- K: But you they asked for it and so in discussions, our school has met with the community leaders and so on, they want their own school and they want mother-tongue education for for the first three years with English and Afrikaans as a choice if they want it, and after Std 1 they want to, what would be grade 3, they want to go into English as a language.
- I: But they want primary school from Sub A right up to Std 5?
- K: Yes, they'd like it to grow as as it went. And I think it's on the cards.
- L: I think they've got a preschool there.
- K: They've got a playschool. But the the reason I think that we're not being inundated with new children is that they actually would like the children to be educated in their mother-tongue for the first three years. And other option we could follow the option of starting mother-tongue, employing teachers if we had enough demand and if we have the classrooms. I don't think I think that would also enrich our environment tremendously, if we had mother-tongue for the first few years and then English for everyone.
- L: And I think it also fairly ah expensive for parents to send their children here because, not even mention the school fees, but simply school uniforms, the having the correct clothes to wear for sport and and the correct school uniform. That actually amounts to quite a lot of money for them.
- I: Do you think that is one of the reasons perhaps why there haven't been that many parents //
- K: // There is a subsidy scheme for those who can't afford the fees and as as far as I'm aware we haven't said to parents look, you can't come because you can't afford it. So I don't think that's a a major issue at the moment. But it's possible that the parents haven't even come and approached us because they know it's a pay-in school.
- L: [unclear] from the school as far as // I know.
- K: // We haven't been (.) it's not a big issue. We haven't had to turn people away because they couldn't afford the uniform or they couldn't afford. And and in a lot of cases if there have been items of uniform missing we've used our second-hand shop, we've given and so on just to ease over the problem.
- I: And and in terms of the kids relating, is there conflict between sort of a poor / rich divide or is that also not so // much a
- L: // Not in our area.
- K: Not in our age group. I presume it could become a problem higher up.
- L: I think they're more aware when they get older. When they're little, you know junior primary, they don't [unclear] // materialistically
- K: // What we find, what we have found is that when you come to discussing news and where the kids have been for weekends and holidays, that some children's experiences are so different and so limited because they haven't been to the waterfront, they haven't been away for the weekend. And when I have that in Sub A I actually spoke to some parents and said could we make sure by taking children who haven't had the opportunity, who haven't got transport to these major attractions so that they have that as part of their experience as well.
- I: So that the parents take // [unclear]

- K: // And then, yes it's been groups of I'll take so-and-so with me and that sort of thing. Ahm and I think that's the only place. Maybe the children notice it different. When children come along with wonderful cookies and wonderful rubbers // and wonderful
- L: // I've actually found that the the children from the sort of disadvantaged homes they've actually got all of that. It's amazing but I think the parents go (.) really they (K: Overboard) yes, want to see that their children have got whatever they need (I: Mm).
- K: One thing I found was my parents that I thought couldn't afford it and it wasn't necessary would provide an amazing amount for a class party. Far in excess of what was needed (L: Yes, yes) and then ordinary parents would come along with a sweet for each child which is more than adequate.
- L: Yes. I find that the children really can afford //
- K: // Ahm doing so much for their children to make sure that they don't feel that there's a gap or that they're left out.
- I: Ah yah (.) Parent involvement? Has there been changes in that over the last couple of years?
- K: There's a great change going on now but it's got nothing really to do with the opening up of schools. It's got to do with the headmaster. We had a period of time when we didn't have too much parent involvement. And now we have got a headmaster who is begun, instigated a parent body. And they are very active this year and very enthusiastic (I: Mm). Ahm and parent involvement in just watching sport and coming to support the children I think that across the board is those who can come and those who // work
- L: // I think that definitely has improved [unclear].
- K: I think it's the emphasis from the head more that anything to do with community (I: Mm). And I mean we have great support from parents in the community, in the Snoekfontein community, in the Port community who are able to but a lot of parents work and that those are the ones really it is difficult for them (I: mm).
- L: But I think they are very enthusiastic and very caring (K: Yep).
- I: Are they involved with the governing body of the school?
- K: Ahm the governing body has been in existence for, how long, three, four years. At the moment so we haven't // had a change
- L: // Yes, ever since those Model Cs //
- K: // Oh well then it's a good few years. So we actually haven't had a new election of office-bearers in the recent years. We had a big change when the school was going Model C. And I don't (.) the only thing that has happened since then is people have fallen out, we've replaced them. But then it's been in newsletters and so on and but it's been fairly ahm specialised posts like finances in the school. So you've looked for a person who has experience in that area. But just your general committee, no it hasn't changed. And it may come up in the next election.
- L: You see we've got two committees, the managing committee that manages the school affairs and posts and that kind of thing. Then we've got a committee that deals with fundraising.
- K: Parents are involved with that. Actually that one's just been elected.
- L: Yes, that's a new one. It's taken it it's what what used to be the old PTA (I: Right). Ahm and now we call it //

- K: // SPA
- I: What does that stand for?
- K: Snoekfontein Parent Association. And they're just involved with fundraising (I: Right). That is their main duty.
- I: I think the last time I came Mr Miller said something about there's a parent meeting I think next week some time.
- K: Yes, on Wednesday evening. That's the AGM but it's also not to (.) I think your committee, your management council is elected for a period of four years or something (I: Oh). So it's not a voting evening. It's a report-back. And if parents were unhappy (I: Mm) then they could ask for a change. But this is just a report-back on what's happening in the school and what they found and on and so on.
- I: What have you picked up from the parents ahm in terms of how they feel about changes happening in the school?
- L: I think parents have been more concerned and perhaps because of that have been more involved. I think we went through a time when parents //
- K: // Really didn't have to be concerned. It was all being done for them.
- L: They didn't. We had small classes and we didn't there were no changes. They were not concerned about //
- K: // They hardly attended meetings (L: That's right). They were complacent as Snoekfontein is. They're satisfied, I wouldn't say complacent, they were satisfied with what was (I: right) going on. Now they've become more involved because they know they're determining some of the direction of the school.
- I: And the concern that you //
- L: // I think the children that are actually ahm your top-streamed children that really cope well, I think their parents are concerned that they won't get the stimulation or that we won't keep up the standards. I think that's really what they're concerned about.
- K: They've been more prepared to come in physically and help to maintain the standards (L: That's right, yes). Just instigate we've just started a parent-assistance team in the lower in junior primary, ah where parents are just prepared to just come in and help with menial, everyday task to enable us to have more time, quality time with the children. And that is a super development. Because ahm I think that in the future teaching is becoming as teaching is becoming more and more complex and we are dealing with more and more ahm diversity within each age group I think we are going to need the assistance from the parents who can. And that's been across the board. We've had a good response.
- I: Yah, Mr Miller was telling me about it. It sounds really // worthwhile
- K: // Hm, a very good response. And, of course, if it we would like to employ someone permanently to assist the junior primary teacher. But this is a step in that direction and if this works then we don't need to pay somebody a salary. We can use the parents and involve them in this way.
- I: Ahm, (.) how do you feel about the maintaining standards or keeping up the standards?
- K: I don't feel I haven't at the moment, and it may change in the future, at the moment there's been no problem with maintaining the standard. But in the past we may have got 80, 90% of the class up to that standard ahm and sent them on. We now have a standard that perhaps is

more of a continuum. We have the same excellence at the top, we have the same ahm lowness at the bottom but we have a a wider spread, I think, of the children whereas in the past we may have got them all up to a certain standard (I: Mm). Now we don't, we won't be // able to.

