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A Question of Marginalization: Coloured Identities and Education in the Western Cape, South Africa

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Abstract

The central aim of this research is to evaluate the claim by members of the Coloured population of the Western Cape that they are as socially and economically marginalized under the current government as they were under apartheid. The purpose of this is to contribute to the debate on post-apartheid social transformation and broader debates on the continued use of the notion of Colouredness in the South African context. The research findings are based on fieldwork carried out in four main high schools in Coloured communities in the Western Cape province.

This thesis first establishes the broad theoretical, political and historical background of the research. This section of the thesis debates the nature of Colouredness and the existing theoretical frameworks for the analysis of Coloured identities. Following this Coloured experiences of post-apartheid education policy and provision are considered. Within this analysis the evidence for claims of marginalization is discussed and its nature and intention is assessed. From this basis, the thesis then investigates the reactions of pupils to this perceived marginalization, in terms of their attitudes towards education, their aspirations and their attitudes towards other pupils. A final part of the analysis considers the nature of school and community responses to pupils' reactions to their perceived marginalization. This section investigates not only the nature of the responses, but also seeks to provide explanations for these responses, using the theoretical frameworks of the earlier sections. Finally, this thesis draws conclusions based on the original questions posed and then points to the wider implications of this research in the South African political and international theoretical contexts.

List of Abbreviations Used

ANB	-	African National Bond
ANC	-	African National Congress
APO	-	African Political Organisation
BEE	-	Black Economic Empowerment
C2005	-	Curriculum 2005
CBD	-	Central Business District
CLP	-	Coloured Labour Preference
CNE	-	Christian National Education
DA	-	Democratic Alliance
DoE	-	Department of Education
DP	-	Democratic Party
DRC	-	Dutch Reformed Church
FA	-	Federal Alliance
GNU	-	Government of National Unity
NNP	-	New National Party
NP	-	National Party
OBE	-	Outcomes-Based Education
RDP	-	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SGB	-	School Governing Body
UCT	-	University of Cape Town
UWC	-	University of the Western Cape
VOC	-	Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie)
WCED	-	Western Cape Education Department

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Chapter 1: Introduction

“When there was the White people in power, they got the most opportunities. Now the Black people are in power, they have the most opportunities. And the Coloureds, the Coloureds... well, we are always getting left out.” (Zaida 1 15/8/00)¹

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Aims of Thesis

The issue of the marginalization of the Coloured² population is of considerable academic and political importance in post-apartheid South Africa. The central aim of this research is to analyse the claim by members of the Coloured population of the Western Cape that they are as socially and economically marginalized under the current government as they were under apartheid. In order to assess this claim the research project focuses on perceptions of high school education in four communities in the Western Cape province.

In order to investigate this central aim I have set further questions as objectives. These are:

1. Is it correct to speak of a “Coloured” population in South Africa? Are there multiple forms of Colouredness? Does race as a mode of identification have relevance in post-apartheid South Africa?

¹ Throughout this thesis this format is used to label interview sections. Details of research participants quoted and cited are included in Appendix 1.

² Within this thesis I have used the apartheid nomenclature “Coloured”, “White” and “Black” to describe population groups. This is not in any way intended to support apartheid constructions, but to provide an effective means by which to challenge them. If the impacts of apartheid are to be overcome, it is essential to recognise the impact of different experiences of apartheid and pre-apartheid South Africa upon population groups. Therefore throughout this thesis I use the term Coloured to refer to those people who have “lived through the Coloured experience” (Martin 1999, 4).

2. Are assertions of marginalization made by all members of the Coloured population, or does this practice relate only to certain sectors of the population?
3. Is there evidence that South African education policies are biased against the Coloured population? Is there evidence that government policy in general marginalizes the Coloured population? Is there a difference between government rhetoric on reconstruction and development and the implementation of policy?
4. What suggestions can be made from this research in terms of developments in government education policy and implementation?
5. In what ways does this research challenge current literature on Coloured identity in South Africa? What can this study contribute to an understanding of the processes of social transformation in South Africa?
6. What can this research contribute to the international literatures on race, ethnicity and race relations?

Although the focus of this research is on a particular racial group and its historical construction, I do not consider racial identities in South Africa to be static, nor do I perceive race as a given in identification. In order to move away from the established recognition of race as the dominant social signifier my research takes into account the geography of the region. By focusing on four spatially and historically distinct areas the diversity in identity and opportunities for transition are noted.

By moving away from this monolithic given of race it is therefore possible to engage with debates regarding hybrid identities and broader debates of marginality.

1.1.2 Education as a Research Field

Education was selected as the focus of analysis of the claims of marginalization for a number of reasons. This thesis is not primarily about education, but uses it as a site for the analysis of government policy construction and implementation, and community reactions to government models. Education is used as a lens through which to view the nature of Coloured perceptions of post-apartheid South Africa, and the processes of identity construction. This is not an education thesis, and therefore contains only limited engagement with education theory.

The first reason that education was selected was that it has been given a central role in the government's programme for economic reconstruction and development. Education was also used by the apartheid state in its programme of development through stratified funding, curriculum construction and other means. Since the state has prioritised education in this way, it is a useful site for the analysis of the perceived opportunities for economic development of a section of the nation's population.

A second factor is the focus on education as a site of social reconstruction and development, a priority strongly associated with economic reconstruction. Education policy in South Africa can be seen to represent the state's vision for developing society and is therefore analysed to locate factors contributing to perceptions of marginalization. This is particularly pertinent when analysing South African education policies, which have a rhetoric of inclusivity and equal opportunities.

A third reason for the focus on education is the established international literature on education as a site of individual and group identity construction. When attempting to assess the changing nature of post-apartheid identities it is apposite to

base the study in a space where identities are not static, but are being challenged and reconstituted.

A final reason that education was chosen was the age of secondary school pupils. Not only do these youths represent the future of South Africa, but they are also at an age where many forms of identity are being negotiated.

Due to these factors, education represents an excellent site for the investigating the claims of marginalization within the Coloured population.

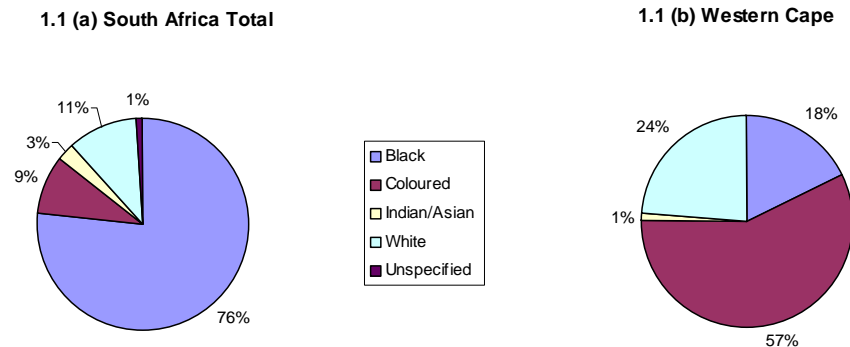
1.1.3 The Coloured Population of South Africa

The people classified as Coloured in South Africa represent a group of people with diverse historical origins and experiences. The Coloured population of South Africa derives mainly from the miscegenation of White settlers at the Cape with the indigenous peoples, the Khoikhoi and the San, and the imported slaves, who were brought from areas such as Ceylon, Madagascar and East Africa.

Due to the diversity of origins and experiences, many have questioned the validity of Coloured as a mode of identification. The Coloured population have been termed a group of individuals and communities “*lumped together for administrative purposes*” (Lewis 1987, 2). They have been constructed as a residual group “*whose sole common feature is negatively defined*” (Whisson 1972 in Lewis 1987, 4). While South Africa’s White and African populations were defined in terms of characteristics that placed them a particular racial group, Coloureds were defined as anyone who could not be included in any other racial group.

One of the principal foci of this thesis is to engage with this debate within the post-apartheid context. The construction of the Coloured population and the politics of this construction are discussed at greater length in Chapter 4.

Figure 1.1 Population of South Africa and the Western Cape



Source: 1996 Census Data in Statistics South Africa (2001) and 1995 October Household Survey in Orkin 1998

As Figure 1.1. indicates the Coloured population represents just under 10 percent of the national population and over half of the population of the Western Cape. On the basis of population size alone the study of Coloured experiences in post-apartheid South Africa is important. However, there is still relatively little research carried out in this field, with much of the work continuing to speak in terms of a Black/White binary. Research on the Coloured population is therefore important as it challenges this binary construction and provides the means for the development of a more nuanced understanding of South African society.

The study of the post-apartheid experiences of the Coloured population is an important research area. The perceptions of the Coloured population, as a minority group in both the apartheid and post-apartheid eras, towards government policy provide a powerful critique of the government's stance of non-racialism. Chapter 2

deals further with the question of whether this assertion of non-racialism is in fact an assertion of Africanism.

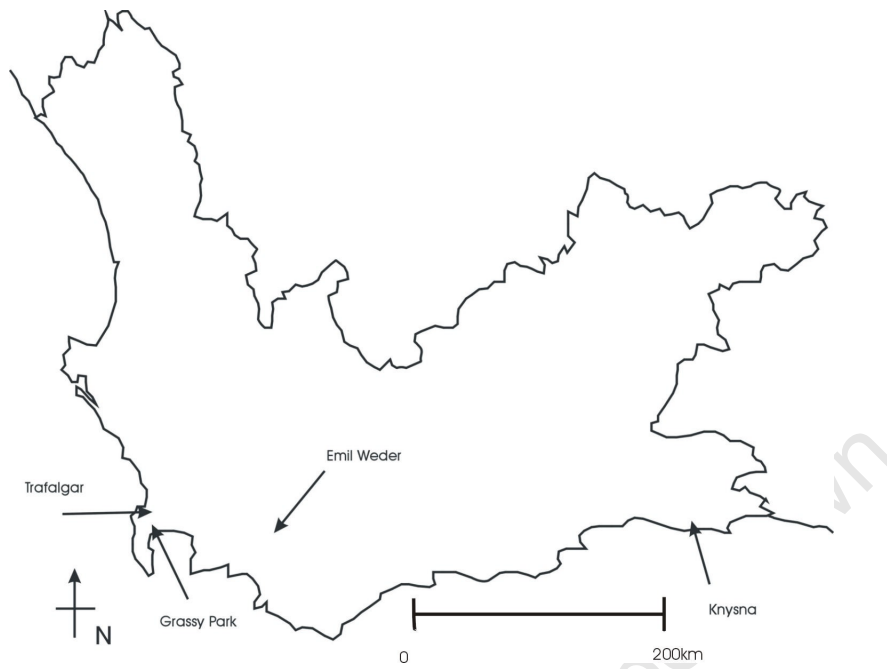
As this section has demonstrated the study of Coloured experiences of post-apartheid South Africa is of importance in the development of both academic and political debates.

1.1.4 Introduction of Field Sites

This thesis is based on the study of four main and two subsidiary field sites in the Western Cape. This province has been selected due to the concentration of the Coloured population within it and also as a result of the politics of the province. At the time of data collection the Western Cape was one of only two of the nine provinces in the country not governed by the ANC. There was a highly antagonistic relationship between the national and provincial governments. Due to the highly politicised nature of the province, the Western Cape provides an excellent site for analysis of government practices and rhetoric, and the disparities between the two.

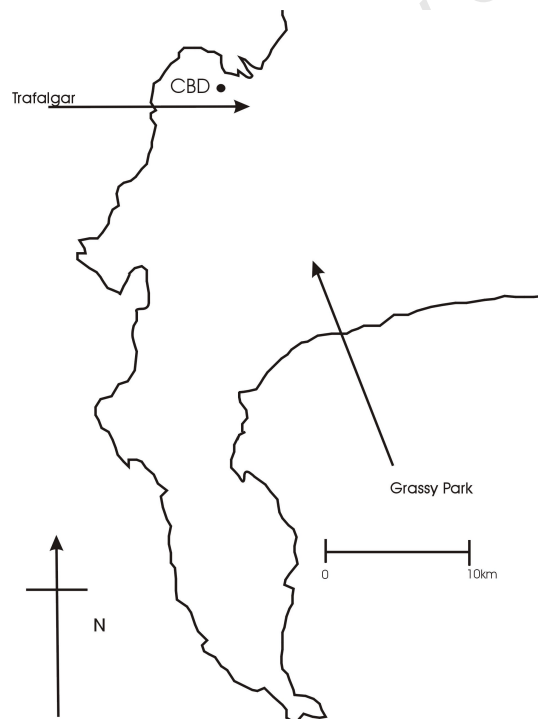
Figures 1.2 and 1.3 show the location of the field sites in the Western Cape and Cape Town. The four field sites chosen were Trafalgar High School, Hoërskool Emil Weder, Knysna Sekondêre Skool and Grassy Park High School. In this section I provide a brief overview of the schools and their localities.

Figure 1.2 Location of Field Sites within Western Cape



Source: Adapted from Map Studio (undated)

Figure 1.3 Location of Cape Town Field Sites Relative to CBD



Source: Adapted from SA-Ventures (undated)

1.1.4.1 Trafalgar High School

Trafalgar is located in the highly symbolic location of what used to be called District Six (renamed Zonnebloem), a mixed area from which an estimated 60 000 people were removed following the area being declared White in 1966 according to the Group Areas Act of 1950. The school itself was the first non-White High School in South Africa and educated many of the most influential Coloured people in South Africa, including the government minister Dullah Omar, the musician Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand), the authors Richard Rive and Alex le Guma, and a number of anti-apartheid activists. Today the school has approximately 70% Coloured and 30% Black learners, in stark contrast to apartheid era education. This changed demographic is due to the proximity of the school to major transport routes from township areas. The school is English medium, with most Coloured learners being English-Afrikaans bilingual and all Black learners being Xhosa-English bilingual. The vast majority of the Coloured learners are Muslim.

1.1.4.2 Hoërskool Emil Weder

Emil Weder is located in Genadendal, a small village located 150km from Cape Town, in the Overberg region. The village is the site of the earliest mission station in South Africa and was one of 26 “Coloured Reserves” or “Coloured Rural Areas” declared by the pre-apartheid government. The law stated that only people who were classified “Coloured” were allowed to live in these areas. As the oldest mission station in South Africa, Genadendal has a symbolic resonance, furthered by its subsequent history. In 1838 the first Teacher Training College in South Africa was established there, but it was closed in 1926 when the Department of Public Education argued that Coloured people had no need of tertiary education. The selection of a

previous missionary settlement reflects the presence of a sizeable proportion of the Coloured population in remote rural areas. This school was exclusively Coloured, except for two White children from a neighbouring farm. Largely Afrikaans and exclusively Christian, these communities are more conservative and, due to the great distance from metropolitan areas, more culturally isolated than the other field sites selected.

1.1.4.3 Knysna Sekondêre Skool

Located in Knysna, 490km from Cape Town, the form of Coloured identity present was not dominated by association with Cape Town. In 1957 the apartheid state declared most of the then Cape Province an area of Coloured Labour Preference. Within this area employers were to refuse permission for an African to be employed if there were unemployed Coloured workers available. Without legal contracts Blacks were termed “illegal” and therefore did not qualify for housing and were subject to harsh pass laws. Housing provision for Blacks was frozen in the Cape Peninsula in 1962, and in the rest of the Cape Province in 1968. Many Black families were removed from the Coloured Labour Preference Area, or forced to live as illegal residents constantly under the threat of eviction. Coloured Labour Preference was repealed in 1986 (Christopher 1994, 122 and Lemon 1982, 67).

Knysna has traditionally had a higher proportion of Black people than other areas of the Western Cape, due its location near the edge of this Labour Preference Area. There is considerable evidence of Black people adopting strategies to avoid removal from this area; families would speak only Afrikaans in public, women would change their style of dress and families would change their surnames to Coloured ones. Many Black people married Coloureds in order to attempt to pass as Coloureds

and therefore maintain their residence (Driver *et al* 1995). Attitudes to race therefore tend to be less rigid than in other areas of the Western Cape.

The school itself was located in Hornlee, the area to which the Coloured population were moved under Group Areas. Due to the relatively small size of Knysna the variation of experiences of the learners was greater here than in other schools, ranging from very affluent to urban shanty housing and forest shacks. Approximately 15% of learners were Black with the rest being Coloured. The school was exclusively Afrikaans-medium and Christian.

1.1.4.4 Grassy Park High School

Grassy Park is one of the more affluent areas of the Cape Flats area (the main resettlement area for those relocated under Group Areas). The relative affluence of the area is the result of the early residents of the area being granted the right to buy their houses and not rent them from the council, as was usual in other areas (Stadler 22/5/01). The Cape Flats is an area created by the apartheid government and is riddled with gangsterism and drugs. Due to lack of proximity to Black township areas and main transport routes, the school was entirely Coloured. The school was dual medium English and Afrikaans, with the majority choosing to learn in English despite having Afrikaans as their first language. This school had lost many local pupils to previously White schools and as a result now had an increasing number of learners from surrounding less affluent Coloured townships, such as Lavender Hill. As a result, although Grassy Park itself is not associated strongly with gangsterism and drugs, many of the learners come from communities where they are exposed to these problems on a daily basis.

1.1.4.5 Other Schools

In addition, shorter periods of fieldwork were conducted in two other schools. The first was Langa High School, the oldest high school for Black learners in Cape Town, located in Langa township. This was selected largely due to contacts established in that community and because a number of the Black learners at Trafalgar came from Langa. This school had exclusively Xhosa mother tongue students, but the medium of instruction was (officially) English.

The other school attended was Camps Bay High School, located in one of the wealthiest areas of Cape Town. When teachers in Coloured schools talk about how previously White schools have maintained their historical advantage through selling-off land and charging high fees, Camps Bay is one of the most frequently cited schools. This school now serves White, Coloured and Black learners, although it still has a White majority.

Section 1.1 has provided an overview of the constituent elements of the thesis and a justification for the selection of the research topic. The following section provides an overview of the thesis structure.

1.2 Thesis structure

This section provides an overview of the thesis structure by outlining chapter content. **Chapter 2**, which is written in a more journalistic style than other chapters in the thesis, provides an overview of the political environment in which the research is located. The two dominant post-apartheid political discourses, “Rainbow Nation” and “Two Nations,” are discussed. Following this an overview of the politics of the Western Cape is provided with particular reference to Coloured voting practices. The

purpose of this chapter is to provide a context for the research, by highlighting the key political debates and attitudes prevalent in post-apartheid South Africa.

Following on from Chapter 2, the Methodology chapter (**Chapter 3**) deals with the issue of the necessity of locating research practices within a broader socio-political context. As a result a large part of this chapter deals with ethics and the production of research identities within fieldwork. The second part of this chapter deals with the actual methodologies employed and justification of the selection of field sites. Returning to the original theme, this chapter concludes with a discussion around the politics of writing and disseminating research in South Africa.

Chapter 4 deals with the issue of Coloured identities in South Africa. Within this chapter I challenge the two main academic and political discourses regarding Coloured identities: Reification and Erasure. I propose instead that Coloured identities should be considered a form of Cornered Community. This theoretical stance is justified in the second part of the chapter, which deals with historical constructions of Colouredness. This section first demonstrates the diversity within the Coloured population through analysis of the histories of the Coloured communities in Cape Town, Genadendal and Knysna. Following this, the relationships between the White and Coloured populations are considered. This sub-section points towards commonality through borrowed culture, miscegenation and apartheid experiences. The historical analyses of this chapter therefore provides a powerful critique of the Reification and Erasure literatures. The identity issues discussed within this chapter provide the grounding for much of the discussion in later chapters.

Chapter 5 introduces the theme of education. This chapter acts as a linking chapter between the background chapters, 2 and 4, and the analysis chapters, 6, 7 and 8. The first section engages with some of the theoretical debates around education:

education and the economy, education for socialisation, the potency of education for socialisation and the potency of education as resistance. The second section deals with South African education in the colonial, union and apartheid eras. The final section deals with education as a site of protest. These final two sections illustrate the use of education by the state to create and maintain the social and political identities discussed in Chapters 2 and 4. The discussion of apartheid-era education in this chapter provides a frame of reference for Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

The central aim of the thesis is to analyse the claim by members of the Coloured population of the Western Cape that they are as marginalized by the current government as they were by the apartheid state. The purpose of **Chapter 6** is to investigate this claim through experiences of post-apartheid education.

The first part of this chapter therefore analyses the development of post-apartheid education policy. The second part analyses the experiences of the field site schools in the post-apartheid era in terms of economic and cultural marginalization. This chapter raises the question as to whether the marginalization felt by members of the Coloured population is intentional, or whether it is related to problems of implementation.

A final consideration within this chapter is the question of whether it is Coloured pupils who are being marginalized or Coloured schools. This question is raised in the recognition that in the post-apartheid era many wealthier Coloured pupils have moved away from Coloured schools and have begun to attend historically White schools. This is an important consideration since it provides an insight into the nature of the relationship between race and class in post-apartheid South Africa.

In **Chapter 7** I analyse the ways in which pupils react to their perceived marginalization within the school context. The impact of geographical location is integral to the analysis within this chapter, as it was in Chapter 6. There are four main sections to this chapter. The first deals with pupils' beliefs about the purpose and value of education, the second with their aspirations and factors that prevent them from meeting their fulfilling their ambitions. The third section considers the impact of perceptions of marginalization on attitudes towards other pupils, in terms of racism towards Black pupils and the "Othering" of Coloured pupils. This section is linked to the discussion of historical constructions within Chapter 4 and the political climate of South Africa discussed in Chapter 2. A final section discusses reasons for generational differences in attitudes towards education. This section raises further issues about the linkages between political experiences and identity construction.

As the final analysis chapter, **Chapter 8** provides an analysis of schools' reactions to the attitudes of pupils. There are three main sections to this chapter, considering different reactions of schools. Each of the forms of reaction was evident in each school at different points. Within the first section I consider reasons for non-reaction by schools: lack of adequate resources and acceptance of pupils' beliefs. The second section considers the promotion of alternative forms of identity within the school. Each of the schools was active in the promotion of some form of alternative identity, in the case of three of the schools the identity promoted was a particular localised form. This section discusses the nature of the identities promoted and analyses reasons for the promotion of these identities. This firmly links this chapter with the theoretical work of Chapters 2 and 4. It also provides links with Chapter 6's analysis of post-apartheid education policy. The final section of this chapter looks at

the school as a site of contestation between various scales of governance. This links the chapter with the work in Chapter 5 on the school as a site of protest.

The concluding chapter of the thesis (**Chapter 9**) draws together the theoretical and empirical work to draw conclusions relating to the original aims and objectives of the thesis. The key conclusions of this chapter relate to the political experiences of the Coloured population and the impact of these upon processes identity construction. These conclusions do not deal solely with political impacts of these, but also with theoretical issues of identity construction within both the national and international contexts. This thesis concludes by suggesting directions for future research resulting from the findings of this thesis and outlines four specific areas for further consideration.

University of Cape Town

Chapter 2: The Changing Political Climate of South Africa, 1994-2001¹

“The only thing that everyone is certain of is that no one knows the answers. The country sometimes feels like a ship winging wildly on a single anchor that is threatening to break loose. The passengers are fiercely proud of their vessel, but none of them really care about the others, or have bothered to find out their names. And none of them can remember when last they saw the captain” (Matshikiza 2000)

Following the end of apartheid, Archbishop Desmond Tutu proclaimed South Africa to be a “Rainbow Nation” in his work with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This notion was adopted into the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela during his presidency. Under Thabo Mbeki’s presidency the notion of Rainbow Nation has increasingly given way to “Two Nations”. This change in rhetoric has been widely criticised by both local South African and international commentators. This response has been, at times, unreasoned and counter-productive. In the first section of this chapter I therefore critique the phrases “Rainbow Nation” and “Two Nations”, in terms of their theoretical bases and the social, political and economic realities they reflect and influence.

Later in this chapter I consider the politics of the Western Cape and how it is divergent from, and often antagonistic to, the national political rhetoric. The changing national and regional political situations have clear impacts upon the lived experience of Coloured people in South Africa and their perceived role in South African society as a whole. Following the discussion of the politics of the Western Cape I then consider the voting patterns of the Coloured population of the Western Cape and place these patterns within both the local and national contexts.

¹ In this chapter I have dealt with political change in South Africa up to and including December 2001, any changes after this point have not been considered.

As a concluding part of this chapter I therefore consider how the political atmosphere both impacts upon Coloured identities in South Africa and relevance of this for the central questions of the thesis.

This chapter has a much more journalistic style than the rest of the thesis and the majority of references are journalistic and not academic. This is largely a result of the contemporary nature of the political realities discussed. In addition this chapter aims to provide a background for the thesis as a whole. As such, I felt a denser theoretical base to be unnecessary and would over complicate.

2.1 National Political Climate

2.1.1 From “Rainbow Nation”...

“Look at your hands – different colours representing different people. You are the rainbow people of God.” (Desmond Tutu)

As stated in the introduction of this chapter Desmond Tutu has been credited with the first use of the term “Rainbow Nation”. It is certain that the notion of South African society as a rainbow first came into common parlance following Tutu’s appearance on a series of television slots speaking of the “*Rainbow People of God*” (Baines 1998). This use of television ensured that this phrase soon came part of the common language of South Africa.

The sense of euphoria in South Africa following the end of apartheid and the uniquely “home grown” negotiated settlement was evident in many areas of public life. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established in order to create space where injustices of the past could be dealt with and victims could have a space to heal. The SABC – the national broadcasting company – adopted the phrase “*Simunye – We are One*” as the logo for its main TV station, and across the nation

projects were established to encourage reconciliation and dialogue across racial and cultural lines.

Of all of these the most powerful representation was that of the “Rainbow Nation”. When the term first came into use there was a degree of debate as to what it might actually mean for South Africa. The symbolism on which this notion drew was wide; ranging from Judaeo-Christian imagery and Xhosa cosmology, to a general vision of multiculturalism. When Tutu spoke as a clergyman of rainbows he may have been drawing on the Old Testament flood story and God’s promise through the rainbow that he would not pass further judgment on humankind. For a country being reborn after the cataclysm of apartheid, this was a powerful symbol and would have resonated with the Calvinistic religion of the Afrikaners who needed to be drawn gently into the new South Africa. In Xhosa cosmology the rainbow symbolises hope and assurance of a bright future (Baines 1998).

Taken simply as an image, the Rainbow Nation is meant to demonstrate the coexistence of a multicultural society and its beauty. By the adoption of such a memorable visual image and the evocation of such a variety of cultural heritages, the “Rainbow Nation” became an ideal that members of all of South Africa’s diverse communities could claim as their own.

However, this notion has not been without criticism. Politicians, academics and the press on all sides of the political spectrum have fiercely attacked both the symbolism of the Rainbow Nation itself and the ideals that it represents.

The symbolism of the Rainbow Nation has come under particular criticism from members of the Coloured population, who through their history would at first appear to be the embodiment of the Rainbow Nation. The most simplistic criticism has come in the form of local rap music, where the MC says “*The Rainbow Nation*,

that sounds dumb, because you find racism both sides of the spectrum." (Black Noise "So Called Coloured Folks" 1998). This simple line is in fact a bold statement of one of the key problems of the form of imagined community proposed.

The Rainbow Nation apparently holds no group as being higher than any other, no group as having greater rights or access to means by which to exercise these rights. This idealistic notion was therefore open to criticism for being blind to the reality of early post-apartheid South Africa and for therefore being a powerful force to counter any change.

In its attempt to state that all people in South Africa have equal rights and equally valid stories, the Rainbow Nation fails to recognise the power differentials between the various population groups which resulted from the colonial and apartheid history of South Africa. In addition, the very imagery of a rainbow drew attention to healing division primarily based on colour. As such it failed to register the need for a restructuring of society along gender and other lines in the general public's mind, despite the many inequalities accentuated by apartheid in these areas. That is not to assume that apartheid was the only source of these inequalities, there were other sources such as African systems of patriarchy. Apartheid did however play a dominant role in the reinforcement of these systems of inequality. The following criticism was levelled by Rhoda Kadalie, former Human Rights Commissioner:

"[D]iscrimination was not only a black and white issue, but also had to do with inequalities in the areas of gender, ethnicity, class and religion. But race has become central to our discussion because one can always point a finger at the white oppressor, while the focus on gender and religious discrimination points to the oppressor in one's bed, who might be the same race." (Kadalie 2000)

Although this may be a valid criticism of the term, it should be considered that this failure to note differential power may have been intentional. Indeed, prior to the

end of apartheid there was much unease among the White population of South Africa. The wealthier White South Africans were fearful due to uncertainty over the potential financial management of a Black government, and the less wealthy were fearful of loss of status. Both parties feared violence.

The interim government was keen to allay the fears of those who controlled economic power in the country and this can be seen as one reason for the adoption of an image of national development that was so value neutral. Indeed, in the current government there are many who state that both the rhetoric and practices of the Mandela government placed too much emphasis on the appeasement of Whites and not enough on the upliftment of those oppressed under the previous regime (February and Jacobs 2001).

The adoption of the notion of the Rainbow Nation was without doubt a powerful nation building strategy, but perhaps the very factors that made it so easy to digest were those that have hindered real shifts in economic power in South Africa. The comfortable imagery of "*Simunye – We are One*" absolved those in positions of power of their redistributive responsibility. In addition it failed to empower the historically disadvantaged as it glossed over their lack of means to exercise their rights.

It was this lack of a force for change that led to the Mbeki government's adoption of the rhetoric of Two Nations, which is addressed in the next sub-section.

2.1.2 ...To “Two Nations”

Figure 2.1: Demise of the Rainbow Nation? (Source: Zapiro 28/08/00 <http://www.mg.co.za/zapiro/2000/aug/aug28.html>)



“One nation, one station, one team, one beer, one load of codswallop ... after only three years the rainbow nation has succumbed to an acid rain of cynicism and distrust. South Africans, riven by suspicions and ancient enmities, have reverted to character. In the end, as the French historian Fernand Braudel observed, the long tides of history must assert themselves, and the long tides of South African history are more lightning than rainbow, more storm than peace, more tribe than nation.” (Owen 1997)

Although the Rainbow Nation has been attacked on many fronts, its replacement rhetoric, Two Nations, has been more fiercely criticised by the media and opposition parties. It has been common practice to attack the change in rhetoric as counter developmental. A key example of this was the statement by the leader of the opposition, Tony Leon that: *“There was a happy non-racial period between 1994 and 1999. In the 1990s South Africa was aspiring towards a non-racial future, even though there was a lot of violence. But what you have at the moment, from the state, is almost a denial of transition”* (Barrell and Seepe 2001).

Others have claimed that the move to the Two Nations approach was a consequence of the loss of the unifying figurehead, Mandela, as the journalist Jaspreet Kindra suggests: “*South Africa had Nelson Mandela, in his African prints, dancing with the common person. No one else, however, seems to know the steps*” (Kindra 2000).

I argue that the Two Nations rhetoric does not deny transition and that there are considerable linkages between the ideologies behind both “Two Nations” and “Rainbow Nation”. Although I do not support many of the assumptions and attitudes behind the “Two Nations” position, I believe that it does have a role to play in the process of redistribution and nation building.

Following the end of the Mandela presidency the ANC government has ceased to speak of the Rainbow Nation, choosing to refer to South Africa in terms of being Two Nations, as the following passage illustrates:

“One of these nations is white, relatively prosperous, regardless of gender or geographic dispersal. It has ready access to a developed economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. This enables us to argue that . . . all members of this nation have the possibility to exercise their right to equal opportunity, the development opportunities to which the Constitution of '93 committed our country.

The second and larger nation of South Africa is the black and poor, with the worst affected being women in the rural areas, the black rural population in general and the disabled. This nation lives under conditions of a grossly underdeveloped economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. It has virtually no possibility to exercise what in reality amounts to a theoretical right to equal opportunity, with that right being equal within this black nation only to the extent that it is equally incapable of realisation.

We cannot claim, therefore, that we have yet achieved our objective of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa as envisaged in the Freedom Charter. It is still our responsibility ‘to break down barriers of division and create a country where there will be neither whites nor blacks, just South Africans, free and united in diversity.’” (Mbeki 2001 in ANC 2001a)

The basic premise of Two Nations is the re-inscription of South African society in a Black/White binary, for the purpose of highlighting inequality as a catalyst for change. Many members of the Coloured and Indian populations have felt excluded by this rhetoric and believe that their absence from the debate has rendered their needs invisible.

2.1.3 Criticisms of Two Nations

The Two Nations rhetoric's re-racialization of politics has been criticised on a number of grounds. This section deals with two of the main criticisms: that the Two Nations approach ignores the fact that there are members of different population groups with the same objectives, White capitalists and members of the Black bourgeoisie for example, and that it has been used to silence White opposition. Perhaps the most important criticism though is the assertion that the Two Nations rhetoric undermines reconciliation and emphasises racial divisions. This criticism is linked with the latter of the two criticisms discussed in this section. It is in this context that I discuss the criticism of the undermining of reconciliation, as a part of the broader debate on differing visions of non-racialism.

Although the Two Nations approach has been criticised for ignoring the increasingly powerful Black economic elite, I argue the contrary. The ANC has played an active role in the development of the Black bourgeoisie with the intention of guiding its direction, as resolution 11 of the ANC's 50th National Conference Resolution of the National Question demonstrates:

“The ANC must develop programmes to guide the evolution of the emerging black bourgeoisie in a way that fosters nation-building.”
(ANC 1997a)

Although the ANC has listed one its three main aims as “*The liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general from political and economic bondage. It means uplifting the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor*” (ANC undated), the party has pursued neo-liberal economic policies, such as GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution), which have been implemented to meet IMF and World Bank approval.

Mbeki has recently argued the importance of developing the Black middle class as follows:

“...since ours is a capitalist society, the objective of the reracialisation of the ownership of productive property is key to the struggle against racism in our society.” (Mbeki in Saul 2000)

Mbeki believes apartheid South Africa to have been Colonialism of a Special Kind, as described by Harold Wolpe (1988). Post-apartheid South Africa is therefore viewed as postcolonial. In this light, the objective of post-apartheid economic reconstruction is not the creation of a socialist society, but the development of a society where race is no longer a determining criterion of access to social and economic goods and services. (ANC 2001a). Therefore the ANC has sought to build a Black bourgeoisie to “*promote all kinds of empowerment. The reality is that the bigger and more successful this black bourgeoisie becomes, the more diminished the race consciousness will become*” (ANC 2001b).² Classes have always been arranged along racial lines in South Africa, thereby creating a greater social distance between classes. Through challenging the construction of class as race, it is hoped that the cultural boundaries between classes governing notions of social responsibility will

² The effectiveness of this is dependence of the practices employed by the state to promote the Black bourgeoisie. At times in post-apartheid South Africa the primarily Black focus of affirmative action has led to a heightened race consciousness among other population groups. This issue is addressed in subsequent chapters of the thesis.

also be challenged. This is recognised in the ANC's document on Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) (ANC 2002).

It can be argued that the Two Nations approach is a part of the strategy to encourage a sense of "nation building" in the Black middle class. That is to say that although the state has sought to prioritise class over race, it recognises and manipulates race consciousness for its own ends and for the economic transformation of South Africa. The Black middle class may no longer support the ANC unreservedly due to the post-apartheid de-racialisation of the middle classes (Barrell 2000a). The ANC have therefore attempted to re-racialise politics to challenge the sense of social responsibility in this Black middle class as is evident in the following quote:

"Indeed, it is critical for the ANC and the government to help guide these and other owners of capital to promote social transformation mindful of the fact that such transformation will serve at least their long-term interests and those of society as a whole." (ANC 1997b)

Although the extent to which the ANC has been able to direct these individuals and groups is debatable, there is considerable evidence of Black entrepreneurs and companies being actively involved in social transformation. In addition to organisations such as the Greater Soweto Business Forum, Black business people have played a key role in the direction of company policies in favour of social transformation. For example, the Chairperson of Emfuleni Resorts in the Eastern Cape has spoken of his company's commitment to social transformation within the context of economic development:

"Our mission is not only to make a quality contribution to the development and growth of the province's tourism industry, but also to the socio-economic upliftment of all our people. Our company offers the historically marginalized people of this project an opportunity to become partners in a challenging empowerment enterprise." (Boltina in Mabogoane 2000)

This consideration of social and economic transformation is a common theme in Black business, for example when the Black Business Council appointed commissioners to investigate Black Economic Empowerment, one of their key objectives was to find a way to integrate the empowerment project into the transformation of South African society (Ramaphosa *et al* 2001, prologue). This interest was clearly not solely altruistic, as Saki Macozoma has explained:

“Black people must use the resources they are beginning to command to promote programmes aimed at taking the majority out of poverty and onto a developmental trajectory. If poverty and disease decimate the majority, South Africa will continue as an enclave economy, its ability to attract investment will diminish because South Africa will have no skilled labour or consumers.” (Macozoma in Ramaphosa et al. 2001, 7)

The final report of the Black Economic Empowerment Commission addressed to the Black Business Council reported that Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa had been too narrowly defined and equated with the development of a Black capitalist class. It spoke of the need for BEE to be a *“people-centred strategy, in words and in deed. BEE must impact on the lives of those purposefully and systematically excluded from the economy. It must influence the life of a woman running a spaza shop in an outlying rural area, a worker in a factory in Germiston and the black manager in the corporate head office in Sandton”* (Ramaphosa *et al.* 2001, 2).

In order to achieve this the report called for, and provided guidance for *“all business people [to]... find ways of subordinating short term gains to the national growth agenda and build support for a broad understanding of BEE in business”* (Ramaphosa *et al.* 2001, 7). By this it is evident that the government’s use of the Two Nations rhetoric as a means to encourage this sense of social responsibility has had an impact on certain sectors of the Black economic elite.

It can be argued that there is a less altruistic purpose to the Two Nations approach; that it has been used as a tool of self-preservation. Siphon Seepe wrote the following about the current political situation:

“If you are critical or belong to political parties critical of the ruling elite, then your commitment to the liberation of black people is suspect. In other words, political parties like the Pan African Congress, the Azanian People’s Organisation and the Socialist Party of Azania must by extension of this logic be counter-revolutionary and anti-black. Nothing could be more ridiculous” (Seepe 2001).

A recent example of this was the portrayal of Cyril Ramaphosa, Tokyo Sexwale and Matthews Phosa as plotters attempting to overthrow or even murder the president (Mattison 2001). It has been concluded that these high profile individuals were considered a threat to the ANC’s status with the Black middle class and were therefore victims of defamation by the powerful state.

Although there is certainly an element of truth in the accusation that the state has used the Two Nations rhetoric to restrict Black opposition, I argue that the press has highlighted such incidents and has largely ignored the use of Two Nations to encourage the Black middle class’s involvement in post-apartheid social development. At present there is only really one widely circulated national newspaper that deals with political issues in any depth, the Weekly Mail and Guardian, which is highly critical of the government using any means possible. For example, in November 2001 the newspaper published an extended interview with Winnie Madikela-Mandela (Seepe *et al* 2001). She has been frequently attacked by the paper, but in this interview she was fawned over as she launched a vitriolic attack on the government. The image of the ANC portrayed in the predominantly White press is almost overwhelmingly negative. Since this is the main source of information and opinion on South African politics, there is a limited understanding of the ANC’s vision of non-racialism and Two Nations.

The second criticism of the Two Nations rhetoric is that it has been formulated to silence White opposition, through accusations of racism. The DA,³ the White led opposition party has claimed that it has been effectively silenced by the current rhetoric. At the time that Mbeki first began to use the Two Nations rhetoric, Barney Pitso, Chairman of the South African Human Rights Commission, had taken the press to court over subliminal racism (McGreal 1999). It has been asserted that the focus on race and racism has been used to deflect political debate from the delivery failures of the ANC government.

The ANC is currently campaigning a “war on racism”, which has been criticised as a threat to liberal democracy. There were complaints that “*no attempt [was] made to distinguish between mild forms of prejudice, outright bigotry, overtly racist behaviour, and political racism, often heavily disguised. Thus, on the simple argument that every white is a crypto or blatant racist, nearly five million people have been illegitimised*” (Berger 2000). The outcome of this rhetoric has been that much of the political opposition from Whites has been branded as racist, thus removing its power.

Key to understanding the accusations and counter-accusations of the DA and ANC is the meaning of non-racialism adopted by the parties. The DA have attacked the current form of non-racialism advocated by the ANC and has claimed that Mbeki’s version was formulated against the ANC’s traditions as a tool to delegitimise White opposition. They have claimed that Mbeki’s vision of “racial transformation” represents a break from the non-racial tradition of the ANC. According to them the Mbeki government has moved from a position of no

³ Democratic Alliance, for a background to this party see Section 2.2.1

discrimination on the grounds of race to a position where discrimination is an acceptable means to achieving a “non-racial” end. (Barrell 2000a).

The DA and liberal press have chosen to view this new form of non-racialism and accompanying African nationalism as an attempt to silence White opposition through accusations of racism. There is clearly an element of the ANC using its position of non-racialism in attempts to silence dissent, as discussed above, but I have argued that this detracts from what the party sees as the real purpose of the articulation of non-racialism.

The “racial transformation” proposed as a form of non-racialism clearly has at its root the recognition that the Black majority has the by far highest rates of unemployment, poverty, poor education and lack of adequate housing (Roefs and Liebenberg 1999).

It appears therefore that the accusation and counter-accusation between the ANC and DA have their root in different understandings of non-racialism, which derive from their basic political differences. The DA sees non-racialism as being based in individual rights, whereas the ANC’s vision of non-racialism is more group based. The ANC sees non-racialism as a process where the common goal is a restructured society no longer based on race; the most historically disadvantaged groups therefore have to be prioritised.

To conclude, although it is possible to understand the Two Nations ideology in light of the main criticisms discussed above, I would suggest that although there have clearly been occasions where the government has used accusations of racism as a means to detract attention from its own failures, it is too simplistic to conclude that Mbeki has adopted this term in order to protect his government’s position.

2.1.4 Rainbow Nation and Two Nations in perspective

I would argue instead that the Two Nations rhetoric is a natural progression from the Rainbow Nation and not a rejection of it. The evocation of the Rainbow Myth was an essential part of the carefully negotiated transition from apartheid. The Rainbow Myth played a large role in preventing the predicted civil war and in limiting the extent of the Brain Drain in the immediate post-apartheid era. The economic and social inequalities were largely glossed over for the first five years of democratic rule of South Africa, but the government and the economic powers had always been aware that the Rainbow Nation ideal was not sustainable. A recent article in *The Guardian* spoke of how Mandela's vision of post-apartheid South Africa and the use of the Rainbow Nation had been misinterpreted by both the West and White South Africa in general. Younge concluded that:

“He has been portrayed as a kindly old gent who only wanted black and white people to get on, rather than a determined political activist who wished to redress the power imbalance between the races under democratic rule. In the years following his release, the west wilfully mistook his push for peace and reconciliation not as the vital first steps to building a consensus that could in turn build a battered nation but as a desire to both forgive and forget.” (Younge 2002)

It was this general consensus of the Rainbow Nation that encouraged the assertion that the negotiated settlement had too strongly favoured the White elite and in the light of this the government changed its rhetoric. The Rainbow era had to end and Mbeki began to speak of Two Nations.

Despite the change in rhetoric, there is debate as to whether policy direction has changed to reflect this. Under both post-apartheid governments economic strategies have benefited only a small percentage of the Black population and inequalities have continued to increase in the Two Nations era. The level of intra-Black inequality is now comparable with the level of inequality between Blacks and

Whites (Natrass and Seekings 2001 and Jacobs 2001). South Africa currently has the most skewed distribution of income in the world behind Brazil (Daniels 2000). Whether the articulation of Two Nations to encourage the Black middle classes to play a more pro-active role in redistribution will be effective has yet to be seen. Economic policies have not changed significantly to achieve this proposed reduction in inequality due to the pressures of the IMF, World Bank and the global market. The government appears to be hoping that the change in rhetoric may impact upon the economic inequality where their policies have not been able to do so.

In the proclamation of Two Nations the central aim of unity has not been dismissed. In 2001, for example, the Education Department launched its Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy, which was the outcome of discussions with academics, politicians and the general public to establish a path for using education as a means of establishing common values in South Africa (James *et al.* 2001). This document is central to the proposed development of education policy in South Africa and is particularly important given the role that education plays in the South African political environment.

The notion of Two Nations has been considered to be divisive by many members of the White, Coloured and Indian populations. It has certainly been generally received in these terms, although I would argue that its purpose should not be read in this way and that its actual impacts in terms of policy direction challenge this perception.

The Rainbow Nation and Two Nations are two myths or images of post-apartheid South Africa that have been supported by the government, both of which have chosen to overlook the institutional, structural and organisational bases of inequality (Wolpe, A. 2001). As all national myths, they to an extent reflect South

African society and to an extent shape it, but for the most part they provide a façade behind which policies can be implemented with minimal economic and social impacts of criticism from the nation as a whole.

2.2 Politics of the Western Cape

The Western Cape province was one of two provinces not governed by the ANC following the 1999 general election, the other being KwaZulu-Natal which was won by the Inkatha Freedom Party (traditionally a party of ethnic Zulu mobilization). In the 1999 general election the ANC won 43 percent of the votes cast in the province, which was insufficient for them to form a government on their own. Neither the New National Party (NNP) nor the Democratic Party (DP) would agree to form a coalition government with the ANC. Instead the province came to be governed by a coalition of two White-led opposition parties, the Democratic Party (DP) and the New National Party (NNP). These two parties and the tiny Federal Alliance (FA) subsequently formed a national alliance, the Democratic Alliance (DA) in 2000 before the local government elections (Fakir 2001). A brief background of the three constituent parties is provided below.

2.2.1 The Democratic Party (DP)

The DP was formed in April 1989 when the Progressive Federal Party, Independent Party and National Democratic Movement merged (Selikow 2000). Although only formed in 1989, the history of the DP can be traced to 1959 when a number of liberal members of the United Party formed the Progressive Party (PP) as a result of the United Party's inability to propose a strong alternative to apartheid. In the 1961 election only one PP member was elected, Helen Suzman, who remained their sole

representative in parliament for 13 years. In 1975, following a merger with another group of United Party breakaways (the Reform Party), the PP became the Progressive Reform Party. A final merger with the Committee for a United Opposition in 1977 led to the formation of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP). In 1977 the Prime Minister, Vorster, called a snap general election, following which point the PFP became the major opposition party (Hackland 1980, 6).

By the mid-1980s, fear of Black resistance to apartheid led many PFP supporters to turn instead to vote for the NP (Pearce 1999). As a result of the changing fortunes of the party, they finally merged with the Independent Party and National Democratic Movement in 1989 to form the DP. Since the end of apartheid the character of the DP has changed considerably. Some of the leading left-wingers of the DP chose to join the ANC, which has led to the DP becoming more strongly based on free-market economics. The mission of the DP in the 1999 general elections was *“the fight for the protection of human rights and the extension of federalism and free enterprise in South Africa.”*

In 1999 election the DP won just 5 of 42 seats in the Western Cape and 38 out of 400 nationally (Alvarez-Rivera 2001). Although this represents a massive increase in support from 1994 to 1999, from less than two percent to nearly 10 percent, the party approached the NNP and later the FA to form the DA. This was done for the purpose of further increasing its presence in South African politics, to create a powerful opposition to the ANC.

2.2.2 The New National Party (NNP)

The NNP is the reconfigured remnant of the National Party (NP), the party which formalised apartheid from its initial election to leadership in 1948 until the end of

apartheid in 1994. The NP itself was formed in 1913 by J.B.M. Herzog to uplift the Afrikaners who had been neglected and marginalized by the British (Lester *et al* 2000, p. 138).

The basis of Afrikaner nationalism as a response to perceived marginalization can be traced as far back as 1806 when the British arrived at the Cape and replaced the Dutch as Governors. By 1828 the British had replaced Dutch with English as the official language of the Cape, this combined with the British attitudes to slavery and a number of other factors led to the Great Trek from the Cape Colony to create the Afrikaner republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State (Keppel-Jones 1975, 63).

During the Anglo-Boer War between 20 000 and 26 000 Afrikaner women, children and elderly died in British concentration camps (Munger 1967, 58). This sense of victimisation continued after the war when children were limited to speaking three hours of Afrikaans per day and humiliated and punished if they exceeded this (Williams and Strydom 1978, 38). When the NP was formed in 1913 it was as a response to the continued subjugation of the Afrikaner peoples by the British within the Union of South Africa. A 1923 survey revealed that approximately 20 per cent of the Afrikaner population was still homeless (Attwell 1986, 63).

The NP is commonly perceived simply to be the party that developed the apartheid policy, but it is essential to view the party's development within the context of its aim at Afrikaner development and resistance to British repression. The early attitudes of the party towards the British and the development of apartheid policies are clearly linked. Generations of Afrikaners, through the combined teaching of Christian National Education and the Dutch Reformed Church, have been encouraged to believe

that the English tried to take their birthright away and that the Blacks were simply waiting for their chance to do the same (Lambley 1980, 198).

However much the psychology of the Afrikaners and the NP have been analysed in the context of relations of power during colonial and Union history, it must be recognised that the NP was the party that instigated apartheid when they came to power in 1948 under D.F. Malan. The Native Land Acts had already been passed in 1913 and extended in 1936, giving just 13 per cent of the country's land to Black majority. Following the election of the NP government, apartheid became formalised in a series of laws forming "grand" and "petty" apartheid disenfranchising the non-Whites much further. These laws ranged from the Population Registration Act (1950), Group Areas Act (1950) and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) to laws governing which films were suitable for which race groups (Parks, S.M. 1969, 5). The apartheid history of the NP has been well-documented and is therefore not dealt with in any depth at this point.

The policies of the NP were clearly aimed not simply at the economic upliftment of the Afrikaner population, but the systematic economic and social disempowerment of the non-White population. By the late 1980s however, parts of the NP had realised that its policies were not sustainable and that they would have to attempt a negotiated settlement with the ANC. Under the leadership of F.W. de Klerk the ANC was unbanned in February 1990 and Mandela was released in the same month. From this point on the NP formally moved in the ending apartheid and a place in what became the Government of National Unity (GNU).

Under the leadership of FW de Klerk, the NP became a part of the 1994 GNU, intended to operate until 1999. However, the GNU collapsed in 1996 with the withdrawal of the NP. The party had felt that it was being bypassed in decision-

making by the ANC and did not agree with some of the new policies (Beinart 2001, 296). The NP withdrew from the GNU following the introduction of the new constitution.

Following the collapse of the GNU, FW de Klerk stood down as party leader, leaving Marthinus van Schalkwyk to take over in 1997. One of van Schalkwyk's first acts was to re-brand the party as the New National Party, in the model of a European Christian Democrat party having spent time with the German Christian Democrats studying their operational and ideological configuration. The NNP aimed to be right of centre and in favour of market capitalism, but without extremes (Calland 2001). The intention was for the party to distance itself from its apartheid past and to widen its appeal beyond its White Afrikaner and Coloured working class core. Despite the re-brandings many have claimed that the NNP has been "*renewed essentially only by the addition of an 'N' to its acronym*" (Duval Smith 1999).

The movement of the NP from the GNU led to a significant loss of support. The party had failed to recognise its dependence on state patronage and had underestimated the potential disunity of the Afrikaner vote (Beinart 2001, 296). It was from this weakened position that the NNP entered into the DA.

2.2.3 Federal Alliance (FA)

The Federal Alliance is the third party in the Democratic Alliance. Led by the Louis Luyt, ex-president of the South African Rugby Football Association, the FA was formed in 1998 with Luyt stating: "*I will be damned if I leave the country's problems to my children and grandchildren. It took 300-odd years to build up the country, but we are no better off than we were four years ago. I am no longer happy to go along*". The party has a strong Afrikaans base and is the most conservative of the three

alliance members. It is also by far the smallest party, holding only two seats in the national assembly, and gaining only 0.26 percent of the votes cast for the Western Cape Provincial Legislature in the 1999 general election (Alvarez-Rivera 1999). As this party plays such a minor role in the governance of the Western Cape, it will not be considered further in this thesis.

2.2.4 Governing the Western Cape

It has often been claimed that the DA was formed as a result of an emergency coalition in the Western Cape to keep the ANC out of power in that province. In the 1999 general election the ANC won 43 percent of votes cast in the Western Cape and 18 of 42 available seats in the provincial legislature. The NNP won 17 and the DP, five (Alvarez-Rivera 1999). It is claimed fear of ANC economic policies by the leaders of industry in the Western Cape brought about the coalition and subsequent alliance.

From its inception the alliance was seen as an unequal partnership, with the DP playing the lead role, despite the numerical dominance of the NNP in the Western Cape. The DP dominance was the result of its greater support at the national level. Concessions were made on both sides, but the general perception from the outset was that the NNP had been taken over and subdued by the DP (Barrell 2000b).

Despite internal problems, the alliance has played, since its inception, an important role in South Africa's political development. It has been claimed by many that the formation of the DA opened the way to the development of a two-party system in South Africa. The power of the DA as the official national opposition party is not discussed in this thesis, although its influence in creating a dialogue has been

acknowledged. This chapter focuses instead on the impact of the DA in the Western Cape and questions the impact of varying scales of governance on the province.

The DA has used its position as leader of the Western Cape to challenge ANC national political acts and therefore to attempt to promote itself nationally as a real alternative to the ANC. The Western Cape is the only province in the country with its own provincial constitution, in stark contrast with the ANC-led provinces (Fakir *et al* 2000, p. 14, Province of the Western Cape 1998). Although bound by national laws and policies the provinces are able to adapt these policies and laws to make them more applicable to their own situations.

This section highlights one area in which provincial policies have diverged from national policy, the treatment of HIV/AIDS. The provincial government's policy on HIV/AIDS is the most publicised of provincial policies. In January 2001 the provincial legislature passed the "Rape Protocol". Under this, rape victims are entitled to have free access to a months supply of the anti-retroviral, AZT, and are treated by a team of a health worker, a police officer and a rape crisis counsellor (Leon 2001).

It is clear that the aim of this provincial protocol is not simply to improve the life chances of victims of rape in the Western Cape, but to challenge Mbeki's stance on AIDS and to promote the DA as an alternative. This intention is clear in the DA's statement at the end of the press release on its Rape Protocol:

"President Mbeki should make a clear statement supporting anti-retroviral treatment to HIV infection of rape survivors. This would resolve some of the confusion sown by his comments in Parliament, such as when he questioned rape statistics and the use of anti-retroviral drugs, and his statement against the provision of AZT to rape survivors made during the Presidential Budget debate last year."
(Leon 2001)

The Western Cape's stance on HIV/AIDS provoked the ANC to accuse the DA of attempting to poison Blacks asserting that the provision of drugs was a political ploy. An ANC spokesperson was quoted as saying:

"We find it quite outrageous that this issue, which is at the core of survival of humanity, can be exploited for political grandstanding."
(Mamaila 2000).

Although HIV/AIDS is clearly an issue of great importance in South Africa, and the policy of the provincial government is admirable, the ANC's accusation of political grandstanding is clearly grounded. It is evident that in many of the decisions taken by the DA government of the Western Cape, the primary aim is challenging national policies and creating a strong opposition.

Towards the end of 2001, the DA collapsed largely as the result of efforts by the leader of the DA, Tony Leon, to oust the Cape Town's Unicity Mayor, Peter Marais. A controversial figure since before his election as mayor in the 2000 local government elections, Marais was claimed by many to have been selected as the DA's candidate because of his popularity with the Coloured voters, who constitute the majority of the electorate. Marais had come under fire following allegations of faking letters of support for his controversial street renaming in Cape Town. He was also accused of allocating council housing to members of his family, and was suspended from duty in late August 2001 (Streek 2001; Soggot 2001). Following his suspension Tony Leon said that in addition to the scandal, Marais was a "turn-off to potential donors" and had damaged the DA's public image. At this point Marais went on record as saying "Everybody's in my corner, nobody's in Tony's corner. I've got Morkel, Cosatu, the ANC, NNP, IFP, UDM, the Muslim Party, the Middle Party... And the only person in the other corner is Tony, and yet he gets his way." (Staff reporter 2001).

It is clear that there had been problems in the alliance since its inception. In the months leading up to the street-renaming scandal, the cracks in the alliance had become more evident, but the Marais issue was the decisive factor. The NNP in the Western Cape have felt increasingly embittered towards the DP, the minority party in the alliance which has assumed the dominant role in the Western Cape. The NNP electorate in the province are overwhelmingly Coloured and there have been assertions that the White DA is marginalizing the NNP and re-inscribing the old union and apartheid model of using Coloureds to maintain political power (Merten 2001). During union times the Coloured electorate were used by White parties to bolster support (Venter 1974, 512) and under apartheid the establishment of the Tricameral parliament was seen as a means by which Coloured and Indian opposition could be limited (Lodge and Nasson 1991, 9).

In October 2001, the DA finally fell apart as the NNP entered into negotiations with the ANC to form a new alliance. This alliance was formally announced by a joint statement of the ANC and NNP on 27 November 2001, and stated that the two parties would maintain their identities and autonomy (New National Party 2001).

It seems incongruous that the party that brought apartheid to South Africa and the party it banned as a terrorist organisation should form a political coalition. There is still clearly very little ideological common ground, yet both parties have much to gain.

The ANC clearly welcomed the new relationship as it effectively gave them political power in the Western Cape, something that it has been unable to achieve alone (Barrell 2001). Evidence of the frustration of the ANC with their position in the Western Cape was the assertion made in April 2001 that the province was the most racist in South Africa (Rasool 2001). This was based not on any studies of racism and

race relations in the province, critics of the ANC therefore concluded that the statement was born out of their inability to win the province (Kadalie 2001).

In October 2001 when it was clear to the ANC that the DA was breaking up and there was potential of an ANC/NNP coalition in the province, the local ANC placed an advertisement in local newspapers reading as follows:

“Who are the coconuts?⁴ The coconuts are the coloured DA members who still jump to the DP master’s voice. The coconuts are the coloured people in the DA who are selling out to the DP. Don’t be a DP coconut.” (Western Cape ANC 2001)

This can be interpreted as an ANC attempt to draw Coloured voters away from commitment to the DA and to attempt to challenge the logic that Coloureds should vote for historically White parties and not historically Black parties. It can only be concluded that the ANC in the Western Cape adopted these tactics through extreme desperation to have an impact on Coloured voting practices. The campaign resulted in a formal apology from the ANC’s provincial leader, Ebrahim Rasool, in which he stated: *“I believe that everything I have said about the ANC’s long and noble fight against racism is undermined by the use of the word coconut. Although we have not used it to refer to anyone except servile DA members, the use of the word is still unfortunate”* (Terreblanche 2001).

The NNP entered the alliance, seemingly out recognition of decreasing power. It has been concluded that the NNP found that due to the racialised nature of South African politics, it stood no chance of attracting significant Black support and therefore elected to manoeuvre itself into a lobbying position, rather than an opposition party position in which it had little influence (Malan 2001).

⁴ The term “Coconut” is a common term of offence, implying that someone is Black/Coloured on the outside and White on the inside

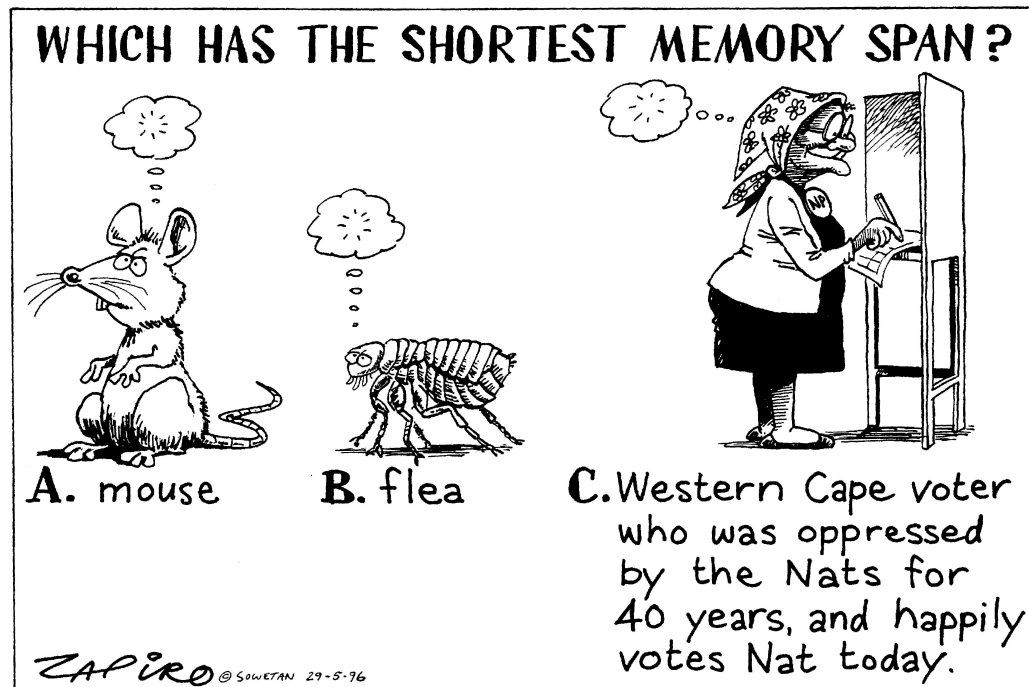
The NNP leadership has recognised the need for its new position, but there is considerable evidence that the electorate have seen this as betrayal. The former mayor, Peter Marais, has been on the campaign trail, attempting to win-over the White Afrikaner vote in the rural Western Cape. Identifying himself as an Afrikaner, as well as a Coloured, he told the Afrikaners:

“Vat die hand van die swarte terwyl dit nog oop is en nie in ‘n vuig gebal is. Ons durf nie terugbeweeg na ‘n wit laer nie. Jy kan nie eens meer uit die laer skiet nie, want jou kinders is daar buite.” (“Take the hand of the blacks while it’s still open and not balled in a fist. We must have the courage not to return to a white laager. You cannot once again shoot from the laager, because your children are outside.”) (Marais in van der Westhuizen 2001).

Of more concern for the NNP is the reaction of the Coloured population of the province, particularly in Cape Town itself. Gerald Morkel, the former Premier of the Western Cape, stated that the Coloured members of the party had *“changed the party so much that it has become our party”* (Merten 2001). Many Coloureds have seen this political manoeuvring as a betrayal of their interests, and a symbol of continued marginalization (Butcher 2001). The changing political climate of the Western Cape is set to impact profoundly upon the political representation of the Coloured population of the province in terms of local and national government. Through the use of provincial politics by the ANC and the DA it is clear that the Western Cape is being used as a pawn in the political power plays of the parties. As the majority in the Western Cape, the Coloured population are clearly profoundly influenced by this political struggle of different scales of governance. The following section therefore considers the nature of Coloured voting patterns in the Western Cape within the context of this changing political climate.

2.3 Coloured Voting Practices in the Western Cape

Figure 2.2: Coloured Voting Patterns (Source: Zapiro Sowetan 29/08/1996)



It at first seems anachronistic that a province where Whites make up just 20.8 percent of the population should reject the ANC in favour of two White-led parties of dubious virtue. This section aims to explain the voting behaviour of the Coloured population of the Western Cape, who constituted 54.2 percent of the provinces population in the 1996 census (Statistics South Africa 1999).

Chapter 4 deals extensively with issues of history that have impacted upon the identities of the Coloured population of Western Cape. At this point, it is important to acknowledge that the Coloured population have been subject to similar constructions as other mixed race peoples throughout their history. In South Africa the members of the Coloured population were not fully assimilated into South African society as they were constructed as both self and other, as children who needed to be disciplined and taught how to develop (Manzo 1992, 14). Like hybrid groups throughout the world,

the Coloured population were subject to negative constructions (see Chapter 4). In South Africa, Olive Schreiner referred to the Coloured population as “*God’s step-children*” and termed them a people without honour (Schreiner in Western 1981, 15).

However, as well as being portrayed as “other”, the Coloured population were also recognised as “self” and were granted privileges that the Black African population were denied. This occurred in part through a sense of guardianship towards the Coloureds. It was also noted that the Coloured population could be used as a useful buffer between the Whites and the Black Africans. This buffer was created by granting Coloureds limited privileges over Black Africans.

It is within this context that Coloured voting activity must be considered. The Coloured population had always had limited franchise, with the period leading up to the formal inception of apartheid being characterised by their gradual loss of franchise. Although franchise was limited to White men over the age of 21 in the Transvaal Republic in 1907, the Coloured franchise remained in the Cape and Natal through their perceived necessity in ensuring a voter base for the NP in 1929 (Lewis 1987, 35). Another consideration in maintaining Coloured franchise was to prevent a unified non-White resistance developing. The Prime Minister at the time, Herzog, told parliament that it would be “*foolish to drive the Coloured people to the enemies of the Europeans – and that will happen if we repel him – to allow him eventually to come to rest in the arms of the Native*” (Herzog in La Guma 1972). Once they were considered to be no longer essential to the NP support base, this limited franchise was removed completely in 1956 (James and Caliguire 1996, 135). Although some form of political representation was granted to the Coloured and Indian populations in the form of the tricameral parliament in 1984, this was only a belated means of appeasing these groups to prevent a united non-White resistance to White supremacy (Lewis 1987,

281). This limited representation was broadly rejected by the Coloured population, particularly in the Cape Peninsula where just 11.1 percent of those registered voted in the 1984 election. This was largely the result of the United Democratic Front's boycott campaign (Lemon 1984, 99).

Within this Union and apartheid power structure the role of the Coloured population in South Africa was controlled and circumscribed by the White parties. Common links between Coloured and White populations were only drawn upon at times of need of the White population and neglected once power was stabilised. It is from this historical construction of race and power that the post-apartheid voting patterns of the Coloured population of the Western Cape can be understood.

2.3.1 1994 Election

In the first free democratic elections in South Africa, the national breakdown of votes was such that of the 400 seats in parliament, the major parties won 384: ANC – 252, NP – 82, Inkhata Freedom Party – 43, and the DP – 7. (Alvarez-Rivera 1999). The ANC therefore controlled 63 percent of seats in the national parliament and the NP controlled just 20 percent.

However, in the Western Cape, the ANC controlled just 33 per cent of the seats, and the NP controlled 55 percent. It has been estimated that 57 per cent of the Coloured population voted for the NP in 1994, and just 20 per cent for the ANC (Seekings 1996, 31).

Although the majority of the Coloured population supported the NP, it must be noted that this was not uniform across the Coloured community in the Western Cape. There appears to have been a class element in voting behaviour with the middle-class Coloured population tending to vote for the ANC and the working class for the NP

(Eldridge and Seekings 1996, 529). The reasons for these voting patterns are firmly established in the constructions of Coloureds as a separate racial group throughout South African history as well as present-day electioneering.

In terms of a direct political analysis of the voting patterns of Coloured communities in the 1994 election a number of explanations have been offered. The reason most commonly cited, particularly by the ANC, is that of the inherent anti-Black racism of the Coloured population. This is noted in two forms, that of the racism deemed inherent in the Coloured population and that of the anti-Black imagery within the NP's propaganda (Williams 1996, 25). The accusation of Coloured racism has a strong ring of truth to it, as my own interviewing found. In one interview with a group of 14 year old girls the following exchange took place:

Jane – Do you think things have changed a lot since then (the end of apartheid)?

Alana – Not much, not that much.

Yumna – Not really.

Alana – There are still a lot of little apartheids here in South Africa.

Mariam – Like they say the Whites, the so-called Whites were in control, and now the so-called Blacks are in control, the coloureds are like...

Yumna – Just in the middle.

Mariam – In the middle, it's just swapped around.

Tashmeena – And most of the Black peoples are getting jobs and that. Why are we still wanting to go to school and that, when the Blacks are just getting all the jobs?

Ayesha – But a lot of things has changed since that time, because like then we couldn't use the same toilets as the Whites and the Blacks, now you can use the same toilets.

Marian – But some of the people, the so-called Blacks, they are not educated.

Alana – They are very unhygienic, they brush their hair with nail brush or polish brush in class, and they eat stones and they, if they go to the toilet its very disgusting here. They won't flush the chain of the toilet, they will just leave it like that if they make it dirty like that, they will leave it just like that. And they will probably not sometimes wipe their bums.

Tashmeena – It just not nice to sit next to an African (Grade 8 girls Trafalgar18/8/00)

Many Coloured voters were willing to buy into the NP's racist propaganda because: "*White racism, or the assumption that West is best or White is right, continues to dominate the society, economy, history, political and psychological realities of South Africa*" (Sonn in Williams 1996, 25). The racism was therefore a direct result of the Afrikaner constructions of race.

It has been claimed that there were other reasons for the NP majority among Coloured voters, such as a common language, conservatism, fear of affirmative action and the Afrikaans language newspapers which were all fiercely anti-ANC and pro-NP (Finnegan in Williams 1996, 26 and Eldridge and Seekings 1996, 536). The leader of Black Noise, a local Hip Hop group, put it like this:

"...but it's because of the media. They control the media so that they can make it... I was discussing the political situation before the first elections, we were very sure that the NP would win. And then this person said, but how come, the ANC has offices fucking everywhere on the Cape Flats. And then somebody said, I don't know who it was, you know the NP have an office in every house, the fucking box, television, fucking controlling what people were thinking all along. And they had years of controlling the school system, and all other forms of information that people received. So, yes, there was no way that they weren't going to win." (Emile YX? 26/01/01)

The main political reason offered for the ANC's failure was their lack of understanding of issues of Coloured identity. For example, its leading candidate in the Western Cape was Allan Boesak, famous as an anti-apartheid activist, but who had just been exposed as an adulterer. Although fielding a Coloured politician, the ANC had failed to realise the effect of the religious conservatism of the working class Coloured communities (James 1996, 40). At the same time, the national ANC leaders had failed to be able to communicate effectively with the Coloured voters in Afrikaans, therefore sounding laboured and insincere (James 1996, 41).

Coloured voting patterns however have much deeper roots, in their construction and treatment by Whites and their historical political responses. The Theron Commission of 1976, an “Enquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group”, found the following results. A small group of mainly urban, young and better educated Coloureds favoured a closer association with Black Africans, and that almost twice as many, 41 per cent, favoured closer association with Whites. Those who asserted this view tended to be the less educated, Afrikaans speaking, rural working class Coloureds (van der Horst 1976, 114).

This differential attitude has to do with both contemporary and past experiences of these different groups. Middle-class Coloureds tended to support the ANC in 1994 as a continuation of their earlier political experiences. The earliest Coloured political groups, such as the APO (African Political Organisation) formed in 1902, were committed to “*promoting unity between the coloured [black] races.*” These political groups tended to consist of a small Coloured elite and not the broad mass of the population (Lewis 1987, 23). Although for a period this focus was aligned to just the Coloured population at the expense of the Black population per se, resulting from White attempts to create separate racial identities, the universalist attitude eventually prevailed (Lewis 1987, 150). This attitude occurred as the elites recognised that their communities were becoming increasingly marginalized by the Afrikaner parties. The middle class became convinced that the only way to improve the lot of the Coloured communities in particular and Black South Africans in general was through Black unity. This notion was still evident in 1994. The author Dervla Murphy interviewed a middle-aged, middle class Coloured man who said that: “*Biko taught us Coloureds that our ancestors backed the wrong horse. Why did we ever*

imagine if we stuck with the Whites that one day they'd love us? Instead they tricked us out of our voting rights and threw us out of our homes" (Murphy 1998, 167).

It has been asserted that the support of the ANC by the middle classes is less altruistic than this excerpt suggests. They are likely to occupy higher employment positions based on skills considered as necessary in the new South Africa as in the old, and are also likely not to be dependent on government housing schemes. These middle-class Coloureds therefore do not have the same fear of affirmative action and the loss of social position that troubles the working class Coloureds (Seekings 1996, 35).

Working-class voting patterns were overwhelmingly in favour of the NP in 1994. This voting pattern was as controlled by historical and economic factors as the middle-class voting. Just as the APO was staunchly in support of Black unity, the ANB (African National Bond), as the "Coloured wing of the NP", supported the segregationist policies of the Afrikaners (Manzo 1992, 176).

Throughout the period during which the Coloured population were granted the right to vote they were targeted by the NP. Having been formed in 1913, by 1926 the NP was already being accused of undermining Black unity by pitting Coloureds against Black Africans through replacing Black workers at Cape Town's docks with Coloureds (Lewis 1987, 104). The privileged position of the Coloureds at the Cape was continually promoted in return for electoral support. This privileged position was formalised in 1955 with the Coloured Labour Preference Laws (CLP) in the Cape that stated that: *"In that part of the country where the Coloured community was a natural source of labour, it was wrong to allow the Bantu to enter in great numbers"* (Manzo 1992, 195). In geographical terms, this meant that in the area to the west of the Fish/Kei River – Aliwal North line was declared an area of Coloured and White

Labour preference. As such Black African labour was only allowed on a temporary basis and efforts were made to replace Black African with Coloured labour (van der Horst 1976, 29).

As a result of these policies the Coloured population was assured of housing and employment rights over the Black Africans in the Western Cape. The strong NP vote in the 1994 election can therefore largely be attributed to the fear of loss of this position. Although Coloured Labour Preference had ended in 1986, Coloureds still occupied a relatively privileged position. Unlike the middle class Coloureds these people felt that they stood to lose much following the election of an ANC government. Eldridge and Seekings noted that:

“Many working-class Coloured citizens assessed that change would affect them adversely, and so voted conservatively – against the party of change, the ANC. Anxiety about change thus drowned out any enthusiasm over the passing of the old apartheid order. This fear of change was sharpened by the belief that ‘being Coloured’ made them especially likely victims of changes introduced by an ANC government.” (Eldridge and Seekings 1996, 536).

2.3.2 Subsequent Elections

Throughout South Africa there has been a decrease in the voter turnout for elections, both national and provincial, particularly amongst the youth. For example the Independent Electoral Commission figures for the 1999 general election indicated that only 42.6 per cent of 18 to 20 year olds, and 69 per cent of 20 to 30 year olds, registered to vote (Jacobs 2000). Before the election there were many complaints that up to six million potential voters (approximately one in four) were excluded from voting and that the majority of those were people unlikely to vote ANC (Barrell 1999). This was the result of changes in criteria for voter registration. To register to vote in the 1999 election, individuals had to be in possession of the new bar-coded ID.

Since the majority of the Whites and Coloureds already had ID, they had not yet received the new form, and as such were ineligible for registration. There were accusations that this was an attempt by the ANC to ensure the two-thirds majority in parliament, required to enable the ANC to rewrite the constitution in its favour (Gilmore 1999).

Whether or not this was the case, it is clear that there has been increased political apathy amongst the Coloured population who have felt that their interests are often not represented by any of the major political parties. The earliest post-apartheid indication of this was the formation of the KWB (Kleurling Weerstandsbeweging vir die Vooruitgang van Bruinmense) by Mervyn Ross in February 1995. Ross, an ex-member of the ANC, was quoted as saying: *“I have a background of struggle against apartheid and racism. I fought against white domination and racism, and will fight equally hard against Black racism. The brown people’s struggle did not end when Nelson Mandela was freed...”* (Bremner 1995). Although the party has not played an important role in post-apartheid South Africa, its very existence indicates the strength of feeling of some parts of the Coloured population.

Many members of the Coloured communities do not want to vote ANC, because they still believe that the ANC does not care about them. Thabo Mbeki’s African Renaissance means little to the majority of Coloured, whose only reaction to it is fear that they are going to be rendered increasingly invisible in this rhetoric (Carter 1998). At the same time, many Coloureds feel betrayed by the NNP, which they feel has neglected their needs.

The outcome of this has been an increasingly politically apathetic population. Interviewed before the 1999 election one working class Coloured from the Cape Flats said: *“There are still no houses, no jobs. I won’t vote again. People tell me I must*

[vote] to change things. Nothing has changed. I'm not making a fool of myself again" (Merten 1999). In the 1999 general election 90 per cent of voters in Whites areas of the Cape Metropole voted, the figure for Black areas was similar, but the turnout in Coloured areas was on average just 65 per cent (Soal 2000). There was clearly great voter apathy within the Coloured population as the literature has suggested.

By the 2000 local government elections the voter turn out patterns had changed considerably. The turn out of White voters was higher than expected at around 75 per cent, just under 55 per cent of voters in Coloured areas voted, but only 50 per cent of Black voters participated (Soal 2000). The turn out of Coloured voters is clearly very low, but the dramatic drop in the turn out of voters in Black areas is more notable. In my interviews with pupils and ex-pupils of field site schools of voting age, the political attitudes of both Coloured and Black students provided an insight into these patterns. I spent Election Day with two Coloured ex-pupils of Hoërskool Emil Weder, they are both Afrikaans-speaking, working-class urban Coloureds. Neither they nor any of their friends were intending to vote in the election. When asked why not, one of them said that none of the politicians did anything for them so there was no point. More surprisingly, the ex-Head Boy of Trafalgar, a Black from Langa, said that he had not even registered to vote and didn't know anyone of his age group who had. This pupil is very involved in the ANC Youth League in Langa, and yet had not voted because he felt that he couldn't agree with ANC policy and didn't see that there was any real alternative. The outcome of the election was that just 34 of the 100 wards in the Cape Unicity went to the ANC, with the rest DA. The DA won all but two of the Coloured wards in the Unicity. Across the Western Cape as a whole the ANC won just 139 out of 330 wards (42 percent) with all but five of the rest going to the DA (Independent Electoral Commission 2001).

The patterns of Coloured voting in the 1999 general election and 2000 local government elections can be largely attributed to the longstanding political standpoints discussed above. However, the impact of electioneering cannot be dismissed. In the Western Cape both major parties campaigned heavily in Coloured areas, knowing that securing the Coloured vote was essential in achieving a positive result. In the 2000 elections, the DA utilised the same *Swart Gevaar (Black Danger)* tactics of the NNP in previous elections. The DA's poster campaign revolved around three main posters. "*DP + NNP = DA*", "*DA For All the People*" and "*Keep the ANC Out*". The second poster clearly played on the fears of the people that the ANC was a party only serving the interests of the Black population.

Tony Leon's election campaign speeches were dominated by anti-ANC, rather than positive DA rhetoric. The NP waged a similarly negative campaign to great effect in the 1994 general election (Eldridge and Seekings 1996, 537). In a meeting on the 21 November in Hout Bay Leon asked the assembled audience: "*If the ANC gets in, will they listen to you?*" Following this he spoke of the nepotism and self-service of the ANC and of their sole response being to accuse the DA of being a White party. In response Leon stated: "*We are a party of Whites, but not only of Whites. We are a party of Coloureds, but not only of Coloureds. We are a party of Blacks, but not only of Blacks. We are a party of Indians, but not only of Indians. We are a party for all South Africans who want to share in our vision for South Africa in this election and after this election.*"

In addition to the anti-ANC nature of the campaign, the DA's campaign was characterised by its focus on the Coloured electorate. The DA campaigned extensively in Afrikaans, with noticeably more "*Hou die ANC Uit*" and "*Vir Al Die Mense*" ("*Keep the ANC out*" and "*For all the people*") posters than their English translations

displayed, even in predominantly English speaking areas. This can be seen to be a response to the fact that 82.1 per cent of the Coloured population speak Afrikaans as their first language (Statistic South Africa 1999)

The most evident of the DA's attempts to capture the Coloured vote was the appointment of its candidate for Umicity Mayor, Peter Marais. From the meeting attended in the White suburb of Hout Bay, it is clear that the DA knew that White voters were apprehensive about Marais. In his introduction of the mayoral candidate, the local councillor, James Self, spoke of how the assembled audience would know of Marais as a colourful character, but what they may not know was that he is a highly competent politician and outlined some of his achievements. In the mainly White constituencies the DA felt that it could trust the electorate to vote for them through fear of rates rises under an ANC council, but in order to guarantee the Coloured vote, they had to select the right candidate.

The selection of Marais was viewed by the leading national newspaper was cynically viewed as follows:

“The DA candidate, Peter Marais, is avowedly anti-gay, anti-choice, pro-capital punishment and wobbly on the constitution. Never mind, he has a demagogic appeal among some poor strata of the coloured community. That's good enough for our neo-liberals.” (Cronin 2000).

Following previous failures in the Western Cape, the ANC also attempted to play the Coloured card in order to win. The ANC also selected a Coloured mayoral candidate, Lynne Brown. They had made the assumption of the Black vote's security and had learnt from past experience that Coloured voters believed their interests would only be served by a fellow Coloured. Brown was the deputy speaker of the provincial legislature and a teacher with a long history of involvement in women's and community involvement (Barrell and Kindra 2000). Despite this Brown lacked

the public recognition and charisma of Marais and therefore failed to challenge him effectively.

Beyond the selection of a Coloured candidate, the ANC staged what they must have thought was a campaigning coup. Since the end of apartheid there had been promises of the resettlement of District Six, the largely Coloured area in the centre of Cape Town bulldozed under the Group Areas Act. District Six is a highly symbolic site for the Coloured population of Cape Town, representing both a place of origin and a site of conflict with the state. As a result, the resettlement of the area is politically potent. Eventually, on the 26 November 2000, just over a week before the elections, a ceremony was held to celebrate the handover of some of the land. The centre of Cape Town was full of election posters reading “*Die NP en DP het die grond gevat. Die ANC gee dit terug*” (“*The NP and DP stole the land. The ANC gives it back*”). This clear attempt by the party to win over the Coloured vote failed. It is important to note that the DP had not in fact played a part in the destruction District Six, but it was convenient for the ANC to propagate this lie at this time.