- L: // No, we don't drop standards really because we teach in groups. So your top children will be in one group and you will teach according to their ability. And you will keep them stimulated and ahm challenged really.
- K: They will have done a good third of more work than the bottom half (I: Mm). Which is fine, you've still covered the core syllabus ahm and as long as the child has got the basics they can go on. But they start the next year where they were. So you're automatically keeping up the standard. And in lots of ways I think it benefits the top children because you find ways, you encourage them to do more individual work, research work, enrichment work and in that way benefits them as well.
- I: What what for you would mean, for example, lowering the standards or changing the standards if you were to get to a situation where you would have to do that?
- L: The the standard in deciding whether a child (K: Passes or fails) goes on to the next class because in the past our standards were actually very high and we expected a lot from even our slowest child before the child ah proceeded to the next standard (K: They were almost artificially high). And now I think that we will have to lower our expectations when it comes to whether the child is going to be promoted to the next class or not.
- K: I think we will accept that a child can function at a lower level but be perfectly adequate and proceed through the school whereas before we've been inclined to say can't we find a better placement for that child, a school that can help her, a school where that child can identify more with the others. Whereas now we will accept that within each age group, chronological age group, we will have quite a range of ability (I: Mm). And it's not going to be right or wrong or good or bad, it's going to be normal and the children will proceed like that.
- I: What do you think it is due to that this range has become so much broader?
- K: Well, Sub A definitely school-readiness. We test them before and say your child is not ready. Please take them to a nursery school which is a very enriched environment. We don't have that. So if you start Sub A with a backlog it's going to take a long time unless you're of a very high intelligence to make up that backlog ahm //
- I: // So it's the the fact that the children haven't attended pre-primary school or //
- K: // That would be one of the factors.
- L: That's only one of the factors.
- K: Home environment. Availability of books, educational standard of the parents, all these things that ahm influence what a parent does with their child in the first five years of life. How you encourage that child, what that child's expectations of school are. All that is been determined at home. Ah if you're getting a if you get a select group everybody's thinking the same, if you're getting a wider range you're going to have a wider range of expectations and abilities from that group (I: Mm). Ahm maybe it's economic.
- L: Yes, you have children brought to school in a brand-new big Mercedes and you get children who are dropped off in a in a taxi (K: Taxi) from the Settlement. So that is (K: Life experiences) and I mean you can't expect that they must all be the same level when, you know I don't mean financially, but in experience and ready to learn. You know and then you've got those different backgrounds (.) You won't find of course having the the bigger classes that it's a a you know it it makes the workload when it comes to marking a lot heavier for me as a teacher. I spend an awful lot of time marking books. And I think a time comes

when in fact you can't mark absolutely every sum that every child does everyday which I've always done up to now. But I realise that I'm going to have to actually perhaps not mark everything but mark part of every child's work. Ahm, I haven't adjusted to that yet, I'm still doing everything but I realise that I'm going to have to change.

- I: How many children do you have on average in in the junior primary?
- K: I think 30 (L: 30). Just over, 32, 30 yes. Which is as I say not large by other people's ahm sizes. We have in the past had less ahm but 30 is enough. I mean 30 is a number that's comfortable to cope with.
- I: I I think the the sort of latest suggestion was from national education was 34, I think
- K: Yes, I think they're trying to keep it ah around there. Certainly below in the lower standards, it's difficult to cope // with more
- L: // They wanted to make them up to 40 in a class. // [unclear]
- K: // I think the numbers are bandied about but ahm some people are sitting with 40, 50 and others (.) It just depends on your school, how many you take in in a class. You may have 40 in one class and 50 in another, it's difficult to organise your teaching.
- I: How do you think generally changes on a sort of national level are going to affect your school? Or are they going to affect it //
- L: // Changes are going to happen on national levels.
- K: We're waiting to see what changes but I think our attitude has been don't pay too much attention to rumours, ahm get on with the job now and as changes come in we will accommodate them. I don't think we have a great fear that everything's going to change and it's going to be something we can't cope with. Our attitude in this particular school has been ah we are really still in charge of what we teach of how we run our school and teach. And it doesn't really matter how much comes from outside, you implement it still the way you see fit for your school. Ahm I don't think everybody's terrified of what's going to come. I don't think that // [unclear]
- L: // I I personally think that in time were going to get more private schools and I also feel that we can't ahm we've got to continue with this kind of school that we've got now which they term Model C school. But we we've got to have schools where the people who can afford it can have ah the quality that they enjoy at the moment, that they can continue to have that. They've got to money to pay for it and I don't think they want to see that all just disintegrate. They want to see a library, well stocked with books for their children to read, they want to see equipment in the schools that really they are paying for. And I think that is what's happened in Model C schools. Now if they do away with that and they just say right there is no such thing as a Model C school and everybody must be accommodated everywhere then I think the people that have actually got the money will move their children into private schools (I: Mm). And then you're going to end up with the people who don't have money and you're not going to have the equipment in the schools, ah the teaching equipment in the schools.
- I: How do you think this school will cope for example if the national department were to decide that there are no more Model C schools and that nobody has to pay to get ahm to have their child accepted?
- K: Well, we'd have what's happening now, you'd have far more parent involvement, financially, and the parents would assure the standards were what they wanted by contributing financially on a private basis which is what what will happen in the future. They've proved that to us by already we employ a couple of staff members paid by the parents, paid by the governing board. Ahm because parents didn't want the classes to get even bigger. And this is across the board, every parent, not just the white parents. Ahm and I feel that's what will happen in the

communities. They'll get together and say well, we want this, we must pay for it. So I don't think it'll change our character dramatically.

- I: So there you're referring to for example, employing extra staff // to keep the numbers down
- K: // Extra staff, building a swimming pool, all these things that obviously are not going to come from central funding, the school will finance through the parents if that's what the parents want. I think that's the basic change is that the parents are now [unclear] a greater say in what they want for their children. And if they want the say they've got to pay. And that's the difference whereas in the past you could have all these grand things without [unclear]. And I think that's what even the parents from other race groups are sending their children here, they're aware that that's why they want their children to come here. Ahm and they're prepared to pay whatever they can to enable their children to stay in that kind of education.
- I: Ahm I think Mr Miller used a kind of analogy of a of a school and like running a business. He says it's becoming more and more like running a business actually. You know in terms of financial resources and stuff. Do you see that does that have any impact on you, on your teaching?
- L: It's just more (K: Prep) for us all the time.
- K: It's more work for us because we are required to now give a presentation to business because we want funding. We are we are required to contact people, to look for sponsorship, things like that. Ahm we all think in a more business like way. We can't write to the department and say we need things, if we need things we have to come up with a way of funding. Each head of there are various heads of different areas in the school and they each have a budget. They have to control the spending on the budget which we never had to do before. Ah you have to okay if someone wants to buy something, you have to find the cheapest prices, you have to try and get it for nothing first, those sort of things // so yes it is changing
- L: // I think we're also under pressure to promote our school. To attract the children ah or attract (K: Finance, it's money) finance, that's right. (K: We want people to) There's money. We've got to have the people that are going to bring money into the school.
- K: In the community we want to play a far more visible role because we want people to advertise through our school (I: Mm). And therefore we want them to take note. That has changed.
- I: It's also quite a contradiction because you want that on the one hand but also you're very happy to take in children from communities // where people are not able to pay
- L: // But I think you must have a balance. We've got to have a balance. And I think that is ah as long as you don't have an imbalance.
- K: I think it's part of the new South Africa. We realise that this, not just the new South Africa, but this area is so unique and if we can make it work here by taking in the have-nots and the haves and helping each other, that's the way the future lies. And Snoekfontein as I've said before is so cut off from everyone else, we've got to find solutions // and [unclear]
- L: // But you know Snoekfontein is very unique because we've got the squatter camp in Chris Hani Settlement. And we've had virtually no problems from them and we've got a lot of people that actually go in there and they I think there's a lot of assistance. People who're prepared to run soup kitchens and to donate a lot and they're always running around to assist people (I: Mm). So I think we are rather unique. Which (.) you might find in suburbs like Rondebosch or Claremont in those areas they don't have this community that we've got here. So squatter camp is something which is out in the sticks and they think that's just a terrible place where all sorts of awful things happen and they've got nothing to do with that squatter camp. But here the squatters are part of this Snoekfontein community and I feel that the

community actually does care and does ahm try to make life as comfortable as possible for those people.