Although the ANC made many attempts to gain a greater proportion of the Coloured vote in the Western Cape in the most recent elections, apartheid constructions of race and fears over the ANC’s lack of recognition of Coloured needs through the national political rhetoric of Two Nations contributed significantly to the continued lack of ANC support.

The continued resistance to the ANC is perhaps best analysed by Oosterwyk:

“All Capetonians seem to have racialised perceptions of politics which at times borders on crude racism. Coloured working class people’s sense of politics is not just underdeveloped and prone to simplistic easy solutions, but also steeped in a deep sense of marginalisation; not just because of some sense of ethnicity/racism, but because of affirmative action and a range of other perceptions about transformation.” (Oosterwyk 2000b)

It is within this context of the ANC's continued failure to secure the Coloured vote and therefore power in the Western Cape that the new coalition with the NNP must be viewed.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the political backdrop for the rest of the thesis through a broad discussion of key political issues at the national and provincial scales. It is essential to place the issue of Coloured perceptions of marginalization within this broader framework. Although this thesis attempts not to generalise the experiences of the Coloured populations, at this point it is essential to discuss in very general terms Coloured perceptions of the current political climate.

Members of the Coloured population have felt marginalized by both the Rainbow Nation and Two Nations rhetoric. Many Coloureds felt as if the general, comfortable inclusiveness of the Rainbow Nation failed to give them a voice. It was perceived that the Whites still had power through their historical dominance, and that the Blacks had gained power through the ANC government and their numerical majority. Many in the Coloured population felt that the problems of the Rainbow Nation discussed earlier in the chapter impacted most negatively upon their opportunities.

Likewise the Two Nations rhetoric has been fiercely criticised by members of the Coloured population, particularly the urban working class. The main criticism of the Two Nations rhetoric has been that the government appears to prioritise the needs of Blacks over the needs of equally disadvantaged Coloureds. This has been partly the result of the media portrayals of Two Nations as discussed previously, but also through different interpretations of Blackness. The ANC has portrayed the Two

Nations as a Black/White binary, although it has failed sufficiently to define “Black”. As stated earlier one of their key objectives is “*the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general from political and economic bondage*” (ANC undated). Although Black Africans are prioritised, other historically disadvantaged groups such as working-class Coloureds are also a part of their vision. The ANC has asserted that all those oppressed by apartheid would stand to gain from affirmative action. This has not been made clear enough to the general population, partly through the ANC’s poor communication and partly due to the political standpoint of the media as discussed above. As a result, most members of working-class Coloured communities have failed to believe the ANC. Subsequent chapters of this thesis address the question of whether this lack of trust in the ANC and its motives is justified.

There have been debates in the ANC as to whether Coloured and Indians should be considered as “Blacks” or as “minorities” (Carrim 1997). These debates have been replicated in Coloured communities, with working-class Coloureds less willing to perceive themselves as Black than those of the middle class. The historical reasons for this have been discussed in this chapter. This non-recognition of Blackness is one of the key problems with the Two Nations rhetoric. The working-class Coloured communities which stand to gain from this rhetoric through the general principles of Black Economic Empowerment, as documented in the ANC’s ETC discussion document (ANC 2002), are also those who feel most alienated by it.

Two Nations is a national political rhetoric, but the demographic realities of the Western Cape have influenced its reception in the province. In 1995, 57 percent of the population of the Western Cape were Coloured, and just 18 percent Black African (Statistics South Africa 1998). Not only are the Black African population in the minority in the province, but they have also been migrating into the province as a

result of the repealing of the Coloured Labour Preference Laws and the relative prosperity of the province. As such they are considered as interlopers by some sectors of the Coloured population and the apparent prioritisation of the needs of Black Africans over Coloureds in Two Nations has been met with anger. In reality, there has been no obvious prioritising of Black African interests in the implementation of policies such as the provision of housing and similar developments in the Western Cape.

The reception of national political rhetoric cannot be removed from the local conditions of the province, nor can local voting patterns be removed from national rhetoric. The failure of the ANC in working-class Coloured communities cannot be seen to be simply the effect of local campaigning issues, but as the result of different scales of political action and the histories of different Coloured communities.

Although care has been taken not to essentialise the Coloured political experience in South Africa, and the impact of class, language and location have been considered, there is a general expression of a sense of marginalization common to all sectors of the Coloured population. This is the result of a number of endogenous and exogenous factors. This political identity, and the factors that contribute to it, are key to the development of the argument in the rest of this thesis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter follows the previous chapter on the changing political climate in South Africa through recognition of the necessity of locating research practices within a broader socio-political context. The experiences and perceptions of the Coloured populations in the Western Cape have clearly been influenced by their histories and the current political climate. It was essential to note that my own research identity and perceptions were shaped in the same manner by my history and experiences in South Africa. The recognition of these two factors and their inter-relationships impacted my research practices considerably. This chapter therefore examines the research identities adopted for this thesis and the methodologies employed both from a general theoretical standpoint and from the experiences particular to this research project. I explicitly link fieldwork methodologies and the process of writing, since the issues and ethics affecting fieldwork also affect writing (Denzin 1994, 501).

Generally methodology chapters deal exclusively with the construction of the research project and methods of analysis. Due to the context of this research project and its location in the broader South African political climate, I felt it necessary to conclude this chapter by considering the changing nature of the text following completion and the ways in which consideration of this have shaped the project.

This chapter does not aim to provide a detailed review of the extensive bodies of literature on various aspects of methodology, since this approach would merely reproduce widely published debates. Instead, I base the chapter on key ethical issues of the research topic and discuss the methods employed within the context of meeting these ethical concerns.

3.1 Research Identity and Ethical Considerations

*“Miss, you are Coloured... aren’t you?” (Hoërskool Emil Weder
Grade 11 pupil)*

The above question was posed by one of the pupils that I had been teaching for five weeks. He asked the question because my presence in the school had made him question his perceptions of Whiteness. The community of Genadendal is entirely Coloured in an area where racial identities are still very rigid. Although I was obviously White in appearance, after five weeks in the school my identity had challenged the pupil’s perception of Whiteness to the extent that he was no longer certain that I was what I appeared to be. I treated the pupils and teachers as equals, I preferred to socialise in Genadendal than in the neighbouring White village of Greyton, I lived in the school’s hostel and I empathised with research participants in conversations of racism. I did not behave like a White in his experience, therefore I was Coloured wasn’t I?

I found this question both flattering and problematic. There were many ethical issues considered during this fieldwork and the question of identity construction was key to this. The pupil’s question raised a number of questions for my research and its integrity, and in the following section I work through some of the issues of constructing a research identity.

3.1.1 Ethical considerations

3.1.1.1 Ethics of Researching Education

There are ethical issues that need to be considered in all research, qualitative or quantitative. These issues have particular importance when researching educational

issues, due to both the institutional structure of schools and the identity issues of working with young people.

The main issue that needs to be considered is that of structures of power. In this research project I acknowledge that power is inescapably linked with the production of knowledge. Cook and Crang (1995, 17) have noted that “*research is always bound up in networks of power/knowledge, and is therefore, inherently political.*” The recognition of this necessitates discussion of issues arising in educational research. For the purposes of this section I focus on informed consent, power relations and role modelling.

Informed consent is an ethical necessity for research projects. Sieber (1993, 18) has defined informed consent as:

“Informed consent means far more than a consent statement – it means communicating respectfully and openly with participants and community members throughout the project, respecting autonomy and lifestyle, providing useful debriefing about the nature, findings and values of the research and its likely dissemination”

Using this description, informed consent is difficult to achieve and provides a challenging model for researchers. The difficulties of informed research are compounded when working with young people in general and in the educational environment in particular.

Particular care needs to be taken when working with young people, since they may not fully understand what they are consenting to when agreeing to be part of a research project. Since I was working with secondary school students, this was not a major consideration within my research project. The issue of informed consent within the school environment was a serious concern. My entry into the school and subsequently to classrooms was governed by a series of gatekeepers (Education Department, head teachers and teachers) who had to be convinced that my research

was in the best interests of the schools and their pupils. These were the individuals who gave informed consent. When the fieldwork reached the interview phase I was able to work towards informed consent with the pupils, but in the participant observation phase this was not possible. In this section I discuss the means by which this issue was negotiated in the sections dealing with fieldwork methods.

The school environment is clearly a space of unequal power relations, as the debate around Foucault's 'Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison' (1977) has illustrated. As a researcher in this environment, it is impossible to not be a part of this power structure, particularly given that the gatekeepers in the research project are the most powerful members of the school community. Since researchers in education are bound by the structures of the school, this form of institution-based research demands a greater awareness of the nature of these power relations and the factors governing their maintenance. Research methodologies need to acknowledge the power relations that exist and negotiate them. Within my own research I attempted to empower the students without destabilising the school. In addition I attempted to reduce the difference in (perceived) power between myself and the pupils of the school.

Traditionally, researchers have sought to have as little influence on their field sites and their research participants as possible, the "take only pictures, leave only footprints" objective. Qualitative researchers have come to recognise that this objective is impossible and that the researcher will always influence the research environment and participants (Fine 1994). There has therefore been a move to reciprocity in research and the empowerment of participants. Each school had different needs and I attempted to meet these needs in ways suggested by the schools, as substitute teacher and as computing assistant for example. In addition on leaving each school I provided a report of my thoughts on the school. In terms of my

influence on the participants I chose to adopt role modelling. The issue of role modelling has clear ethical issues, particularly given the cultural differences between the pupils and myself, and therefore differences in power. The self-conscious role modelling was however considered to be the least problematic of the many forms of influence on pupil and was therefore adopted.

3.1.1.2 Ethics of Researching Race

Carrying out research on “race” is also highly ethically charged. In this section I briefly discuss the issues of power and the ability of White researchers to comprehend non-White experiences.

In terms of power, there needs to be recognition that there is a power differential between the researcher and researched and that this gap is greater in the context of race research, due to international and local histories. The researcher therefore needs to be aware of their ability to represent the voices of participants, without replicating the broader socio-cultural imbalances of power. However, as Becker noted in his widely quoted article, “Whose side are we on?” researchers need to be equally aware of the danger of assuming “[t]he underdog is always right and those in authority always wrong.” (Becker 1964,5 in Hammersley 1998, 29), as this further essentialises the research participants. The nature of representation and bias was considered throughout all phases of this research, both fieldwork and writing.

The second issue in the context of race research is whether researchers from a particular cultural background and power can comprehend the experiences of participants from a different background (Anderson 1993, 40). This problem has been articulated as follows:

“The issue is not simply that black people may be inhibited in their communication to a white researcher, or that these communications will be passed through a white cultural filter, but there are dimensions to the black experience invisible to the white interviewer/investigator who possesses neither the language nor the cultural equipment to elicit or understand the experience.” (Rhodes 1994, 549 in Troyna 1998, 98).

This issue has impacts at all stages of a research topic, whether it be what subjects are appropriate to research and interview on (Sieber 1993, 118), to ‘Othering’ in writing (Fine 1994, 70) and the responsibilities of dissemination. This issue has been negotiated throughout this thesis and I hope to demonstrate that the methodologies employed were both sensitive to this. In addition the mode of writing employed attempts to reflect this ethical consideration. An attempt has been made to base the process of writing on the model suggested by Fine:

“When we construct texts collaboratively, self-consciously examining our relations with/for/despite those who have been contained as ‘Others’, we move against, we enable resistance to, ‘Othering’” (Fine 1994, 75).

3.1.13 Responsibility of Research in South Africa?

I consider there to be particular ethical issues relevant to researching in South Africa, particularly when dealing with issues such as race and ethnicity. There has however been very little written on this subject. Visser (2000) has written an opinion piece on researching in post-apartheid South Africa as a White Afrikaner educated at Stellenbosch University. Due to the history of South Africa, the issues of race and the structure of power relations are much more emotionally charged than in other parts of the world. Towards the end of this chapter I refer back to Chapter 2 and discuss how the current political situation in South Africa has impacted upon research practices and considerations for dissemination. At this point it is sufficient simply to indicate that the ethical issues of research in South Africa amplify the ethical considerations of

a similar project in other parts of the world. This further necessitates the focus on identity within research of Section 3.1.2.

3.1.2 Identity options

Given the ethical concerns of the research project, I felt it necessary to locate myself within the research, to discuss how my personal background influenced the research and how negotiating my identity within the field informed my research. The researcher must be recognised as a variable in the research procedure (Edwards 1993, 185).

Within this research I have therefore chosen to note explicitly how my background influenced my perspectives. Through this recognition, discussed in the section below, I have been able to negotiate aspects of my identity and use these to further interpret research findings (Fine 1994, 76).

The objective of recognising my research position and the positions of the participants and being able to write this into the research practice is clearly very difficult to achieve as Rose (1997, 305) has noted, but the project has attempted to achieve this without falling into the trap discussed by Widdowfield (2000). She wrote of how embracing reflexivity can lead to researchers placing themselves at the centre of the research project and thereby further privileging their voice over those of the research participants. I recognise this as an issue, but consider the discussion of self and research identity vital. The influence of the researcher is not negated by ignoring it (Schoenberger 1992). As the rest of Section 3.1.2 demonstrates my constructed identity did not only demonstrate my own preconceptions and biases which affect my research, but also provided another layer of understanding of my research communities.

3.1.2.1 Negotiating Identity Options

The ethical considerations of research identity construction have been addressed in Section 3.1.1., in this section I discuss the actual identity options pursued in the schools. Cassell proposed the following model of identity construction:

The researcher “should adopt a role or identity that meshes with the values and behaviour of the group being studied, without seriously compromising the researcher’s own values and behaviours...[and] not... inventing an identity. We all have several... but...the most appropriate one can be stressed.” (Cassell 1988, 97 in Cook and Crang 1995, 24)

A number of forms of research identity were adopted at different phases of the research and in different locations. For the purposes of this methodology I focus on issues of nationality, gender and authority. In all cases I adapted my identity to that of the school and community in order to be accepted and thereby to maximise data collection (Clark 2000, 11). This approach could be challenged on ethical grounds, but at no point within the research did I claim to be anything I was not. In addition, all social science research relies on the manipulation of research identity, this thesis explicitly acknowledges this practice and considers how it impacts upon the findings.

One of the key aspects of identity that I chose to vary was that of nationality, due to my personal background of having grown up in South Africa I was able to portray myself as both English and South African at different phases in the fieldwork period. This was the most explicit form of identity construction employed and the most influential on my research.

All the communities I was working in were deeply scarred by apartheid. One of the teachers at Trafalgar, for example, told me how he always hated dogs, because when he was a child he used to go walking in Sea Point (an affluent White area) and he saw how much more the Whites cared for their dogs than “us”. Due to experiences

like these many of the staff and students were extremely wary of White South Africans. Identifying myself as a South African would have been problematic in the early phase of the research.

In the early phase of research at each field site, although acknowledging my South African past, I chose to identify myself as English for three main reasons. The first reason was to manoeuvre around the preconceptions of White South Africans held by the staff and some pupils. Secondly, none of the pupils had ever been outside of Southern Africa, many having never been outside the Western Cape. Being from “Overseas” created a means by which to initiate conversations with the pupils, and to a large degree the teachers. The initial questioning by pupils and teachers about what it was like in England (although more usually America) provided the basis of relationships pursued in later periods of fieldwork. A final reason for the promotion of Englishness over South Africanness was that this identity encouraged people to tell me “how it is” in South Africa and in the education system. My assumed ignorance provided the pupils and teachers of the schools with a blank canvas to paint their perceptions on.

Later in the research in each school, I found that I was promoting myself as South African more than as English. This was in part as a response to the identity constructed by the schools, and in part my own construction. As I became a more familiar presence in the school, and my understanding of Afrikaans became common knowledge, the pupils and teachers began to perceive me as South African rather than English.

In such a racially aware society, the form of South African identity ascribed to me was unusual. I was not being constructed as a White South African, but almost as Coloured. This was evident in some of the negative comments made about Whites in

my presence. I chose to conform to this identity construction through patterns of speech and topics of conversation. This construction was useful for research purposes, since during latter phases of research the pupils and teachers accepted my knowledge of their experiences and moved from phrases like “Let me tell you how it is” to “You *mos* know how it is for us”. From this point I was given access to more diverse accounts of experiences of education and became more trusted with emotional responses to apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa.

The second form of identity negotiated was that of gender and age. All of the communities researched, with the possible exception of Grassy Park, were characterised by very paternalistic attitudes to women and young people. Gender relations were firmly governed by “traditional” Christian and Muslim constructions. As such, the status that I held as a White researcher from an esteemed foreign university should have been in conflict with my status as a young woman.

In the same way as I assumed the national identity constructed by the schools, I assumed the gender identity ascribed me. I chose not to challenge the gender relations in the schools for a number of reasons, although the most important was that this reduced my status as a powerful outsider. By reducing my powerful status, I became more accepted by both male and female members of staff. The female staff saw me increasingly as an ally and then male staff stopped seeing me as a threat to their masculinity. In two of the schools, senior members of staff nicknamed me “Janetjie” (“Little Jane”), a clear indication of their attitude towards my presence in the school.

Having established an identity that did not threaten the status quo in the school, and an identity that others could relate to, I found that the pupils and teachers were more willing to speak openly with me about their experiences. In addition,

through adopting this identity I was better able to observe the impact of these gender relations on the communities as a whole.

The adoption of this gender identity was problematic. Through not challenging the sexism of the schools and communities was I condoning it? This question has greater importance when my power as a researcher is considered. As an outsider, entering the school with a high-status position, my acceptance of the gender expectations may have encouraged pupils to believe that these constructions were correct and immutable. An element of my self-ascribed responsibility as a researcher, was that of presenting myself as a role-model for the pupils. The issue of the adoption of a negative identity construction challenges this goal and raises the question of the responsibility of researchers discussed in Sections 3.1.1 and 3.3. Ultimately I recognise that the adoption of this identity was problematic, but believe that it was vital for my acceptance into the school communities and therefore for data collection. This problem has been recognised by a number of researchers including Warren & Rasmussen (1977) and Gerwitz & Ozga (1993 in Neal 1998).

A less problematic aspect of my negotiated research identity was that of authority. Within each of the four main schools I was placed in a position of responsibility by the school. This was most evident at Emil Weder where I was taken on as a teacher, in the other schools I was often called upon to take classes when teachers were absent. I therefore had to maintain a position of authority in the school at the same time as maintaining an identity that would encourage the pupils to be open with me about their experiences. This success of this particular form of identity transition was dependent less on my behaviour, than my construction by the learners, who managed it to a greater or lesser degree. This again offers an important insight into the identity issues within the schools.

3.1.2.2 Limits to Research Identity

It would be implausible to assume that my identity construction was entirely flexible. There are as many limits to identity construction as there are possibilities. Identities are never separate from the social, but are always in the process of becoming, influenced by history, language, culture, relationship and many other factors (Weedon 1995 and Hall 1997). As much as my research depended on the recognition of my constructions of the people and communities I worked in, it also depended on the recognition of my construction by them.

Limits to identity construction need to be recognised as resulting from both internal and external constructions. In terms of internal limits questions of whether any external research can ever comprehend the experiences of a community need to be considered, particularly when there is a great imbalance of power between the background of the researcher and the researched (Troyna 1998).

This had particular relevance in this research project, given the socio-political history of the communities. Although I have discussed how I chose to manipulate various aspects of my identity during the research project, I was never able to remove myself from my personal history and cultural background. At no point was I able to forget that I was White and that as a White brought up in South Africa, I had been educated in a system that systematically promoted my status to the detriment of my research communities. As a middle-class White living in England I have always been in a privileged position and have never been discriminated against. Having this background brought into question whether I could ever fully understand and accurately interpret, as discussed in Section 3.1.1.2. There were of course a number of other factors that limited my identity construction, such as religion, gender and

political beliefs. I am not prioritising race and class as the most important factors, but use them simply as an illustration of the issue.

There were also a number of external factors that limited my identity construction, these factors were both local to the communities I worked in and linked to national and international circumstances.

Although I may have been able effectively to negotiate an identity that began to transcend racial constructions within the schools through relationship building, this was often undermined by local factors external to the school. One example of this was an occasion when I was out shopping with some of the teachers of Emil Weder in neighbouring Greyton. They were waiting to be served and were ignored. I joined them and was immediately served. Until this point my Whiteness had become irrelevant, yet after this incident for a period we all became aware of my difference again.

A major limitation to research identity construction was the global power structures, resulting from colonisation and subsequent cultural imperialism. It is more difficult to provide examples from fieldwork to illustrate, since its influence is all-pervasive. There is a vast literature dealing with cultural imperialism, see for example Carnoy (1977), Tomlinson (1991) and Kieh (1992). I have chosen not to engage extensively with this literature at this point, but do recognise that structures of power and systems of knowledge are profoundly influenced by this factor and are therefore considered in this research.

3.1.2.3 The Impact of Locality on Identity Options

Each school enabled and limited identity options in different ways as a result of the history of the school and area, and the size of the community within which the school

was based. As a result my research identity was not consistent across all field sites. I do not believe that this compromised the findings of the fieldwork, but instead that this provided another layer of analysis and threw a different light on identity issues within the communities.

Three factors considered at this point are the size of the school's catchment area, the isolation of the community and the values of the community. The size of catchment area influenced my ability to adjust my research identity due to my recognition within the community. In the case of Emil Weder, the village of Genadendal was small enough that I more or less immediately became a recognised figure in the community and through acceptance in the school was accepted in the community as a whole. As a result the research identity constructed within the school was not challenged from the outside. On the other hand, Trafalgar's pupils were drawn from a vast geographical range and there was no community as such linked to the school. As a result I was not a familiar figure in the community and therefore my identity construction within the school was often challenged by external factors, such as visitors to the school and family constructions in pupils' homes.

The isolation of the community refers not to physical isolation, although this plays a role, but the cultural isolation of the community. In the case of Knysna for example, the school has long established links with the town's White and Black schools and the Coloured community has many economic links with the White community. The school community's constructions of race are therefore not as rigid as those in other communities. Emil Weder is located in an entirely Coloured community with the main social contact with the White population being employer/employee relationships. In this community the racial constructions were much more rigid, thereby placing different restrictions on identity constructions.

Finally the value systems of the school communities varied considerably and these variations placed different limitations on identity options. The most obvious example of this was the difference between the values of the pupils of Trafalgar and Emil Weder. Governed by strong links with the Moravian Church and a strong code of discipline in school, the pupils in Emil Weder found it difficult to consider calling me anything other than “Miss” and maintained respect at all times. In Trafalgar many of the pupils were “latch-key children” and were profoundly influenced by the patterns of behaviour on the streets in the Cape Flats, to them I was never “Miss” and they treated me as an equal. Clearly this difference in attitudes towards me through different value systems in operation necessitated different research identities to be pursued in the different schools.

3.1.2.4 Identity Options of the Researched

Section 3.1 has largely dealt with the identity options open to myself as a researcher and has considered how my research identity was in part constructed by the research participants. This section considers the identity options available to the research participants.

It needs to be recognised that as a researcher I have constructed the participants by two main means. The most obvious form of construction is that of the means by which I represented them in the text, this issue is discussed in Section 3.3. The second form of construction of participants is that of the identity options and restriction offered by my relationship with the participants. It is important to note that the portrayal of self by the research participants was not of a single stable self, but the result of a series of decisions of what aspects of self to reveal. These identity options were bounded by issues of trust, broader socio-political factors, relations of power and

many others. In addition I restricted the identity options through the questions posed in interviews and the setting of the study.

When considering the issue of self representations of research participants the extent to which their responses to the interview and questionnaire questions can be trusted is often asked and therefore how trustworthy are the findings of the study. The conscious misrepresentation of beliefs is most likely to occur when the research topic is an area that is considered sensitive by the participant (Sieber 1993). In addition, as Lewis and Meredith (1988, 16 in Edwards 1993, 185) have noted, double subjectivity also has a profound impact on answers given. That is to say, the views of the researcher will affect the responses and behaviours evident in the research project.

Lewontin (1995, 26) has noted that even when research participants purposefully misrepresent their beliefs in research, the findings can still be of great importance, since they reveal a great deal about attitudes. The problem of not recognising misrepresentation has been limited in this research project through the integration of many methods and the trust developed throughout the fieldwork period.

3.1.2.5 Compromised Identity?

It is essential to consider factors within this research that may have compromised research identity and the findings of this research. In most research projects the main areas where the research would be compromised would be through funding and affiliations. No significant funding was received from funding bodies over this research period, my research has therefore not been compromised by this factor. The only affiliation was with Oxford University. The relevance of this in terms of power relations has been discussed earlier in this chapter. This affiliation did not influence the design or objectives of this research project.

The above sections have attempted to place the issue of research identity – both of researcher and researched – in the ethical considerations of this thesis. This section has demonstrated the importance of a consideration of identity upon both fieldwork and analysis phases of research.

3.2 *Research Methodologies*

This thesis employed a number of methodologies, which for the sake of simplicity can be divided into two broad groupings: field site and textual methodologies. The field site methodologies, which will be dealt with first, consisted of Participant Observation, Questionnaires, Group Interviews and Individual Interviews. The textual methodologies contributed to the thesis more broadly and consisted of discourse analysis of government policy documents, analysis of education statistics and textual analysis of constructions of race in colonial literature.

3.2.1 Field Sites

The historical background of each of the communities within which I worked was discussed in Chapter 1. In this section I provide a justification for the choice of schools.

During the planning phase of this research project, my decision to select four schools was criticised for being too many schools by some and too few by others. Within this fieldwork I was not attempting to have a representative sample, since this is not a possibility or real consideration with this form of research. I did however want to demonstrate the diversity of experience and identity in the Coloured population across the Western Cape and therefore decided that fieldwork should be conducted in as many field sites as possible without compromising the methods selected. The final

decision to work in four schools was partly the result of the four-term structure of the academic year, and partly a result of my interpretation of different forms of identity in the area.

The vast majority of the work on Coloured identities has focused on the experiences of the Coloured population of Cape Town and largely ignored other Coloured communities. In this research I attempted to demonstrate the diversity of the experiences of different communities. To achieve this I selected two schools from Cape Town, one rural school and one school in a large town removed from Cape Town. Two schools were selected in Cape Town since the city is the main Coloured population centre in the province. To work in just one Cape Town school would fail to investigate the diversity of experience resulting from apartheid geographies.

Trafalgar High School and Hoërskool Emil Weder were the first two schools selected. These schools were chosen due to their histories. Trafalgar was the first high school for non-White pupils in South Africa and Emil Weder was located in Genadendal, site of the first mission settlement in South Africa and therefore a site of great importance in Coloured history.

Trafalgar was selected due to its historical importance to the Coloured population of South Africa. The school has a vast number of famous alumni, such as the author Richard Rive, and prominent political figures Dullar Omar and Ebrahim Desai, the school has traditionally been a highly academic, middle-class school. In recent years the school has failed academically, and in 2001 the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) forced the school to allow the Department to set and administer exams at the school in an effort to improve pass rates. Trafalgar is located

in Zonnebloem, the waste ground of what used to be District Six.¹ The school refused to move when the area was declared White in 1966. The school's pupils therefore all travel to the school from different communities. The location of the school in District Six, an area of huge symbolic importance for the Coloured population of Cape Town, was one of the main reasons for the selection of the school.

In addition to Genadendal's historical importance to the Coloured population, Emil Weder provided a site for the analysis of the rural forms of identity construction which are often alluded to in research and mocked by urban Coloureds. South African authors often portray rural Coloureds as innocents who were exploited the apartheid state. During my fieldwork period they were often cast as "plaasjaapies" – the equivalent of our "Country Bumpkin", but with over-tones of servility and dependence on White farmers. Since the school had a number of pupils in the boarding house from Cape Town, this site provided an opportunity to investigate the interactions between these divergent forms of identity. In contrast to Trafalgar, Emil Weder has an excellent academic record and was one of seven schools from previously disadvantaged communities in the Western Cape to receive achievement awards on the grounds of matriculation pass rates in 1999.

Following these two schools steeped in history, the two final schools were based in communities that had been moved under the Group Areas Act. As such the schools lacked the sense of continuity of Trafalgar and Emil Weder and therefore I believed that they would offer different identity issues.

The third school was to be Hawston Secondary School in Hermanus, a small town with tourism and fishing as its economic bases. This site was selected due to its relative size and distance from Cape Town. I felt it important to have a field site

¹ For a background to this history and importance of District Six, see Chapter 2

where the identity options for the pupils would not be governed by Cape Town identities. At Emil Weder a number of the pupils in the boarding house were from areas around Hawston and had been sent to Emil Weder by their parents through fear of the gangsterism and drugs in the community and school. These pupils warned me repeatedly of the dangers of going to this school. In the weeks leading up to my move to the school there was an upsurge in gang violence in the area. As a result of police crackdowns on gangs in Cape Town, there has been a move to selling drugs and operating gangs outside of the city. One of the main areas has been Hermanus, where gang leaders now control the abalone poaching (Joseph 2000). As a result of these problems I took the decision to change field sites.

The third school selected therefore became Knysna Sekondêre Skool in Knysna. This school was selected for the same reasons as Hawston. Due to its distance from Cape Town and the relative size of the town, the identity issues facing the pupils of the town would be markedly different to those of children in Cape Town. In addition, as discussed in Chapter 1, Knysna was located near the edge of the area bounded by the Coloured Labour Preference policy, the community therefore had a long history of interaction between Blacks and Coloureds which has clearly influenced identities of pupils within the school.

The final school selected was Grassy Park High School in Cape Town. Having started at Trafalgar in the area that used to be District Six, it was appropriate to conclude in a school on the Cape Flats, the area which most of previous residents of District Six were moved to. In many ways Grassy Park was not a typical Cape Flats school. Grassy Park itself is a relatively affluent area, and the school is better resourced than many in the Cape Flats as a result. Grassy Park does have a degree of gangsterism, but this does not compare with the problems experienced in areas like

Elsies River, Manenberg and the neighbouring Lavender Hill. In nearby Heideveld a primary school was repeatedly closed as gangsters shot inside the school and attempted to kidnap children of an opposing gang leader (Merten 2001). In 1999 the army had to move into a number of schools in Manenberg to protect children from gang violence (Bamford 2001). The issue of personal safety therefore controlled the selection of this school. However, despite the relative safety of this school, the impacts of gang culture were still evident in the school as many pupils came from neighbouring areas where there is much gang activity.

These were the four key field sites. In addition fieldwork was carried out in two further schools, one in an historically Black and an historically White area. At Trafalgar many of the Black students came from Langa, and in response to their comments about the quality of education in the townships I spent a few days in Langa High School in order to gain an insight into the experiences of Black schools and the subsequent perceptions of Coloured education by the Black pupils at Trafalgar.

I also spent a week in Camps Bay High School, a school in an affluent historically White area. In addition to providing a comparison with the Coloured schools, it was important to spend time in an historically White school as a number of Coloured children now attend such schools. Their perceptions of education and identity are markedly different from those in Coloured schools. It was not generally possible to gain access to young people out of the school environment, so it was essential to go to a historically White school.

3.2.2 Field Site Methodologies

This section explains and justifies methodologies employed in the field. In each of the four field sites an attempt was made to employ the same basic methodology, with

adaptations made for local conditions. The methodology for the schools based research is laid out overleaf. As an introduction Table 3.1 provides an overview of this basic structure with the fieldwork timetable.

Table 3.1: Basic timetable of fieldwork in each school

Wk 1-6	Participant-observation observing events within and outside of classrooms (e.g. break times, staff room and after-school activities)
Wk 3	Begin structured questionnaires and focus groups with pupils graded by age
Wk 4-6	Begin group interviews in schools
Wk 5-6	Begin individual interviews with pupils, teachers and community leaders.

3.2.2.1 Participant Observation:

This means of data collection provided a vital starting point for investigating the perceptions of education provision and the identities being constructed through education. The initial period of observation at each site enabled me to become familiar with the school and its social dynamics. By being a familiar figure in the school and community I gained the trust of my interviewees, resulting in more open responses at these later phases.

Participant Observation cannot be defined as a single methodology but as a composite of elements of participation and observation (Atkinson and Hammersley 1994, 248). The balance between the participatory and the observational elements varied between different schools and different phases of the research. The basic structure remained stable in each school. Initially I attended lessons across as broad a range of subjects as possible and spent intervals with the teachers. Time was spent

with the teachers to build up trust and to gain information about the school. I soon developed relationships with particular class groups and teachers. I therefore travelled with certain classes for whole days to narrow and deepen my findings and to build up relationships of trust with these classes from which interview candidates were later drawn. Throughout the participant observation stage I attempted to limit my impact on the teaching process and sat near the back of the room taking notes.

The two main problems of this phase – intrusiveness and informed consent - were common to all phases of fieldwork. England has noted how fieldwork is by its very nature confrontational, as it is a purposeful disruption of other people's lives (England 1994, 85). This was particularly problematic at the participant observation stage. By being a constant presence in the school I could not help but impact upon the teaching practices. To reduce this problem I gave teachers the choice as to whether or not they wanted me to observe their lessons. This may have initially negatively impacted on the breadth of data collected, but by attempting to limit intrusiveness my presence was considered less threatening to the school and therefore more people became open to co-operating with my research interests.

It was not possible to have informed consent during this phase as access to the field depended solely on the staff and not the pupils. I therefore attempted to make sure the pupils were as informed as possible. On entry into each class I therefore explained who I was, what I was doing and how they would be involved at later stages. At this stage I also invited them to speak to me at any time to discuss anything that they thought I needed to know about the school and their experiences, or to clarify anything they thought I might misinterpret.

3.2.2.2 Questionnaires:

Questionnaires were selected as a method to obtain these data as they provided a time-efficient means of obtaining a large amount of basic data on the school community and perceptions of education. In addition, the answers in the questionnaires were a useful guide against which to test assumptions made in the first phase of fieldwork and to indicate issues for further discussion (Cox 1996). Finally, the large-scale circulation of questionnaires enabled pupils in the schools to gain an insight into what the research project was about and what subject areas I would be covering in interviews. Questionnaires were circulated to all pupils in one class per year group dealing with questions such as family history and aspirations. This took the form of a relatively short survey with structured closed questions.

Appendix 3 gives examples of two of the questionnaires distributed at the schools. This section deals with the structure of the questionnaire. The questionnaire design was based on a number of considerations and aimed to collect data on a number of topics.

The first group of questions were used to classify the students according to the basic signifiers of age, gender and year group. Due to the sensitive nature of questions of race in South Africa, the questionnaire did not ask this directly (Lindsay 1997, 52). Instead I asked a question of language. The Coloured pupils would respond that their first language was English or Afrikaans and the Black students Xhosa. This therefore provided a means for assessing the degree of integration of schools.

The second phase of the questionnaire asked questions regarding favoured sports and music styles. These questions served two purposes, to put the pupils at their ease and as basic identity indicators. There has been much comment that Coloured

youth wish to associate themselves culturally as American rather than South African. This section of the questionnaire provided a very simplistic insight into the prevalence of this phenomenon across different schools.

The third phase was designed to gain an insight into the community from which the pupils were drawn. As such questions of family structure, employment and residence were asked. In addition in this phase questions of aspirations were asked in order to ascertain whether these were linked with background and the degree of social mobility provided by education.

The final phase of the questionnaire was designed to gain an insight into the perceptions of the pupils towards their education and the school. This phase was designed in the form of pupils having to grade their degree of agreement or disagreement with statements on a scale of 1-5. Within this phase the pupils were invited to make comments regarding the statements and their answers. This phase of the questionnaire was designed in order to quantify perceptions and thereby to allow comparison between schools.

The distribution of questionnaires created a number of problems, due at times to the design of the project and at times to the structure of the schools. The problems are discussed below.

Initially it was intended that questionnaires should be distributed to one class per year in each school. This pattern of distribution was flawed in a number of ways. Firstly, it was based on the assumption of equal numbers of pupils in all year groups. This was not reflected in the schools, particularly in Emil Weder and Knysna. At the time that I was carrying out fieldwork at Emil Weder there were 184 pupils in Grade 8

and just 81 in Grade 12.² Although the distribution of questionnaires did not aim at obtaining a stratified sample of the school population, the degree of over-representation of pupils in the upper years of the school was clearly problematic. The characteristics and perceptions of education of those who had remained in the school would clearly differ from the norm of the school population.

An additional problem with distributing to one class per year group was that classes were divided according to subject choice. It was common for subject choice to be linked to ability of pupils as perceived by the school. As a result the distribution of questionnaires to all members of a particular class, led to pupils with particular characteristics being chosen.

Following the realisation of the problems of single class distribution in the first school a number of different strategies were employed in subsequent schools. These changes of strategy according to the situation of each school enabled me to obtain a more complete view of the school, but clearly rendered any use of the questionnaire for comparative analysis impossible.

A final problem with distribution was the collection of questionnaires, which due to school schedule constraints occurred during the short registration periods. Since this was not long enough for completion, the collection depended on the pupils returning the questionnaire either to a teacher or me in another registration period. The return rate was therefore unreliable, dependent on the reliability of the pupil and the dominance of the teacher.

As a result of these problems the decision was taken not to include the questionnaire results as an independent quantitative data set. The information was

² Grades were called Standards until recently, with High School involving Standard 6-10, instead of the current Grade 8-12. Many teachers and pupils will still refer to Standards instead of Grades.

however used to inform the questions asked in interviews and provided an overview of the characteristics of each school's pupil body.

3.2.2.3 Group Interviews:

The interviews took the form of open researcher-led discussion in age-stratified single-sex groups. The groups consisted of 5-6 pupils and were stratified in order to generate open discussion (Lindsay 1997, 61). Although the groups were largely homogenous in terms of race and gender there was a degree of heterogeneity. This deviates from the standard group composition, but as Kruger (1988 in Cook and Crang 1995, 57) has noted this is not necessarily problematic and can add to the group process. The interview process was not separate from the Participant Observation, but was a more focussed form of this methodology (Cook and Crang 1995, 36). As such, the same considerations and observational means were employed.

In these group interviews the discussion centred on perceptions of schooling and Coloured corporate identity issues in South Africa. The purpose of this phase of the research project was to narrow the focus of the fieldwork and to gain an understanding of the perception of pupils of issues of education and identity. The interviews were semi-structured using a core interview guide of topics to be covered in each interview, including their perceptions of the school, South African education, South Africa in general, racism, importance of school as an source of values.

Group interviews were selected at this phase of fieldwork to gain access to the opinions and feelings of as many students as possible. In addition, through interviewing in peer groups the nature of interactions between students could be assessed. A final reason for the decision to carry out group interviews before individual interviews was that I considered the group interview to be a less

threatening environment than an individual interview for pupils. At all phases in fieldwork I attempted to make the process as natural and enjoyable as possible for the pupils, not simply for their sake, but I found that this encouraged openness in discussion.

The pupils selected for interview came largely from classes that I had targeted in the participant observation stage. The pupils selected from classes were those who during observation had appeared to be able to express the opinions of the majority of the class. All pupils were given the choice whether they wanted to be interviewed or not, and the purpose of the interview was explained clearly before the interview began. I was also able to allow the pupils to decide the location and time of the interview. The location of interviews is important as the research space reflects and impacts upon the power/knowledge structure of the research, by giving the participants choice of location they were able to assume a more powerful position in the research project (Cook and Crang 1995, 38). My own power as a researcher was further reduced by giving the pupils free choice of language they used during the interview. Although I largely asked questions in English, many of the pupils changed between English and Afrikaans reflecting their usual patterns of speech. Although this complicated the process of transcription, it normalised the interview process for the participants.

Each interview was recorded, and the reason for this and the future use of the tape was explained to each interview group. None of the interviewees objected to this, and in fact many were excited to have their voices recorded and insisted on playing back the tape afterwards (I even had one group of girls who insisted on singing a song at the end for me to take away). This element of choice and transparency was an

important ethical consideration, particularly with the imbalance of power in educational research as discussed in Section 3.1.1.1.

The benefit of this selection strategy was that I had had a chance to establish relationships with these pupils, thereby enabling me to put relevant questions to them and putting them at their ease. The disadvantage with this familiarity was that at times the pupils may have been answering questions in the way they expected I wanted them to, instead of as they felt. It was not possible to prevent this, though this has been taken into account when analysing interview transcripts. Despite this problem, this selection process was preferable to cold contact selection.

3.2.2.4 Individual Interviews:

Interviewees were drawn from participants in the focus groups and also key figures in the school not interviewed in focus groups, such as those with a particular cultural involvement. Pupils were often recommended by members of staff. The interviews with these individuals continued to discuss issues raised in the focus groups in a series of semi-structured interviews conducted both at the school and in the home environment or recreational area. Through these discussions perceptions of education and its purposes, its impact on corporate and individual identities and alternative sources of education were discussed. Through these interviewees some access to parents was obtained, which provided a valuable cross-generational view of the issues. This is important as education has long been perceived as a community concern in South Africa.