- K: It forms more a suburb of our of our Snoekfontein community now. Ahm I mean this hasn't come easily. It's still in the process of coming (L: Our school here has collections). But we're part of it ahm. Everyone in the community whether they have or have not, I think it's just accepted as part of Snoekfontein community now.
- I: So relations are quite friendly between also the Port and the camp and the Village?
- K: Yah well (.) we're talking from our point of view, I mean there may be civic areas where it's not but I know from our principal's point of view, he has regular meetings and contact with principals of all the schools in the area, they call it the principals forum and they from there discuss problems common to everyone. We had a fare recently where all the schools were invited to come and put up stalls and the money they made could go to their schools, that sort of thing. There is quite // a lot of cooperation.
- L: // And I must say our sportsday here the parents were all so many of them from all walks of life were here at the sportsday, supporting and cheering for the children and it was really ah very integrated and a mixed.. We're quite lucky in Snoekfontein.
- K: [unclear] gone without too many hitches and as I said (.) enriched all areas. I think everybody's felt there's a spin-off for them.
- I: Do you feel that maybe the schools are play a role in improving relations between //
- K: // Oh definitely because I mean of the children, parents' concern is first with their children. If their children are in ah an environment that is common to them it's going to enable the parents to meet on common ground which really I think..
- I: Ideally what would you like to see happen in the school in terms of future change?
- K: I think I would like to see a more equal number of children from race groups because only then can you really say ahm you're feeling the changes and perhaps then it would only be it would be an honest representation of Snoekfontein, whether it will come I don't know ahm. I'd like more assistance for teachers (laugh), more salaries for teachers. Teaching is very exhaust you know, it's a tiring and exhausting job and I think we have a lot more stress than we had before just because the whole financial implications of the school, idea of the teachers maybe loosing their posts always is are there in the back of your mind and the everyday demands in the classroom are huge. And I do think that teaching is becoming more complicated and we need more assistance.
- L: Mm. And parents are expecting more and more from teachers. They're expecting more and more from schools, you know putting on concerts and all that kind of thing.
- K: I think we need more, and this may not have anything to do with this topic, I think we need more ahm help in schools, non-teaching help (I: Mm). We need organisers, PRO people, we need a head of the junior primary who's not teaching to co-ordinate. We need librarians, we need resource centre, we need people to (.) so that we can teach and stop doing all the other things that we're doing.
- I: So free teachers from admin stuff and // fundraising
- K: // To make them teach. And we need teachers in groups need leaders who are available to help. I look at the nursery school where they have a head of the nursery school

(tape turned)

- L: [unclear] so much time to teach the assistants for the people who are coming in to do anything, to teach them what to do. // So that
- K: // It's not a trained person. But the music teachers were saying to me the other day they took so long to arrange the choir cup and to arrange the choir events and where they're going and the bus, all those things that half their students were missing music lessons and they can't make up. We need a person, an administrative person that you can say organise this for me, plan this visit for us, take over all those jobs.
- I: And in terms of sort of staff changes, do you see the staff changing in the future, maybe employing more black teachers, employing less teachers?
- K: We've made a start by having a Xhosa speaking teacher teaching Xhosa ahm. But I think if our numbers of non-white and black children increased we would have an ideal opportunity to include non-white and black teachers. I think it would be a slightly artificial if we were to employ a black teacher to teach to teach in an English / Afrikaans school ahm just for the sake of having a black teacher.
- I: You feel that would be like tokenism
- K: Tokenism, totally. But if we were to start a Sub A Xhosa class it would be the ideal opportunity to introduce a Xhosa teacher. Then those children would go on to Sub B, we would have a second teacher and then when we came to Standard 3, 4, 5 and the children were doing it in English we could then have an English speaking Xhosa, an English speaking Afrikaans person, that could be fine. Ahm and in that way could be a natural progression.
- L: Yes, I don't think it should be a colour-thing at all.
- K: It would be artificial if we now were to advertise for a black person just for the colour of it.
- I: How do you think the parents would feel about that? Do you expect any //
- K: // Ah I don't think you'd have any outcry if it were a natural development. But if you'd put someone in the class who wasn't able or qualified, obviously we // would then have that kind of response.
- L: // But I mean it's not only colour thing, if you put an Afrikaans speaking person into a English class // you [unclear]
- K: // You'd have an outcry, definitely. And their way of responding would be to take children away from the school. And that's another thing, it's accountability. We have to keep our parents happy now.
- I: So you feel that it would primarily be like a language thing?
- K: Oh yes, I think it would be a language (L: Yes, definitely) thing, definitely more than the colour. It would be language and ability.
- L: I think in our primary and junior primary, I think when it comes to high school it probably will be different when you work you know when it's math and science (K: A subject) where you get a subject. You get someone who's really ahm a very good math teacher it would be totally immaterial, (K: It wouldn't matter who they were) you know (K: I think that's exactly what our parents would do) [unclear] just for us because whatever we teach is very language-orientated. And of course we you know it's a lot of language development in junior primary. By the time the child gets to high school that's already been established.
- K: I don't think there'd be any back backlash at all if we employed a qualified person who was a good teacher ahm of any race. I don't think the race would come into it (L: No, no). Or we may have one or two but it really wouldn't matter, it wouldn't sway the general feeling.

- I: And if the demographics of the student, I'm sorry just two more questions (K: No that's fine), if the demographics of the ahm of the school were to change, sort of to 50 / 50% ahm how do you think that would impact ahm in terms of school culture. I'm referring back to your question, you said something about assimilation, that you're not assimilating the students.
- K: It would definitely change. And we would become ahm a combi more of a combination of two cultures or perhaps forge an new culture. It it it would not be one culture being imposed on the other. We have as a staff been through a training course on this very issue and it came out quite clearly that if you have a small number of different people in your school it's still easy to maintain your ah the majority culture. But soon as you have a larger number you find the blending of the two cultures. And I think many things would change, we may find the parents then think uniform who wants uniform. At the moment that would sound a huge thing to us. But in a new environment where it may not be the overriding important event I'm sure things like that would change naturally.
- I: Would you see that as a positive development?
- L: Oh definitely. I think that I think that Snoekfontein would change because you're going to have it will be a more ah integrated society whereas now we might have well (.) Snoekfontein has got different cultures but we're still in our own areas. And I think in time we're going to find that people are going to be living amongst each other. We we will all be integrated. And therefore it will happen in the school as well, it will be a natural change.
- K: I think it will be an enriching change as well (L: Oh definitely). Because the things that we cling to so in our culture and our schools I find very tiring (laugh) and // not that important.
- L: // And I think that as soon as society changes you're not going to be aware same as we are now with our junior primary children, you're not aware of different colours. They are just children and I'm sure it will be a whole integrated society where you know don't say oh you know my neighbours are this colour or that colour. There my neighbours. [unclear] see people for what colour they are.
- K: I think also what will come in is different music, choir, religions, all that will come in naturally. And I don't think it will be a huge threat. I think it will be a natural development, oh well this is what the school needs now because we've got different people in the school.
- L: Yes, it will be more an African //
- K: Yah, afro-eurocentric. Yah whereas at the moment we still impose what we want or what we've grown up with (I: Mm). Because we've got // such a minority.
- L: // I don't think all these changes [unclear] immediately.
- K: No, it won't. It'll come with time.
- I: What training course was that that you ahm attended?
- K: What was it called? Ahm it's a set of lectures, we did the first training course over a few weeks on multiculturalism.
- I: Right. Who ran that with you?
- K: A [school name] teacher and [school name]. They had done a training course on preparing people for change. I can look it up.
- L: Didn't they do it through [name of an organisation]?

K: No these were two teachers [unclear]

I: [School name]?

K: [School name] and [school name]. They were both quite highly trained in running these workshops. And we did multiculturalism and they put to us this idea of how do you accommodate and so on, proving to us that it comes from both sides and that the one changes, not trying to impose you (.) that sort of idea. It was very interesting. And we did it before the school had changed very much. And the staff found it very enriching and very useful.

I: Do you feel there is a need for more of that?

K: I think so. I think we as teachers need to have our horizons opened. Teachers are by tradition conservative.

I: One last question. Do you feel in any way that your curriculum should be changing ahm to adapt more to a new South Africa or do you feel fairly happy the way the curriculum is? Well this is // a bit difficult for junior primary.

L: // [unclear] natural change. I don't think it will come if it is forced on anybody. And I feel that it is changing, it is changing in a natural way [unclear].

K: [unclear] often parents send their children here because they value what was here and they don't want you to change dramatically. Ahm because the very qualities are the ones of discipline, this that and the other that we've been imposing. So you have to do it in a way I think with your parents so that you're not upsetting the very reason why they // [unclear]

L: Yes, I think you've got to (.) the parents must have confidence in the school and in the teachers and whatever decisions the school makes and they must have confidence.

K: Yah. The school mirrors actually what's going on, what's out there and the parents accept what's going on there [unclear] through to the children as well.

I: I think I've taken more than enough of your time. Thank you so much.

Interview 3

Teachers at the Village Pre-primary school

[Zeeman suggested that I should have used the tape recorder without informing them so that they would not feel self-conscious about it]

I: ... that would be problematic, especially coming from the Psychology Department. Okay, can I can I just open by asking if you think of change over the last 4 or 5 years, what comes to mind?

W: Numbers (G: Numbers), yah numbers in the classes.

I: Can you say more about that?

W: Well from //

V: // Colour, as well.

W: From 20 to 30 (I: Okay). Also the number of coloured children and black children and different languages (I: Right). I think that's a problem.

Y: Yah, the the languages which is causing some problems ahm (.) cultural differences which are [unclear] some problems and we also for example find that ahm the behaviour of the children is quite often affected by their social conditions. For arguments sake we've got quite a lot of problems up at the Port at the moment with gangs, that sort of thing. You find that the children are quite stressed who live in that area. So they come to school and they play out their kind of stressful experiences at school. And we find [unclear]

I: Right, okay. Ahm just to go back to the first one, the numbers. How many how many children are there at the school at the moment?

F: 120.

U: Just slightly over, our maximum is 130 and we're 6 short of that so [unclear]. But what the department would like or expects us is to have 30 children in our pre-primary classes.

I: Each?

U: Each, yes and we're used to having 20 in a class. At the moment we don't have 30, we're 28 in a class and to make this all possible we had appoint assistants, teacher aids (I: Okay). So we now have an aid for each of the pre-primary classes to bring the ratio down (I: Okay). Because at this age they need so much individual attention that you cannot have 30:1, I mean space becomes a problem as well.

V: But I want to just (.) we're not used to having, in the last 5 years I've never had 20 in my class. I've always had 24, 25, 26.

F: It's gradually increased from 20 to [unclear]

V: Yah but that wasn't 5 years ago.

I: So one of the changes then has been the employment of teacher assistants.

Z: Well, that all happened this year.

I: Oh right, okay. And what has that been like? Has it been helpful, in what way?

- W: It's been quite helpful in that you can work with the teachers assistants, one can actually for example ask her, if for arguments sake that you have a group of children who are having problems learning to cut out. You can actually say to the teachers assistant, could you please sit down with this group of children and work on their cutting skills. Or other skills, whatever the case may be. So it's quite useful from that point of view. Spread the load. Because children this age are very demanding, you know they're not a lot of them are not that independent, so you still, at this stage you quite involved with the physical caring (I: Mm) as opposed to just you cannot stand up in front of the class and lecture or teach, you got to actually very much hands-on with the children.
- G: And now that we have children, as the teachers just said previously, have children from the Port and children from our squatter camp, who've been unstimulated. Which means now that our children are all at various levels of development (I: Mm) and they need a lot of individual input. Where 5 years or more ago it was like all the children were the same.
- U: They were all more or less the same. Now they're skills fluctuate and their developmental levels are all different, so for that we need a lot of individual attention now too.
- Z: And also with a lot of Xhosa coming in, my class aid is a Xhosa speaking lady, so she goes around the classes teaching Xhosa and you know getting the children familiar with a few songs and rhymes etc. And she's a big help (I: Okay) when it comes to you know, helping the Xhosa children. Especially when they're upset and they need someone who can help them in their mother-tongue (I: Okay).
- F: Because that's also been a big change, the language. Years ago, when they were all English speaking and they were all on the same level, you could your pace was so much faster and do so much more with the children. Now not only the skills hold you back but also the language. Because we get our children in here and they don't speak a word of English for at least the first few weeks or months of the year. They don't even understand what you're saying. So we now have English, Afrikaans and Xhosa children, we used to have English and Afrikaans.
- I: So the difference in the developmental skills, how how do you deal with that in the class?
- G: Actually the teacher aid helps (I: Mm) // with things like
- W: // Look we do as much as we can. Ahm in certain conditions if the child is just too much behind what we trying to set up at the moment is a system of group therapy, not occupational therapy as such. You know, because a lot of the children don't necessarily have learning problems, they just have major difficulties with [unclear], so they sometimes will need extra stimulation and that cannot always come from home (I: Mm), depends on the parents and whether they're working and whether they've got the time and that sort of thing. So we're trying to introduce group therapy at a at a reduced rate, cost-wise, you know (I: Right) so that people can actually afford it. And instead of children being worked with on an individual level, they're now working with 6 to 8 children. And we started last year and we found that it was quite (useful).
- Z: Another change, I've noticed is that a lot more mothers work. (Y: I was about to say). When you go on outings you haven't got the lifts ah, when you have functions the mothers just can't be there because they've go to work now. And after-care, after-care (.)
- F: And children are spending time at after-care and places like [unclear]
- Z: Because the after-care's only been running this year (I: Mm). Hey. That's a change.
- I: Is that also a new one, the after-care. And that is a response to the fact that a lot more mothers are working and the children can't be picked up (W: Mm).

- Z: We've had to cancel outings this year. Because we couldn't get enough mothers to lift the children out.
- G: Yah, cause the economy has changed now too and put a lot of pressure on the parents, both parents need to work now.
- V: At one stage, I remember when I was still chairlady I used to go on about 7 outings a term. Now I do one a term (I: Shoo). In fact did we do one this term? (Z: No). We haven't done instead we got the snake man to come here to do it. A day, instead of going out.
- I: So that's affected your what you've been able to offer the children (Z: Mm).
- W: We try to keep our programme as rich as we used to, but as Uys says you know, there are delays caused by the fact that a lot of children are behind. That sort of stuff, and you know, of course in our observations and assessments of the children, because we base initially what we do is we will observe the children very closely in terms of their skills and and ahm as the year goes on we've got to start and teach to those skills to try and improve them (I: Mm). And of course the more children you have the more difficult it becomes to to observe and to assess where they're actually at (V: Mm), you know. So because it's important, we feel, it's important at this age, especially for the parents to have a very accurate report of of their child their child's situation and how their child is coping in a place like that.
- I: So do you have any kind of readiness ahm tests or anything that you use (V: Yes). And and the child has to be able to demonstrate certain skills in order to be accepted at the preschool?
- W: Well, in order to cope.
- G: At primary school
- W: In order to cope at primary school.
- F: But not for preschool.
- V: It's not an exam (W: No, no).
- I: No but I mean it's sort of like to attend the pre-primary school (no) or you don't have anything.
- W: Just age.
- I: Just age. Okay.
- W: But we feel that there's a lot more to it than age. because the children have to actually learn to cope up to a certain level to be able to go to Sub A and (I: Right) [unclear] (Z: And emotionally) failure and loss they loose their initiative and their self-image suffers and they go into a total down-hill slide. So the school readiness is terribly important.
- F: But not for the pre-primary.
- I: Yes, that was what //
- F: // You're asking if there's an entrance exam here. No, only age.
- I: So up to now any child that applies will be accepted or how does it how do you //
- U: Yes (V: Yes) if we've got room.
- W: As long as they have the age. Yah the age as well.