In addition, interviews were conducted with community leaders, particularly those involved with alternative sources of education, such as church and mosque leaders, youth leaders and activists.

When interviewing the teachers I tended not to record them. One reason for this was that the interviews were often not scheduled and therefore I did not have the dictaphone with me. Additionally, the teachers were often more wary of being recorded, despite assurances, and would have been more inhibited. I therefore took notes of the interviews whilst conducting them.

3.2.2.5 Justification of Field Site Methodology:

It could be asserted that the means of data collection was over-complicated and employed too many methods. However, I believe that this pattern of data collection can be justified for a number of reasons. Firstly, this pattern provided a means to move from an essential general background understanding of the school and community, to an increasingly focused analysis of the impact of education on a small number of representatives of this community. The initial large scale observation and surveying provided a framing for the later phases of analysis. The increasingly focused approach also provides the means to approach a number of different questions that could not be raised by using just one or two means of data collection. This progressive focussing or funnelling method has been developed by Robert Stake, whose work focuses particularly on education programme evaluation (see for example Stake 1995).

The second reason why this approach was helpful was for my personal understanding of the issues within the schools and regarding individuals. By focusing with increasing specificity on individuals and aspects of the school, I was better equipped to formulate appropriate lines of questioning in the later stages of data collection, most specifically the in-depth interviewing.

In the same way as this methodology aided me through familiarity with the school, it also made me a familiar figure to my respondents. By being a familiar figure in the schools and selecting individuals from groups sampled in previous stages of data collection, those interviewed became more open with me than if I had begun the process from cold contact. My experiences in the field concur with the findings of Johnson (1975) that trust is not a “one shot agreement”, but is continually negotiated.

3.2.2.6 Necessary Adaptations to Methodology

My planned methodology had to be adapted to each school as a result of differing conditions and the needs of the school. Two of the key ethical aims of this research were those of reciprocity and attempting to avoid the objectification of the researched. As a result the fieldwork period was used as an opportunity to provide whatever support or expertise I could to the school.

In addition my research plans had to be adapted to the working culture of each school. For example at Trafalgar the teachers were more than willing for me to take learners from lessons, whereas at the very academic Emil Weder arranging interviews was harder. I did not want in any way to compromise the teaching at the schools.

In the first three schools I played a supporting role within the school: at Trafalgar as a stand-in for teachers away on courses or ill, at Emil Weder I became the Grade 11 English teacher, and at Knysna I was employed in computing assistance and became a key part in organising the regional athletics events. These positions improved my standing with the staff of the schools, though it meant that the timing of aspects of fieldwork had to be adapted.

The other impact of adopting these roles in the schools was that the students had differing perspectives of me at different schools, for example at Grassy Park

where I had no responsibilities I was seen as someone on the same level as them. At Emil Weder on the other hand, I was seen as more of a teacher figure by the day pupils, but because I was living in the school's hostel I was able to develop more personal relationships with the hostel children. These issues have been addressed a greater length in Section 3.1.2.

3.2.3 Textual Methodologies

In addition to the field site data, this thesis is dependent on the interpretation of a number of published data sources, including government policy documents, political speeches and general discourses of race in South Africa, past and present.

Key to this section is the post-structuralist recognition that meaning does not reside in a text, but in the writing and reading of it and that *“language use is always simultaneously constitutive of (i) social identities, (ii) social relations and (iii) systems of knowledge and beliefs”* (Hodder 1994, 393 and Fairclough 1993, 134 in Titscher et al. 2000, 149)

The text of the selected documents is recognised as a “communicative event” (Titscher et al. 2000, 21), and the documents are interpreted as both reflecting and creating the cultural structures they have been created in (Titscher et al. 2000, 91).

In the interpretation of the documents I employed the process of questioning the text proposed by Hammersley and Atkinson (1982, 142-3 in Silverman 2001, 129):

“How are texts written? How are they read? Who writes them? Who reads them? For what purpose? On what occasion? With what purpose? Who is omitted? What is taken for granted? What does the writer seem to take for granted about the reader(s)? What do readers need to know in order to make sense of them?”

Key to the whole of this thesis is the question of whether the Coloured population are being marginalized by the government through education policy. By examining the discourses of policy documents and the ways in which readership can re-inscribe the text with different meanings, this thesis is therefore able to use the same texts and their different interpretations as a means to examine critically the processes of identity and identification in South Africa.

Returning the ethical issue of cross-racial research discussed in Section 3.1.1.2, the process of interpreting texts for the purpose of interpreting the gap between the author's intention and the readers' interpretation is problematised by my own cultural background. The question of whether a White researcher can ever understand the lived experience of non-white research participants (Rhodes 1993, 549 in Troyna 1998, 98), has relevance when considering the interpretation of texts through the eyes of the research participants. In this thesis I attempt to understand how Coloured communities interpret government policies and rhetoric, but I have had to be aware that as in other aspects of this research my own cultural background needs to be taken into account. Throughout the process of interpretation and re-interpretation I have taken care to note the impact my background will have played in my understanding of the texts.

There are a number of methodologies that I have not employed for a number of reasons. Content analysis (Berelson 1952) was not employed, as it was felt that this quantification of textual analysis would fail to deal adequately with the intentions of the text and the implicit power relations. The semiotic analysis of de Saussure (Titscher et al. 2000, 125) was not employed due to the vast number of texts analysed. It was also for this reason that critical discourse analysis method was not attempted. The method employed, based on the Hammersley and Atkinson model described

above was used due to the bulk of material analysed and the recognition of the need for analysis of power structures.

3.3 Politics of Writing and Disseminating Research in South Africa

This chapter concludes with a section dealing with both the practice of writing and the politics of dissemination of research findings in South Africa.

I have chosen to include a section on the process of writing as I consider this to be fundamentally linked to the ethical issues of fieldwork methodology, as Kincheloe and McLaren have noted:

“The way we analyse and interpret empirical data is conditioned by the way it is theoretically framed. It is also dependent on the researcher’s own ideological assumptions” (Kincheloe and McLaren 1994, 144).

It needs to be recognised that the analysis of the data is not a separate phase of the research process (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 205 in Titscher et al 2000, 92). Within this part of the process the ethical considerations of the fieldwork stage are of equal importance, since the researcher’s attempts to reduce imbalances of power during fieldwork can be re-inscribed in the process of writing up (Bennet 2002, 157).

A key example of this is the selection and placement quotes and illustrations from field. These are always staged by the researcher and through this the author’s voice is prioritised and can be seen to orchestrate the data (Clifford 1983, 139 in Bennet and Shurmer-Smith 2002, 213).

This is inevitable in the process of writing. Even in the most collaborative projects where research findings are returned for approval to participants, the author’s voice is still dominant. In this thesis I recognise this problem and that writing using

ethnographic methods is prone to the problem described by Bryman (1988, 77 in Silverman 2001, 223):

“There is a tendency towards an anecdotal approach to the use of data in relation to conclusions in qualitative research. Brief conversations, snippets from unstructured interviews... are used to provide evidence of a particular contention.”

I have attempted to limit this by both the process of data collection and of writing. Through the employment of multiple means of data collection I have a better basis for being able to contextualise examples cited. Within the process of writing I have attempted to provide context for quotes and illustrations employed, and awareness of the potentially problematic nature of writing up ethnographic research has been key to attempts to overcome these problems.

Throughout the process of analysis of data and writing I have been aware that both the data and my interpretations of them are not representations of the world, but are a part of the world they describe (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983 in Silverman 2001, 95). Therefore the methods and concerns of textual analysis described in the section above have been considered throughout the process of writing up.

These issues are also evident in the final readership of this research after dissemination. This is an area of particular concern in the South African context, thus the final section of this chapter considers this issue.

3.3.1 Politics of Research in South Africa:

Having already acknowledged the gap between the “author” and the “reader” in the processes of textual analysis and interpreting data and subsequent writing up, it is important to consider the transformation of the completed text. The best framing of this issue is provided by Hodder (1994, 394):

“Once transformed in a written text the gap between the ‘author’ and the ‘reader’ widens and the possibility of multiple reinterpretations increases. The text can ‘say’ many things in different contexts. But also the written text is an artefact, capable of transmission, manipulation and alteration, used and discarded, re-used and recycled, ‘doing’ different things contextually through time.”

This is of particular concern in the case of politically charged research like this in the South African context. Throughout the process of data collection and writing the research is charged with latent political potency. On release into the public realm the research is active and reactive, open to re-inscription and adoption by political groups for their own means. Although I recognise that theses tend to be completed and to gather dust on a library shelf, the thesis is not the only form this research will take. In addition to academic publications, the findings of this project will also be disseminated to both national and provincial education departments and the National Council of the Provinces.

In South Africa the current political climate is one of Two Nations and the use of race as a political tool as discussed in Chapter 2. Within this political context, particularly in the light of the antagonism between the provincial and national government in the recent past, any research dealing with issues of race and the state’s provision of basic services is likely to become a part of the broader political debate. As such my research is likely to be forced into either the “White” or “Black” side (as it is increasingly becoming defined), despite my efforts to avoid this form of cooption. The process of writing has therefore to be carefully constructed to attempt to prevent this occurring.

This leads to the final question of the role of academics in the current political climate. Thabo Mbeki has repeatedly called for “African Solutions” to South Africa’s problems and has called on Black Intellectuals to play a greater role in academic debate (Friedman 2000). He has also been highly critical of these intellectuals,

frequently accusing them of aping White values, a somewhat contradictory stance to take given the government's proposed closures of Black institutions or their incorporation into historically White universities (Seepe 2001).

With the government's frequent appeals to Black intellectuals, the question has been raised whether the government sees any role for White intellectuals and if there are topics the government believes to be unsuitable for Whites to research into. White academics have frequently been accused of being counter-developmental, but surely this blanket accusation is inconsistent with the constitutional mandate of creating a non-racial democracy?

Ultimately the question of the value of research in South Africa has to be asked. If, as has often appeared to be the case, any criticism of the government has been labelled as racist (despite the race of the author), then much of its power is removed. This issue has to be considered in the process of dissemination of findings and therefore considered at all phases of research design. The methodologies employed in this research project have been informed, but not compromised by these concerns.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to explain the methodologies employed through the ethical concerns implicit in this type of research. This has been placed in the particular geographic and spatial situation of South Africa. All research projects are designed and adapted to meet the particular local situations of the research and the researcher's identity, within this particular research project these considerations were more apparent than others. Although there may have been better means of collecting, analysing and writing up aspects of this research, within the political situation of the

field and dissemination sites, those employed were considered to be the most appropriate.

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Chapter 4: “Colouredness”

This chapter deals with the issue of Coloured identities in South Africa. In the past much of the research into the Coloured population of South Africa has considered the Coloureds as either a creation of the apartheid state or as a single undifferentiated population group. Recent studies of Coloured identities have almost exclusively focused on urban Cape Town Coloured identities. Where there has been recognition of the heterogeneity of Coloured identities this has been simplified to a rural/urban, middle-class/working-class dichotomy. In this chapter I challenge these accepted notions and adopt an approach that attempts to demonstrate the clear impacts of space, place and history on the construction of “Coloured” as a population group and as a form of identity and identification. This chapter steers a path between the reification of Colouredness and its erasure.

Local and international histories have been fundamental to race relations and constructions of Colouredness in South Africa. In this chapter I therefore consider the bodies of international literature on race and ethnicity, and demonstrate how these must be adapted to meet the South African situation. However, I also argue that even though many aspects of Anglo-American theories of race and ethnicity should be rejected through vastly different cultural experiences of population groups, they have relevance through their adoption by members of the Coloured and Black populations of South Africa. The bulk of this chapter deals with historical constructions of the Coloured population in South Africa through a discussion of the histories of the three main field site locations (Cape Town, Genadendal and Knysna). Through this, this chapter also serves to introduce background information which informs later chapters.

4.1 Reification

In this section I review the argument concerning the reification of Coloured identity. The section reviews the international literature on race and the reification of identities through race. Following this I focus on the means by which race has been reified in South Africa and conclude by illustrating the reification of Coloured as a form of identity.

Coloured identities have been reified both by the apartheid state and in post-apartheid South Africa by members of the Coloured population themselves. These represent two different forms of reification for different political aims and can be drawn from two different bodies of literature.

4.1.1 State Reification

The apartheid state reified Coloured as an identity through its assertion of racial difference. This form of reification both drew on local experience and needs and international racial theory. The racialisation of the Coloured population and the assertion of difference drew heavily on international racial theory, particularly upon the Anglo-American scientific racism of the late 19th and early 20th century. In many ways the reification of racial identities was similar to those in Europe and America. As part of the Dutch and then – more importantly – British Empires, South Africa owed much to international notions of race. These notions of race developed through various stages, which have been well documented by Banton (1977, 1983, 1986), Gossett (1997) and Bonnett (1999, 2000) to name a few. These ideas developed both through increased European contact with non-European population, colonial economics and developments in science. The combination of these factors can be seen

to have shaped the racial notions of Europeans and White Americans. The immutable nature of race was established for a purpose, as Dubow has noted:

“Social Darwinists, Spencerians, Lamarckians, craniologists and physical anthropologists all set themselves the task of classifying the world’s races according to a natural hierarchy.” (Dubow 1987, 72 in Jensen and Turner 1996, 72).

Thereby, through defining and ranking populations according to such phenotypic categories as the proportions of the pelvis and limbs, proportions of the skull, skin tone, texture of hair and cranial capacity, population groups were classified and ranked according to their supposed evolutionary development (see for example Peschel 1889, Keane 1908, Finch 1911 and von Luschan 1911). These notions were adopted in South Africa, as in Europe and America. It is important to note that it was not the Afrikaners who first outlined systematic segregation on grounds of race, but the English, who had been influenced by these theories and the experiences of the American South (Gregory 1925, 124 and Dubow 1995a, 147)

As the international race debate turned from “race as nature” to “race as culture” (Goldberg 1992, 547-8), politicians increasingly utilised these debates in order to further their segregationist policies. In the case of South Africa, where patterns of colonisation and contact had already established differentiation on grounds of culture and colour, these theories were accepted and elaborated upon and claims of separate nationhoods were promoted. This quote from a 1962 South African Embassy paper demonstrates the extent to which notions of race and nation had been developed in South Africa:

“[W]e are helping Bantu peoples to become self-sufficient, ordering their own affairs at all levels of national activity. Apartheid sets no ceiling to this development. Its aim is viable and autonomous Bantu nations alongside, and in co-operative association with, the White nation – a South African commonwealth of peoples” (Muller 1962, 12).

As this quote demonstrates, South African constructions of race cannot be seen simply as the reproduction of Anglo-American notions, but has also been influenced by a number of additional factors. In this section I refer to two factors that would have had a considerable impact upon the state's perceived necessity of reification. The first factor was the impact of religion and isolation, which in combination formed a powerful basis for the construction of race. The Cape Colony was founded by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1652, which ensured that the only church at the colony was the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), which was based on Calvinist principles. The church taught sphere sovereignty, the belief that God had ordained differences between different areas of creation. The church also taught pre-destination and the priesthood of all believers, that everyone had the right to interpret the Bible and not depend on teaching from ordained ministers (Dakin 1940, 5).

Following 1837 over 6000 Afrikaner trekkers left the Cape in rejection of British rule, particularly the emancipation of slaves. By 1854 almost a quarter of the European population of the Cape had left to form the Orange Free State and Transvaal republics (Lapping 1986, 13). The Afrikaners, poorly educated (often with the Bible as their only book), and free from DRC leadership, found themselves increasingly influenced by their brand of Calvinism. They increasingly came to equate their experiences with those of the Israelites in their Exodus from Egypt (de Gruchy 1986, 20). In isolation in a harsh environment, these beliefs flourished and were encouraged by the Afrikaner leadership after the Anglo-Boer war who extended the tenets of Calvinism for their political purposes. For example, the poet and nationalist philosopher, du Toit interpreted God as "Hammabdil" ("The Great Divider"), as not only did God separate light and dark, heaven and earth, but also one nation from the

other (Dubow 1995b, 258). The influence of religion on South African constructions of race can be seen in the following statement issued by the church in 1950:

“Every nation and race will be able to perform the greatest service to God and the world if it keeps its own national attributes, received from God’s own hand, pure and with honour and gratitude... God divided humanity, races, languages, and nations. Differences are not only willed by God but are perpetuated by Him. Equality between Natives, Coloureds and Europeans includes a misappropriation of the fact that God in His providence, made people into different races and nations.”
(Commission of the NGK 1950 in Williams and Strydom 1978, 285)

The second factor that needs to be noted is the relationship between the British and the Afrikaners and the role this played on the construction of race in South Africa. There was an antagonistic relation between the Afrikaners and the British from the point at which the British took control of the Cape in 1806. During the Anglo-Boer War between 20 000 and 26 000 Afrikaner women, children and elderly died in British concentration camps (Munger 1967: 58). Following the war there was great Afrikaner impoverishment. It has been suggested that Afrikaner homelessness rates were as high as 20 percent in 1923 (Attwell 1986, 63). Afrikaner leaders therefore embarked on a programme of empowerment, which sought to increase Afrikaner pride, levels of education and economic opportunities. In order to raise the economic and social status of the Afrikaners, the rights of non-Afrikaners had to be restricted. This led to the passing of Acts such as the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 and the Wage Act of 1925 which protected the interests of poor Whites within industry (Davenport and Saunders 2000, 634-5). Attempts by Afrikaner leaders to improve the status of their people in relation to the British further entrenched the racialisation already prevalent in the country.

Coloured was constructed in South Africa as a separate racial category both through the differences in historical construction as discussed in Section 4.4 and through the state’s perceived necessity of a buffer group between Black and White.

The racialisation and categorisation of Coloureds prevented the development of alliances between all the disenfranchised South Africans. The positioning of Coloureds in the middle of the social hierarchy promoted a great social distance between Whites and Blacks. Freire expressed this process as follows: “*As the oppressor minority subordinates and dominates the majority, it must divide and keep it divided in order to remain in power*” (Freire 1972, 111).

The reification of Coloured through various apartheid laws also served to protect Afrikaner Whiteness and to prevent any further mixing. By passing laws such as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and the Immorality Act (1950), the conditions which had led to the formation of the people classified as Coloured were outlawed, thereby in theory drawing a line under further mixing. This formal drawing of race lines and boundaries around them aimed to protect White economic, social and political interests. Reification of Coloured as a separate race group can therefore be seen to have been a product of the state’s desire to protect White interests, particularly those of the working-class Afrikaners.

This section has demonstrated that the reification of race and the construction of a Coloured racial group by the state were both influenced by the international notions of race and identity and the specific experiences of powerful groups within South Africa.

4.1.2 Self Reification

As indicated earlier, there is another form of reification of Colouredness. This form has been proposed by members of the Coloured population themselves. Some, such as Harvey have suggested that this willingness to promote Colouredness is simply the

result of inculcation with apartheid ideology. When discussing Coloured voting patterns Harvey, himself Coloured, wrote the following:

“No group of people, spawned by the hated and divisive racist past, are today, at the personal, political and social levels, more confused, alienated, misdirected and bitter about the new South Africa than coloureds. No people in this country have historically experienced such a deeply painful and recurring crisis of identity as they, torn between our former white masters and the ‘African’ majority, into which apartheid sandwiched them. Apartheid manufactured no more bogus and destructive an identity, which was imposed upon people, than that of ‘coloured’.” (Harvey 2000)

The questioning of the value of reifying Coloured as a form of identity certainly has pertinence in the cases of the Coloured nationalism of the Kleurlinge Weerstandbeweging (KWB) and the Coloured Liberation Movement which came briefly to prominence soon after the end of the apartheid. These groups argued for reification of Colouredness to the extent of calling for self-determination of the Coloured population of South Africa (Russell, 1995).

However, the expression of a post-apartheid Coloured identity cannot be simply seen in these terms, it has also been a transgressive act. There has also been the development of movements that identify themselves with their Malay, Khoi or even the constructed Griqua group ancestry, thereby reifying particular elements of their culture and promoting a positive identity removed from patterns of White dominance (Rasool 1996, 56, Steenkamp 2001, Wicomb 2000). This alignment with one particular aspect of Coloured history has been attacked both politically and culturally, perhaps best expressed in Zoë Wicomb’s recent novel, “David’s Story” (2000):

“Don’t try to fob me off with nonsense about roots and ancestors... Rubbish, it’s all fashionable rubbish. Next thing you’ll be off overseas to check out your roots in the rubbish dumps of Europe, but no, I forget, it’s the African roots that count. What do you expect to find? Ours are all mixed up and tangled up; no chance of us being uprooted,

because they're all in a neglected knot, stuck. And that, I'd have thought is the beauty of being Coloured, that we need not worry about roots at all, that its altogether a good thing to start afresh." (Wicomb 2000, 27-8)

Beyond this focus on aspects of ancestry, many Coloureds have spoken of reclaiming Coloured identity as a whole and resignifying it. Key in this has been the attempt to reinscribe Colouredness as positive, to transform the negative constructions. This process has occurred due to the recognition of the impact of these constructions. In Wicomb's "You can't get lost in Cape Town", she recounts the impact of this upon middle-class urban Coloureds:

"Just think, in our teens we wanted to be white, now we want to be full-blooded Africans. We've never wanted to be ourselves and that's why we stray... across the continent, across the oceans and even here, right into the Tricameral Parliament, playing into their hands." (Wicomb 1987, 156).

It has been widely claimed that the negative constructions have had a greater and more damaging impact upon working-class members of the Coloured population, who constitute the majority. The working-class Coloured population has been cast as a problem group in the media in South Africa, and a number of negative stereotypes persist, such as the Coloureds as drunkards, infantile, criminal and sexually profligate (Jensen and Turner 1996, 2-6 and Sonn and Fisher 1996, 423). Recent surveys have found that there are up to 100 000 gang members in the Western Cape which had a population of 3.9 million in 1996. These vast majority of these gangsters are Coloured (Merten 2001 and Statistics South Africa 2002).

The impact of the negative constructions is clearly illustrated in these lyrics to *Kaap van Storms* (Cape of Storms) by the group *Brasse Vannie Kaap*:

Hulle wys altyd lelike prente van onse mense. Hoekom moet ek altyd 'n gangster verklomp? Jy's al wat hulle sien op die koerante en TV, hulle trek op hulle neus en sê "Sis, jy's just a low class Coloured, jou voorvaders was whities en slawes." So I must be a bastard, but wait a minute. If he portrays my story and not just his story, sal jy sien, my

voorvaders was 'n king and 'n queen, they never saw drugs, guns of 'n kanteen, hulle wys altyd om God te dien. (They always show ugly picture of our people. Why must I always be lumped with gangsters? You're just what they see in the papers and on TV, they put their noses in the air and say "Yuck, you're just a low class Coloured, you're forefathers were Whiteys and slaves." So I must be a bastard, but wait a minute. If he portrays my story and not just history, you'll see, my forefathers were a king and a queen, they never saw drugs, guns or cheap wine, they were always trying to serve God.) (Brasse Vannie Kaap 1997)

In recognition of the impacts of these negative constructions efforts have been made by many diverse groups to attempt a form of positive reification of Colouredness. This has been attempted through the hip-hop music of groups like Brasse Vannie Kaap (Haupt 2001) and through the movement to resettle District Six by groups such as the District Six Residents' Association (Rossouw 1996), for example. Politically this movement of resignification has clear links with the Coloured population's attempts to locate a voice in post-apartheid South Africa as discussed in Chapter 2.

This approach has theoretical underpinnings in the debate around postcolonial identity construction, in particular strategic essentialism. The following quote by South African theologian Manas Buthelezi encapsulates the central tenet of this form of self-reification:

"As long as someone says to you, 'You are black, you are black,' blackness as a concept remains a symbol of oppression and something that conjures up feelings of inferiority. But when the black man himself says, 'I am black, I am black,' blackness assumes a different meaning altogether. It then becomes a symbol of liberation and self-articulation." (Buthelezi in Fredrickson 1995, 305).

Key to this self-reification is the postcolonial notion of the rejection of European culture as being the only positive model for cultural development. It is about the rejection of "baaskap" (White male supremacy) and the reclamation of histories. One of the more influential authors in this area, Fanon, called for the

colonised not to imitate Europe, but to move in a new direction of political and cultural self-determination (Fanon 1990 [1961], 252). Spivak has called for the use of strategic essentialism (Spivak 1987, 205). Essentialism is the notion that all phenomena and events are reducible to fundamental, unchanging properties, or essences. Members of non-dominant groups have traditionally been subject to this disempowering essentialisation, and on these grounds essentialism has been broadly critiqued (Werbner 1997). However, Spivak has argued that essentialism can be used by groups in order to challenge dominant constructions. Groups that have been essentialised should therefore transform these essentialised identities and use them as a tool of resistance. It is within this context that a unified Coloured identity has been deployed as a challenge to apartheid and colonial constructions.

4.2 Erasure

While there has been the call for reification of Colouredness from some sectors of South African society, there have also been movements for the erasure of Colouredness as a form of identity and identification in its entirety. This argument for erasure has two distinct forms.

The first is a rejection of Colouredness as a form of identity on the grounds of the overwhelmingly negative constructions of Coloured by the apartheid state. This notion differs from the process discussed in the reification section in that instead of resignifying Coloured in its own terms, Colouredness is destroyed, fragmented. This rejection of Colouredness has led to the promotion of a number of different forms of Coloured identities. This process has been noted by Jensen and Turner (1996) and Battersby (forthcoming) as a coping strategy, whereby different forms of localised identities are proposed to distance the community and the individual from the

negative identity constructions of Colouredness. Jensen and Turner's work locates this as individual responses within particularly negatively constructed locations, such as "I am Muslim", "I am respectable".

The second argument for erasure is rooted in broader political debate in South Africa. This argument claims that identities bounded by race and ethnicity should be rejected on the grounds that they were social constructs created by ruling elites in order to prevent united opposition. This argument was particularly prevalent within the urban Coloured middle-classes in the 1980s. The term "Coloured" was rejected and "so-called Coloured" and "Black" were adopted. This was linked with the political atmosphere of the time, as anti-apartheid activism was increasing and the Black Consciousness movement had come to prominence in the urban Coloured communities (Fredrickson 1995, 310).

Black Consciousness as a movement developed following the 1968 student uprisings. The central tenet of the organisation was that all non-Whites in South Africa were Blacks and that all had to liberate themselves psychologically and shed the slave mentality brought both by institutional racism and white liberalism (Davies *et al* 1984, 302). Black Consciousness was influenced by the African American notions of Black Power and Black Theology, as well as the postcolonial theories of Fanon and others (Davenport and Saunders 2000, 436). Although influenced by these international theories, Black Consciousness itself was also dependent on factors and theoretical development from within South Africa.

The rejection of "Colouredness" in place of "Blackness" was a largely urban middle-class movement, as discussed in Chapter 2. Although the Black Consciousness movement brought this to the fore, it had been evident in urban areas since the turn of the 20th century, as the 1902 establishment of the African Political Organisation

demonstrates (Simons and Simons 1983, 121). The call for erasure of Colouredness as a form of identification in this case is not the erasure through fragmentation and localisation of identity, but the assimilation of Coloureds into the broader “Black” grouping. Whereas the first movement for erasure focused on assertions of difference, this movement sought to stress common experiences of oppression, and in its later phases to express common non-European heritage. In anti-apartheid activism within the Black Consciousness Movement and the UDF, this erasure of Colouredness was often an uncomfortable rejection. The movement had a limited notion of what it meant to be Black. Coloureds were to reject Coloured identities and identify themselves as Black, but they were always considered “blacks of a special type” (Erasmus 2001, 19).

This expression of non-European heritage was often the outcome of African-American expressions of African heritage and not primarily South African Black influences. Particularly influential were American Hip Hop groups such as Afrika Bambaata and Public Enemy (Battersby forthcoming)

This movement towards a more inclusive African identity can be linked to broader movements of Pan-Africanism and Négritude. Pan-Africanism was a movement that united both Africa and the African diaspora with the twin aims of liberation and unity of the African continent, and the liberation and solidarity of African people throughout the world. The first Pan-African Conference was held in London in 1901 (Bute and Harmer 1997, 155). The movement was dominated by the African-Americans until after the Second World War, when representatives from Britain’s African colonies came to be numerically dominant (Fredrickson 1995, 278). Pan-Africanism called for the recognition of a common purpose for all Black people.

The second influential movement was the literary movement Négritude, which developed in the 1930s in Francophone Africa and Caribbean nations. This movement sought to reassert Black cultural values and attempted to encourage Black people to take pride in their heritage and study African life and culture (Bute and Harmer 1997, 152). The impacts of Négritude are evident in the call for Coloureds to consider themselves African and to stop prioritising their European heritage and cultural backgrounds.

Beyond the immediacy of the political activity of these movements, the call for erasure of Colouredness as a form of identity can be traced in the theoretical work on race and ethnicity and is linked with the Marxist body of literature which states that :

“‘Race’ is not an independent factor but the manifestation of those underlying material conditions and class forces that made apartheid functional to the needs of capitalism.” (Taylor 1994, 91).

In this Marxist literature “race” was viewed solely as a social construction which attributes meaning to phenotypic variation. This attribution of meaning resulted in the reification of real social relations into ideological categories (Solomos 1986, 98). This Marxist literature therefore sought to challenge the acceptance of race declaring it to be “false consciousness”. Having established that race is a construction that obscures the true class differentials, many producers of Marxist theory have argued that the term race should not be used, nor recognised. They argue that many social scientists have perpetuated notions of race through utilising the term in their research. Through using the term “race” on the grounds that people *act* as if race exists, then its construction is supported and enhanced (Phizacklea 1984, 200 in Solomos 1986, 98).

Other theorists have challenged the dominance of race over class in social theory, since “race”, according to Stuart Hall, “*is the modality through which class is lived, the medium through which class relations are experienced*” (Hall 1982, 341 in Wolpe, H. 1988, 52). That is to say that race as a form of identity only exists as an expression of class relations. Since this is the case, race should not be given primacy since it is only a constructed constituent element of the meta-structure of class.

In post-apartheid South Africa, the continued referral to race and particularly to Colouredness has been challenged on the grounds that it prevents political unity and limits the economic development of the country, as discussed in Chapter 2. The notion of Colouredness has been particularly challenged through both the anti-apartheid Marxist theorising and the theories of post-apartheid restructuring on the grounds of its obvious divisive construction by the colonial and apartheid state.

Following the ANC’s unbanning Mandela set the path for the initial post-apartheid rhetoric “*We have no whites, we have no blacks. We have only South Africans*” (Mandela 1990 in Taylor 1994, 96). The limitations of this Rainbow Nation approach have been discussed in Chapter 2. The call for the disregard of “race” in post-apartheid South African politics does not go as far as rejecting “race” as a constituent trait of human identity in South African politics (Taylor 1994, 93).

The call for the erasure of Colouredness has many facets, but the central element is the assertion that Colouredness was an apartheid construction and that it should therefore be disregarded in the post-apartheid era.

4.3 *Cornered community*

I would argue that neither the reification of Colouredness in post-apartheid South Africa nor its complete erasure as a form of identity are suitable paths in post-apartheid restructuring and academic research.

The reification of Colouredness imposes a false homogeneity upon the people classified as Coloured. Even the resignifying of Coloured as a positive identity fails adequately to challenge the negativity of apartheid and colonial constructions. It instead merely imposes another ahistorical construction over the existing structure. It fails effectively to challenge the positioning of Coloured between the nominally “pure” races of Black and White. As such the reification of Coloured does not provide an alternative vision of post-apartheid South Africa.

The erasure of Colouredness as a form of identity on the other hand denies the value of people’s historical experiences and the psychological need for continuity in a changing South Africa. It also denies the importance of the historical construction upon the lived experiences of different population groups in South Africa. That is to say, it fails to recognise that although Colouredness was an apartheid and colonial construction, the impacts that this construction had upon people classified as such were similar. It is through these impacts that meaning has been given to the notion of Colouredness. The calls for the erasure of Colouredness fail to consider the importance of ethnicities as bearers of culture and the nature of identities as continually reproduced internalised analyses of broader social structures.

In this thesis I therefore have attempted to view the Coloured population in terms of a cornered community, as developed by Erasmus (2001). As already noted Coloured identity has tended to be constructed as problematic and dominated by

Black-White reductionism. This position is in keeping with Stonequist's influential writing on the "Marginal Man", a term first used by Park in 1928. The term Marginal Man initially described the social identities of biracial people in America. Stonequist wrote that the Marginal Man, "*leaves one group or culture without making the satisfactory adjustment to another and finds himself on the margin of each and a member of neither*" (Stonequist 1937 in Hitch 1983, 110). The Marginal Man is considered to have internalised the values of the groups from which he is denied. This international theory of the marginality of mixed race people and groups has been adopted in South Africa with reference to Coloured communities, thereby encouraging negative identity constructions.

The notion of cornered communities moves away from these notions of Colouredness representing a state of in-betweenness, of lacking or of being a remnant. It embraces notions of ambiguity and ceaseless fluidity in current identity theory. Colouredness in this light should no longer be seen in terms of mixing of races, but as the impact of the meeting of different cultures under specific historical conditions, thereby recognising the relations of power that have controlled the nature of identities.

The construction of Coloured communities as cornered communities as been described by Erasmus as follows:

"Coloured identities were constructed out of fragmented cultural material available in the contexts of slavery, colonisation and cultural dispossession. This leaves their constructed and composite historical nature always evident and their dislocation always present. These are identities produced and re-produced in the place of the margin."
(Erasmus 2001, 22-3)

The notion of cornered communities has been used instead of hybridity since the emphasis on de-centring in much of the hybridity literature fails adequately to acknowledge factors that restrict self-definition. The notion of cornered communities

derives from Edouard Glissant's work on creolization (see Glissant 1989). This process of creolization is not simply about cultural fusion, connection and contact, but about the conditions under which contact is made and how these shape and position the new cultural formation. Creolization deals with cultural formations historically shaped by slavery (Erasmus 2001, 22). It is the recognition of the current impacts of these historical conditions which make it necessary to consider Colouredness in terms of cornered communities and not hybridity.

The remainder of this chapter discusses the history of the people who came to be classified as Coloured. The structure of this chapter attempts to challenge the attempted reification and erasure of Coloured as a form identity and identification and to validate the use of the notion of cornered communities.

4.4 *Constructing Colouredness*

This section deals with the construction of Colouredness through an assessment of historical factors in three locations; Cape Town, Genadendal and Knysna. The purpose of this section is to justify the terming of Coloureds as a cornered community. In order to frame the debate this section considers the diversity of the people who came to be classed as Coloured, the different relationships developed with the White populations and the impact of the socio-legal homogenisation of the Coloured population throughout South Africa's history.

4.4.1 Diversity within Coloured population

The Coloured population came to be defined by the apartheid state as:

2. (I) For the purposes of this Act, there shall be the following groups:

a) a white group... [whose diagnostic characteristics are then stated]

- b) a native group... [whose diagnostic characteristics are then stated]
- c) a coloured group, in which shall be included:
 - (i) any person who is not a member of the white group or of the native group; and
 - (ii) any woman, to whichever race, tribe, or class she may belong, between whom and a person who is, in terms of sub-paragraph (i), a member of the coloured group, there exists a marriage or who cohabits with such a person;
 - (iii) any white man between whom and a woman who in terms of sub-paragraph (i) is a member of the coloured group, there exists a marriage, or who cohabits with such a woman. (Group Areas Act 1950 [Amended 1966] cited in Western 1981: 9).

Although this is the most commonly cited definition of Coloured, it needs to be noted that even under apartheid there was no static definition of the Coloured population (Goldin 1987, xxvi). Throughout South Africa's history the definition of Coloured was never fixed, but a general perception of who was Coloured was soon established. For example in the Cape Colony in the 19th century, the term Coloured was generally used for anyone who was not White. However, by 1904 the definition had changed to mean someone who was not White and did not belong to a Bantu-speaking group (Goldin 1987, 26). The change in definition was not the result of changing attitudes to those already classed as Coloured, but a response to the increased contact with Bantu-speaking groups and the processes of Black urbanisation

and proletarianization (Dubow 1995a, 145 and Swanson 1995, 29). That is to say, the government at the Cape had a concept of who were Coloured and the role Coloureds were to play, and when the definition no longer adequately represented their view it was adapted.

Within the many definitions of Coloureds through South African history the general principle has always been that they were the people who although not phenotypically White could not be culturally located as Black, in terms of language, customs and history. This constructed the Coloured population as who they were not, that is to say it was an overwhelmingly negative construction, a definition to mop up the diverse population groups that performed particular roles in South African society.

These population groups were considerably more diverse than the term Coloured indicates. Not only was the Coloured population diverse, but this diversity had particular spatial constructions.

4.4.1.1 Cape Town

The Coloured population of Cape Town shows the most diversity in terms of origin and experience of any of the Coloured populations of South Africa. This can be attributed to both the history of the city and the size of the settlement. The Coloured population in Cape Town derived from a number of distinct ethnic and cultural groups: Europeans, the Khoikhoi and San peoples, Asian and African slaves, Black South Africans, and later non-slave immigrants from China, India and other countries. This section considers the role these various groups played in the development of the Coloured population in Cape Town.

While there has been an attempt by sectors of the White population to deny their role in the production of the Coloured population of South Africa, there is

evidence of a significant amount of European ancestry in the Coloured population today. In 1972 the paper “Blood Group Gene Frequencies: An Indication of the Genetic Constitution of Population Samples in Cape Town” was published. This paper by Dr M.C. Botha concluded that the blood group pattern of Cape Town’s Coloured population contained approximately 34 percent White, 36 percent indigenous South African and 30 percent Asian genes (Venter 1974, 132-133). Botha’s study also concluded that up to seven percent of Afrikaner genetic material was of non-European origin, therefore indicating the considerable fluidity of categorisation during colonial times.

Many of the early people considered Coloured were the children of White fathers and slave or Khoikhoi mothers. There were later additions of European blood in areas such as District Six, where there were a number of working-class Whites living in the same areas as Coloureds. Many of these later immigrants were Jews from Eastern Europe who came to escape poverty and pogroms. The Jewish population of Cape Town increased from under 1000 in 1891 to over 8000 in 1904 (Worden *et al* 1998, 212) Although the European ancestry of Coloureds has often been ignored, it needs to be noted that this ancestry greatly influenced the roles that people classified as Coloured have played in South African society.

The second group to be considered is the Khoikhoi and San group. These were the indigenous people of the Cape, with the Khoikhoi originally termed the Hottentots and the San, the Bushmen. The Khoikhoi and San were related groups of people, although for centuries considered to be separate groups, there is evidence to suggest that by the time of European conquest the San were often simply Khoikhoi who had been ostracised from their original clans (Elphick 1985, 28).

When the Dutch East India Company (VOC) established Cape Town as a watering station in 1652 it had already had considerable contact with the Khoikhoi people in the area. From 1632 the British had been using the Khoikhoi as messengers to pass messages between voyages (Elphick 1985, 32), and in 1647 a Dutch ship, the *Haarlem*, had been wrecked at the Cape. The crew had stayed in the Cape Town area for a year and traded extensively with the Khoikhoi. Therefore when the Dutch arrived to settle permanently in 1652 they had a good understanding of the Khoikhoi population. Not only this but the Khoikhoi offered little resistance to the Dutch as they did not believe that they intended to stay (Elphick 1985, 87).

Initially the Company and Free Burghers sought to trade with the Khoikhoi and they had soon dispossessed them of most of their cattle. Disputes over cattle theft led to the first Khoikhoi-Dutch war in 1659 (Elphick 1985, 115). The VOC soon adopted a fiercely protectionist attitude towards the Khoikhoi, and attempted to ban the use of the Khoikhoi labourers (Worden 1985, 34). This was unsuccessful due to the loss of Khoikhoi grazing lands to colonists' farms and the erosion of their social systems through massive population loss through European diseases (Burrows 1994, 2).

The Khoikhoi therefore soon became assimilated into both rural and urban Cape colonial society. The incorporation of the Khoikhoi into rural society is discussed further in the section on Genadendal, suffice it to say that one traveller to the outlying Graaf Reinet district in 1797 estimated that each farmer had five Khoikhoi labourers for every two slaves (Burrows 1994, 2).

In the urban areas the Khoikhoi had entered as free labour and were soon considered a permanent labouring class of lower status than slaves, despite their official status as free (de Villiers 1988, 58). Although they became culturally

assimilated, they were negatively constructed by early travellers who were disgusted by some of their cultural practices, such as smearing their bodies with animal grease and their use of alcohol and dagga (marijuana) (Elphick 1985, 180).

Miscegenation between Europeans and Khoikhoi was rare in the early days of the Cape, ostensibly because of the Company's disapproval and their protectionist attitude towards the Khoikhoi. However, it has often been asserted that these low rates of miscegenation had more to do with the general distaste that Europeans felt towards Khoikhoi practices, adornment and appearance and the kinship ties of Khoikhoi women to their kraals (Elphick 1985, 204). Widespread miscegenation with the Khoikhoi was not a phenomenon of the early colony, despite the gender imbalance in the European population, but was more common in the rural areas of the 18th century (Elphick 1985, 205).