- U: And we've been fortunate that we've been able to accommodate all applicants except now and then one or two that we can't because we're full. But then we do take them in within a month or two. Because parents move (I: Okay) and then vacancies occur. That's a big change, you know. Because a lot of parents have left. Especially last year, a lot went back overseas (F: Australia), yah. And then a lot (.) but even (.) not so much this year.
- I: But your numbers have still increased despite that fact that people left.
- W: But a lot have moved in.
- U: Yah, people move in. People some people yah move from Joburg here whereas others went overseas. So a lot of that shuffling around (I: Mm).
- I: And then you mentioned language, you said that now you have children in your class who don't speak a word of English or Afrikaans (Z: Yah). Okay, now you said that you have a teacher assistant who speaks Xhosa, now what do other //
- U: // She teaches Xhosa to the whole school (I: Oh, okay).
- V: Up to now we've had all the Xhosa speakers in one class.
- Y: We put all the Xhosa speakers in her class with the Xhosa speaking assistant, but the Xhosa speaking assistant then teaches Xhosa to the whole school so that all the other children can also learn to speak Xhosa and communicate with the African children. So she spends 20 minutes each morning in each class giving a Xhosa lesson (I: Okay). But also not a formal lesson, a lesson through movement and puppets and music and dance.
- V: But I think we're going to go through further change with that. Because I honestly believe that it's best that the Xhosa children are spread throughout the school and not just put in one class. Because then they tend to speak Xhosa to their peers all the time instead of // speaking to their English peers.
- U: // But initially we they weren't all together.
- V: Yah, I think by next year we'll probably put them, you know.
- U: Spread them out.
- W: Well, then that's the only way they're actually going to learn [unclear]. And the parents quite often will send them here for the simple reason the parents want them to learn to speak English. In fact we've had some parents here who say I don't want my child speaking Xhosa at school.
- Z: And then the English speakers will also be able to communicate with the child in their class [unclear]
- F: But that now goes totally against that thing that we read about you, that you gave us that thing about //
- Z: // That my stepmother wrote?
- F: Yes. How they should be in their mother tongue and they should not be encouraged to give it up.
- Y: This is multicultural education's point of view.
- Z: Yah. Well this is multicultural education which was developed. She firmly believes that, this happens to be my stepmother but she firmly believes that they should be taught in their mother-tongue and kept //

- U: // No, they should feel pride //
- Y: // Their learning is slower if they have to learn two languages at once. So it's much slower //
- U: // And they don't want them to lose their culture and think that their language are inferior (I: Mm). That they now have to speak English because ahm that is a better language. They want the children to keep their culture, to know that they can be proud of their language and be educated in their language but then at the same time then just learn English as well by being in an English environment (I: Mm).
- V: I've got Afrikaans speaking children so obviously I mainly teach in English and then I use Afrikaans sometimes on a one-to-one basis with the Afrikaans children. But mainly it's English.
- W: I think at the moment we've actually fallen between two stools, you know, in terms of the language problem. Because I don't see that there are certainly not in our area, there are not actually proper facilities available for the Xhosa speaking children. There is a little pre-primary, little creche at Chris Hani but ahm it's not as effective, the teachers are not highly trained, they don't really [unclear]
- I: So it seems as if there's some kind of conflict there between the teachers send the parents sending their kids here to learn English but at the same time this what you were mentioning it might actually be better for the child's development ahm to to speak in his or her mother tongue //
- Z: // To learn in the mother-tongue. (W: It'll be more effective). Yah, as long as the teachers are trained, fully trained as pre-primary teachers they can give them what they actually need.
- U: You know what I also think it is is that ahm our Xhosa speaking community the odd few would like their children to be educated in English. And for that reason they send them here to the pre-primary so that they can learn English informally here before they go to formal education. By the time they get to (w primary school) which is an English medium school they can be educated in English and they can read and write in English. Ahm the reason for this is that there's no English, there is the medium of education in the Port and at squatter camp, the Yellowwood school is Afrikaans. Ahm there is no Xhosa school there where they are educated in their mother-tongue (V: They've got to go over the mountain, it's far) where they can be educated in their mother-tongue, there's no pre-school in the area and this ahm this is expensive for them too. They could have gone to the Yellowwood Primary but the medium there is Afrikaans, they could have gone to the Port but the medium is also Afrikaans (V: Mm).
- I: How many Xhosa children do you have at the moment?
- F: [unclear]. There's no junior school up in the Port. There's only a high school.
- G: There is a junior school.
- Z: Junior and high.
- G: There's two separate schools, a high school and a junior school.
- U: The junior school is 750 children and the high school is 400.
- I: You mentioned just now multicultural education, ahm is that something that has been something that's been part of change in your school?
- W: Yes, absolutely.

- Z: We did a lot of reading into that, on that on how we adapt to change.
- I: Mm. Can you give me some examples in your school (Z: Mm). I mean just like that. I mean what kind of things would you ah (.) would you say have been introduced by you as part of this multicultural education.
- Z: Well, our Xhosa programme (stories, songs). Well, let's start with morning then, our Xhosa programme is in the morning.
- W: We do greetings in all three languages.
- Z: Greetings in all three languages. Our birthdays are in all three languages. Stories we have on tape in English, Xhosa and Afrikaans. So if the children want to listen to headphones they don't have to listen to it in English.
- Y: They can also listen to their own cultural related stories in their mother-tongue (I: Okay) by means of a tape recorder and earphone. Our music, Xhosa songs ahm, dancing, movement.
- Z: Though at the moment we're doing the Haka (laugh) which [unclear]
- I: That could also be seen as multicultural education.
- Z: The rugby world-cup's done a lot for multicultural education
- Y: I'm trying to think of other ways.
- W: But then also on the teacher training side. Ahm we've introduced a system of sort of teacher training in a sense, you know, where our teacher assistants are in the process of assisting us, they're also working at the school, they are being paid to be teacher assistants but at the same time we are training them as pre-primary teachers.
- V: And the training [unclear]
- W: Oh, yes this was we did this last year. Yah, we actually worked up quite a good relationship with the little creche in the Port, and in the squatter camp, where we actually our teachers went there once a week, one of our teachers went there once a week to teach a lesson to their children with the assistance of the teacher there. Of course those children there didn't really speak English. And their teachers actually they sent each week one of their teachers here to come and observe (I: Right). Spend the whole week in the class with one of us to actually just learn the sort of basics of how we run our programme (mm). But I mean the point is that we would like to take it further, you know, have a teacher here say for a year, so that the teacher can become fully trained. I think in fact, Thandi who teaches in V class, she's a Xhosa speaking lady, I think she's found very very useful.
- U: And our pre-schools work together now very closely, the Port school and the camp preschool. We have an interschool programme, bringing the children together. We had a very successful one last year where we invited them to join us for the sing-song and a picnic afterwards. And we had this meeting [unclear] for our community was to bring old books or [unclear] crayons and cookies, sort of things which we then gave to them to take to their school. It was actually lovely, we had a picnic together on the lawn, and we had a sing-song and they played together out in the playground (I: Mm) so that the children could ahm learn to play together, they interact with each and respect each other's culture and see that they're not really different.
- W: They also made a contribution, those children, I think the whole point was that it wasn't going to be a (V: One-sided thing) one-sided affair. That they actually also did a little concert for us (I: Mm).

- U: And then we went on an outing with them. We had at the beginning of the year. We went to the museum and after the rock pools, we were at the rockpool, we had games on the beach (mm) and picnic on the beach and then we came back. And we played [unclear]
- W: But it was very because Thandi came with us. because they were Xhosa speaking children we asked her to come along. She actually translated. Because the museum runs a wonderful programme on the rockpools and of course done in English so Thandi just translated the basic facts (I: Mm) for the kids so that they could get something out of it.
- Y: And then we played the game on the beach, [unclear] Thandi explained to us how it worked so we could share a game.
- Z: And we're involved with other projects like that where we're planning a pre-primary sports day, inter-pre-primary sports day which should be interesting. What else are we doing.
- Y: On the beach we will have sports and games on the beach and then a sandcastle competition (I: Okay). And we had different food stalls and then the money will go their new school.
- I: One of the sort of buzz words sound is kind of this anti-bias, anti-bias education, I think it's similar to multicultural education, ahm (.) how do you see any need for yourselves or the teacher assistants to do any training in that?
- W: I think the adjustment is quite slow. I think we actually adjust according to need, you know. Basically this is the way for us.
- U: And we all we as a school belong to the Open Schools Association on multicultural education.
- [somebody interrupts to ask for something]
- U: And we then attend their meetings and we get their newsletters (I: Right). We get very valuable ideas from them.
- Z: Have you spoken to them?
- I: Yes, I went to speak to (name) and I get the newsletter from //
- Z: // That's my dad, yah
- I: Oh, okay (laugh). One of the other things I'm interested in is conflict, has there been an increase in conflict in whatever way?
- F: I was going to say I think that one of the important things with the change is how it affects the children, when these children come in like Xhosa speaking children, and and they can't socialise, like they can't invite the friends they make here home, like like you know our kids invite each other back and forwards and I think that's an important thing. And miss that //
- Y: // And not being able to take them home //
- V: // But how many of your children [unclear]
- Z: (name) she's different. Whereas I must say I have noticed a lot of aggression amongst ah I've got three little black boys who really close and they always stick together and they can be very aggressive. And over-excited and I don't know whether it's because here they've got so much space and so much equipment. Maybe they get over-excited because of that. But I do they have to kick and they're very boisterous and (.) (Y: And then it comes to Karate) and some of the other children are quite scared. They stick out (I: Mm), they're quite violent, you know.

- W: This might of course be role model stuff, you know from the squatter camp.
- F: That's what I'm saying they can't have children like they play with here, it doesn't carry on out of school, you see (I: Mm) (Z: It stops).
- V: But to get them in the beginning to use the bathroom, och (laugh). I kept finding them in the weeing in the sandpit or behind the trees or (F: Next to the toilet) or even next to the toilet.
- Z: They're better now though.
- F: Yah, they were poohing on the floor.
- Z: Last year I had a very interesting case, I had a brother and sister who came from the Transkei, lived with their grandmother their entire lives in the Transkei. She unfortunately died and they were brought to Cape Town and were sort of unofficially adopted by a Swedish couple whose mother worked for them, I mean the children's mother worked for the Swedish lady. So they were thrown into the situation where from rural Transkei they were thrown into this mansion, (U: But a mansion), the lankest area of Snoekfontein (U: [unclear] Golden taps) she only spoke Swedish and and very limited English. and then the mother and the father work for these people and spoke Xhosa and they came here. Shame, the culture shock in the beginning was absolutely unbelievable (I: Mm). They went on to Snoekfontein Primary and they seem to be coping very well. Yah.
- I: It must be quite a language challenge for them as well.
- Z: That was a challenge in every way. That was a change, shoo.
- I: I think somebody mentioned at the beginning when I was asking about change, you said something about the gang problem.
- W: At the Port, yah.
- I: Yah, and that also sort of carries over // into
- F: // Well there's been there's been a particularly nasty string of of things going on there just recently, there was quite a lot of shooting and stabbing and this sort of thing (Z: Teargas), teargas, and some of the kids the police arrived, they teargassed ahm one of the little girls in my class came to me to tell me that her brother was in jail because he's got a gun. Although she seemed to quit admire him for it.
- G: And I've got a child in my class who's gone through a complete personality change with that.
- W: Yah, especially the little boys, ahm it's made them quite sort of violent in their behaviour. There's one little boy I said I went up to him and said look calm yourself down because if you get hurt don't come crying to me, you've been playing very roughly (I: Mm), he lies there on the grass and he slits his eyes like this and says I'm cool, lady, I'm [unclear], this little 5-year old, you know.
- U: You see, now that little boy was in front of them when they shot one when one of the guys was shot, I don't know if it was the guy that was killed or the guy that was shot in the mouth. But ahm apparently the bullet you know the bullets just like whizzed past his head. I mean he saw that, what do you expect.
- Z: Another little one in my class he goes he won't sleep in his bed at night anymore and he goes and sleeps with his mommy, he comes to school and he he's malicious. And you can see he's (W: Tense, terribly frightening for him).

- U: There's also been a spate now ahm of ahm [unclear] ahm people had a march (V: To demonstrate against the gangs) and the gangs watched who was marching and every single person that marched had their windows broken.
- Z: Yah, Clara, my maid, she was one of them. Threw a rock through the window.
- Y: You can see it in their artwork as well, it's full of guns and shooting and //
- U: // It's like at 2:30 yesterday there's this guy standing in the road with this knife, at the side like this so I locked my door as I drove past.
- F: You see, this now Lucy's a very good friend at in her class at Snoekfontein Primary, little coloured girl who desperately wants Lucy to come and play up there, she's coming to play at our house this afternoon (I: Mm), I don't know if I really want to send Lucy up there to play.
- I: So the socialising and // becomes a problem
- Z: // It's difficult.
- U: Because here at school they get on so well and they're such close friends but then they can't come and play at each other (.) well they can come play at our houses but we feel it's not safe to send our children up there.
- W: And we wouldn't call that bias or prejudice, (U: It's just not safe) you know, the point is that as parents and as teachers we simply have to (Z: Be responsible) be physically protective of the kids (I: Mm).
- I: And the parents of the children how do they feel about that? I mean if do they have a similar view that it wouldn't be safe to go there or //
- V: // Of course, it's a great concern to them because it is unsafe.
- I: And sort of general parent involvement in the in the school, how is that?
- Z: Very good
- Y: Very strong, all the same parents
- V: [unclear]
- Z: If you're talking about the Xhosa speaking parents, it's not as strong, you know they both of them work normally and I do I mean I do get mothers coming in and [unclear] and sending notes to me but generally they don't fetch or carry either. Their children get lifts here.
- I: I was quite surprised to see that there're quite a number of fathers coming to fetch their children.
- Y: It's father's day
- U: We had a father's celebration (laugh)
- Z: No, we were saying that the other day it's actually true, a lot of fathers fetch and carry their children (V: Yes) because men don't have to be at work at a certain time. Women have to be at work at half past eight and men can have flexi-time and then //
- F: // There are a lot, many more fathers
- Z: Yah, I mean they work for themselves

- W: Yah they're very often the one to bring the kids to school
- Z: I've I've got children in my class, I haven't even seen the mother. Their father's fetch. But I have noticed that over the last 5 years, definitely.
- F: A lot of fathers are self-employed so they do bring the children.
- Z: We did have most of the fathers here are there for fathers day celebration
- I: I was surprised (laugh). But ahm has there been any change in parent involvement over the last couple of years or has it remained constant?
- W: Well, we're finding more and more our mothers are working (I: Mm), so that relates to the amount of after-care.
- V: I just think it depends on your class. I mean last year I had three mothers who helped me, no two mothers who used to help (Z: All the others worked, yah). Two mothers out of 26 kids. This year I mean I can basically say there isn't a mother.
- Z: But look at functions as well, we get lots of parents attending functions.
- U: Yah and our Xhosa speaking children parents they're there. (Z: Yah, they're there). They're always there.
- Z: And they help with fundraising, they sell their raffle tickets first, they yah //
- V: // I had a big problem last year with my I don't know about the others I had no Xhosa in my class this year and no children from the Port, I've only got white children. Ahm but last year not one of the Port children's parents were involved at all. They never helped, they never I never saw them. Just never (I: Mm). And ahm the Xhosa one the year before he was involved, always tried to help. But I found that with the Port children I don't know if you do but they're just never there. (W: Transport). They never answer anything, they never (Z: They definitely //) I used to pay for outings for them, everything //
- F: // [unclear] they were helping all the time (I: Mm). And we also had a workshop and they were all there.
- V: Maybe it's now since the election, that's it improved. There was a change in Carmen's parents after the election (I: Mm). [unclear]
- G: // They always collect the most money. //
- Z: // They were in the ANC //
- G: Their raffle sheets are full.
- V: Really? (G: Yah, absolutely) Well I'm glad to hear that because I battled last year.
- Y: As a matter of fact, there's one mother that I haven't seen for the whole year, only once she came for about 5 minutes and I mean she's a white lady.
- [unclear who made the next two comments] (I quite agree). (They've got no transport)
- W: Well our ladies who run our aftercare and they were both they were both ex-mothers who got so involved in the school that they finally stayed (laugh). And they're now running our after-care for us.
- Z: I've got two daughters, one's at Snoekfontein Primary and I've noticed a big change from I mean not really knowing anybody except white children when she first came here. Now she

socialises with them and she talks Xhosa quite happily and she actually doesn't seem to notice that there's any difference. And my little one, she's here, she doesn't have a clue. Like she she'll describe a child to me, the last thing she'll tell me about is their colour (U: Yah). She'll say you know that boy, come Ma, come Ma help me, I want to show you that boy on the playground that hurt me. And I'll say what does he look like, and she'll say red jersey, she 'll describe everything and then finally say oh it's that one.