The third broad group that contributed to what came to be considered Coloured society in Cape Town was the slave population. It was originally envisaged that the farms of the colony would be worked by White Company servants and Khoikhoi (Elphick 1985, 175). However it soon became clear that these people would not adequately meet the labour needs of the rapidly developing colony and the first significant importation of slaves came in 1658 (Bradlow 1978, 87). There were two main slave groups at the Cape, Eastern and African slaves. Table 4.1 illustrates the origin of slaves brought to the Cape.

Table 4.1 Places of Origin of Slaves, 1652-1818

Location	Percentage of Total Slaves
Africa ^a	26.65
Ceylon	3.10
India	36.40
East Indies	31.47
Mauritius	0.18
Malaya	0.49
Others	0.40
Unidentified	1.31

Source: da Costa 1994a, 2

a. African slaves were predominantly bought from Madagascar and East Africa, with some from Angola.

This pattern of slave origin was not constant, with the number of African slaves increasing following the prohibition of the importation of Oriental slaves in 1767 (Bradlow 1978, 88). The importance of imported slaves was reduced over time as the number of Cape-born slaves increased and mortality rates declined (Bank 1991, 101).

The geographical origin of slaves was influential on their role in Cape Town society, with a clear division of labour based on perceived ethnic and racial characteristics. Slaves were given names according to their origin e.g. van Bengale, van de Kaap. This naming was not simply a convenient means of differentiating slaves, but seems to have been a means by which the Company ascribed group characteristics. It came to be accepted that African slaves were suitable for manual labour, such as carriers of wood, drawers of water, agricultural labour. Malay slaves were considered to be more highly skilled and “civilised” and were therefore seen as coachmen, tailors, painters, fishermen etc. Cape-born slaves were considered most suitable for domestic tasks or as workers in stores and warehouses (Bank 1991, 56). There is little writing on the differentiation of women’s roles according to origin, the assumption has been made that these stereotypes were applied to women as well as men in colonial society.

Although these stereotypes, based on existing constructions of race, provided a template of preferred patterns of labour, they were not unyielding. As indicated earlier, the supply of slaves from different areas was not constant. Slave owners therefore had to buy according to the market. In addition, although there was a general rural-urban divide in origin of imported slaves, there were still some Eastern born slaves in rural areas and African-born slaves in urban areas. In the rural areas there was not the same need for the types of skilled labour that urban Eastern slaves were usually employed in. There were therefore a number of farms where Eastern slaves were employed in what had been constructed as “African” tasks (Worden 1985, 67).

In 1818 Cape Town’s population consisted of 7460 Whites, 536 Khoikhoi, 7462 slaves, 810 “Prize Negroes”¹ and 1905 Free Blacks (Teenstra 1830, 355 in Davids 1991, 53). Due to the stereotypes of different slave groups, the slave population of Cape Town was predominantly Asian-based or Cape-born mixed race slaves, usually with European fathers and Asian-born mothers (Marais 1957, 9). The Free Blacks were an increasingly prevalent group. They originally consisted of the political prisoners, such as Shaykh Yusuf al-taj al-khalwati al-Maqasari and his 48 followers brought over from Ceylon in 1694 (Dangor 1994, 22). The majority of Free Blacks were manumitted slaves, although there were also a number of Prize Negroes who had served their apprenticeships. Between 1816 and 1834, 80 percent of all slaves manumitted at the Cape were Cape-born, their high rates of manumission due both to their employment and social status (Bank 1991, 186). A number of Asian-born slaves were also manumitted since their status as skilled workers meant that they could gain their freedom by earning money working in their free time (McKenzie 1993, 56).

¹ “Prize Negroes” were Africans taken from onboard slave ships which had been captured at sea by British cruisers. Between 1808 and 1816, 2000 landed at the Cape (Marais 1957: 161).

The character of slavery in Cape Town was very different to that in rural areas. In Cape Town a tendency developed for skilled slaves to be hired out. Slaves began to sleep outside of the bounds of their owners' properties, thus reducing the social control and the distinction between slave and Free Black (Bank 1991, 62). Through this blurring the term Malay became a recognised categorisation of people in the city, based not on conditions of servitude but on culture. Malay did not refer to people from Malaya, but was linked to a linguistic grouping of those who spoke Malayo (or Melayu), which was a trading language stretching from Madagascar to China (Bradlow 1978, 64). Malay therefore referred to all peoples deriving from this geographic area and was commonly associated with those of the Muslim faith.

This Muslim faith was a distinguishing character of the Cape Town Coloured population. Islam was brought from the East Indies with slaves, but more importantly with the exiled rebels like Shaykh al-Maqasari who taught both slaves and Khoikhoi (Martin 1999, 55). Islam came to be increasingly important as a number of factors facilitated its development. The less restrictive social structure of the Cape enabled slaves to come into contact with the faith. At the same time the 1770 Statutes of India made the sale of Christianised slaves illegal, slave owners therefore did not encourage their slaves to adopt their religion (Davids 1994b, 59 and Mentzel 1785, 130). In Cape Town the Islamic faith had traditions of Ratiep and Rampi-Sny,² which were not part of Islam per se, but of South East Asian tradition (Davids 1994a, 47). The Mosques therefore provided some cultural continuity. In addition the Mosques offered schooling to all irrespective of race and taught in the language of the slaves, Cape Dutch which became Afrikaans (da Costa 1994b, 104). The result of this was that by

² Ratiep was when skewers were pierced into the flesh of entranced worshippers. Rampi-Sny was the cutting of orange leaves by women to commemorate Mohammed's birth (Worden *et al* 1998, 127)

1820 it was estimated that there were ten times as many Muslim slaves as Christian slaves (Krüger 1966, 101).

Following the end of slavery more Muslim slaves from other parts of the colony moved to Cape Town. In addition during the last quarter of the 19th and early 20th centuries many more Muslims came to Cape Town from the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent, therefore further increasing the importance of the Muslim faith in Cape Town Coloured identity (da Costa 1994b, 106).

There were clearly a number of slaves of African origin in Cape Town, but they were out-numbered by the Asian- and Cape-born slaves and Free Blacks. Following the end of slavery at the Cape more ex-slaves of African origin, people of mixed Khoikhoi and slave, and of Khoikhoi and European background moved from the farms to Cape Town (Worden *et al* 1988, 212). These immigrants were virtually exclusively Afrikaans-speaking, as opposed to the existing population which had become equally conversant in English and Afrikaans, using English to denote their higher status. They were also more likely to be Christian rather than Muslim, due to missionary activity and the relative isolation of the farms which had encouraged assimilation into European cultural traditions (Worden 1985, 120). Finally, these immigrants tended to be employed in lower-skilled work, thereby creating greater economic differentiation within the Coloured population. These factors coupled with existing colour differentiation in Cape society (de Villiers 1988, 56), led to a vastly divergent group of people under the categorisation “Coloured” in Cape Town.

By the time of the imposition of the Group Areas Act, the social structure in Cape Town was such that de Villiers described it as follows:

“Cape Town, the Tavern of the Seas, had lived with 300 years and more of ethnic slippage as the libido regularly conquered propriety; the population of Cape Town was hopelessly confused –

neighbourhoods were confused, streets were confused, even families were confused; the more blurred the line, the less attention was paid it and the easier it was to cross. There were families with a rainbow of colours under one roof – a dark brother with the peppercorn hair of the Hottentot but the sharp Aryan features of the Europeanised Malay, a pale-skinned blue-eyed sister with the glossy black hair of the Asian, a bronzed brother indistinguishable, truth to tell, from the mahogany tan of Jan Vorster himself. This was not unusual. There were, of course, clear white neighbourhoods with clear white families, obviously Malay neighbourhoods distinguished more by their religion and their style than by colour, and obviously Coloured neighbourhoods where dusty coffee and curiously bad teeth were the norm. But generally the older parts of the city, clustered around the Castle and the earliest free-burgher farms, were treacherously mixed.” (de Villiers 1988, 369-370)

Although this quote is dominated by problematic constructions, it provides a clear indication of the diversity of Cape Town’s population both at the city and domestic scales.

4.4.1.2 Genadendal:

The Coloured population of Genadendal would, according to recent historical constructions, appear to have a much a greater homogeneity than the population of Cape Town. Modern constructions tend to portray Genadendal as a purely Khoikhoi settlement. While it is true that Genadendal was established (as Baviaanskloof) as a mission to the Khoikhoi by the Moravians in 1737, its population was never just the local Khoikhoi groups (Krüger 1966, 54).

The area around the mission settlement had been colonised by White farmers since 1720, and there had been regular trade with the Hessequa Khoikhoi of the region since 1665 (Burrows 1994, 46 & 5). Therefore when the mission was established there were already a number of what were termed “Bastaard Hottentots” or “Basters” (people having European fathers and Khoikhoi mothers) in the area. These individuals, like many of the early Cape-born slaves, had been provided for by

their European fathers and tended to live in European style housing and farmed arable land in the European manner (Krüger 1966, 55). In addition there were also slaves employed on the farms in the area, as the missionaries' diaries indicate (Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel translated by Bredekamp *et al* 1992, 120). Unlike the farms nearer to Cape Town, the farmers did not rely heavily on slave labour. This was partly due to the cost of buying slaves, partly due to the seasonal nature of much of the farm work, but also because many of the farmers were not allowed to buy slaves due to maltreatment in the past (Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel translated by Bredekamp *et al* 1992, 70).

In the colonising of the Overberg area in which Genadendal was situated, the Khoikhoi had been dispossessed of much of their land. When farms were given out, existing land rights of the Khoikhoi were generally disregarded (Krüger 1966, 64). Therefore, when the mission was re-established in 1793, having been shut down by the VOC in 1742, the Khoikhoi were predominantly employed on farms and were noticeably more impoverished than Schmidt had recorded 50 years before (Krüger 1966, 53).

Once re-established the mission grew rapidly as word spread that living at the mission was preferable to living in bondage on the farms. By 1802 the mission was the second largest settlement in the colony, with 1234 people (Le Grange 1991, 2). Khoikhoi, mixed race people and freed slaves came from as far as Graaf Reinet (over 450km away) as individuals, families and whole groups to settle at Genadendal (Krüger 1966, 76).

The diversity of the Genadendal population increased further as a group of Bantu-speaking Blacks were sent to the station from the Eastern Cape in 1809. Although they did not stay in the valley, but on a hill to the east of the settlement in

what became known as “Kaffirkraal”, they were soon integrated into the community (Krüger 1966, 105).

The diverse population at the mission was increasingly culturally homogenised by the practices of the missionaries, who attempted to challenge the notion of superiority of mixed race people over the Khoikhoi as had been tradition in the area (Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel translated by Bredekamp *et al* 1992, 124). The population was homogenised through education, religion and even the morphology of the village (Le Grange 1991, 5). Within 40 years of the reestablishment of the mission the population ceased to be recognised in terms of their different backgrounds, but were being referred to as “Coloured” (Krüger 1966, 105).

The community remained under protection of the Moravian Church and, following the 1909 Mission Stations and Communal Reserve Act, the state. Although this Act prevented residents from obtaining property rights, it perversely provided a site of continuity and pride. The impact of this continuity on identity has been summarised as follows:

“Having been conceived as segregated communities that were to aid the process of colonial conquest, the mission stations have managed to escape the impact of the Group Areas Act, and other similar legislation. While they still remain as segregated communities today, they have nevertheless gained from an uninterrupted social and cultural history.” (le Grange 1991, 50)

4.4.1.3 Knysna:³

Knysna is located much further from Cape Town than Genadendal (approximately 560km). Due to this distance and natural factors, such as the dense forest surrounding

³ There has been very little written about the non-White populations of the Knysna area, the vast majority of available texts on the area dealt with the history of Knysna’s founder George Rex and his family. Details of Coloured history have had to be gleaned from these texts. This demonstrates invisibility of the Coloured population in the town. It also speaks of the lack of development of an educated Coloured elite to construct histories.

the area and the treacherous coastline, the area was colonised much later than other areas within the Cape colony (Parkes and Williams 1988, 2). The main industry in the area was forestry which meant that little external labour was initially brought into the area. The Coloured population that developed was initially drawn from the indigenous Khoikhoi groups in the area, these groups were the Gouriqua, Attaqua and Gamtoos (Elphick 1985, 51). Unlike the Khoikhoi at Genadendal these population groups had had considerable contact with Bantu-speaking groups through trade and even though marriage (Elphick 1985, 50). These links with Bantu-speaking groups was evident in the 1799-1800 Lange Kloof rebellion where it was noted that Khoikhoi groups had united with Bantu speakers into groups called the “Renagadoes” (Storrar 1974, 105).

As in Genadendal, a mixed race group developed from early encounters with colonisers. These people were the Griquas who lived at Kranshoek between Knysna and Plettenberg Bay (de Villiers 1988, 92). The presence of these people was noted in 1772 by a Scottish traveller collecting plants for Kew Gardens. He stayed at the home of Jacob Kok, a Griqua who lived according to European custom (Storrar 1974, 115). In addition to these population groups, a small number of slaves from the Cape were brought in. For example, it was noted that a Malay mason was brought in as a senior builder on a house in Belvedere near Knysna in 1848 (Storrar 1993, 28)

Due to the lack of agriculture and the poverty of the forestry industry the peoples that came to be considered Coloured in Knysna were largely fishermen and oyster collectors, living largely in the Salt River and Paradise areas to the west of the town (Parkes and Williams 1988, 195). There was a small mixed area in the centre of the town, but this was cleared by government acts (Allanson, Parkes and Williams 1993, 160). In 1953 the development of a Coloured Housing Scheme at Bigai,

renamed Hornlee, to the east of the town was proposed (Kirsten 1982, 29). This area was developed after the Group Areas Act was passed. Today the 46.7 percent of the population of Knysna is Coloured (Municipal Demarcation Board 2001). This proportion has been reduced due to the influx of Blacks into the area following the repealing of Coloured Labour Preference Policy in 1985. In 1970, just under 60 percent of the population in the Knysna district was Coloured, and 55 percent of the population of the town itself. The Coloured population of the Knysna district became considerably more urbanised in the 20th century, with the percentage of Coloureds in the district living in Knysna itself increased from 13 percent in 1911 to 39 percent in 1970 (Population Census in Tyson 1971, 17).

The proportion of Blacks is higher in Knysna than in neighbouring areas due to the industry in the area, such as Thesens industrial development. Being near the edge of the Coloured Labour Preference area, Knysna has traditionally had more Blacks than other areas of the Western Cape. There is considerable evidence that during apartheid many Blacks managed to pass as Coloured and become a part of Coloured society. Driver *et al* (1995, 53) have noted numerous examples of people changing their surnames to “Coloured” surnames and speaking only Afrikaans in order to remain in the area.

The Coloured population that had developed in Knysna can therefore be seen to be largely the result of White and Khoikhoi mixed race people, the descendents of slaves brought into the area, and pre-colonial and more recent mixing with Black South Africans.

As this section has demonstrated there is considerable diversity in the origin of peoples that have come to be constructed as Coloured in the Western Cape. Not only is there great diversity between different regions, but also within these regions. I do

not at any point promote the notion that there is such thing as pure race groups from which the Coloured population developed, but have noted the different cultural groups that came to constitute Coloured. This demonstration of diversity challenges the notion of the reification of Colouredness.

4.4.2 Relationship between White and Coloured groups

In the previous section I illustrated the diversity of the population groups that came to be classed as Coloured. This demonstration of the diversity of the population group might lend support to the argument for the erasure of Coloured as a form of identity. However, it is important to notice that the development of the population groups were not free from social construction by the White populations. This section demonstrates the diversity of relationships between White and Coloureds in the three field site areas, but also shows the common factors which outweigh these differences and promote similar forms of cornered communities.

4.4.2.1 Cape Town:

Cape Town has long had a reputation for being socially liberal and being less racially stratified than rural areas. In Section 4.4.1.1 the stereotyping of the different groups that came to make up the Cape Town's Coloured population has been discussed. This section deals with the construction of Coloureds as a single group in Cape Town through White attitudes.

The initial racial constructions at the Cape were based on the prior experiences of the VOC in their East Indian colonies. In the 17th century the Dutch had devised schemes for the colonisation of Ceylon and the East Indies through mixed marriages (Worden 1985, 147). Van Riebeeck, the first governor of the Cape, had been granted a

dishonourable discharge from his VOC post in Tongling in present-day China before being sent to the Cape (Elphick 1985, 97). As such he was well-informed of VOC schemes and therefore was not initially against marriage between Whites and Free Blacks at the Cape. This was particularly important due to the early gender imbalance in the European population of the Cape (Venter 1974, 18).

However, by 1685 colour and more importantly cultural biases were becoming established when the VOC banned marriage between Whites and freed slaves, unless they were of mixed White and slave origin (Worden 1985, 148). As stated in Section 4.4.1.1 Cape-born slaves were of considerably higher status than foreign-born slaves and were considered to be culturally European. They continued therefore to be incorporated in White society. Of all the marriages registered in Cape Town with a White husband between 1688 and 1807 just under 25 percent involved a “non-European” wife (Keegan 1996, 22).

Further evidence of the social stratification being based on culture rather than race was the legal status of Free Blacks. They enjoyed almost all the privileges of the European Burghers in Cape Town. They were able to buy and sell land, could be baptised, own livestock and slaves, initiate cases in court, carry weapons and were granted a number of other signifiers of status (Bank 1991, 192). In rural areas however the social stratification was much more clearly based on race and this had important impacts upon the exercising of these rights and the status of Free Blacks. The farmers ran the economy and therefore dominated society. Free Blacks never really established themselves as farmers, tending to be urban based. Their influence and potential social status was therefore restricted in Cape society (de Villiers 1988, 59).

As the number of Europeans increased in Cape Town, the acceptance of Free Blacks into Cape Town society as a form of poor Whites decreased. By the end of the VOC period at the Cape, the development of a heightened colour consciousness was spreading beyond the rural areas and the colour-class system was becoming established in the town (Worden 1985, 151 and Bickford-Smith 1989, 47). Although this process was occurring towards the end of the VOC rule, there is evidence that under the British the social distance between Whites and the mixed population at the Cape increased further (Storror 1974, 95). The British were considerably influenced by theories of scientific racism and had a much stronger reaction than the Dutch to miscegenation (Dubow 1995a, 155).

The shift in attitude towards Free Blacks as a result of the need to maintain White economic position was evident in a number of laws, which having constrained the population economically and socially, further influenced the attitude of Whites towards them. In 1727 Free Blacks were excluded from a number of occupations in order to protect White interests (Keegan 1996, 20). In 1765, amidst the fear that Free Blacks would consider themselves equal to, or better than, Whites a decree was passed that prohibited Free Black women from appearing in public in “coloured silk clothing, hoopskirts, fine laces, adorned bonnets, curled hair or ear rings”. By the 1790s a decree to “control vagrancy” had been passed, which made Free Blacks carry passes if they wished to leave town (de Villiers 1988, 60). The pattern of White workers being paid higher wages than slave and Free Black artisans was well established, which further created social distance between Whites and Coloureds in Cape Town (Bank 1991, 24).

Integration did continue in Cape Town, but it was increasingly considered to be a lower class phenomenon. While who was White was flexible, the claim of

Whiteness had become inextricably linked with social and political supremacy. By the end of the 19th century the social separation of “race” had become the generally accepted means of maintaining “traditional” social relations in Cape Town, with a definite hierarchy based on skin tone and language (Bickford-Smith 1989, 47).

By the time of apartheid and its status as part of the Afrikaner upliftment project, the liberal attitudes of the early Cape towards miscegenation and the equal rights of Free Blacks had been eradicated from history. Marais (1957, 30) for example claims that the most important elements in Coloured heritage were Khoikhoi and slave and not White. The following statement was made by the Afrikaanse Studentse Bond in 1971: “*Coloured people did not share a common heritage with Whites and that they would have to look elsewhere if they wanted to blame anyone for their existence*” (Du Pre 1994, 35). They went on to claim that the originators of the Coloured people were Hottentots, Bushmen, Orientals and other non-Whites, and not the White settlers (Du Pre 1994: 35). This form of racialisation is far removed from the constructions of Coloureds throughout Cape Town’s colonial history, and the various research projects which have demonstrated the considerable input of Europeans into the Coloured population (Venter 1974, 131-139). Although this national rhetoric has played an important role in the construction of Colouredness today, it needs to be noted that the more liberal historical Cape Town constructions still impact upon the Coloured population today.

4.4.2.2 Genadendal:

As in Cape Town, the Whites in the Genadendal area displayed a range of attitudes towards the proto-Coloured population of the area and therefore the population were subject to different constructions. When Georg Schmidt originally came to the area to

establish the mission there were already 13 farms in the area (Burrows 1994, 46). As already indicated, many of these farmers had poor reputations for treatment of slaves and had been banned from buying slaves. There are records of farmers near Cape Town using the threat of selling disruptive slaves up-country to the Overberg area (Worden 1985, 109). Many of these farmers had moved away from Cape Town to escape the control of the Dutch East India Company and were therefore less restricted in their treatment of workers.

The Company had not considered the conversion of the Khoikhoi as a priority and therefore waited for the German Moravians to come as missionaries instead of sending their own Dutch Reformed Church ministers. Amongst the farmers of the area resistance to missionary activity was greater. The farmers opposed the mission on a number of grounds. The farmers' main fear was that the establishment of the mission would reduce their workforce and that the conversion of the Khoikhoi would necessitate changes in their treatment (Davids 1994b, 59). In addition, what appears to have been a major cause of dissent was the changing status of Khoikhoi. Europeans were habitually referred to as Christians, irrespective of their knowledge or understanding of Christianity. The vast majority were completely illiterate (Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel translated by Bredekamp *et al* 1992, 81). The notion that their labourers might become more educated than them threatened the farmers. They feared that they might not only lose face in front of their labourers, but also that, with the help of the missionaries, the Khoikhoi might challenge the existing social order (Burrows 1994, 69). One of the best examples of the farmers' attempts to destroy the mission was their resistance to the ringing of the mission bell, which called the residents to meetings. The bell was purchased in October 1793, by November farmers' complaints had reached Cape Town. One of the complaints was that the bell

was disturbing settlers in Stellenbosch, two days ride away (Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel translated by Bredekamp *et al* 1992, 177).

As the mission became more established the attitude of farmers changed, instead of the mission station being considered a repository for the vagabonds and the workshy, they now spoke of its residents as being the best farm workers. Indeed, the settlement came to be seen as a dormitory for the men, where the families lived and to which they brought back their earnings (Burrows 1994, 73).

When the missionaries arrived at Genadendal they found the Khoikhoi being termed “Skepsels” (“Creatures”) by the farmers (Marais 1957, 5). Although there is evidence that the construction of the Khoikhoi and other non-Whites in the area changed through the impact of the mission station, it remained overwhelmingly negative. When conducting fieldwork in the area I was informed of a number of farms where the farmers still would not allow Coloured workers on to their driveways. The racial stratification is still more clearly demarcated in this area than in Cape Town and the conditions of labour remained poor for Coloured workers with the “Dop” system remaining in the area until today. The Dop system is the system by which labourers are paid part of their wages in alcohol. In the days of the mission station this was used as a way of guaranteeing labour, a farmer would get workers drunk and then force them to agree to continue working for him (Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel translated by Bredekamp *et al* 1992, 159). The Dop system was outlawed in 1928, and further restricted in the 1960s, but a 1995 survey found that the system was still in operation in 9.5 percent of farms in the Stellenbosch area and similar rates are likely in the Overberg area (TeWaterNaude *et al* 2000).

The missionaries had very different attitudes towards the Khoikhoi and other non-White groups in the area. The Moravians were a Protestant denomination

originally from Moravia, but based in Herrnhut in Germany. Following a revival in 1727 the Church set itself to missionary service throughout the world (Spaugh 1999).

The first missionary, Schmidt, was profoundly influenced by the Protestant teaching of the time, as were the later missionaries. His missionary technique was as much about teaching of literacy and the Dutch language as it was about religion (Burrows 1994, 64). The missionary practices were therefore powerful tools of acculturation, even in the construction of the village and the rules governing the construction of housing (le Grange 1991, 5).

The missionaries insisted on the cessation of the traditional nomadic lifestyle of the Khoikhoi and the abandonment of many of their customs. For example, the missionaries' diaries record cases of members being expelled from the mission for dancing Khoikhoi dances (Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel translated by Bredekamp *et al* 1992, 215). The missionaries had a fiercely protectionist attitude to their flock and would often intervene in cases against the farmers. This attitude often spilled over into paternalism, evident in the missionaries' diaries. They inevitably referred to the members as "Our Hottentots" and would frequently challenge their behaviour, frequently noting the necessity to chastise those caught drinking or those who beat their wives (Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel translated by Bredekamp *et al* 1999, 7).

The missionaries aimed to construct all the non-Whites as equal. Therefore there are numerous references in the diaries of the missionaries challenging the attitude of many of the mixed race people that they were better than the Khoikhoi (Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel translated by Bredekamp *et al* 1992, 119). The attitude of superiority of mixed race people reflected that of the White farmers, but was challenged by the missionaries on the grounds that this attitude prevented them from recognising their sinful state and therefore prevented their conversion. The

mission therefore was powerful in its construction of the notion of a single unified Coloured group in the area with no differentiation on the grounds of race, defined only on grounds of faith and relation to the White population.

The population that came to be classed as Coloured in this area was divergent from the general Coloured population due to the condition of their socialisation within the mission settlement. The mission was based on education and literacy, this tradition developed and Genadendal became the site of the first library outside of Cape Town in 1825 and in 1838 the first training college in the country was established (Burrows 1994, 78). The government closed down the teacher training facility in 1926 on the grounds that Coloured people had no need for tertiary education and would be better suited working on the local farms (Museums Online 2001). Nevertheless, through the combination of the religious and educational background and the attitudes of the broader White community, the identity construction of the Coloured population of the Genadendal area has a different character to that in Cape Town.

4.4.2.3 Knysna:

As stated in Section 4.4.1.3, Knysna was established much later than the other sites due to the dense forest and treacherous seas around the area (Parkes and Williams 1988, 2). Grazing rights were granted between Mossel Bay and George, to the west of Knysna, as early as 1713 (Thesen 1974, 32). Because of the denseness of the forest many of these early settlers abandoned farming the land and turned to the forest for an easier livelihood, therefore in 1777 the government at the Cape established a woodcutters' post at Swart River, half way between George and Knysna (Parkes and Williams 1988, 3). The Whites in the area were overwhelmingly Afrikaans speaking and poor (Storrar 1993, 4).

The character of the area changed following the settlement of George Rex at Knysna in 1803 having heard rumours of the potential harbour there and the abundance of wood (Storror 1974, 106). Rex sold about 34 ha of his 10 000 ha to the British Navy to form the village of Melville in 1825, and in 1886 Melville joined with the later village of Newhaven to form Knysna (Kirsten 1982, 2). This represented the economic dominance of the British in the area creating a stark urban-rural cultural and economic divide in the area. This situation was further accentuated with the discovery of gold at Ruigtervlei in 1876 and Millwood ten years later (Kirsten 1982, 1). While the wealth of the predominantly English Knysna itself was growing through the lucrative timber and gold trade, the predominantly Afrikaans woodcutters remained impoverished. In the early 20th century the government entered into a number of programmes to uplift the many impoverished Afrikaner communities. It was estimated that up to 20 percent of Afrikaners were homeless in 1920 and in 1939 almost 40 percent of adult male Afrikaners were unskilled, compared with just 10 percent of other Whites (Attwell 1986, 63 and Lester 1996, 97). The Carnegie Inquiry into the “Poor White Problem” carried out in 1932 identified the woodcutters of the Southern Cape as a “non-agricultural class of rural poor” and government made efforts to remove them from the forests in 1939 with the Woodcutters’ Annuity Act (Levetan 1984, 22 in Driver *et al* 1995, 23).

The rural-urban divide between the White populations of the Knysna region clearly impacted upon the constructions of Coloureds within this area, although there is scant literature on anything other than White social history of the area. The constructions of the Coloured communities are visible within the relationships between different White groups in the area. The predominantly English wealthy Whites of Knysna were noted to have slaves and these slaves tended to be Cape-born

slaves brought with them from Cape Town. Therefore their constructions of Colouredness would have been similar to those in Cape Town. However, due to the difference in scale between Knysna and Cape Town, the relationships between the Coloured and White populations would have been closer. The small size of the settlement would also have prevented the development of the distinct Coloured culture of Cape Town. As the port grew, more people joined the Coloured population from surrounding regions. These Coloured people from surrounding areas were often influenced by missionary activity and therefore thoroughly culturally assimilated into European culture in the role as servants.

In the forest, where the Whites were predominantly poor Afrikaners, the boundary between White and Coloured was less distinct culturally and therefore the constructions were negative in an effort at self-preservation. Sarah Gertrude Millin wrote in 1934 that:

“The careless aversion the pure White man had for the native is, in the case of the half-caste intensified by secret, subconscious fear, and the nearness to danger” (Millin 1934, 246)

Although the nature of this rhetoric sits uncomfortably with current discourses of race, it does seem that the impoverished Afrikaners negative constructions of the Coloured people were largely grounded on efforts at protecting their limited status. These patterns of construction of Colouredness in the Knysna area are highlighted in Dalene Matthee’s historical novels, *Fiela’s Child* (1986) and *Circles in a Forest* (1984)

4.4.3 Commonality in Construction

Despite the considerable diversity demonstrated in the treatment of Coloureds by Whites in the different areas, there is a degree of commonality. In all cases the

Coloured population can be seen to have been subject to similar constructions as neither Black nor White, as culturally similar yet morally different, as both Self and Other. The commonality of construction enabled Coloureds to be perceived as a single group. There are three factors that profoundly influenced the increased common construction of Colouredness in South Africa. The first is the perceived lack of own culture and language, the second and linked factor is theories of miscegenation and the final one being the homogenisation under apartheid of heterogeneous groups.

4.4.3.1 Commonality through borrowed culture

All the groups that came to constitute Coloured were constructed as having lost their cultures, the most evident marker of culture being language. Since the Khoikhoi and slave languages were soon apparently lost and replaced by Cape Dutch, which became Afrikaans, it was believed that their cultures had equally been destroyed. It was therefore also felt that due to their identity being based solely in relation to the White populations, the groups that came to constitute Coloured should be considered as one cultural group and even one nation. Afrikaans has traditionally been seen as the language of the oppressor in the anti-apartheid struggle, and therefore many of the predominantly urban English-speaking Coloureds considered Afrikaans-speaking Coloureds to be somehow resistant to the struggle by their continued use of the language of oppression (see for example Cape Flatty 2000). This view has changed in the light of the more widespread acceptance of an inclusive development of Afrikaans. It was traditionally accepted that the Afrikaans language was developed by Dutch settlers over time through separation from Holland (Macnab 1973, 8 and Combrink 1979, 75 in Davids 1991, 24). However, more recently it has become

accepted that Afrikaans developed through the interaction of Dutch with indigenous and slave languages (Belcher 1988).

This was first noted when van Selms found the earliest Afrikaans had been written in Arabic script (Davids 1991, 1). Links have subsequently been found between grammatical constructs common to Khoikhoi and Malayo languages and modern Afrikaans that do not exist in Dutch (Elphick 1985, 212 and Davids 1991 52). There are also a number of words in common usage in Afrikaans that have passed directly into accepted Afrikaans, such as piesang (banana), blatjang (chutney) and bredie (stew) (Shell 1989, 27). Many of the words in common usage refer to domestic objects and activities, since this was the location of the closest relationships between Whites and Coloureds.

It was not just in language that the groups that came to constitute the Coloured population influenced White culture. The popular music of the Afrikaners, Boeremusiek, is thought to have derived from Java's Krontjong music and typical Afrikaner staples such as veldskoene (a type of shoe) and biltong (spiced, dried meat) are both believed to be borrowed from Khoikhoi and San culture (Davids 1991, 26). Through this it can therefore be seen that the communities that came to be classed as Coloured had not had their cultures completely destroyed, but remnants remained and have become integral parts of what had been considered Afrikaner culture.

4.4.3.2 Commonality through miscegenation

The second means by which a commonality of construction developed was through the development of impact of international constructions of mixed race peoples. The negative construction of mixed race people was more a product of the later stages of colonial rule, particularly with the increased influence of British racial constructions

(see for example Gregory 1925, 127 and Bryce 1900). Throughout international colonial history miscegenation has been negatively constructed. For example, in Latin America those of mixed Spanish and African origin were termed Mulatto, meaning Mule (Tizard and Phoenix 1993, 2). This naming of people after an infertile animal bred for heavy labour demonstrates the negativity of constructions of mixed race groups.

Miscegenation came to be so negatively constructed as it both represented the “weakness of character” of men⁴ and, in the era of scientific racism and the purity of race, it also represented the weakening of the White race. The notion of weakness of character is perhaps best demonstrated in the following statement by Sarah Gertrude Millin:

“Consider his ancestry. In his veins runs, on one side, the blood of slaves; on the other side, the blood of the careless, the selfish, the stupid, the vicious” (Millin 1934, 245-6)

In the light of discourses of scientific racism, “*miscegenation among the working classes was held to sap the fibre of the white civilization at its most vulnerable point*” (Dubow 1995a, 156). This view encouraged the segregationist attitudes of the British to develop in South Africa and the greater homogenisation of the Coloured population. This view was developed by the educated Afrikaner Nationalists who came to assert that “blood mixing” would lead to the degeneration and loss of moral values of poor whites in cities (Norval 1996, 23-4). These notions were furthered by the Afrikaners to lead to the formalisation of racial difference under apartheid.

⁴ For a detailed discussion of this argument see Young 1995

4.4.3.3 Commonality through Apartheid

The increased construction of the many different groups that came to be considered as Coloured in South Africa throughout the colonial and union eras came to be formalised under law in apartheid South Africa. What had until this point still been relatively fluid racialised boundaries, based on relative phenotypic Whiteness and what Hofmeyr⁵ had termed the “civilization bar” (de Villiers 1988, 188).

Apartheid formalised the patterns of separate development on the grounds of its racial constructions. Under these policies the construction of Coloured became further homogenised. Where there were ambiguities, the State implemented further policies to reinforce their intended boundaries, as Western has explained.

“So, in order to bolster the ambiguous who’s who, the group areas conception can offer a definite who’s where; i.e., if such a person lives in such a suburb, then he can be only Coloured; one is one’s address.”
(Western 1978, 305).

Not only did apartheid constructions attempt to prevent movement between groups, through acts such as the Population Registration Act, but it attempted to homogenise the lived experience of different people encompassed within the newly formalised race groups. Therefore through measures such as the Group Areas Act (1950), the Coloured Labour Preference Policy (1954), the provision of services such as separate education and the cultural constructs of apartheid, the Coloured experience was controlled by the state. There are a vast number of texts dealing with Coloured experiences of apartheid (see for example Venter 1974, Western 1981, Goldin 1987 and du Pre 1994). This section does not discuss apartheid constructions in great detail since they will be analysed in greater depth in subsequent chapters.

⁵ Hofmeyr was a leader of the Afrikaner Bond and Parliamentary leader between 1879 and 1895 (Davenport and Saunders 2000, 108).

4.5 Conclusion

Within this chapter, with its discussion of patterns of diversity and commonality, many questions have been raised: What are the relative values of reification and erasure of Coloured identities? Have the 20th century structures of homogenisation of Coloureds under apartheid and earlier segregationist policies been more powerful than the earlier structures of diversity? To what extent should international theoretical constructions be given precedence over local process-driven constructions? What purpose does Colouredness serve in post-apartheid South Africa both for Coloureds themselves and for South African society as a whole? Does Colouredness still matter? These final two questions are key to the whole thesis and will be discussed at greater length in Chapters 6 and 8.

This chapter has, through its focus on history, problematised the reification of Colouredness. The diversity of the Coloured population has been demonstrated, as has the brevity of the formalised nature of “Coloured”. On these grounds, the external reification of Coloured must be rejected.

The self-reification of Colouredness is also problematic due in part to its ahistoricism. Self-reification fails to recognise the diversity of experiences of different Coloured communities. In addition, it has been suggested that this form of identity construction in South Africa promotes the acceptance of difference. It also fails to recognise the fluidity and interrelatedness of identity. As Stuart Hall has argued, individual and corporate identities are not static, but are a process of becoming:

“Identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or ‘where we came from’, so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constituted within, not outside representation.” (Hall 1996, 4)

As such the reification of identities must be rejected. This re-inscription of static racialised identities in post-apartheid South Africa restricts the development of a society based on principles of non-racialism.

However, the erasure of Colouredness as proposed by others has been challenged by the various points of commonality constructed through processes of colonisation and apartheid development. Although it is possible to take the Marxist position of “race” being only a construction and accept that it only continues as people continue to construct themselves and others in terms of this false consciousness, this chapter challenges this approach. There was the belief that once White political hegemony had been removed, the class basis of South African would be revealed (Cohen 1993, 1). I would argue that this argument fails to understand and consider the importance of ethnicities as bearers of culture and not simply markers and masks of relations of economic inequality. In post-apartheid South Africa racial identities continue to impact upon politics and society, and ignoring the power relations and cultural elements of racialised identities removes a powerful tool of analysis of conflict and barriers to development.

Within South Africa the impacts of the removal of “Colouredness” must be considered at both the corporate and individual scale. The negation of Coloured as a form of cultural expression would heighten the sense of political insecurity expressed in Chapter 2 and at the individual level would break down the already fragile sense of self of many Coloured youth. If the case of post-apartheid South Africa is considered in the context of other societies that have undergone similar processes of political transformation, it must be noted that many of these countries have witnessed an upsurge in ethnic, regional and national consciousness (Cohen 1993, 1-2).

Since both the reification and erasure of Colouredness can be seen as limited in value, it is therefore important to consider South Africa's Coloured population as related cornered communities, communities that have self-determination within the cultural bounds set by dominant groups. This notion recognises the cultural linkages to other groups and their patterns of control, but does not entirely remove self-determination in the way in which the erasure argument does. This notion also recognises that identities are continually being produced and reproduced. It is within this framework that the analysis of Coloured perceptions of education provision is considered.

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Chapter 5: Education

The purpose of this chapter is twofold and acts as a bridging section between Chapters 4 and 6. The first purpose of this chapter is to extend the debate of Chapter 4. Having focused on the construction of Colouredness as a general process in South Africa, this chapter demonstrates the role of education throughout South Africa's history in this process. Although this thesis's focus is primarily Coloured experiences of education, the provision of education to all population groups is considered at this stage. Chapter 4 focused on the attempts at the state's attempt to homogenise a naturally diverse population. Chapter 5 continues this focus through an assessment of education provision, in terms of provision to different groups, the ideologies promoted through education, and its impact upon the economic and social roles available to the Coloured population.

The second purpose of this chapter is to establish the background for the post-apartheid education policies discussed in Chapter 6. This chapter demonstrates the practices and rhetoric of apartheid education and therefore provides a platform for subsequent discussion on the structure and practices of post-apartheid education.

To meet these aims this chapter therefore has three main sections. The first deals with some facets of general education theory. This section considers the international role of education as a tool of the state for social control and economic development. The second, and main section, deals with issues in South African education drawing on the theoretical work of the first section. This section has a particular focus on the means by which Colouredness was constructed by education policies throughout South Africa's history. The final section of this chapter deals with education as a site of protest and resistance to these constructions. Linking with

Chapter 4 it looks at the extent to which identities were constrained by the state, processes of domination and the means of resistance of Coloured communities. This section concludes by considering reasons for the potency of education as a site of resistance in South Africa. This focus on education as resistance, particularly during the apartheid era, provides a link into Chapter 6 and its focus on the structure of post-apartheid education.

5.1 Education Theory

The purpose of this section is to provide a basic background of aspects of education theory relevant to this thesis. This section therefore recognises the links between the role of education in economic development and in social control. However, since the main focus of this chapter is the role of education in social development, the economic role of education is only briefly discussed. This section therefore focuses on predominantly on the role of education in production of identities and values. The four foci are; education and the economy, education for socialisation, the potency of education for socialisation, and the potency of education as a site of resistance to dominant constructions.

5.1.1 Education and the Economy

During the 20th century in particular, education came be equated with economic growth throughout the world. Therefore in Britain there was a move towards “contest mobility” on the grounds that educational expansion was necessary to ensure economic prosperity. Investment in education was seen as a means to maintain economic prosperity (Brown 1997, 396). In Newly Industrialising Countries, such as Singapore, the education and training system has developed with a stronger relationship with economic growth than had been the pattern in the UK and USA

(Ashton and Sung 1997, 207). McLeish noted that post-totalitarian states in transition have placed education at the centre of their plans for political stability and economic redevelopment (McLeish 1998, 245).

However, since the 1970s it has been widely asserted in work on developing countries that education was not the panacea to economic development, as had been widely asserted (Graham-Brown 1991, 24 and Dostal 1989, 34). The view that education could, almost single-handedly, solve problems of productivity and competitiveness was not supported by empirical evidence (Levin and Kelly 1997, 245). In fact, it seems that without proportional increases in suitable employment expansion of education can lead to political instability thereby restricting further economic development (Dostal 1989, 44). Despite this recognition many governments, including those of economically developed countries such as the US, have continued to treat education as the key to economic growth. It is increasingly evident that education is affected by, rather than affects, individual states' places in the global economy, being shaped by lending policies of the World Bank or being challenged by the decline of the Keynesian welfare-state settlement (Dale 1997, 274).

Although it needs to be noted that education is an important means to meet the economic requirements of a country, this economic function cannot be removed from education's social function as an official of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority in the UK noted:

“[Education] is more than simply a recipe for meeting economic needs, vital though these are; it is more than just a means to facilitate the infinitely varied life-choices of collections of isolated individuals. It also plays a key part in helping society maintain its national identity” (Tate in Carrington and Short 1995, 5).

This linkage between the economic and social functions of education has been exploited by governments of all political dispositions. Cuba provides a good example

of this, where between 1958 and 1961 the education system was adjusted to meet the demands of the new political ideology to promote greater links between work and education, and to place a greater emphasis on collective work than individual achievement (Carnoy and Werthein 1977, 574). The example of the Asian Tigers has already been cited in terms of the linkage between economy and education. It also needs to be noted that these countries have also used their education system to maintain non-Western cultural identities at the same time as targeting economic development (Ekong and Cloete 1997, 8).

This linkage between the economic and social functions of education is at times highly problematic, particularly in terms of current models of economic development. The key question that needs to be answered in education policy is whether it is possible to develop a system that both accommodates and nurtures local cultures, whilst stimulating the expertise needed to compete successfully in the global market which increasingly homogenises cultures. Is it possible to conserve multicultures and minority rights through education and to promote the global monoculture for competitiveness (Ekong and Cloete 1997, 8)? This question is important for all states, but has particular relevance in the post-apartheid South African situation where the state is attempting to negotiate a role for the country in the global economy as well as enabling the historically disadvantaged people to maintain, reconstruct and assert their identities.

5.1.2 Education for Socialisation

This section moves away from economic considerations and focuses instead on the role of education in socialisation. Since the early 20th century education and

democracy have been firmly linked through the work of Dewey in the US and Tawney in Britain (Brown *et al* 1997, 4).

Dewey was one of the first to acknowledge the false neutrality of education and explain how it could be used to promote certain values, noting that its effects were so “*subtle and pervasive that it affects every fiber of character and mind*” (Dewey 1916, 17). Through this work it came to be recognised that the school and its curriculum was a “*social artefact, conceived of and made for deliberate human purposes*” (Goodson 1994, 16). The education system therefore selects what knowledges, attitudes and values are important and need to be transmitted to the next generation, that is to say, schools act as “*agents of selective tradition and of cultural incorporation*” (Lawton 1975, 10 and Apple 1990, 6).

One of the simplest means by which education achieves this is through enabling the shift from “*domestic practice identity*” to “*institutionalised cultural identity*” (Brock and Tulasiewicz 1985, 7). The school therefore provides a site where children find domestic values challenged or legitimised and are forced to adapt to the dominant culture promoted by the school (Lambley 1980, 198 and Bourdieu 1977, 494).

In the 20th century education became increasingly standardised across the nation. Through placing everyone in an education system which shows little variation across the nation, all individuals in society are exposed to the same expression of culture wherever the location and whatever their background (Jackson 1990, 25). This process of state control of identity production was described by Dewey as follows:

“Schools establish a purified medium of action. Selection aims not only at simplifying, but at weeding out what is undesirable. Every society gets encumbered with what is trivial, with dead wood from the past, and with what is positively perverse. The school has the duty of omitting such things from the environment which it supplies, and

thereby doing what it can to counteract their influence in the ordinary social environment. By selecting the best for its exclusive use, it strives to reinforce the power of the best.” (Dewey 1916, 20)

However, in addition to promoting a type of uniform national identity, the standardisation of education and the values it promotes reproduces the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among classes through the transmission of a culture more similar to the dominant culture of that society (Bourdieu 1977, 493).

This section has provided a very brief summary of the general theory surrounding the use of education for socialisation by the state. The next discusses further why education is such a powerful site for this process.

5.1.3 The Potency of Education for Socialisation

As alluded to in the previous section, the great power of education as a site of socialisation is that although inherently value laden, it tends to be portrayed as neutral (Barrow and Woods 1988, 70 and Bourdieu 1977, 487). Although the curriculum may be considered the main means by which education socialises, the “hidden curriculum” is as powerful, if not more so, due to its lack of recognition by pupils and communities. The “hidden curriculum” is *“the tacit teaching to students of norms, values and dispositions that goes on simply by their living in and coping with the institutional expectation and routines of the school day-in day-out for a number of years”* (Apple 1990, 14).

With regard to this “hidden curriculum”, Jackson has noted that from the point of entry into school children spend considerably more time with their teachers than their parents which elevates the role the school plays in socialisation (Jackson 1990, 5). Separated from family members, pupils become increasingly dependant on their teachers for help, support and guidance and are therefore socialised into the

acceptance of the teachers' values (Dreeben 1977, 544). Chomsky wrote that teachers should aspire to be moral agents and not servants of power. However, the extent to which teachers, as employees of the state, are able to do this has been questioned (Thompson 1994, 129). It needs to be noted that within the school, teachers are also products of the education system, the pupil-teacher relationship is therefore a self-perpetuating system of maintaining social identities.

However, it is not just in the classroom under the direction of the teacher that this socialisation takes place. In the playground more complex processes of identity and values construction are developed through the social interactions of children. Although beyond the control of school authority structures, the identities transmitted tend to be those of the dominant culture in the school. This dominant culture is that which is validated in the classroom thereby reinforcing the state-sanctioned form of corporate identity (Cohen 1991 in Gundara 1993, 71).

The implicit teaching of what tends to be the values of the dominant classes leads in turn to the self-elimination of most children from culturally unfavoured classes and sections of classes (Bourdieu 1977, 495). In this way education maintains the economic, and therefore social, order of society.

Within the context of the process of socialisation, education should be understood as the "*production of identities in relation to ordering, representation, and legitimisation of specific forms of knowledge and power*" (Giroux 1997, 123). It is with this understanding that education in South Africa is discussed in Section 5.2

5.1.4 The Potency of Education as Resistance

Just as the school is a powerful site of socialisation, it is also a powerful site of resistance to state socialisation. A number of theorists have argued that education

represents both a struggle for meaning and a struggle over power relations, thereby making it a significant site for resistance (Mohanty 1997, 558). As a site of socialisation and of selection for economic opportunities, education has become equated with issues of social justice and inequality (Brown *et al* 1997, 13).

It has also been argued that literacy itself, one of the basic functions of education, promotes challenges to dominant structures. So although Anderson has claimed that literacy was one of the fundamental preconditions of the development of the notion of nation in its modern sense (Anderson 1983), it has also been asserted that this literacy is also a tool by which the notion of the nation is challenged. In opposition to oral traditions, literacy presents members of a society with permanently recorded versions of the past and experiences. This provides opportunities to challenge received ideas and enables the general population to seek alternative explanations and theories (Goody and Watt 1977, 470).

In postcolonial societies, education is therefore a powerful site of resistance and of production of indigenous alternatives to Western constructs (Mohanty 1997, 561). This is far from unproblematic, but the use of education by states in transition is a well-documented means of social transformation (McLeish 1998, 19).

Section 5.3 of this chapter discusses in more detail the case of education as a site of protest under apartheid. Chapter 6 focuses on the role of education in the process of social transformation in the post-apartheid era.

Section 5.1 has provided a very brief outline of some of the key issues in education that have informed the rest of this chapter and Chapter 6.

5.2 *South African Education Socialisation*

“It (education) has been, for the most part, a purposeful process aiming at the incorporation of dependent peoples into the structure of Western civilization. In general, education has been a stabilising and integrating factor, multiplying similarities between dissimilar peoples, creating channels of communication and understanding between hostile groups, forging a basis of common interests, and preparing for a way of life in a common social scheme (Cook 1949, 348)

One of the key elements in the construction of Coloured as a single undifferentiated population group and the racial stratification of South African society has been the provision of education. As noted in Section 5.1.2 noted: *“Education is... the critical institution in the social control function of the state, because it can help to produce and legitimise patterns of social inequality and mobility through its provision of a suitable rationale”* (Salter and Trapper 1981 in Nasson 1990, 149, emphasis in original). This section therefore focuses on the character of education during the colonial, union and apartheid eras. It must be noted that education is not only prescriptive in constructing identities, but is also reactive, that is to say it is adapted to meet the perceived experiences of the population and is subject to localised restrictions.

There is a considerable body of literature dealing with the differentiation of population groups by the provision of education under apartheid. This literature, dealing with issues such as separate schools, separate education departments, funding, curricula, examinations etc., will be considered in Section 5.2.2. During apartheid education was used by the state to maintain its predetermined racial stratifications. Education however also played a key role in creating this differentiation and homogenisation of peoples in racial groups throughout South Africa’s history. Section 5.2.1 therefore examines the process by which the provision of education achieved these ends.

It is too simplistic to portray South African education history as a calculated inevitable path taken by the state to the point of apartheid racial ideology. As education under Dutch rule demonstrates, schooling was a much more haphazard process, governed by a system designed for implementation in Holland which was transplanted to the Cape to meet local economic needs.

I do not wish to deny the continuity between pre-apartheid and apartheid history, but rather to challenge the sense of inevitability of outcome. Authors such as Wolpe (1988) have argued against the over-emphasis on the thread of historical continuity in South African history on the grounds that this approach tends to suppress important questions of the nature and conditions of change in society (Wolpe, H. 1988, 6-7). This is a valid position, but I would argue that an historical approach is useful since it enables the development of ideologies and identities to be analysed. It does not necessarily assume, as Wolpe suggests, that the reproduction of the racial order is the outcome of the unchanging and “pure” racial motivations of dominant actors (Wolpe, H. 1988, 7). On the contrary, it prioritises the processes through which the continually transforming motivations of dominant actors developed into their current form and gave rise to existing patterns of inequality.

In Section 5.1 the role of education in social differentiation, the construction of notions of nation and national economic development as a feature common to all states was discussed. This section recognises that South African education demonstrates these features, it also recognises the particular character of the use of education by the apartheid state as an outcome of local conditions.

5.2.1 Pre-Apartheid Education

If apartheid education's main social role was the consolidation and maintenance of racial stratifications, then pre-apartheid education can be considered to be a site of production of these differentiations and stratifications. It needs to be noted that these differentiations and stratifications were often not the primary social purposes of education, but were at times additional outcomes of the system. These outcomes came to shape the social system in South Africa and became self-replicating through systems such as education. This section in no way intends to excuse the racialised nature of South African society, but is an attempt to add complexity to the accepted logic of the rationale for the production of the racial order in South Africa. I have constructed this section chronologically, focusing on three distinct phases of South African history. The development of education during each period is assessed, not to provide a simplistic account of education history, but to demonstrate how education was profoundly influenced by the notions of race and identity of each phase.

5.2.1.1 Education under the Dutch, 1642-1795

Under the rule of the VOC, between 1652 and 1795, education was not clearly racially stratified, but was dependent more on economic and geographical factors as this section demonstrates.

The system of education under the Dutch was for the most part a direct transplantation of the system in the Netherlands to the Cape Colony, with minor adaptations to meet local conditions. As Malherbe noted of education under both Dutch and British rule:

“It may be said of South Africa, that at no period in the history was education to any extent the spontaneous expression of the ethos, or the genius of South African people. To a very large extent her education

system had been the resultant of successive super-impositions of systems and bits of systems from without.” (Malherbe 1925, 35).

In the Netherlands there were two types of school, Latin schools – which prepared children for higher education, generally only for the wealthy – and “public schools” – which offered only primary education. In both of these forms of school, parents were expected to pay fees (Venter *et al* 1982, 3). Although the Latin schools never became a significant feature of Cape education, with most children of wealthy households being sent to the Netherlands for their education, the general pattern of payment for education was well established (Venter *et al* 1982, 21). This notion of payment for education played a vital role in the development of education in the Cape as a largely middle-class exercise. Since the middle-class consisted mainly of the White population of Cape Town, it was this group that had the most exposure to formal education. Schooling was officially free for slaves, but few attended since slave owners were unwilling to send their slaves because of the cost to them in lost labour (Horrell 1970, 3).

As asserted earlier in this section, the provision of education was determined by geographical as well as racial factors. There were only a few schools in the Cape. Teachers were paid only out of fees, to make teaching economically viable the number of schools was limited to maximise class sizes (Venter *et al* 1982, 21). Therefore in the outlying areas, the only form of education available was by itinerant teachers known as “meesters”, who tended to be poorly educated themselves. These teachers would come to a farm and teach for a few months before moving on (Horrell 1970, 5). The situation was such that the Genadendal missionaries noted that: “*Many of the Christians do not know a single letter, and grow old unable to read the word of God.*” (Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel in Bredekamp *et al* 1992, 81).

The character of education during early Dutch control was largely religious, being based on the proposals of the Dordrecht Synod of 1618. It was expected that the role of the teacher would be as much about religious guidance inside and outside of school as it was about education as we understand it today (Venter *et al* 1982, 10). So therefore when education is dismissed as an attempt to Christianise slaves and indigenous peoples at the Cape (see for example Cook 1949, 239), it must also be noted that this was the purpose of education for all races and classes at the time.

The first school at the Cape was established in 1658 for Company slaves, to teach them Dutch and prepare them for work in Cape society. The school was intended for all slaves in the colony, both Company and privately owned, however owners of household slaves were unwilling to allow their slaves to attend due to notions of the immorality of Company slaves (Christie 1991, 32). As a result a second school was opened in 1663 which initially taught 12 Whites, four slave children and one Khoikhoi. This school offered education on the Dutch system and charged a small fee of two shillings a month to the European pupils, but not the other pupils (Laidler 1926, 44).

As is evident from this, schools were not racially segregated and the VOC even made attempts to make attendance of school by slave children under the age of 12 compulsory in 1682 (Horrell 1970, 3). There was resistance from the free Burghers to the education of slaves and Khoikhoi as a result of fears of loss of earnings, loss of control of slaves and loss of status (Davids 1994, 59 and Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel in Bredekamp *et al* 1992: 205-6). This resistance was evident in the attempts of the Burghers to close the mission school at Genadendal in 1795 (Burrows 1994, 70). This resistance also prevented a slave school being opened outside of Cape Town until 1823, after the end of VOC rule (Worden 1985, 98).

Schools continued to be mixed throughout the VOC rule at the Cape despite protests such as that of the Church Council in 1676, which insisted that mixed education was to the detriment of White children. Although the Council of Policy approved this in principle, it was decided that proficient slave and Khoikhoi children should be allowed to continue to attend the same schools as White children (Venter *et al* 1982, 16). When a survey was carried out in 1779 it was found that at the eight public schools at the Cape over 10 percent of the pupils were still slave children, although by this stage a school purely for slaves had been established (Venter *et al* 1982, 21 and Horrell 1970, 4).

Education under the Dutch can be seen to have been characterised by general haphazard provision with marked differences between rural and urban experiences. Urban education was governed by the VOC and was generally racially mixed, with the limiting factor being more the beliefs of the individual slave owner than a broader structural inequality. At this stage the attitudes of the Company can be seen to relate to the character of education. Education provided by the public schools was largely religious in character and teaching basic literacy. The acquisition of these skills by Company slaves was beneficial to the VOC, but was often considered to be a threat to individual slave owners, particular in terms of changes of status. Rural education was characterised by individual “meesters” teaching Whites on farms and the increasing number of mission schools teaching the Khoikhoi, and sometimes the slaves. As discussed in Chapter 4, the racial stratification in rural areas tended to be greater, which accounts for the different attitude of the Whites towards education. It needs to be noted that these differences in education provision further accentuated this rural/urban differentiation.

It was this increasingly stratified system that the British inherited after they took control of the Cape in 1806.

5.2.1.2 Education under the British, 1806-1910

The British assumed control of the Cape in 1806, having first occupied it from 1795 to 1803. Between 1803 and 1806 the Cape was governed by the Batavian Republic (Davenport and Saunders 2000, 41).

The purpose and character of education under the British differed from the Dutch model, reflecting contemporary British political and social beliefs. The previously haphazard nature of education was challenged and greater structure imposed, which had profound impacts upon the experiences of what was becoming the Coloured population (Fowler 1953, 103).

By 1812 the British had established district school committees to supervise schools in rural areas and established the post of Superintendent-General of Education in 1839 to carry out annual inspections of all government schools (Venter *et al* 1982, 50). In addition the stratification of schools types was increased, with a third category of school instituted in 1843. 1st class schools therefore were those in larger towns and villages providing both primary and secondary education. 2nd class schools were those in smaller rural areas where only primary education was given. The new 3rd class schools tended to be farm schools to meet the basic educational needs of the Dutch-speaking population who had often not taken part in formal education (Fowler 1953, 16). By 1893 it had become clear that these were not meeting the needs of the poorer communities who were unable to contribute to the establishment of 3rd class schools, so the Superintendent-General established “poor schools” (Muir 1907, 6).

At the same time as state education was being extended to meet the needs of all the White population of the Cape, missionary activity was increasing among the Khoikhoi and Blacks, creating greater differentiation between the provision of education for Whites and Coloureds in South Africa (Cook 1949, 350). Just as there were a number of Coloured children attending state schools, there were also White children attending mission schools, particularly in the poorer rural areas (Fowler 1953, 103). The British, influenced by the segregationist notions discussed in Chapter 4, attempted to make schooling racially stratified. As noted in Section 5.2.1.1, many attempts had been made by colonists to remove Coloured children from public schools. These attempts continued under the British and in the 1840s the Superintendent-General ruled that all pupils “*should be decently clothed and of good deportment*”. This opened the way for White parents to object to the attendance of Coloured children from poorer families (Horrell 1970, 14). Through such cultural means, and additional financial conditions, it became increasingly difficult for Coloured children to attend public schools (Booth *et al* 1956, 22).

The British were more concerned by the attendance of mission schools by White children, since the many of conditions that made attendance at public schools difficult for Coloureds also affected poor Whites. In 1891 about one-third of all White school enrolment was in mission schools (Fowler 1953, 103). The establishment of poor schools can be seen as an attempt to remove White children from mission schools (Booth *et al* 1956, 22).

The segregation of schools by the British did more than establishing a sharper social distinction between Coloured and White; it also created a different skills base and therefore granted and restricted economic opportunities according to race. Teachers in White schools were increasingly well trained and the missionaries were

often ill informed on educational matters (Venter *et al* 1982, 95). In addition mission schools generally only provided primary education (Fowler 1953, 103). The extent of the differing quality of schooling is clear in this statement by the Superintendent-General in 1907:

“From the European standpoint the knowledge acquired in the Coloured schools seems very little; relatively, however, it is considerable. The children gain a good deal in intelligence, they profit by the discipline and leave school with much more orderly and industrious habits than if they had not been under instruction.” (Muir 1907, 17)

The second difference between British and Dutch education at the Cape was the higher prioritisation of education as a tool of socialisation and solving the “poor white problem” (Malherbe 1934, 3), which to a degree reflected contemporary British beliefs.¹ This position is characterised by the 1898 statement in the Johannesburg Times that: *“The children of these wretched people must be rescued from their surroundings, and reclaimed for civilisation. They must be educated, taught to work, and reared as honest men and women”* (Johannesburg Times 1898 in Christie 1991, 48).

This increased prioritisation of education also represented an attempt to assert control over their newly acquired colony (Fowler 1953, 12). This position greatly antagonised the Afrikaners who felt increasingly marginalized, particularly following the Education Act of 1865 which abolished religious instruction and the teaching of Dutch in 1st and 2nd class schools (Venter *et al* 1982, 153-4). Children were only allowed to speak Dutch for three hours a week in schools, and if they exceeded this they were forced in some cases, to carry a placard proclaiming: *“I am a donkey, I*

¹ See for example the 1866 Education Act which established industrial schools for delinquents (Venter *et al* 1982, 44) and the 1870 Education Act, borne out of fear of the urban working-classes and a belief that education could be used to “gentle the masses” (Brown 1997, 394).

spoke Dutch” (Williams and Strydom 1978, 38). From the start of British rule the Afrikaners had felt that their needs and desires were ignored by the British, for example in 1824 P.J. Truter claimed that the free English schools were attended by Whites exclusively, whereas Dutch schools were also attended by slaves (Venter *et al* 1982, 94). These antagonisms increased and by 1902 a number of schools set up on Christian Nationalist Principles, the CNE schools, were established, to resist British culture and to preserve the Afrikaans language (Marquand 1962, 209).

Although these schools died out because they could not compete financially with the state education system, they demonstrated the extent of the antagonism felt by the Afrikaners. These reactions to British attempts at cultural domination through education sowed the seeds for the Afrikaner nationalism which, as discussed in the Chapter 4, played a powerful role in the construction of racial stratifications.

5.2.1.3 Education under Union, 1910-1948²

Changes in education provision after the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 reflected both the necessity of meeting the different needs of the four colonies and the changing economic conditions within South Africa (Malherbe 1934, 6). There were increased fears surrounding the “poor white problem”, and echoing British philosophies, compulsory education was perceived to be a solution. Attendance of school was made compulsory for Whites in 1910 for those between the ages of 7 and 14, which was increased to 16 by 1919 (Auerbach and Welsh 1981, 79 and Fowler 1953, 85). White education continued to become increasingly regulated throughout the Union period.

² South Africa was the Union of South Africa until 31 May 1961, I have termed the period 1910-1948 the Union period for simplicity of nomenclature

There was also continued standardization of Coloured education during this phase. Education had become completely segregated in 1910 with the final Whites being removed from Coloured schools and the difference in quality of education between White and Coloured education increased (Booth *et al* 1956, 22). This separation was formalised by the creation of a non-European branch of the Education Department in 1919 (Malan 1936, 45).

In 1911 of the 858 schools for Coloureds and Blacks in the Cape, there was just one 1st class³ and two 2nd class schools (Muir 1911, 8). The first high school for Coloureds was Trafalgar, opened in 1912 as an A2 public school, advertising that: “*A speciality of the school is the University Junior Certificate Class and a Matriculation class will be formed if pupils present themselves*” (APO December 1911 in Trafalgar High School 1992, 3). This was the first time the Senior Certificate had been offered to non-White pupils. By 1935 there were four high schools in the Cape offering this course and 3 offering the Junior Certificate (Horrell 1970, 35).

Not only were schools more segregated under Union, but a special primary syllabus for Coloured primary schools was also introduced in 1921. The reasoning offered by the Superintendent-General of Education illustrates the state’s view of the position of Coloureds in South African society:

“This syllabus is a cross between the primary syllabus for European schools and that for Native schools. While the Coloured people are rightly ambitious that their children should receive as good an education as possible, and while they resent a form of education ostensibly inferior to that provided for Europeans, it is nevertheless the fact that the education of Coloured children will prosper best with a curriculum specifically adapted to their needs.” (Cook 1949, 359).

³ This school was the Lovedale Institute for Black students established in 1841 by the Glasgow Missionary Society in the Eastern Cape (Christie 1991, 73)

Although this syllabus was not widely utilised it demonstrated the state's view that the Coloured population should occupy a social and economic role between that of Blacks and Whites and that the Coloured peoples should be viewed as a single homogenous group.

In 1937 the Wilcox Commission of Inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured population made two key proposals for the Coloured education system. The first of these was that education be made compulsory for all Coloured children between the ages of 7 and 14 who lived within three miles by the nearest road from an undenominational or department school, and for more schools to be built (Malan 1938, 48). The purpose of this was largely to ensure sufficient agricultural labour, rather than the upliftment of the Coloured population. It had been noted many Coloureds were moving away from rural areas as they wanted to be in towns so their children could be educated (Malan 1938, 53). It was also believed that compulsory education would "*compensate Coloured children for the deficiencies of their home and environment*" (Malan 1938, 46), a clear indication of the negative construction of Colouredness and the paternalism of the Whites. Compulsory education for Coloureds did not become a reality in South Africa until 1973, except in six small areas affecting just 10 percent of the Coloured population (Auerbach and Welsh 1981, 79 and Venter 1974, 311).

The other proposal was a second call for a differentiated syllabus, on the grounds of the shorter average school life of Coloured children and the relative poverty of the schools which limited the teaching of practical subjects (Cook 1949, 359). The Commission insisted that the syllabus should be fundamentally the same, but due recognition should be given to differences in environment (Horrell 1970, 32). The outcome of this differentiated syllabus was that in being designed to meet the

perceived needs at the time, the future roles of the Coloured population were further restricted through the projected developments in education.

This differentiation of Coloured education meant that by 1945 there were still just 29 high schools for Coloureds in South Africa (21 of which were in the Cape) serving just 3981 pupils (Cook 1949, 360). Drop out rates were consistently high. The Department of Education calculated in 1945 that over half those pupils who entered in Standard 1 would drop out before they reached Standard 4 and only one percent would reach Standard 10 (Fowler 1953, 112). Differentiated syllabuses and the state's unwillingness to make education compulsory meant that educational and subsequent economic opportunities were severely restricted for the majority of the Coloured population during this period.

Education provision under Union can therefore be seen to have been characterised by attempts to uplift the White population and increased circumscription of Coloured opportunities, influencing, and influenced by, constructions of race.

5.2.2 Education under Apartheid

Section 5.2 concludes with a discussion of apartheid education. There is a considerable body of literature dealing with the particular characteristics of education in this era. This section therefore represents a brief synopsis for the purposes of explaining how education was used to maintain patterns of racial stratifications and identities. As indicated in Chapter 4, by the start of apartheid the basic racial groupings and accepted hierarchies had been established. Apartheid served to formalise these constructions. Apartheid education can be viewed as an extreme form of multiculturalism, which justified racial and ethnic segregation on "cultural" and linguistic grounds (NEPI 1992, 22). This position was characterised by H.F.

Verwoerd's 1953 statement when he was the Minister of Bantu Affairs:⁴ *“Education must train and teach people according with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live. (Nkomo 1990, 294).*

Apartheid education sought to achieve the following objectives:

1. to produce a semi-skilled labour force to serve the needs of the economy at the lowest cost possible,
2. to socialize black students to accept the social relations of apartheid as natural i.e. the supposed supremacy of Western Civilization and the inferiority of their own,
3. to promote White consciousness and identity to forge White solidarity and create politically compliant White workers,
4. to promote the acceptance of racial and ethnic separation as the “natural order of things,”
5. to promote intellectual underdevelopment. (Nkomo 1990, 294-5 and Mathonsi 1988, 8).

There were three main means to achieve these aims: separate administration, provision of educational resources and the nature of curricula and syllabuses. This section deals briefly with these aspects.

5.2.2.1 *Separate Administration*

As noted in Section 5.2.1 education became increasingly segregated through South African history, apartheid education represents the pinnacle of this process. In 1949 the Eiselen Commission called for the complete separation of Black education to *“facilitate and encourage the evolution of a progressive, modern and self-respecting Bantu order of life”* (Eiselen Commission in Christie 1991, 84). The Bantu Education Act was therefore passed in 1953, which removed control of Black education from the provincial and mission authorities and placed it with the newly created Department of Bantu Education (Mncwabe 1993, 4).

⁴ Verwoerd was Prime Minister between 1958 and 1966 (Davenport and Saunders 2000, 406)

In 1962 the Minister of Coloured Affairs announced plans for legislation to transfer all Coloured schools to his department. This was formalised in the 1963 Coloured Persons' Education Act (Horrell 1970, 93). This met with much opposition from representatives of the Coloured communities. The Anti-Transfer Action Committee asserted that: “[t]he Coloured Affairs Department [was] specifically instituted to administer the lives of the Coloured people with their inferior and subordinate status... A good many Coloured people believe...that separate education facilities are inherently unequal.” (Hommel in Horrell 1970, 95). More illustrative of the power of constructions of Colouredness was this: “Their argument is that they are part and parcel of White civilisation and that, where there might be some excuse for separating African from European education, there is none whatever for isolating Coloured education” (Marquand 1962, 221). This view represents the extent to which members of Coloured communities had been socialised into accepting the racial hierarchy and the acceptance of their dependence on Whites for culture and value.

The separate administration of education was important as it further entrenched notions of difference and allowed greater differentiation to be made in terms of provision of education and therefore life chances and identity.

5.2.2.2 Provision

Differences in provision of education took many forms, although all for the same general purposes, to determine social and economic opportunities according to race and to prevent challenges to White domination. So for example, when the 1953-6 Coloured Education Commission called for compulsory education, its purpose was not the educational development of the Coloured population, but the restriction of the

development of the “skolly”⁵ class in cities as a result of the urbanisation of the Coloured population in the 1940s (Booth *et al* 1956, 10 and Baderoon 1999). Further calls for compulsory education were again linked to the need for the development of skills to meet the changing economic situation of the country (Booth *et al* 1956, 9). Both these reasons echo the call for compulsory education in Britain at the end of the 19th century. Key to appreciating the call for compulsory education as part of enabling the Coloured population to meet its ascribed roles in society was the Commission’s estimation of educational needs of Coloureds. Of the entire Coloured working population of 349 000, it was estimated that just 7 000 needed to be educated above Standard 8 (Booth *et al* 1956, 12). The purpose of compulsory education was social and economic control, not to enable social and economic mobility. The allocation of resources to education further reflects this.

Table 5.1: Comparative Education Statistics in South Africa 1987

	White	Indian	Coloured	Black
Per capita expenditure	R2508	R1904	R1021	R477
Pupil: Teacher ratio	16:1	21:1	25:1	41:1
Underqualified teachers (<Std 10 +3 yr training)	2%	4%	43%	87%
Std 10 pass rate	94%	93%	69%	56%

Source: Muller 1990, 41

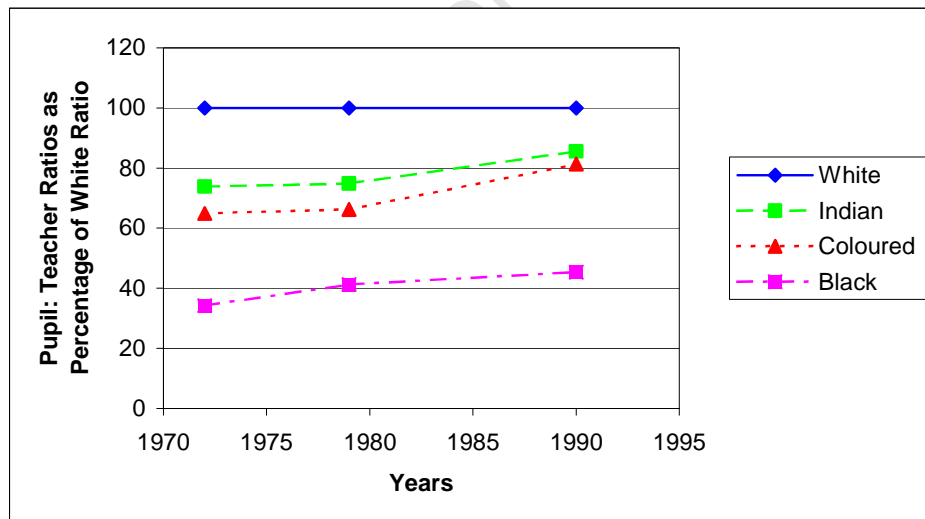
Table 5.1 demonstrates basic statistics on education provision and outcomes gathered in 1987. By this time many of the inequalities in education had begun to decrease due to government reactions to mass protest (SAIRR 1993, 576). In all aspects of the allocation of resources it can be seen that there was a clear racial hierarchy being asserted with Coloureds being firmly constructed as being between Blacks and Whites (Marquand 1962, 200).

⁵ “Skolly” is a term used for Coloured juvenile delinquents and “undesirable elements”

The structuring of education was such that when White state education needs were reduced, the state did not see it feasible to allow other groups to benefit, working on the principle that “*if the Whites don’t need it, then nobody gets it.*” Between 1980 and 1993, 274 White schools were closed and thousands of White teachers were made redundant, but despite the over-crowding in Coloured and Black schools these resources were lost to the system for the sake of maintaining the racial status quo (Mncwabe 1993, 85). Since education is associated with both income prospects and access to high-status occupations, government spending and provision were key to reinforcing inequalities and therefore racial constructions (NEPI 1993, 10).

This racial hierarchy was further evident in the provision of teachers, as demonstrated in Figure 5.1

Figure 5.1 Change in Pupil: Teacher Ratios, 1972-1990



Source: Auerbach and Welsh 1981, 73 and Department of National Education 1992, 54

As this figure illustrates the provision of teachers for Coloured, Indian and Black groups did show a marked increase between 1972 and 1990, with the greatest

improvement in the Coloured pupil: teacher ratio.⁶ It is also evident that the Coloured group were again placed directly in between Blacks and Whites. Not only were pupil: teacher ratios set at lower levels in White education, they were also better paid even when similar skills and experiences were taken into account (Venter 1974, 324).

Auerbach and Welsh noted that these figures masked greater inequalities, since many teachers in Coloured and Black schools were forced to teach double sessions. In some schools teaching time for Coloured children had been cut from 27 hours per week to 20 due to classroom shortages demanding teaching in shifts (Auerbach and Welsh 1981, 70).

Despite recognition of the need for more schools and classrooms by the Department of Education, attempts to provide these were thwarted by other apartheid structures designed to maintain separation of races and hierarchies. So, for example, between 1964 and 1973, R54 million was approved for school building for Coloureds. Only R37 million of this was used, due to problems with site acquisition. This was largely the result of problems with unproclaimed Group Areas land (van der Horst 1975, 42). Group Areas further affected schooling as schools in areas proclaimed White were often closed down before those in the newly proclaimed Coloured areas had been built (Venter 1974, 323).

Black and Coloured schools themselves also tended to be under-resourced. There were consistently shortages of textbooks in schools, which meant that there was loss of a culture of learning and reading, pupils became too dependent on often under-qualified teachers and since no textbook based homework could be set, educational development was restricted (Monyokolo 1993, 20). The under-resourcing also meant that the range of subjects offered was often limited thereby restricting future

⁶ The reasons for this are discussed in Chapter 6

economic opportunities. So therefore, although 28 subjects were officially available for Coloured students after 1966, in 1968 only four high schools in the country were offering a technical secondary course (Horrell 1970, 171). This problem was reflected in Black schools where in 1989 44 percent of Standard 10 students took history, and only 0.4 percent technical subjects severely restricting future options (SAIRR 1992, 183 and Samuel 1990, 1).

One of the major outcomes of these inequalities in provision was drop-out rates. Throughout the apartheid era the point of greatest loss was at the end of the first year of schooling (Mncwabe 1993, 26), while it was estimated that 80 percent of White and Indian pupils entering school would complete Standard 10 and pass the Senior Certificate, only 20 percent of Blacks and Coloureds would (NEPI 1993, 1).

These inequalities in outcome were profoundly influenced by syllabuses and curricula as well as material inequality.

5.2.2.3 Curricula and Syllabuses

The content of classroom-based teaching and the “hidden curriculum” were seen as the means by which the economic inequalities created by educational inequalities were legitimised (Mathonsi 1988, 7 and King and van Rensburg 1992, 1). In apartheid South Africa Christian National Education (CNE) was the principle upon which schools were based, an ideology first implemented in 1902 and formalised as policy in the National Education Policy Act of 1967 (NEPI 1992, 13). This ideology had Afrikaner Calvinism and Afrikaner Nationalism as its twin bases (Marquand 1962, 211). Extensive analyses of CNE can be found in Hartshorne (1999), Cornevin (1980) and Dostal (1989), amongst many others.

CNE perpetuated a number of myths designed to inculcate notions of servility among Coloureds, Indians and Blacks and superiority among Whites (Nekhuwevha 1987, 11). For example, Cornevin noted that Blacks leaders were portrayed as blood-thirsty despots and that textbooks promoted notions of *terra nullius*, thereby delegitimising Black land claims and denying Black history (Cornevin 1980, 7). My own studies of history textbooks for the senior primary years revealed similarly delegitimising histories of the Coloured peoples. The ancestors of Coloured people, especially Khoikhoi and San peoples were portrayed as recent arrivals to the Cape, who therefore had no greater claim to the land than the White settlers (Graves and Consul 1985, 211 and Lambrechts *et al* 1985, 61). They were constructed as disloyal to each other, untrustworthy and lazy (Graves and Consul 1985, 209 and Lambrechts *et al* 1985, 67, Boyce and Harrison 1973, 95). In addition, histories were constructed entirely from the White male perspective.

It was not just the pupils who were directed by these constructions. I also found that teacher-training manuals reflected these ideals, and were particularly prescriptive in normalising CNE ideals of the family (see for example Smit 1979, Borst and Conradie 1982, Grobler 1982 and Vrey 1979).

The development of curricula reflected the notion that other groups should follow White ideals. So curricula were therefore decided by the White Education Department, after which point the other Houses could adjust these to meet their “curriculum needs”. No part of the curriculum could be deleted, but additions made (NEPI 1992, 13). By this means it was guaranteed that the White voice was prioritised and normalised.

Throughout apartheid education the “hidden curriculum” of a divided school system, authority structures within schools, links between schools and employment,

practices of examination and certification, teaching methods and others, were used to emphasise division rather than commonality and denied common citizenship and national identity (Christie 1991, 138 and Education Department 1994, 67).

5.2.2.4 *The Opening of Schools*

This section links processes within apartheid education with post-apartheid experiences and the protests of Section 5.3. As that section illustrates, opposition to apartheid education increased throughout the 1980s. In response to increased White demands for open schools, particularly in Cape Town and Johannesburg, the government announced in 1990 that White state schools could open their doors to pupils of other population groups under certain conditions (SAIRR 1993, 579).⁷ This had been the case in private schools since 1986 under the Private Schools Act No. 104 (Muller 1991, 47 and SAIRR 1988, 152). Three models were offered for this process, but Model A and Model B were soon withdrawn leaving only Model C (state-aided ordinary schools, state subsidised to 75 percent of operating costs, at least 50 percent of pupils had to be White) (Mncwabe 1993, 114).

Although 98 percent of former White schools had opted to become Model C schools by June 1992, the impact of this on Black and Coloured education was slight; in 1991 there were just 3360 pupils of other races in White schools. (SAIRR 1993, 593 and Mncwabe 1993, ii). Mncwabe termed the opening of White state schools a *“damp squib which makes no significant impact on the enormity of the education crisis and doesn’t begin to address the fundamental demand for a single, unitary, non-racial and democratic system.”* (Mncwabe 1993, i).

⁷ It needs to be noted that in many cases the call for open schools was driven by fears of school closures due to pupil shortages and not just political liberalism.

It can be concluded that the opening of schools was an attempt by the state to answer some of its critics and a first tentative step towards change, without having to change fundamentally its vision of education and societal roles.

5.3 Education as a Site of Protest

In this final section I discuss the importance of education as a site of protest, particularly under apartheid. This section is largely based on a review of the literature, but also draws on personal histories collected during fieldwork. Protest against apartheid education was important as it represented resistance to dominant constructions of race.

As established earlier in this chapter, education has been one the key means of social and economic control by the state internationally. In addition, since education is a highly visible tool of the state, it also bears great symbolic significance, as Bot and Schlemmer noted.

“The conflict potential of education is due to popular beliefs about education which assigns it a keynote significance in economic development. Parents throughout the world seem to assume that education is decisive in shaping the values and ideologies of their children.” (Bot and Schlemmer 1986, 1)

An indicator of this belief in South Africa were the responses to the 1981 Buthelezi Commission in which over 2300 Blacks were asked *“If government were to ask people like you about improving the lives of Black South Africans today, which of the following should it do?”* In the two areas surveyed (Witwatersrand and Natal) equal education was seen as most important (67% and 72%). Elimination of influx control, which would have provided better employment opportunities was cited by 59% and 44% of those surveyed, and meeting of political demands by 61% and 62%. Other more immediate solutions, such as reduction in inflation and freehold title to home were considered less important (Bot and Schlemmer 1986, 2). As is evident,

education has had a higher symbolic importance than would be expected in South Africa. It was due to this symbolic importance that education was such a powerful site of protest, a site of community activism.