I: Do you find that quite a general thing with the children?

V: Absolutely.

U: Just last week one of the children came running asking for my help, that little black boy threw threw something at him and he pointed and there were these two little children and one was a little black girl and a black boy but the other one was a little boy with black hair. And then I was going to the little black boy and he says no, no, no not that one, that one with the black hair and it was a white boy with black hair, so skin colour is the last thing //

W: But we had trouble with that before.

Z: Last year we had racist children.

F: It depends on what they getting from their parents as well.

V: I don't know if it's something new, I mean my daughter (Z: It comes from their parents, definitely) is 13 and I I she's never ever hassled about what colour (W: No) what anyone's colour is.

Z: Was she always in contact with (.)

V: She was no, she was at ahm a preschool called [name] which is ahm (Z: Multiracial) yah. But I mean she's at Snoekfontein Primary. But they always had some coloured children and black children at Snoekfontein, I think.

F: Yah, Snoekfontein's always been blissful, there's never been like that kind of problem in Snoekfontein //

V: // But she's never ever hassled what [unclear].

I: And when you said last year you has some problems?

Z: Yah, we had very some very racialistic children last year. // They obviously get it from their parents

I: // The older children or the younger children?

Z: In my class, yah, older children saying I' not (.) my father says I'm not allowed to sit next to you at the table, I'm not allowed to eat at the same table as you. That kind of //

G: // Ooh, really //

V: // Yah I had racism last year too.

U: But then out of a school of 120 we're talking at the most 2, 3 children (W: Yah, yah).

I: Now, how do you deal with that kind of thing?

Z: I don't handle I don't actually accept that at all (I: Mm), I say that they're hurting that person's feelings and that we're all equally able to sit at the same table and eat. We did try and do we did a lot of stories and rings to do with feelings. And how everybody's different,

we start off the year by talking about our bodies and what's the same and what's different and every single term we do something about how everyone's different but we're also the same. And we do a lot of things on feelings. We talk about how we can hurt people's feelings or how //

V: // But I think that comes from the home, though [unclear]

I: Do you maybe feel that that I don't know whether this works, it's just occurred to me, but maybe just talk to the parents?

Z: Yes.

V: But you're not going to change the parents, the way they feel. I think the parents need the educating (I: Mm).

Z: I think the children yah this generation of children will be fine.

V: I had a little girl last year who was very anti-white. Terribly anti-white (laugh). And she used to walk in with her ANC flag before the election and Nelson Mandela's badge (Z: Nelson Mandela's badge) (laugh) (U: In her hair in the pony tail). She was I taught her at Sunday school the previous year as well, she was terribly anti me, she didn't like me at all. I'm telling you, as soon as the elections were over she was the most lovely, loving little child (laugh).

U: You know when I thought when the change came in after we had that long meeting with her parents. That the committee and myself sat down with her parents and they had a problem with the school fees and we then gave them a bursary. So that they could keep their child here (Z: Mm). And this bursary didn't come from the the school fees or the school account but it's contributed by all the other parents contributed a certain percentage to award these bursary to the underprivileged children. And we gave them one of these bursaries. And after this long, very positive, successful meeting they said you know white people are actually nice (laugh). I never used to like white people but I can see that they're actually nice. And that was her parents.

V: No but you're talking about the other guy, aren't you. Not the mayor, you're talking about //

U: // I'm talking about the mayor.

V: Oh you're talking about the mayor.

Z: Yah, because the same happened with the //

U: // The same one with the little girl with the badge. But I laughed at her ahm when Hani was killed she told me she said to me, how did she say it, it was De Kleerk, De Kleerk and the police shot Hani. She came to school (Z: Yah) my daddy says it was De Kleerk and the police that shot him. (laugh) De Kleerk.

I: How old is this child?

U: She's gone now. She's now at school.

F: I saw her the other day. She was crying because she was late.

Z: She was late for class. She was always late still. Still late, every day, shame she's actually got Mr Miller and everything.

U: And long before the elections she said and my daddy says Mandela's going to be our president. She was so sure of that (V: Yah).

- I: Ahm, financially, does your school work the same way that Model C schools do? I'm not very sure how pre-primary schools work.
- U: Yes, yah. The teacher's salaries are paid by the department of education and ahm but that's all we get from them (W: Some, but not all). Some //
- Z: // Some of them are paid by the department, the rest are paid by the parents.
- I: So the department decides ahm according to the number of children // how many
- U: // The numbers of children, But the numbers of pre-primary children, you see we have the two younger groups as well and of course they don't pay for those teachers. They pay for // pre-primary children.
- Y: // That also that also depends on how many teachers, I mean your teachers, number of teachers relies on your number of children (I: Mm).
- I: So you actually are at the moment employing extra teachers and the teacher assistants (U: That's right). Okay from from (.) the fees that the parents are contributing.
- V: And the groundsman. And the secretary.
- U: And we must still buy all our equipment. Ahm art material, books toys, everything. We don't get anything else from the department (W: The school is definitely not a profit-making organisation). And then and then the parents till complain that the fees are high.
- I: That seems like a tremendous strain, financial strain on your // parents
- Z: // We've got a good bookkeeper (laugh)
- I: Yah and on the parents.
- W: We do a lot of recycling and that sort of thing, I mean we try to cut down (Z: And we have our fundraising) on on we have our fundraising, we try to do use equipment hat is recycled, recycled paper [unclear]
- I: And you said that you have a bursary scheme for children that cannot pay. So how many children are on these bursary scheme?
- U: 10.
- I: Is that the maximum number?
- U: Well, we they asses the situation every year, we look at the applications that we get and then we judge accordingly. Last year we only had 7 because we had only 7 applicants for bursaries. This year we had 10 applicants, it was increased but we could accommodate all those who applied. We didn't turn anybody away.
- I: And if there a situation were to arise, I think there's been talk on a national level that schools have to accept any child regardless of whether or not his or her parents can pay, ahm how how would your school be able to deal with that?
- Z: We have had parents saying we don't have to pay school fees.
- F: No isn't there (.) because there's free education up to the age of 6, it's supposed to be.
- W: You must also look at how full the classes are, if the classes are full, the classes are full.
- F: But can a parent refuse like Vale said to pay school fees, legally?

U: Well, I don't know. What did Mr Miller say when you asked him?

[unclear]

U: In Model C schools you have to. I think that is yah no we are a Model C school. But pre-primary is different to primary that's why I asked you what he said. Because in primary they do refuse then they are sent to a 100% subsidised Model A school, or Model B school, whatever. Their children are sent there and we have one here in the Port so he could just say look this is a Model C school, you have to pay some kind of school fee because I have to pay my teachers and if you want free education just a kilometre down the road there's a school which is a Model A school which is 100% subsidised. The Model C school's not 100% subsidised, they only pay a certain amount of salaries, not even all the salaries and then that school has to pay buy their books and writing material and paper and everything else by themselves and if there's free education with what money are you going to buy that. And we're in the same situation where we have to pay assistants, we have to pay some of our teachers, we have to pay our admin staff, we have to buy our own equipment, no parent can say I want free education (.) Because with what money are you going to pay for these for these things. But there aren't Model A pre-primary school so you can't, you're not in the same situation where we can say you can go to that (I: Mm) school because there you can get free education. Because those subsidised schools they get a subsidy per capita child, they get subsidies for papers, for ahm class aids, for equipment, for whatever else they need (I: Mm). The department pays for it.

I: So at the moment you haven't had that situation yet where you had to turn away parents because they weren't able to pay.