Protest against education dates back to the first imposition of European education, with documented evidence of the whole school escaping from the first school at the Cape and of considerable resistance to mission schooling (Christie 1991, 224). In the 20th century there was increased resistance to the education offered. Struggles over the demand for free and compulsory education date back as far as the 1920 (Chisholm and Motala 1985, 1), but the best known school protest was the mass protest of pupils in Soweto in 1976 in response to the state's official language in education policy which made Afrikaans a compulsory language medium of instruction in Black schools (Education Department 1994, 62).⁸

During the 1980s Coloured schools in Cape Town were the centre of resistance to education. The mass involvement of Coloured schools was related to the political affiliation of many of the teachers to organisations such as the NEUM (Non-European Unity Movement – a largely Coloured urban elite movement). These teachers often mobilised the community around the heightened politicism following the UDF's successful campaign to boycott the 1984 tricameral government elections (Adam and Moodley 1993, 162 and Lemon 1984, 95). When I was socialising with teachers in Knysna they began to tell their stories of this period, having largely been educated at the highly politicised UWC (University of the Western Cape – the university established for Coloured people) they had links with political leaders and one had even come to Knysna due to continued police harassment of her activist husband in Cape Town. The youth had also become increasingly politicised during

⁸ For a detailed history Soweto 1976 see Herbstein 1978

this period, to a degree through the influence of Black American activism, brought to them by American Hip Hop music (Battersby forthcoming).

Therefore in 1985, after six weeks of boycotts under the slogan “Liberation before Education” (and later “Peoples’ Education for Peoples’ Power”), the minister for Coloured Education closed 464 schools affecting over 36 000 pupils and in 1986 only half the registered pupils in Coloured schools in the Western Cape wrote the Matric exams and the exams that were written were often under armed guard (Stevens 1996, 2 and Sached 1988, 23). Both Trafalgar and Grassy Park were very involved in this resistance. Ex-pupils of Trafalgar spoke of how the whole Standard 10 year group of 1986 elected to boycott the examination and spend another year in school, they also spoke of how they stoned cars from the bridges near the school. Current pupils at Grassy Park related how their older relatives had been forced to sit exams with the army in the exam rooms and the involvement of these relatives in marches. William Finnegan’s *Crossing the Line* provides an insight into life at Grassy Park High during the 1985 boycotts.

Although boycotts and protests were widespread, they were far from universal. As Chapter 2 indicated there are marked differences in political opinions among South Africa’s Coloured population. Attitudes to protest reflect these views. Therefore some communities united around the protests in the hope of overthrowing the apartheid system to obtain better conditions for themselves and other oppressed peoples. Other communities reacted conservatively fearing for their children’s futures without the education that they perceived as the only way of improving their economic position (WUS 1986, 1).

The protests against education were important challenges to apartheid constructions, but they have had implications for post-apartheid South Africa, as Kraak *et al* noted:

“The courageous contribution of youth to the collapse of apartheid is indisputable, but resistance also threw up negative traits in education – indiscipline, absenteeism and destruction of property – which by the early 1990s had brought about a collapse of the culture of learning.”
(Kraak *et al* 1996, 57)

In addition, many of the teachers in schools were at university during this era. In one of the schools I researched in teachers related how they were qualified to teach subjects they knew nothing about, because during the protests the examination structures had been relaxed and so they had never attended any classes and still passed.

School-based protest can therefore be seen to have been a powerful site of resistance to apartheid constructions of race, which played an important role in the removal of apartheid. The impacts of this struggle are still evident in education today, in policies brought in by those previously involved in the struggle, in the attitudes of teachers and in some of the problems still experienced in schools.

5.4 Conclusions

This chapter has highlighted the role education played in the construction and maintenance of racial identities in South Africa. The general constructions of the role of education globally provided an initial framework for discussion, though this chapter has demonstrated the definite impact of local conditions upon the development of education and its societal role in South Africa.

I have demonstrated that although education came to be used powerfully by the state to support its racial constructions, this was not necessarily an important

factor in the development of the country's educational system being influenced more by international education practices and local concerns about Poor White-ism. The constructions of Colouredness through education largely reflected those in general South African history, as discussed in Chapter 4. As in general South African history there were processes of homogenisation through policy and differences maintain by attained occupational class and spatial factors. The attitudes to protest discussed in Section 5.3 provide one grounded example of the ways in which these differences were manifested in reactions against external constructions.

The discussion of some of the problems associated with apartheid education and the reactions against it have provided a frame of reference for Chapters 6, 7 and 8 which deal with post-apartheid experiences.

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Chapter 6: Marginalization?¹

This chapter addresses the assertion made by people claiming to represent the views of the Coloured population that they are as marginalized under the current government as they were under apartheid. It takes the form of assessment of the validity of this claim through analysis of post-apartheid education policy and implementation. This analysis is based on a discussion of the two main groups of assertions of marginalization – economic and cultural – in the light of implementation of education policy, and content and discourses of policy. The chapter demonstrates the outworking of the government ideology as discussed in Chapter 2 through education and demonstrates the role of the Coloured population in the government’s vision of post-apartheid South Africa.

As discussed in Chapter 3, there are always multiple readings of texts and government policy documents are no different, as discussed by Hodder:

“Once transformed in a written text the gap between ‘author’ and ‘reader’ widens and the possibility of multiple re-interpretations increases. The text can ‘say’ many things in different contexts. But also the written text is an artefact, capable of transmission, manipulation and alteration, used and discarded, re-used and recycled, ‘doing’ different things contextually through time.” (Hodder 1994, 394)

Examining the discourses of policy and the re-inscription of these texts with different meanings by different groups provides a means to critically examine perceptions of marginalization. In this chapter I have attempted to interpret the national and provincial governments’ intentions for education.

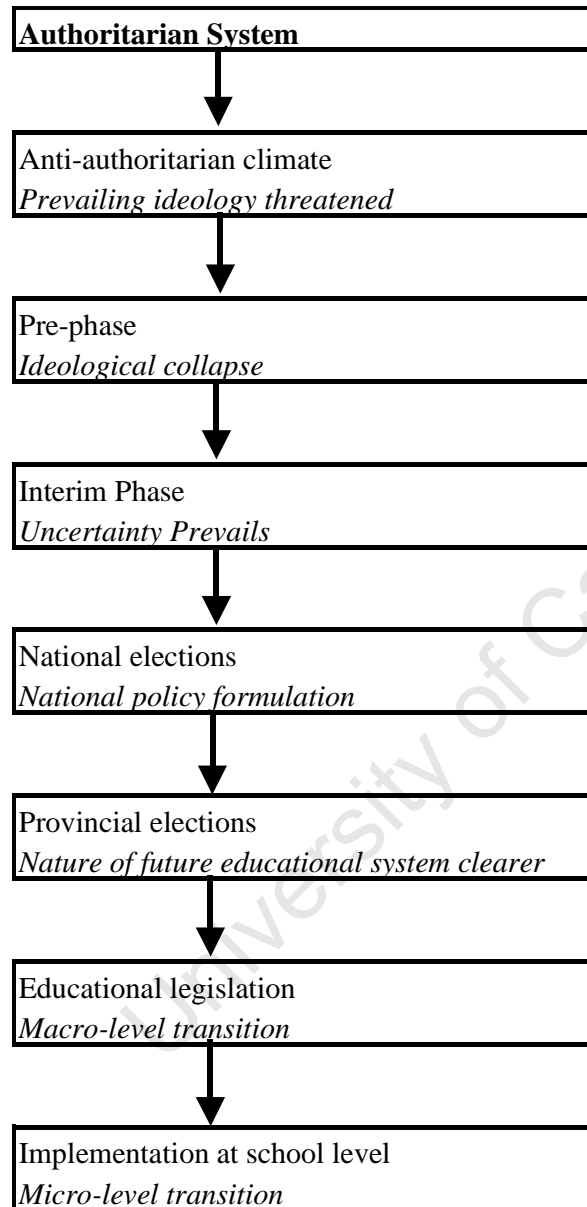
¹ In this and subsequent chapters I use the terms Coloured, White and Black schools. By this I mean schools historically attended by pupils from these population groups. Historically Black schools continue to be entirely Black. Historically Coloured schools tend to be predominantly Coloured, with some Black pupils. Historically White schools have pupils from all population groups attending to a greater or lesser degree depending on factors such as location, language and fees.

6.1 Contextualising Post-Apartheid Education Policy

The process of development of education policy cannot be removed from broader political development, as noted by Salter and Trapper in 1981: “*the dynamic for educational change is politically controlled*” (Salter and Trapper 1981, 30 in McLeish 1998, 13). As discussed in Chapter 5, education is one the main means by which the state socialises its members into acceptance of the political and economic order. At the same time, education is a key site at which government ideologies are challenged through resistance to imposed models and structures, and through problems in implementation which limit the transmission of these ideologies.

The implementation of education policy is currently at a particularly challenging phase, according to the model of educational transition in countries moving from authoritarian rule to democratic government proposed by Bîrzea (1994 in McLeish 1998, 11, see Figure 6.1). Although this model was formulated with reference to countries in transition from communism to capitalism, Bekker has applied this model to post-apartheid South Africa (Bekker 1998). The model asserts that education transformation in such states in transition has a number of phases linked with phases in political change.

Figure 6.1 Process of educational transition in countries moving from authoritarian rule to democratic government (Adapted from McLeish 1998, 11)



Although the apartheid era ended in 1994, South Africa must still be classed as a state in transition, particularly within the context of education. According to Bîrzea's model, South Africa appears to be in the final phase, with a continuing interplay between this and the penultimate phase.

The Department of Education (DoE) itself has recognised educational transition as having two main phases; 1994 to 1997 is seen as the period during which the framework was established, and 1998 to present as a period moving from framework establishment to action (Department of Education 2001e).

Within the first phase, the nature of the new education system was articulated in the 1995 White Paper on Education (Department of Education 1995), one year after the initial National Policy Formulation phase – which included in the Government’s broad statement of intent, the RDP (Ministry of the Office of the President 1994), as discussed in Chapter 2.

Following this the DoE sought to implement macro-level policies related to this general vision. These included the Language in Education Policy (Department of Education 1997b), Norms and Standards for School Funding (Department of Education 1998b) and the general vision of education being based on OBE (Outcomes Based Education) principles through the implementation of Curriculum 2005 (Department of Education 1997c).

More recently, education policy has tended to focus on issues of implementation and amendments of existing laws. In this phase the DoE has concentrated on issues such as values in education (Department of Education 2000c), drug abuse in schools (Department of Education 2002b), corporal punishment (Department of Education 2000a) and amendments to the curriculum (Department of Education 2002b).

This general pattern of post-apartheid educational development should not be removed from its broader socio-political context. The vision and values of the national

government, as discussed in Chapter 2, must inform the interpretation of the vision and values of the DoE and its efforts at implementation.

The ideals of the government are not necessary fully realised in policy implementation, as Hofmeyr noted:

“The notion of an immediate replacement of the existing education system with a new ideal one, is false. The existing structures and vested interests, material constraints, the interplay of competing ideologies... will produce compromises between ideals and realities” (Hofmeyr 1992, 17 in Bekker 1998, 23).

It is this lack of completion of the new system that adds complexity to the question of Coloured marginalization in post-apartheid South Africa. Chapter 2 concluded that through different interpretations of key terms such as “non-racialism” the aims of the ANC-led government are considered by the opposition to be pro-Africanist and discounting the needs of other groups. These beliefs have been developed through historical experiences and media representations and to a lesser extent through policy implementation. There are however many limitations to implementation. In answering the question of whether post-apartheid education has intentionally marginalized the Coloured population problems of implementation and the reasons for these problems need to be considered.

I consider that barriers to effective implementation can be grouped in three main bodies of opinion: time-lag, unrealistic vision and resistance. By “time-lag” I mean those factors from the past that still impact upon implementation, such as the vast inequalities of the apartheid era, the continued influence of teachers trained under apartheid and apartheid spatiality, as discussed by Hofmeyr. By “unrealistic vision” I mean that either the policies proposed by the government will fail as they attempt too rapid transformation, or that the policies are designed to appear positive yet are also designed in the knowledge that they cannot be implemented. It could be asserted that

by this means the rhetoric of non-racialism is being used to mask partisan behaviour. Finally by “resistance” I mean that implementation failure is the result of the resistance to policies by groups within schools, by such means as restricting access on the grounds of race or continued teaching using apartheid methods and values. Problems in implementation play an important role in the shaping of perceptions of government ideology.

This chapter therefore considers post-apartheid education policy in terms of its implementation, rhetoric and intention in the light of assertions of marginalization.

6.2 *Post-apartheid Education*

6.2.1 Department of Education Publications

Since the end of apartheid the DoE has placed a number of its documents in the public realm, via its official website and through allowing documents to be published by Umwembi Communications on www.polity.org.za. In addition, major policy documents and reports have been made available to libraries and schools. There have also been “Requests for Comments” posted in local and national newspapers on various aspects of education policy development, such as the Values, Education and Democracy report. Through these means the DoE has been able to make some claims of transparency. Table 6.1 gives some indication of the main DoE documents available in the public realm. In addition the South African government website provides access to all speeches made by the Minister and Deputy Minister of Education.

Table 6.1 Main Department of Education Publications 1995-05/2002

<i>Year</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Type</i>
1995	White Paper on Education and Training, No. 196	White Paper
1996	National Education Policy Act, No. 27	Act
	South African Schools Act, No. 84	Act
	The Organisation, Governance and Funding of Schools, No. 130	White Paper
1997	Language in Education Policy	Policy Document
	Education Laws Amendment Bill, No. 85	Bill
	Curriculum 2005: Specific Outcomes, Assessment Criteria, Range Statements, Grades 1 to 9	Discussion Document
	Education for All: From “Special Needs and Support” to Developing Quality Education for all Learners	Discussion Document
	Curriculum 2005: Lifelong Learning for the 20 th Century. A User’s Guide	Miscellaneous Document
1998	Admission Policy for Ordinary Public Schools	Policy Document
	National Norms and Standards for School Funding	Policy Document
	Assessment Policy in the General Education and Training Band, Grades R to 9 and ABET	Policy Document
	Education Laws Amendment Act, No. 100	Bill
	Further Education and Training Bill, No. 57	Bill
	Preparing for the Twenty-First Century through Education, Training and Work	Green Paper
1999	Education Laws Amendment Bill, No. 44	Bill
	National Policy on HIV/AIDS, for Learners and Educators in Public Schools, and Students and Educators in Further Education and Training Institutes	Notice
2000	National Policy on Whole School Evaluation	Policy Document
	Education Laws Amendment Act, No. 48	Bill
	Education Laws Amendment Act, No. 52	Bill
	Alternatives to Corporal Punishment: The Learning Experience	Report
	Report of the History/Archaeology Panel to the Minister of Education	Report
	Values, Education and Democracy	Report
2001	Early Childhood Education. Meeting the Challenges of Early Childhood Development	White Paper
	Special Needs Education. Building an Inclusive Education and Training System	White Paper
	Language Standardisation Policy for Official Primary and Official Additional Languages. Higher Grade, Standard Grade	Policy Document
	Education Laws Amendment Act, No. 57	Bill
	General and Further Education Quality Assurance Act, No. 58	Bill
	Implementation Plan for Tirisano, 2001-2002	Discussion Document
	Brochure for the 2000 School Register of Needs Report	Report
	Educational Change and Transformation in South Africa: A Review 1994-2001	Report
	Education in South Africa. Achievements since 1994	Report
	Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy	Report
	Values in Education. Celebration of our National Symbols	Report
	Rights and Responsibilities of Parents. A Guide to Public School Policy	Miscellaneous Document
2002	Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9 (Schools)	Policy
	Draft Policy Framework for the Management of Drug Abuse by Learners in Schools and in Public Further Education and Training Institutions	Draft Policy
	Call for Comment on Regulations to Prohibit Initiation Acts in Schools	Miscellaneous Document

6.2.2 General Vision and Values

The general vision for post-apartheid education was proposed in the 1994 RDP document, as illustrated in Box 6.1:

Box 6.1 Purpose of Education in the RDP

We must develop an integrated system of education and training that provides equal opportunities to all irrespective of race, colour, sex, class, language, age, religion, geographical location, political or other opinion. It must address the development of knowledge and skills that can be used to produce high quality goods and services in such a way as to enable us to develop our cultures, our society and our economy. Education must be directed to the full development of the individual and community, and to strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It must promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all South Africans and must advance the principles contained in the Bill of Rights. A new national human resources development strategy must be based on the principles of democracy, non-racism, non-sexism, equity and redress to avoid the pitfalls of the past. The democratic government has the ultimate responsibility for ensuring that our human resources are developed in full. Education, training and development opportunities must be provided in accordance with national standards. However, civil society must be encouraged to play an active part in the provision of learning opportunities as part of the national human resources development strategy. For example, democratic school governance structures must be set up which involve democratically elected parent and teacher representatives, as well as providing for student participation at a consultative level. (Ministry of the Office of the President 1994)

This general vision was supported in the 1996 Constitution and the Mission Statements of the DoE. As a result the structure of the South African education system has been radically transformed since 1994 in terms of organisational structure, educational structure and educational content.

6.2.2.1 Organisational Structure:

Under apartheid there were 18 different branches of education management resulting from the previous government's belief in separate provision of services and the historical development of education. This structure is illustrated in Figure 6.2. The complexities of this educational system led the Minister of Education to write in 1995:

“South Africa [had] never had a truly national system of education and training”
(Department of Education 1995).

Education was therefore brought under the control of a single national department and additional provincial departments, and a single system of education management was developed. The 1995 White Paper on Education and Training described the structure of post-apartheid education as follows:

“...a single national system which is largely organised and managed on the basis of nine provincial sub-systems. The Constitution has vested substantial powers in the provincial legislatures and governments to run educational affairs... subject to a national policy framework” (Department of Education 1995, Section 8.1)

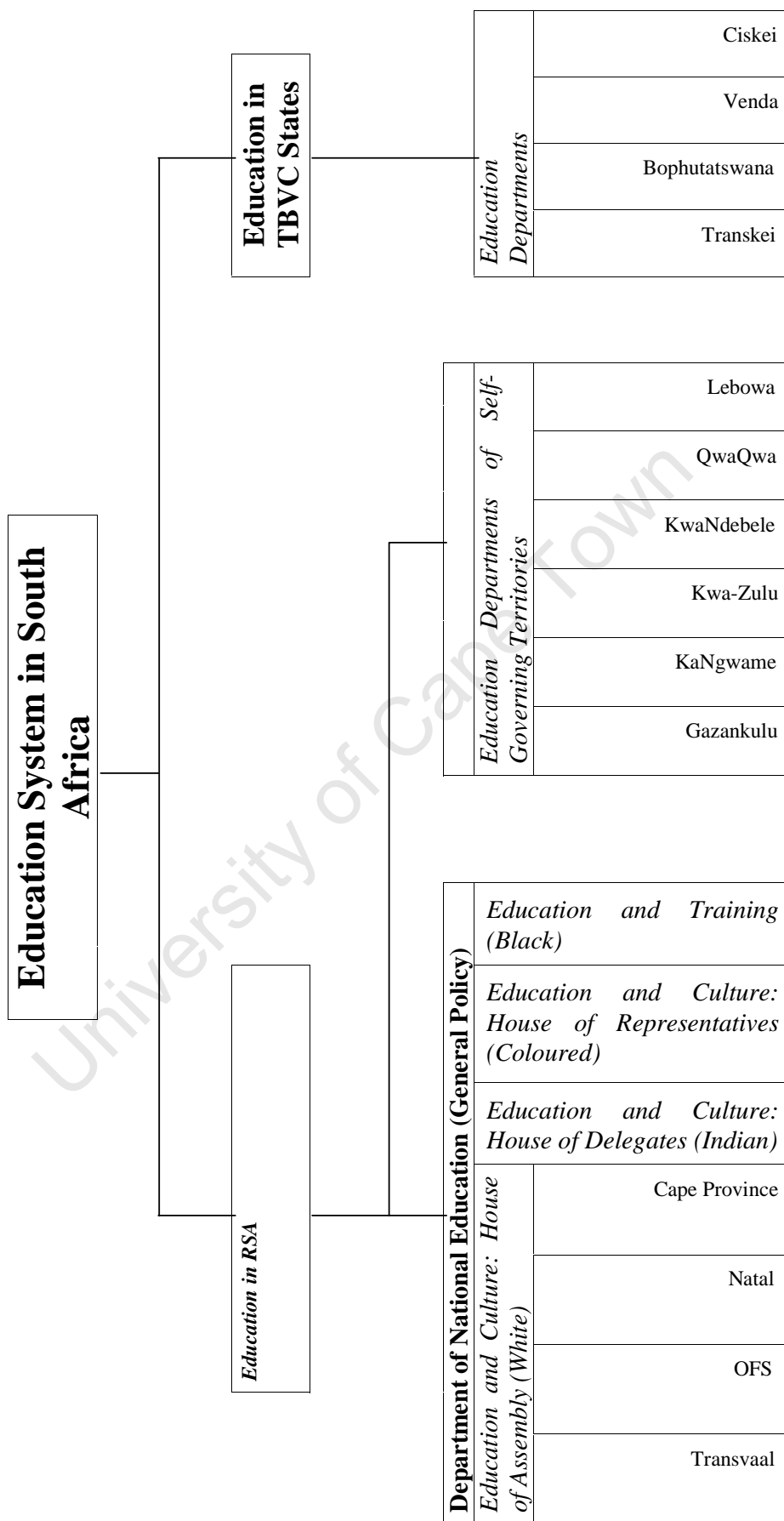
The DoE established the general framework for education in terms of financial structures, curriculum development, qualifications frameworks etc, and should provide assistance to the provincial departments as they attempt to implement these macro-policies. Provincial education departments are allowed to develop their own education policies that will apply only in that province, providing that these do not contravene the national policies (Department of Education 1995).

The government has recognised that the process of amalgamating the previous racially-based departments into the new provincial education departments is complex, but has attempted to establish mechanisms to prevent any of the former departments dominating or absorbing others, and has developed affirmative action programmes (Department of Education 1995).

6.2.2.2 Educational Structure:

The structure of education in the post-apartheid era is in the process of transformation from an education system, comprising of a Primary, Secondary and Tertiary System,

Figure 6.2 Organisational Structure of Education Under Apartheid (National Department of Education 1992, 7)



which was clearly differentiated from the occupational training system to an integrated Education and Training system consisting of Early Childhood, General Education (Grades R-9), Further Education and Training (Grades 10-12), Higher Education and Adult Basic Education and Training, with education being compulsory until the end of the General Education phase (Ministry of the Office of the President 1994, Section 3.3.11.2). The system has been restructured to create a more integrated approach to education and training, to break down the rigid divisions of “academic” and “applied”, “theory” and “practice”, in recognition that these have in the past reproduced occupational, class and racial distinctions (Department of Education 1995, Section 2.4).

At present the school system still reflects the old model and schools continue to be divided into pre-primary (Grades R-2), primary (Grades 3-7) and secondary (Grades 8-12). The costs involved in the proposed restructuring are immense and change is likely to be slow. The types of education in the General and Further Education phases are radically different to each other, posing problems for schools, in terms of allocating finances, training of teachers, timetabling and many other practical considerations.

6.2.2.3 Educational Content:

The content of education has undergone fundamental changes since the end of apartheid. In recognition of the impact of Christian Nationalist Education upon the identities of the different groups in South Africa, the DoE has been developing curricula and teaching methods designed to promote a positive form of national identity and to produce a labour force able to carry the economy in the direction chosen by the state.

To meet these ends the government has placed a system of Outcomes Based Education (OBE) at the centre of its General Education phase and has developed a curriculum called Curriculum 2005 (C2005), designed to enable a *“move away from a racist, apartheid rote learning model of learning and teaching to a liberating, nation-building and learner-centred outcomes one.”* (Department of Education 2001e). The Department also intends the content of teaching in the Further Education and Training phase to be based on outcomes-based principles. Although not fully articulated by the Department there will still be a final leaving certificate, either academic or vocational. The Department has also spoken of reducing the number of academic subjects on offer to *“be in line with national needs, international trends and the interests of most learners”* (Department of Education 2001e)

There have been many problems with the implementation of C2005 and OBE, leading to calls by schools and educational theorists for the curriculum to be abandoned (see for example Potenza 1999, Garson 2000 and Killen 1998). The DoE therefore ordered a review of C2005 in 2000 led by Linda Chisholm (Chisholm 2000). This review had seven main conclusions which were as follows:

1. There was wide support for the curriculum changes envisaged, but levels of understanding of the policy and its implications were highly varied.
2. There were basic flaws in the structure and the design of the policy. In particular, the language was often complex and confusing. Notions of sequence, concept development, content and progression were poorly developed, and the scope of the outcomes and learning areas resulting in crowding of the curriculum overall.

3. There was a lack of alignment between curriculum and assessment policies, with insufficient clarity in both areas
4. Training programmes, in concept, duration and quality, were often inadequate, especially early in the implementation process
5. Learning support materials were variable in quality, and often unavailable.
6. Follow-up support for teachers and schools was far too little.
7. Timeframes for implementation were unmanageable and unrealistic – the policy was released before the system was ready, with timeframes that were too rushed (Department of Education 2001d)

As a result of this review, the DoE took the decision to continue implementing the policy in a revised form (see Revised National Curriculum Statement, Department of Education 2002b).

Section 6.2 has provided a brief introduction to the framework of post-apartheid education in terms of organisational structure, educational structure and educational content. The remainder of this chapter examines the impact of these broad building blocks of the education system upon the Coloured population in greater detail.

6.3 *Economic Marginalization*

Sections 6.3 and 6.4 consider the assertions of Coloured marginalization within the education system. There are two elements to this claim of marginalization. The first element is the claim that *“It used to be that we weren’t White enough, now we’re not Black enough,”* this claim is linked with ideas of cultural domination and racism. The

second is the more general claim that the Coloured population has failed to be given the opportunities for economic development made available following the end of apartheid. This claim is linked more with notions of structural inequality and lack of capacity than racial and cultural notions. These are two distinct forms of marginalization, one intentional and the other largely the result of structural problems. Research participants rarely articulated the difference between these forms of marginalization.

During fieldwork both pupils and teachers in each of the schools made claims of economic marginalization by the DoE. This section considers a number of the claims and considers them in the light of education policies. Three main areas of marginalization are discussed: Lack of general finance, lack of resources and lack of teachers.

6.3.1 General Financing

Assertions of marginalization in terms of the general financing of schools were made in all four field site schools. Pupils tended to speak of the problem in terms of Black and White perceived gain and their loss. Teachers focused more on the problems of building maintenance and day-to-day management as a result of the new financial model employed. These different assertions represent the two elements of marginalization discussed in the introduction of this section.

Figure 6.3 Poor Maintenance of School Buildings at Trafalgar. Note the graffiti, vandalised windows, broken equipment in the foreground and the overgrown grass. These are cumulative effects of a lack of finance for maintenance.



Figure 6.4 Flood Damage at Emil Weder (The WCED had been unable to provide repair funds, leaving the school unable to use its only sports facility)



Figure 6.5 Disused Weather-Damaged Mobile Classrooms at Knysna. Note boarded up windows and collapse roofs.



In this section I focus on the experiences of Grassy Park High School. These experiences are common to all the schools (see Figures 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5), but the focus on one school allows an integrated view of the problems to be developed. The buildings at Grassy Park have a capacity of 850 pupils, in 2001 there were 1391 enrolled. There are three types of structure in which teaching is carried out: the main buildings, the “long building” and the mobile classrooms. The main buildings are over 50 years old, and the state has failed to provide adequate financial assistance to maintain them effectively. At the time of research the school had finally got an emergency grant to rewire these buildings. Because the work had been postponed for many years the wires were so rusted that walls had to be broken down and rebuilt to rewire, since the rust was stripping the plastic coating off the new wires as they were pulled through. The “long building” is a wood and asbestos structure built on a concrete slab and is well over 40 years old. The building has already well exceeded the time it was designed to be operational. The wooden structure is rotting, which has

health and economic implications. The school is concerned by the prolonged exposure of teachers and learners to asbestos, and the constant tripping of the electrical system is considered to be a health risk. The rotting of the structure means that many doors no longer fit, leaving classrooms open to vandalism and theft. The six mobile classrooms, designed for a lifespan of 10 years, have been in place for 20 years. Two of them are so badly damaged that they cannot be used. Although the others are still in use, they fail to provide conditions suitable for teaching. They have metal roofs which expand and crack in the summer. As a result, the rooms are like furnaces in the summer and in the winter the rooms are cold and the leaking roofs cause the chipboard floors to swell and lift.

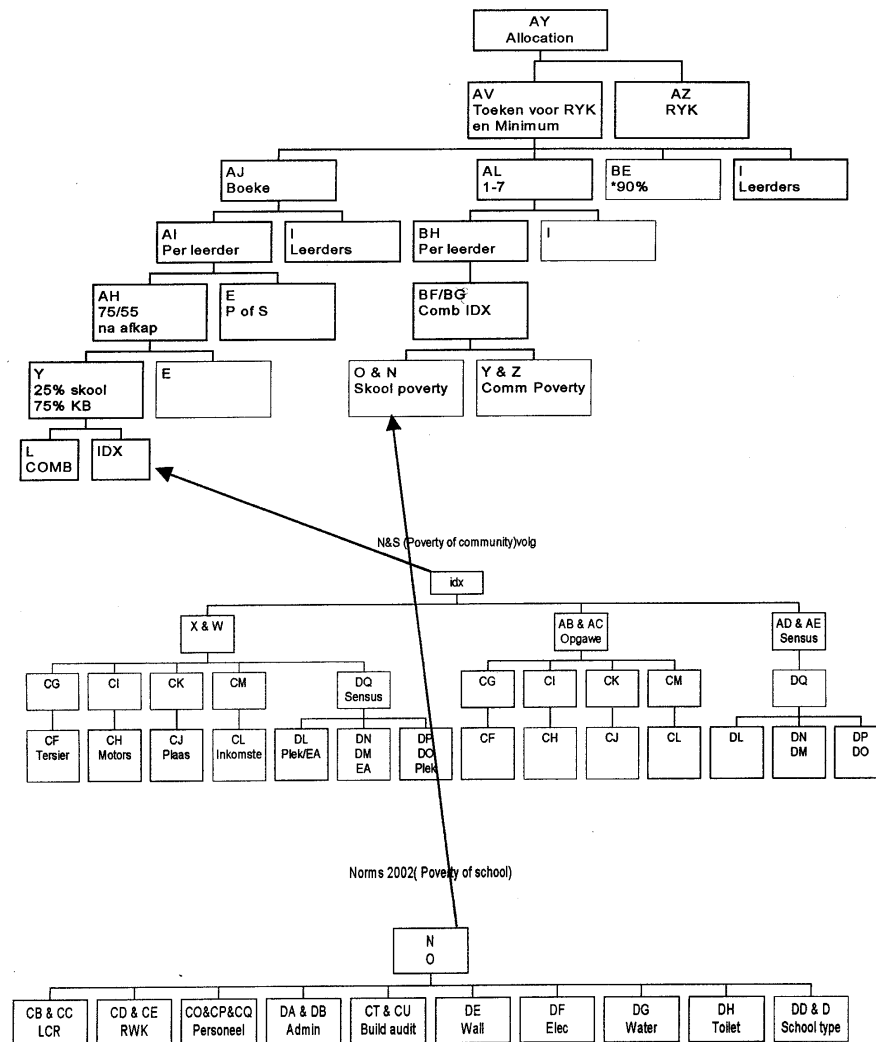
The Western Cape Education Department (WCED) provided the school with just R25 000 for maintenance, and the school estimates that its basic annual maintenance cost is between R30 000 and R40 000 and building insurance is R1600 per month. This leaves the school with an annual maintenance shortfall of between R24 200 and R34 200. In order to attempt to meet these shortfalls the school has been forced to increase school fees from R80 per year in 1994 to R600 in 2001. During the same time period the ability of parents to pay these fees has been reduced by changes in the economic background of those attending the school, only 60% of fees tend to be paid. Whereas in the past many pupils came from the middle-class families of Grassy Park, these pupils now go to previously White schools and the majority of learners are from working-class families from Grassy Park and neighbouring communities, such as Lotus River and Lavender Hill.

The school accepts that the reallocation of resources to historically more disadvantaged schools is essential, but questions the ways in which funding is structured. In an attempt to redress the historical imbalances in education funding the

National Department of Education has put together a system of Norms and Standards in the funding of education, which provincial education departments adapt according to local conditions.

The Norms and Standards deal with public funding of public schools, the exemption of parents who are unable to pay school fees and public subsidies to independent schools (Department of Education 1997a). The calculation of funding norms is designed to “*provide school governing bodies with a minimum floor of funding that can be the basis of sound education,*” for seven distinct areas of funding: new construction, immovable capital improvements, recurrent costs easily separated from other costs, normal non-personnel recurrent and minor capital costs, hostel costs, non-educator personnel costs and educator personnel costs (Department of Education 1997a). The allocation of funding is then organised on a stepped scale of 8 bands according to calculations of relative community and school poverty. For the purposes of this section Figure 6.6 has been included to demonstrate the complexity of the WCED’s basic model for calculation of funding. Due to its use simply to demonstrate complexity, I have not explained specific elements within the diagram further.

Figure 6.6 WCED Norms and Standards Calculation Diagram



Source: Mr Kirtzoff, WCED, pers comm.

Coloured schools tend to occupy lower bands than Black schools due to the higher relative community wealth and relative school wealth resulting from historical experiences discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Coloured schools tend also to occupy higher bands for funding than previously White schools. This relative position on the banding scale is not challenged, but the actual allocation of funding was questioned in each of the schools. Teachers reported Black schools that were now so much better off that there were rumours of school fees as a means of supplementing school finances

being abolished. They also spoke of White schools being better off as a result high parental contributions and land sales counter-acting the loss of state funding. In the case of the two Cape Town schools, Camps Bay High School was the most often cited example of a White school gaining from the current system. Camps Bay High School had sold off a large section of its lands to property developers and had used the revenue to build new classrooms, a library and a cafeteria block. It needs to be noted that this school is not representative of all White schools, but due to its high profile it had a major impact on perceptions of the White sector.

The general perception in the Coloured sector was articulated by the Head of Grassy Park High as follows:

“There is now a gap. Our parents don’t have the means to fill the gap... Stuck in the middle you have us. What has been taken away has not been able to be replaced.” (Stadler 25/04/01)²

The fact that the Norms and Standard calculations were failing to challenge inter-school inequality was noted by IDASA in 1999, as Table 6.2 illustrates.

Table 6.2 Annual budget for a poor and a rich school with 1000 learners

Source	Poor school	Rich school
Non-personnel transfer from province	R196 000	R28 000
Teacher salaries (30 teachers @ R60 000)	R1 800 000	R1 800 000
School fees	(R50 x 1000 learners) R50 000	(R2 500 x 1000 learners) R2 500 000
Total	R2 046 000	R4 178 000

Source: IDASA 1999 in Bot *et al* 2001, 38

At the time of research Camps Bay High School was charging R6000 per year (although 230 of the 830 pupils paid reduced fees), The school received less than R20 000 per year for non-personnel costs. Despite this low state contribution the economic

² References in this format indicate the source of data drawn from interviews and conversations in during fieldwork. Please see Appendix 1 for a full list of individuals referenced.

situation of this school can be seen to be far stronger than that of any of the Coloured schools. Grassy Park was placed in band “F” in the Norms and Standards rating, which meant that they received R150 per learner per year and charged just one tenth of the fees of Camps Bay High School. Camps Bay High School was in band “H” which meant that they received R75 per pupil. Although this school is an extreme example, it is clear that there are many schools in the “H” bracket that are able to charge fees that more than counteract the low state funding.

Is there really a problem of Coloured schools missing out financially due to falling into the gap between those made wealthy by previous inequality and those gaining from the redress of greatest inequity? There is evidence that schools in other sectors have gained economically and that Coloured schools have tended to lose. However, the degree to which this has actually occurred is less than claimed by representatives of Coloured communities. Black schools do receive more money from the state than they did under apartheid and conditions in Black schools are improving, however these schools are not surging ahead of Coloured schools as many claim. In most cases the conditions in these schools are still far worse than those in my field sites. Many White schools have been able to maintain their income through parental contribution and some have improved their funding, but cases like Camps Bay High School are not the norm. Beliefs about improved conditions in Black and White schools tend to be largely the result of continued lack of communication with schools and communities outside of the Coloured sector, a function of apartheid administrative and spatial constructions.

An additional factor affecting perceptions of marginalization that needs to be considered is the impact of the tricameral parliament of the 1980s on education. As Figure 5.1 in Chapter 5 indicated, Coloured schools were able to improve their pupil-

teacher ratios towards the end of apartheid. In the 1983 Constitution the government established the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates which were to serve the interests of the Coloured and Indian populations of South Africa respectively, a measure to prevent united non-White opposition (Republic of South Africa 1983). The new system allowed a degree of economic self-determination by the Coloured population, leading to a greater proportion of the budget for Coloured “own affairs” being allocated to education (Schrire 1992, 63), an indication of the view of education as being key to future economic opportunities. Although this parliament lacked the support of the majority of the Coloured population, it had major impacts on the lives of the whole population as it enabled significant improvements in funding of education, housing and pensions (Lemon 1984, 99 and Giliomee 1996, 96). The larger part of the financial loss incurred by Coloured schools in the post-apartheid eras has been the result of the loss of funding improvements of the tricameral period, which had been obtained as a result of a threatened White government’s attempts to promote difference between Coloureds and Blacks. Assertions of marginalization by the Coloured population resulting from the loss of relative privilege must be considered in the light of this historical political situation.

The objective of equity in education funding has been articulated in DoE and central government publications throughout the post-apartheid era. The programmes for achieving this have been flawed, but there is no evidence of an intentional economic marginalization of Coloured schools as some pupils suggested.

6.3.2 Resources

In terms of resources teachers and pupils spoke of continued marginalization in relation to White schools, rather than in relation to both Black and White schools.

They recognised that White schools are able to purchase resources for teaching that the Coloured and Black schools cannot afford, and that this has major impacts of the quality of teaching and learning in the schools. In this section I focus on the problems associated with access to textbooks as an example of the general problem. I have focussed on textbooks due to their status as fundamental resources for education.

There have been problems of delivery of textbooks across South Africa since the end of apartheid. The Minister of Education noted in 1998 that the Department needed R400-million to end the textbook shortfall. Despite this the textbook budgets of state schools were cut by 70 per cent between 1996 and 1999 (Ngobeni 1999). Parents are encouraged to buy textbooks, but since the state has articulated the right to free education³ they are unwilling to pay extra for resources they believe the government should provide (Ngobeni 1999). In addition, many are unable to afford to pay for such resources. When the state has agreed to provide textbooks, there has often been a failure in efficient delivery.

All the main research sites claimed that they continue to be marginalized in relation to the White schools through resource acquisition. There are many new resources available to the schools, but only those with considerable financial backing are able to buy these in sufficient quantity to justify their use. As a result of these problems schools have developed three strategies for teaching. These three strategies are not mutually exclusive and all three were used in my field sites to a greater or lesser degree.

The first strategy is simply teaching without textbooks. This strategy was common to Black schools under apartheid and was still evident in Langa High School

³ See for example the 1995 White Paper on Education and Training, a statement in keeping with assertions in the ANC's 1955 Freedom Charter (ANC 1955)

when I researched there in 2000. The Head told me of how the school could not afford to provide any textbooks, but about 20 per cent of pupils had bought their own, or had bought photocopied sections of books. All of the main field sites were able to provide at least some textbooks for some subjects, but there were some subjects without any books at all. When learners in the Business Economics class at Trafalgar complained about the lack of textbooks, the teacher's response was, "*But children, Sir is a walking textbook*" (Prins 31/07/00). This lack of textbooks encourages teaching methods based on rote learning, a marked teacher/pupil distinction and a lack of self directed learning, all contrary to the ideals of C2005.

The second strategy is the continued use of old textbooks. In all four of the schools it was common to see books produced in the 1980s in use. At Trafalgar I was present when a sales representative of one of the major publishers visited the school with their new range of books, although the Department has still not articulated requirements for textbook content (Potenza 2002). The teachers admired the books and read them to get ideas, but accepted that they would not be able to afford to purchase any. Teaching therefore continues with increasingly outdated textbooks, which reinforces apartheid ideals in terms of content and the style of teaching they encourage.

The final strategy is that of makeshift plans made by individual schools and departments within schools. This strategy was most evident at Knysna where the school had sought sponsorship from a number of sources to provide learning support materials, as one of the teachers told me "*You can't wait for the government to provide, you must get stuff yourself if you want it*" (Kock 7/03/01). This school policy of acquisition by whatever means possible led to an assortment of resources which ranged from excellent to more or less useless. By far the most successful project was

the Wonderboom project. The school had become part of a pilot project run by a company which provided CD-Roms of teaching resources and teacher training manuals for Grade 8 C2005 learning areas. Although aspects of the content were not ideal for South African schools with limited community resources, the school had access to much needed guides to the implementation of C2005. None of the schools felt that the Department had provided adequate training for the implementation of C2005, so this was a very useful resource.