U: Because even in our pre-primary school in the Port the parents have to pay. Because the department don't subsidise pre-primary school 100%, not even in our Xhosa or our coloured areas. The parents have to pay so that they can buy equipment and feed those children and pay the teachers.

I: The other thing I was thinking, financially does that make a difference to the children whether they come from poor families or from more wealthy families? Because that I think at primary school and also at secondary school that becomes an issue.

Y: No, I don't think it's an issue here (V: No). (Z: I'm not aware of anything like that)

G: We don't allow them to bring toys or anything like that to school (Z: yah, we avoid that) where perhaps some child can bring something and brag about it.

Y: They're not into clothes.

W: They wear all grotty clothes because they get so grubby. So from that point of view //

Y: Everybody wears //

W: // They bring their own lunches but we have told them we don't allow the parents to freely decide what they're going to give them in their lunch boxes, we say a sandwich, a piece of fruit, a drink. That's all.

Z: Anything else we actually take away //

W: // So there isn't a sort of enormous contrast where one child's coming with biltong, and wors and sandwiches and all sorts of blablas and another child with one little sandwich. So you know //

G: I don't think financially they notice.

W: And as I say no toys at school either.

I: Okay. I'm coming to the end of my list of questions, ahm I think sort of the final the final question I would like to ask is sort of future changes, ahm if you think of what you what you would like to see happening in the future at you school what kind of things would you think of?

Z: Well, I think employing a Xhosa speaking teacher for the Xhosa kids.

Y: Definitely take more Xhosa speaking children.

Z: Then you get the people who will say that will become that's even more ahm like apartheid (F: Mm) because then you're having the black children and the white children separated (W: Yes). But if it can be explained in terms of that their learning in their own language and they're learning their own culture and they're doing everything their way (V: Then the Afrikaans speak //) maybe that we can give parents the choice and say this is the Xhosa speaking class

V: I think there should be a Xhosa school. Well they want there should be a Xhosa speaking school.

Z: Yes, that's even better.

G: A lot of them they don't want to send their children to Snoekfontein Primary, they want their own school.

Z: But they also don't want to send their children to Khayelitsha (W: Yah).

U: Yah, we did a survey up in the Chris Hani Settlement and it was astro astronomical percentage of, about 80 or 90%, I've got it somewhere her, where the parents felt they wanted their children educated in their mother tongue and there was this one parent on the council who said he would rather let his child walks the streets than go to a school where he's educated in a language that him or his wife doesn't speak or can even help the child in his homework or know what the child is doing, he wants and loose his culture and his home language.

V: But that's not in our school. That doesn't answer your question.

I: No I mean I'm thinking what that would mean then if there was to be a school in the camp catering for Xhosa speaking children, how would that affect you school? Do you feel that you would loose //

Z: // They would have a choice then, they could either send their child there or //

W: // No, they would have a choice).

U: I think it's actually very important that there's a school there, a Xhosa school so that the parents have the choice of sending their children to the Afrikaans school which is in the area or the English school which is just down the road or to a Xhosa school but at the moment I don't think they have a choice in the area. If they want to send their children to a Xhosa school they have to

[tape turned]

Z: For the future I certainly would like to see that classes don't get any bigger. I don't want 40 which is what they're talking about.

W: Well, the bigger the classes get the less effective our teaching can be (V: That's right). I think Uys mentioned also that we have no [unclear] with very large classes it's not only a question

of the kind of attention that we give the children but it's also the actual physical space. (V: The classes don't get bigger). For argument's sake when we do our music when we do music with the children, when we do music with the children a lot of music involves you know movement, body movement and it becomes impossible.

V: The thing is pre-primary is so different to formal education. The children move all the time. And you can only have a certain number of children for the room space, it's not like in primary school they sit behind desks and you can (Z: Squash them in) squash them all in //

Z: // Also the routines take so much longer that we have to skimp on certain routines because for example we'll be so busy packing away after art activity that all of a sudden it's lunch time and we've missed music or educational games time takes such a long time (U: To tidy time) it takes so long to tidy up you actually end up not ever having a proper story then (U: Because it takes so long).

W: It actually creates a stressful situation in the class.

Z: You're always rushing them.

U: That's another new thing down there, noise level (W: Yah). Up here it's wonderful (laugh).

Z: Today I could say not because the level was //

V: Yah but the noise level down there gets louder and louder every day.

Z: And also another change which we all picked up which is completely off the beaten track here, is the children don't listen anymore. They ah you really have to stand on your head (I: Mm) to get them to listen.

Y: They actually will look straight at you (V: Yah) while you're talking and you can see they're not listening to you.

Z: I'm sure it's TV

Y: Because the TV's on all the time and they carry on with what they're doing with the sound going in the background.

Z: Yah, I think the OTs have noticed that, that's a change that they've picked up that the children have low muscle tone and // physically

V: // That's another thing, far more kids go to OT now (I: Mm) than used to.

Z: The children aren't physically active, they have no place to go and do that. It's not safe to go out in the streets and [unclear]

F: They don't climb trees and run around and kick balls as much as they used to.

Z: No, they go and sit in front of the TV.

I: What's the OT for?

V: Occupational therapy.

I: What do they do there?

W: Learning problems, sort of learning disabilities of various sorts.

I: So you're relating the increase in that ahm //

- Z: // In referrals, to specialists, for problems, yah.
- V: But that's that's related to TV I think, a lot of it. That's not related to the amount of kids.
- W: We've been spoken to by an OT and basically what it seems to come back to every time is the amount of physical activity. It starts with the gross motor skills that the kids develop, and it's just basic stuff that they are learning from climbing the jungle gym, running around and rolling and kicking the ball and so a lot of kids are loosing out on that (I: Mm).
- Y: And then it goes back to the home because a lot of parents are working and they're so tired they haven't get the they don't want to go running around in the park with their kids (Z: No), they'd rather just //
- Z: // Turn on the TV (laugh)
- Y: Get a video. Very easy, very easy to do it.
- I: And you find that that's also been increasing over the last years?
- Z: Yes, definitely (G: Yes).
- Y: But we've actually work together with the Sub A teachers and we've said to them please tell us if there's any if there are any areas which you feel that we should actually be putting more stress on (I: Mm) and this was one of them. They asked us to do a lot more physical activity with the children and eye movement exercises they suggested //
- U: Yah, a lot of them have visual motor integration problems that's ahm the two sides of the brain is not coordinating, not working together. Because watching TV is just a one-sided // thing
- Z: // Because the eye is just looking there.
- U: And they're not switching on both sides of the brain which causes then problems. So it's that and the low muscle tone and the auditory problems, the visual problems, the eye movement (I: Mm), concentration, not listening
- W: So we try to compensate where we can but we can just do so much at school. And then we will call in the parents and we will tell them and we will suggest home programmes but ahm very often the parents are not actually capable, they're too tired, they haven't got the energy.
- I: Any other future changes that you would like to see happening?
- W: Well we would like to see more support for pre-primary because I know we're in a position of being pre-primary teachers we consider it to be desperately, desperately important. Very very important part of children's education. We think that if any kind of school should be subsidised (Z: Yes) (I: Mm) it should be pre-primary.
- Y: Especially if you want to educate the masses // who haven't
- F: // Whose been understimulated (U: Yah) to close those gaps (Z: Those gaps are very important). They need the pre-primary, informal education to come up to the level of other children who have had enriched childhoods.
- Z: And I also think that in the future if it could be worked out I'd like to see this school being used not just in the morning for pre-primary but like adult education (I: Mm). Especially teaching people about the importance of pre-primary, and then parents come and see and learn why it's so important. And for other things like [unclear]

- I: There's I think that the teachers at the Port High School told me that they they've just completed a parenting skills course //
- Z: // Yes, very effective.
- Y: Our teachers assistant went (I: Right).
- U: Mr Miller was saying something about that as well about using the hall for different things (I: Mm).
- W: Yah, I think facilities must be shared, one way or another.
- I: And perhaps also for the school to become more involved with community issues and community education (Z: Mm). Thank you very much it's been very interesting for me.