Other resources had been obtained from charitable sources. For example the teaching materials for guidance classes came from the local Youth For Christ offices, which were English language resources being used in an Afrikaans medium school. A further problem with these resources was the overtly religious content of the materials which appeared to in conflict with the Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy report which stated that: *“There is no place in the classroom, then, for an education that promotes any one creed or belief over any other”* (Department of Education 2001f).

Other schemes have failed completely. In 1996 several thousand second hand books were donated to the school by a US-based charity. The content of these books was not suited the South African educational context and the books were stored in the school’s mobile classrooms (see Figure 6.5). These mobiles had similar structural problems to those in Grassy Park, and so were not being used for teaching. Many of the books had therefore become water-damaged, others were vandalised by people breaking into the mobiles. Yet despite the failure of these books, one of the teachers was attempting to contact Oprah Winfrey, the American talk-show hostess, to request further donation of resources (Verhaelst 20/2/01).

It is not just books that have been acquired in this haphazard manner. The school boasts a computer lab with 25 computers. Spoornet, the national rail company, donated a few of these, the rest are remodelled machines bought at discounted prices. As a result there is a variety of machines and capabilities, and the networking is poor. Whenever all the computers are in use, the electricity in the building trips.

With so many of the resources being used by the school not obtained from DoE-approved sources, the content of teaching often fails to be consistent with the demands of C2005.

Given these issues of resource allocation is there a basis for a claim of marginalization on the grounds of resources? Although there is considerable evidence that historically advantaged schools continue to be advantaged in terms of resources for reasons discussed in this section, there is no evidence that current policy affects Coloured schools in particular. In fact, Coloured schools with their historical advantages over Black schools are more able to deal with current problems in resource allocation. They not only have more old textbooks that can be used, but also have also been more able to develop links enabling makeshift strategies to be implemented, resulting from community resources and skills that enable effective applications to be constructed.

The problems in resource allocation to historically disadvantaged schools demonstrate fundamental problems in the development of post-apartheid education policy. C2005 is fundamentally resourced based and relies on self-directed learning. DoE documents have ceased to use the terms “teacher” and “pupil”, preferring to use “facilitator” and “learner” demonstrating the nature of the relationship to be modelled in the school. It is not possible to implement this form of education with existing structures of education funding. Within education policy there is a lack of what the

British government have termed “joined-up thinking” particularly between educational economics and education content. As mentioned in Section 6.2.2, a review of C2005 was ordered in 1999. As the key findings demonstrate, there has been a lack of co-ordination between curriculum expectations and resource availability and broader educational structures. This lack of co-ordination has been noted by a number of researchers including King (2000) and Meerkotter (2000). Claims of marginalization resulting from resource allocation are an outcome of fundamental inconsistencies of vision in different sectors of the DoE.

6.3.3 Teachers

One area in which both forms of claim of marginalization were particularly strongly asserted was that of teacher provision. The DoE issued a guideline to the provincial education departments that pupil-teacher ratios should be 40:1 in primary schools and 35:1 in secondary schools in 1996 (Department of Education 1996). These national guidelines were abolished in 1997 and the Department called for provincial departments to set their own ratios according to how many teachers they could afford (SAIRR 1998, 156). The WCED set its ratios at 39:1 for primary and 33:1 for secondary schools (Western Cape Education Department 2001b). Unlike other provinces, such as the Eastern Cape and the Northern Province, there were more than sufficient teachers to meet these ratios, the WCED therefore embarked on a programme to retrench some teachers and redeploy others to schools with too few teachers. The WCED calculated that there were 5932 teachers in excess and offered teachers in schools considered over-staffed redeployment or voluntary severance packages. By 1998 6195 teachers had made voluntary severance applications and 5613 of these applications had been approved (SAIRR 1998, 157). Between 1996 and

2000 the provincial average pupil-teacher ratio rose from 26:1 to 31:1 (Department of Education 2001a). The impacts of this are discussed later in this section.

As discussed in Chapter 5 there were considerable differences between staffing levels in schools for different races under apartheid. The retrenchments and redeployments have particularly affected state employed teachers at White and Coloured schools. However, for the same financial reasons as discussed in Section 6.3.1 White schools have been able to maintain, or even improve, pupil-teacher ratios by employing additional teachers paid by funds raised from school fees, known as SGB (School Governing Body) posts, as the number of SGB posts for three Cape Town high schools in 2001 demonstrates: Wynberg Girls 23, Westerford 19, Settlers 16 (Staff Reporter 2001).

These changes in staffing models has had a major impact upon each of the field site schools. Table 6.3 demonstrates current pupil and teacher numbers at the four main schools and Camps Bay and Langa high schools

Table 6.3 Pupil and Teacher Numbers at Field Site Schools

School	Pupils	Teachers	Pupil: Teacher Ratio
Trafalgar	713	23	31.0:1
Emil Weder	646	21	30.8:1
Knysna	1446	48	30.1:1
Grassy Park	1391	41	33.9:1
Camps Bay	830	44 (+3 academic support)	18.9:1 (17.7:1)
Langa	1361	47	29.0:1

As Table 6.3 indicates the pupil-teacher ratios at the Coloured schools are significantly higher than those of Camps Bay High School. Although the ratio at Camps Bay is lower than that of the average White school, most White schools are

able to afford enough SGB posts to bring the ratio down to at least the 25:1. The table also demonstrates that the differences between Coloured and Blacks staffing ratios are no longer as great as they were under apartheid, and in some cases, such as Langa, Black schools have proportionally more staff. The Head of Knysna informed me that these ratios do not correspond to actual classroom ratios since not all teachers are involved in the classroom at all times. In the four Coloured schools there were at least 40 pupils in each class, and the Head of Langa indicated that popular subjects at his school could have up to 55 pupils per class. The pupil-teacher ratios have been found to representative of the general situation in the province according to the Western Cape Education's Annual Survey of 2001 (Western Cape Education Department 2001a).

The change in pupil-teacher ratios in Coloured schools has been dramatic in the post-apartheid era as the figures for Trafalgar in Table 6.4 demonstrate.

Table 6.4 Pupil and Teacher Numbers at Trafalgar 1912 to 2000

Years	Average Pupil Numbers	Average Teacher Numbers	Average Pupil: Teacher Ratio
1912	60	5	12.0:1
1913	125	5	25.0:1
1920-1929	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
1930-1939			
1940-1949	481	25	19.2:1
1950-1959	493	25	19.7:1
1960-1969	534	26	20.5:1
1970-1979	661	29	22.8:1
1980-1989	637	34	18.7:1
1990-1993	660	41	16.1:1
1994	672	34	19.8:1
2000	713	23	31.0:1

Sources: Trafalgar High School 1993, 5 and Fieldwork

As Table 6.4 indicates pupil-teacher ratios almost doubled between the early 1990s and 2000. This considerable reduction in staff numbers from 41 to 23 was the

result both of redress of the general inequity in resources resulting from apartheid provision and from the additional advantages over Black schools developed in the 1980s through House of Representatives' control of the Coloured education budget as discussed in Section 6.3.1.

This dramatic change in teacher numbers has had a major impact upon the provision of education in schools. The Head of Grassy Park believed that the workload of teachers had more than doubled between 1990 and 2001 as a result of changes in both staff levels and the nature and content of education. Although Coloured schools are now no worse off than Black schools, the impact of these staffing ratios is greater. Teachers trained to work in Black schools were trained to teach with such ratios, and the ratios in Black schools are improving. Those teaching in Coloured schools have had to make rapid adjustments to changes in the system and have had to modify methods of teaching dramatically. These schools have therefore been more affected by changes in staffing ratios.

Teachers spoke of lack of motivation and in Grassy Park the situation had become so bad that the Head expected and budgeted on three staff members being absent every day in the second and third terms of the year. Although predominantly the result of increased workload, this loss of motivation was the result of a number of factors, both local and national. At the school level the problem is accentuated by the breakdown of community within the schools. At Trafalgar, Knysna and Emil Weder virtually all the teachers had been pupils at the school and many were related to each other, so when the staffing cuts were implemented it was almost as if families were being torn apart thereby demoralising staff members. At the national level there has been a change in government rhetoric towards teachers. The Head of Harold Cressy, another Coloured high school in Cape Town, told me that the state no longer

considers teachers as “professionals,” but as “workers” (Mrs. Hendricks 27/7/00). The WCED has made changes in teacher entitlements such as housing subsidies, health insurance and reducing leave to just 10 days per year thereby requiring attendance at school during vacations, all of which further demoralise staff.

These factors have had considerable impacts upon the motivation of teachers and therefore the quality of education. In one of the schools teachers would often fail to arrive until 10 minutes after the start of each lesson, in another of the schools one teacher locked himself in the classroom for three lessons and wouldn't let pupils in, as he didn't want to teach them.

The issue of marginalization through teacher allocation is not just a function of teacher numbers, but also the linkage between teachers and curriculum. Under the guidelines of C2005 learners in Grades 8 and 9 now have to receive instruction in 8 distinct learning areas: Languages, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Arts and Culture, Life Orientation, Economic and Management Skills, and Technology (Department of Education 2002b).

The implementation of this new system of education has further disadvantaged Coloured schools in relation to White schools. The retrenchment of teachers was not uniform across subject areas. More teachers teaching subjects considered non-core under the previous system – such as Art, Music and Guidance – were retrenched than those in core subjects – such as Languages and Maths. Retrenchments were also not uniform across teaching experience. Due to the nature of the voluntary severance packages they attracted the most experienced and skilled teachers. As a result the skills and experience base of teaching staff in Coloured schools has been considerably reduced.

The loss of teachers in particular subject areas has had a major impact upon the schools as they attempt to implement teaching in all eight learning areas. Due to SGB posts, White schools were able to maintain teaching staff in “non-core” subject areas and have therefore had no problems in teaching the newly compulsory learning areas. Coloured schools, which historically had fewer teachers in these areas, having lost these few staff members have experienced considerable problems in implementation. Teachers are being forced to teach subjects for which they have no training and no background.

The two most problematic areas have been Arts and Culture, and Technology. There had been a lack of guidance on content of learning areas, so the teaching has tended to be a haphazard arrangement of using any available skills and resources. So for example, the English teacher at Emil Weder had been a part of a drama group at college and was therefore put in charge of teaching Arts and Culture, which would therefore consist mainly of drama at the school. At Trafalgar a science teacher who happened to sing in a choir carried out a large proportion of the teaching. The lack of teaching resources and facilities severely impacted upon the teaching of these subjects, again encouraging teacher- rather than self-directed learning.

The WCED ran a series of C2005 training days for teachers in 2000. These training days severely impacted upon teaching in the field site schools for the two weeks that they ran. Staffing levels are already at critical point so the absence of even a small number of staff members places considerable strain on the school, unlike in the White schools. In all schools teachers claimed that the training sessions had been confusing and disorganised, to the extent that the Head of Grassy Park had organised his own series of training days for teachers in schools in the area during the end of

year vacation. This problem was recognised by the review of C2005 as illustrated in Section 6.2.2.

Is there therefore evidence to substantiate claims of marginalization on grounds of teacher provision? There is evidence of considerable disadvantage in relation to White schools, as with funding and resources. There is also evidence to support the claim of marginalization in relation to Black schools. Although pupil-teacher ratios in Coloured schools tend to be lower than in Black schools, the rate of loss of staff members has been disruptive to education and to school morale, an issue which should not be underestimated. A further important issue has been the loss of experienced teachers in particular, which has not been evident in Black schools. Although levels of qualification tend to be lower in Black schools, the importance of continuity of teaching staff and accumulated experience must be recognised.

6.3.4 Conclusion

This section has demonstrated that there is evidence that historically Coloured schools have been more economically disadvantaged in the post-apartheid era, in terms of funding, resource allocation and teacher provision, than schools traditionally educating people from other population groups, particularly Whites. This is not a function of intentional marginalization, but a function of the state's general economic dilemma as discussed in Chapter 2.

The government is constantly facing the problem of how to aim towards Black Economic Empowerment and equity, but at the same time to appease the White economic elite and the international economic community. In terms of the international economic community the state needs to maintain a system that will allow sustained economic development. In terms of the local White economic elite the state

needs to provide a form of education that will instil a degree of confidence in the quality to prevent White flight and further brain drain.

6.4 Cultural Marginalization

The second form of marginalization reported within field sites was cultural. Both forms of assertion of marginalization reported in Section 6.3 were evident during fieldwork. In this section they are considered separately, although it is recognised that they are often related.

6.4.1 Marginalization by an Africanist Agenda

The first claim is that the education system has been transformed from one that prioritised the cultural interests of the White population to the exclusion of all others, to one that prioritises the cultural interests of the Black population to the exclusion of all others. Pupils and teachers in the field reported feelings as cultural marginalized by the new system as the old (the nature of which was discussed in Chapter 5).

This claim of continued marginalization by the dominant political group was made relating to a number of cultural aspects within schools. There was a general, poorly articulated fear of the imposition of Black culture, although pupils often seemed uncertain as to what they meant by Black culture. More specifically, pupils spoke of the increasingly marginal status of Afrikaans and fears of being forced to learn Xhosa. Teachers spoke more of the change in culture of learning. They believed that the Eurocentric models of education and curriculum were being replaced with Africanist models, which were far removed from their understanding. Teachers spoke of how the system of OBE was designed to reflect Black traditions of learning and therefore would give the Black population an advantage over them.

This section therefore considers the nature of aspects of C2005 and OBE in relation to these claims of marginalization. I focus particularly on issues of language policy, the articulation of values in education and the nature of OBE.

6.4.1.1 Language

In terms of language policy, pupils often reported that they would be forced to learn Xhosa and that Afrikaans was going to be removed from schools. This was most clearly articulated by a group of Grade 8 pupils at Trafalgar:

Tashmeena – And the Africans say that in the next five years Xhosa’s going to be the first language. Why must they say Xhosa’s the first language and English...

Zaida 2 – And then you can’t speak Afrikaans, and you must just speak Xhosa

Ayesha – But I will never speak Xhosa, that’s shit that... sorry to say that, but I won’t speak Xhosa. They can’t force me to speak Xhosa. (Grade 8 girls Trafalgar 18/08/00)

There has been a reduction in first-language Afrikaans teaching in both dual-medium field site schools, Trafalgar and Grassy Park, with Trafalgar having phased out the Afrikaans-medium class before the end of apartheid (Martin 28/07/00). The reduction in first-language Afrikaans classes in Cape Town schools has been the result of parental and pupil demands, and not pressure from the DoE as some pupils believed.

There is no evidence in DoE documentation that the status of Afrikaans is to be reduced in schools. Citing the 1993 Interim Constitution the first White paper on Education called for the “*creation of conditions for the development of and for the promotion of the equal use of all official South African languages*” (Department of Education 1995). The DoE has noted that English and Afrikaans were prioritised

under apartheid, the purpose of post-apartheid language policy is to elevate the status of the other official languages to promote equality (Department of Education 2001f).

The right to receive education in the official language of choice where reasonably practicable was established in the 1996 Constitution (Republic of South Africa 1996, para 29.2). The 1997 Language in Education policy placed the decision of medium of instruction in the hands of school governing bodies; therefore enabling schools to determine their own language policies (Department of Education 1997b). In the interests of integration the Department stipulated that if there were more than 40 requests per grade in Grades 1-6, and 35 per year in Grades 7-12, instruction should be offered in the requested language, although recognised that conditions in the school might limit the practicability of this policy (Department of Education 1997b).

Research for the Manifesto of Values, Education and Democracy found that *“only English and Afrikaans-speakers enjoy their constitutional right and the pedagogical advantage of being able to study in their mother tongue”* (Department of Education 2001f), as a result of problems of insufficient learning materials and local conditions in schools. It is therefore clear that Coloured pupils have not been marginalized through language policy, and still have considerable advantages over African language speakers.

The fear of being forced to learn in Xhosa can be related to the suggestion by the DoE that *“If a learner’s home language is English or Afrikaans, then he or she ought to learn an indigenous African language too”* (Department of Education 2001f). The implementation of this has been left to individual schools, but the WCED has put in place initiatives to facilitate the introduction of Xhosa into schools. Teachers at Emil Weder were attending Xhosa lessons and Grassy Park was

introducing Xhosa lessons to all Grade 8 pupils. My fieldwork found that many pupils, particularly those from working-class Afrikaans backgrounds found the introduction of African languages in their schools threatening, which provoked claims of marginalization.

6.4.1.2 African Values in Education

Both teachers and pupils complained about the promotion of African values in schools. When asked to elaborate on what they considered to be the African values being promoted by the new education system, most were unable to articulate what they meant. In the schools outside of Cape Town pupils were also unable to articulate what they thought the threatened Coloured culture was. One of the pupils I interviewed at Emil Weder considered the defining features of Coloured culture as Christmas and Easter and asked me we had anything like that in England (Ronaldo 01/11/00).

Two of the teachers interviewed considered that the threat of Black cultural domination was the result this lack of definition of Coloured culture. Mrs Adonis at Emil Weder spoke of a trip taken by pupils to the Black area of Guguletu, and explained how the pupils were faced with a much stronger corporate cultural identity than they had in their own community (A. Adonis 21/11/00). Mr Hendricks from Trafalgar supported this assertion when speaking about how he believed that the Coloured children at Trafalgar felt threatened by the strong cultural identity of the Black pupils in the school. He cited this as one of the key reasons for Coloured on Black racism within the school (Hendricks 12/11/00). This perceived threat to identity within schools cannot be removed from factors beyond the school, as was discussed in Chapter 2.

Due to the apparently fragile corporate sense of self in post-apartheid Coloured youth, anything that challenges the few aspects of Coloured culture identified as positive is viewed as a threat to Colouredness and Black cultural domination. One example of this was the response to the call in the widely circulated *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy* for the cessation of the promotion of particular religions in school. Religion, be it Islam or Christianity, is a key element of Coloured identities, the threatening of the expression of this in schools is seen as a threat by the state to the right to Coloured culture.

Throughout DoE publications there have been clear efforts at cultural inclusivity and the breadth of C2005 allows a high degree of cultural autonomy in at the school and regional level (Department of Education 2001b). Nowhere in the rhetoric of documents did I find evidence of the promotion of “African values.”

6.4.1.3 OBE

There was a further assertion that the use of an Outcomes Based Education system prioritised the interests of Black students, as it was more suited to their cultural practices and experiences. These assertions were more often made by teachers than pupils and tended to be based on crude racial stereotypes. For example, teachers at Trafalgar spoke of how much more suited Black children in the school were to OBE than Coloured pupils because they were naturally so much more talkative and therefore did well in group work (Martin 22/08/00).

Teachers also spoke of the problems of maintaining discipline using OBE principles and claimed that again Black schools were at an advantage, since the Black culture had a tradition of respect for elders (Wentzel 22/08/00). This was also articulated by a Black learner who explained it terms of the “double respect” system

within Black culture. This double respect system revolves around the respect given to teachers due to their status as teachers and as circumcised adults (Percy 07/09/00). Teachers claimed that since Coloured pupils came from a more socially liberal system, and lacked this cultural heritage there was less respect for teachers. This problem of lack of respect made keeping discipline particularly hard when teaching using OBE principles.

A final factor in the claims of OBE being designed to meet the needs of Black pupils was the use of terms such as “Ubuntu”⁴ and “Tirisano”⁵ by the DoE. Both of these words have specific meanings in Black culture, but the values advocated by them are internationally relevant notions of mutuality. As with the case issue of language policy and values, it appears that a general fear of loss of cultural autonomy has led to the negative reactions to OBE on these grounds.

6.4.2 Continued Cultural Dominance of Whites

The second assertion was that White cultural domination has not been challenged within the post-apartheid education system. This assertion tended to be closely related to the forms of economic marginalization discussed in Section 6.3, i.e. funding of schools, resource allocation and teacher provision.

The comparative economic advantages of White schools, which led to lower pupil to teacher ratios, and the generally more qualified teaching staff, enabled these schools to implement many of the forms of teaching advocated by C2005 and OBE. For example, White schools have been implementing group work and continuous

⁴ Ubuntu is a Xhosa word meaning “Human dignity” or “universal brotherhood”

⁵ Tirisano is a Sotho word meaning “working together”

assessment since before the end of apartheid. Therefore, the shift in teaching culture has not been as great in these schools.

In addition, White schools have been at a relative advantage in terms of management structures which have facilitated adaptation to the new system. An example of this was the difference in implementation of C2005 in Grade 8 classes. The government guidelines have stipulated that time allocated to the eight learning areas should be as follows:

Table 6.5 Lesson Time Allocated for Senior Phase Learning Areas

Learning Area	Time %
Languages	25
Mathematics	18
Natural Sciences	13
Social Sciences	12
Technology	8
Economic and Management Sciences	8
Life Orientation	8
Arts and Culture	8

Source: Department of Education 2002b, 32

When teachers from Trafalgar were informed of this breakdown in 2000, they complained of the complexity of the system and began to attempt to formulate timetables that would allow for this model to be incorporated. At Camps Bay the staff had a better concept of the purpose and structure of the system, so instead of attempting to fit in all subject areas in per week, they ran timetables according to an annual system, whereby different learning areas were taught in different school terms. At Grassy Park the school was uncertain what to do with Grade 8 pupils during the time when all other year groups were taking exams, since exam assessment was not a part of the C2005 programme. Camps Bay simply used exams as an additional form of continuous assessment, thereby not having to significantly adjust existing models.

The DoE has recognised these problems with the implementation of OBE, as this passage from the review of education since 1994 illustrates:

“Few teachers and trainers had first-hand knowledge of the kinds of curriculum and teaching envisaged (in C2005); few schools had management structures and professional capacity to manage the changes. Where schools and teachers embraced learner-centred education, they often interpreted it as laissez faire activity and groupwork in which the focus on outcomes and needs for careful design were lost.” (Department of Education 2001b)

It was partly in recognition of these problems that the review of C2005 was ordered. OBE and C2005 were considered to be overly complex and jargon-laden, rendering them impenetrable to most schools. The majority of training resources were only available in English and Afrikaans, therefore placing White, and to a lesser degree, Coloured schools at a comparative advantage. Ballantyne conducted a study of Geography teachers’ perceptions of OBE, the following is a reaction of one of the White teachers: *“When terminology is not understood, even in your mother tongue, I mean how could they (Black teachers) ever understand or come to grips with the terms?”* (Ballantyne 1999, 76) Although terminology has been simplified and the number of specific outcomes reduced, the teachers in my field sites continued to be confused by the system, thereby reducing the effectiveness of their teaching.

It is not simply the system alone that continues to culturally marginalize in relation to White schools, but also the content of C2005. The DoE’s working group on History and Archaeology, for example, noted that the dominance of Eurocentric ideologies had not been effectively challenged. They noted that: *“The interim syllabus for grades 10-12 remains overwhelmingly Eurocentric in conception. Africa is mostly inert, and treated within the context of European impacts of colonialism”* (Department of Education 2000b).

Coloured schools have continued to be cultural marginalized in relation to White schools, largely as a result of the apartheid-era economic and training advantages that have not been adequately challenged in the post-apartheid era. A number of the OBE principles which Coloured and Black schools are struggling to implement have been a feature of White education for a number of years, therefore reinforcing the advantages of White schools.

6.4.3 Opportunities for Localised Cultural Input

Within DoE publications and speeches by post-apartheid Ministers and Deputy Ministers of Education there has been an assertion of the role of education in nation-building and a call for common citizenship. This call for common citizenship has become increasingly prevalent in DoE documents, with the clearest articulation being in the 2001 documents, *Values in Education: Celebration of our National Symbols* (2001f) and the *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy* (2001f). Although the form of common citizenship advocated by these documents is one of common human rights as set out in the Constitution, many of the Coloured pupils and teachers had interpreted calls for common citizenship as calls for a particular form of national identity. They had concluded that since the Black population was the majority group, this single national culture would be dominated by Black cultural values. Many of the teachers feared that C2005 would mean that this form of nationalism would be imposed upon them.

In reality, C2005 is structured in such a way as to allow considerable local inputs into teaching and values creation (Department of Education 2001e). Given the lack of prescription of educational content, schools can have considerably more control over the content of teaching. The Values, Education and Democracy working

group called for further local involvement in schools, such as artists-in-residence (Department of Education 2000c). This is in keeping with the Minister of Education's assertion that schools need to be more integrated with their home communities (Asmal 1999).

Given these elements in post-apartheid education it can be seen that Coloured schools have considerably more cultural autonomy. This was evident in my field sites. For example, Emil Weder was closely associated with the local museum and had been involved in a UCT sponsored local archaeology project. The other schools had been involved in similar projects. These projects had enabled the development of a localised identity in addition to the form of national common citizenship proposed by the DoE.

6.4.4 Factors Leading to Perceptions of Cultural Marginalization

As this section has demonstrated, there appears to be little evidence for the general claim of the promotion of a marginalizing Africanist agenda in either the content or the rhetoric of DoE documents. There is more support for the less articulated claim of marginalization in relation to White schools.

There are a number of reasons why these claims of cultural marginalization persist. These include: lack of clear articulation by the state, persistent economic inequality, lack of consistency between DoE rhetoric and general government rhetoric and existing identity issues among the Coloured population. This section has focused on the first two issues. Chapter 2 dealt with the issue of government rhetoric and conflicting notions of non-racialism. The issue of existing identity issues is considered more fully in Chapters 7 and 8.

6.5 *Spatial Considerations*

Although the DoE and the WCED have made significant efforts to improve facilities in the most deprived schools, which tend to be in rural areas, policies regarding the curriculum and general teaching practices have failed to recognise the impact of space and place on education. Education policies have therefore failed to challenge the impacts of apartheid and pre-apartheid spatiality, and have even furthered them. This is a fundamental problem since one of the main bases of apartheid's power was its control of space and therefore social arrangement. The purpose of this section is to locate claims of marginalization and policy implementation problems within a spatial context.

The forms of education proposed by the government are most suited to those in urban areas, particularly those living in large urban centres. In this section I argue that this form of education benefits the White population more than other population, due both to the comparative urbanisation of the White population group in the Western Cape, but also as a result of the form of the apartheid city.

As discussed in the previous section, the form of education proposed by C2005 and the general principles of OBE demand considerable use of resources external to the school, such as libraries, museums, theatre, local historians, archaeologists and others. In addition, with the increased use of Information Technology within schools, there is a greater need for trained IT support staff. Most of these resources tend to be located in urban areas, thereby providing urban schools with better access to such resources. In addition, training sessions for teachers implementing C2005 have tended to be urban-based. In the Western Cape, WCED circuit managers have arranged for training sessions to be held in rural areas, but these

tend to be only for a few schools at a time (Andrew 11/10/00). One of the only benefits cited by the Cape Town-based teachers regarding the C2005 training sessions was the interaction with many teachers from many different types of school, which provided opportunities to share experiences and frustrations (Isaacs 23/08/00). The teachers from rural schools did not report this. It is clear that urban schools maintain an advantage over rural schools in terms of ability to implement C2005.

This distinction between rural and urban schools is important regarding the question of marginalization on the grounds of race. Not only are Black, and to a lesser extent Coloured, schools less able to implement C2005 effectively through limited financial resources, but also due to their locations.

Table 6.6 Percentage of Population of South Africa and the Western Cape Resident in Urban Areas^a

Population Group	South Africa ^b	Western Cape ^c
White	91.8	93
Coloured	81.8	83
Black	44.2	92
All	53.9	85

a: "Urban" described areas legally proclaimed as being urban under previous legislation. These included towns, cities and metropolitan areas. The term "rural" was used to encompass both areas classified as "non-urban" and "semi-urban", i.e. commercial farms, small settlements, rural villages and areas not part of previously legally proclaimed urban areas, but adjoining them (Lehohla 2001, 11).

b: Source Lehohla 2001, 2. Data set refers to 1999 October Household Survey

c: Source Orkin 1998, 8. Data set refers to 1995 October Household Survey

Table 6.6 illustrates the proportions of the South African and Western Cape populations living in urban areas. Nationally the White and Coloured population groups are considerably more urbanised than the Black population. In the Western Cape however, the Coloured population is the least urbanised of the population groups. Of the 486 000 non-urban residents of the Western Cape, 75.7 percent (368 000) are Coloured (Orkin 1998, 8). I have concluded that rural schools are at a

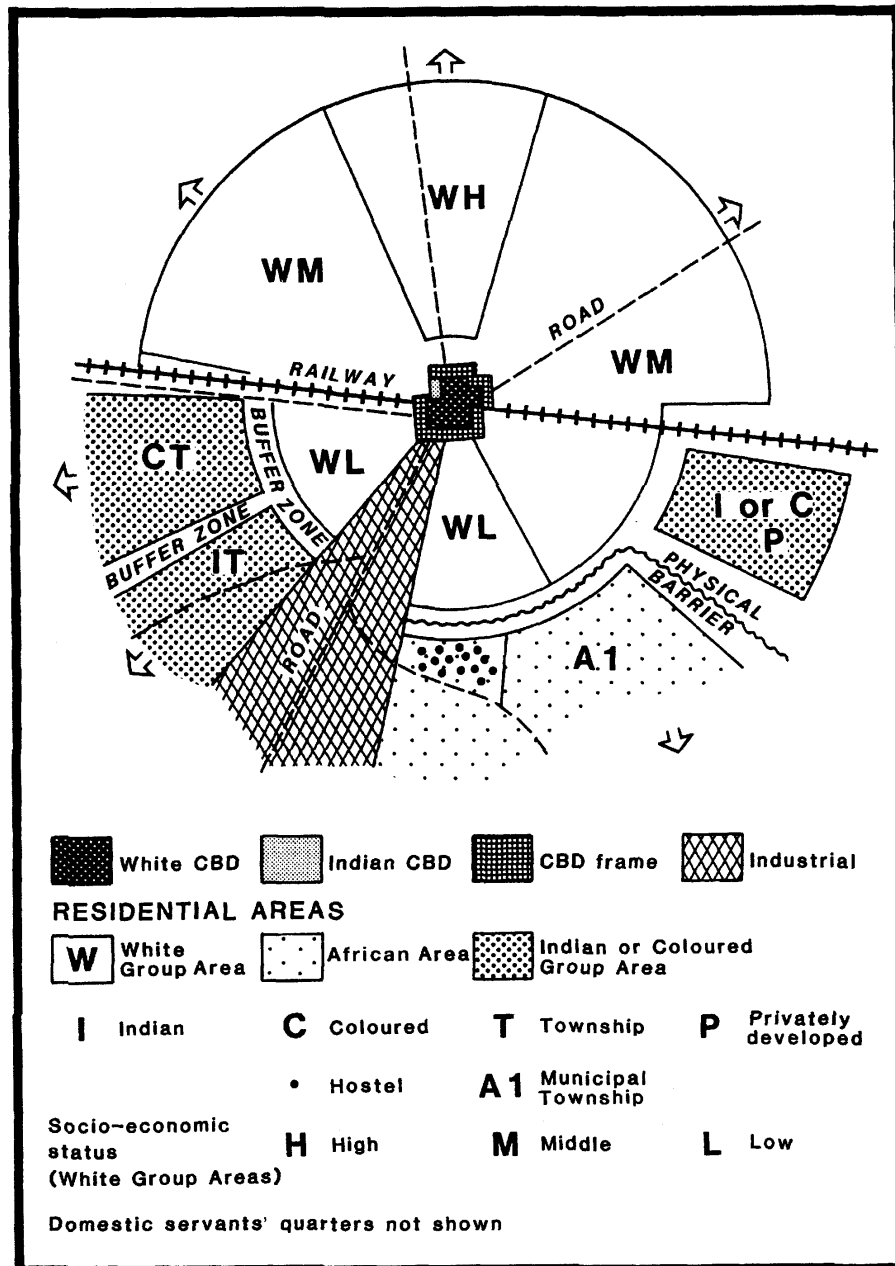
comparative disadvantage in terms of ability to effectively implement C2005. In the Western Cape the greatest proportion of non-urban population, and therefore non-urban schools, are Coloured, which indicates that the many of this most spatially disadvantaged schools are likely to be Coloured schools.

It is only the major metropolitan areas of South Africa that have the range of resources and experts required to effectively meet the demands of the current education system. In the Western Cape there are few towns of this size. Cape Town is the only major metropolitan city. There are just four secondary cities (pop. 50 000 to 500 000), George, Paarl, Worcester and Stellenbosch. Only George is more than 100km from Cape Town. Neither these cities nor other towns in the province have the range and depth of cultural resources necessary to adequately implement C2005. It is therefore important to differentiate between urban and metropolitan populations.

According to the 1996 Census, the population of the Cape Town metropolitan area was 2 682 866 in 1996, consisting of 630 985 Whites (23.5%), 1 349 848 Coloureds and Indians (50.3%), and 702 034 Blacks (26.2%) (Dorrington 2000). Cape Town accounted for 61.7 percent of the Western Cape's Coloured population, 76.8 percent of Whites and 84.9 percent of Blacks (sources Dorrington 2000 and Statistics South Africa 2000). It can therefore be seen that the Coloured population appear to be proportionally the most spatially disadvantaged population group in the Western Cape in terms of access to education resources.

The marginalization through location is further evident when the structure of the city of Cape Town is considered, a pattern replicated in all urban areas of South Africa.

Figure 6.7 The Model Apartheid City

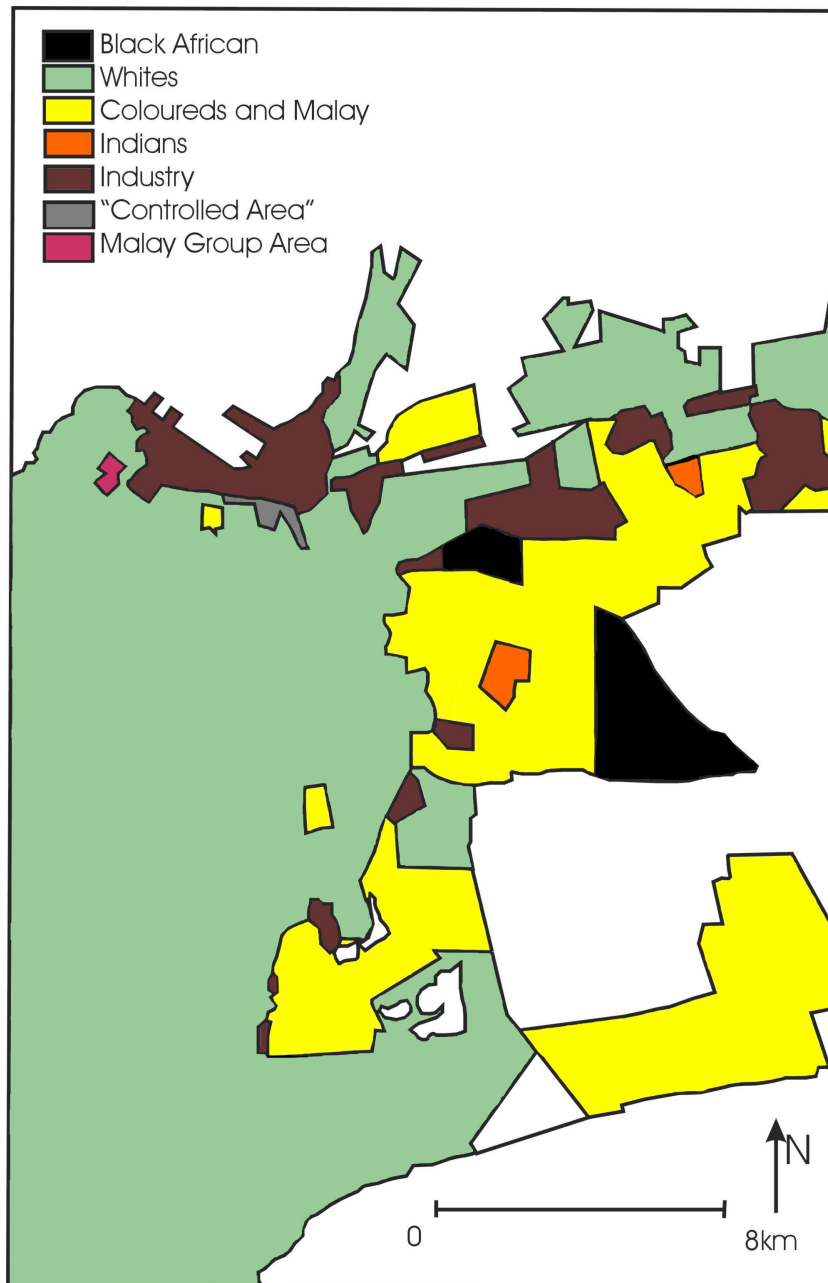


Source: Davies 1981 in Christopher 2001, 104

Figure 6.7 demonstrates the model apartheid city, clearly illustrating the distance of non-White populations from the CBD and therefore from cultural resources. The apartheid state provided only basic cultural amenities to non-White

areas and focused resources in the CBD and White areas. This has led to the Coloured population being disadvantaged and under-resourced not only in terms of the under-resourcing of their own communities, but also in terms of access to central resources. This is illustrated further when the structure of Cape Town is considered (See Figure 6.8)

Figure 6.8 Group Areas of Greater Cape Town, 1979

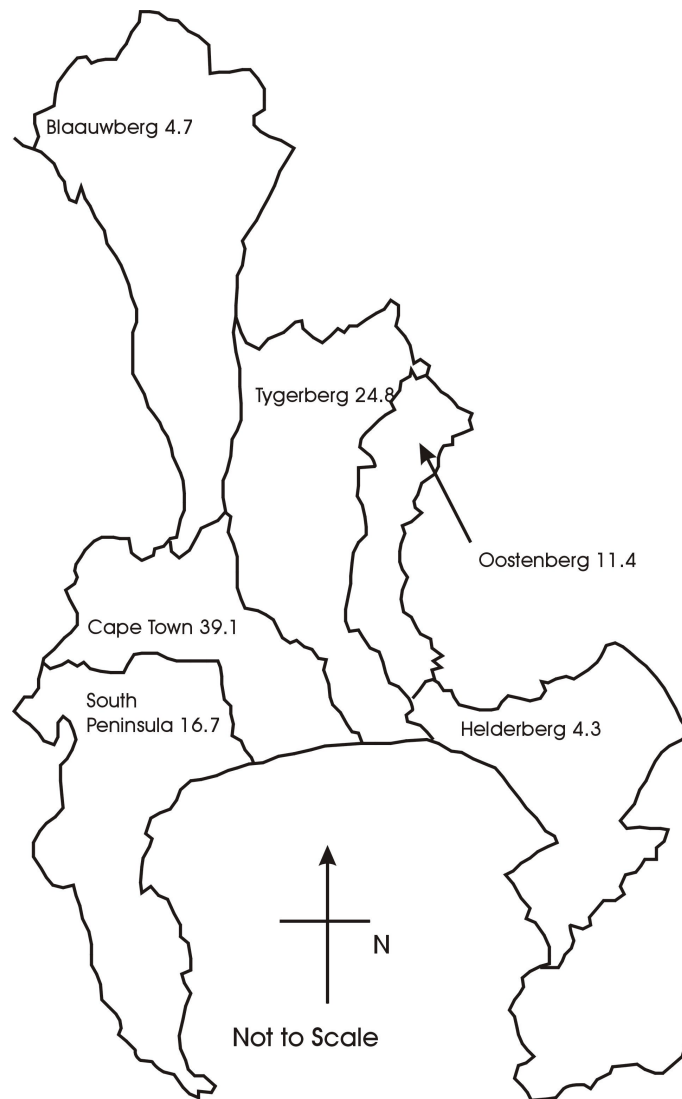


Source: Adapted from Western 1996, 104

As Figure 6.8 demonstrates, apart from a few exceptions, the Coloured, Indian and Black populations were located in areas removed from the CBD. This demographic pattern continues in post-apartheid South Africa. Figure 6.9 illustrates the proportions of the Coloured population of Cape Town living in the five metropolitan local councils according to the 1996 Census. Around half the Coloured population lives outside of the two most central areas, South Peninsula and Cape Town. Within these two more central areas, the Coloured population tends to be located in the more southerly regions according to the structure created by the Group Areas Act as illustrated in Figure 6.8. These areas, particularly the major settlement at Mitchell's Plain, continue have poor access to the CBD.

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Figure 6.9 Percentages of Cape Town's Coloured Population by Metropolitan Local Council



Source: Adapted from CMC 2000, data from CMC 2001

Access of school pupils to the cultural resources within the CBD are limited by a number of factors. One primary factor restricting access is time constraints. It can take over an hour and a half to reach the CBD from areas like Strand using public transport. Given the overcrowding of the curriculum noted by the C2005 review committee (Chisholm 2000), schools are unwilling to spend this much time transporting pupils to cultural resources. These time constraints also make it difficult for pupils to access resources like major libraries out of school hours. The impact of

distance on access is magnified by two additional factors, financial constraints and transport problems. As concluded in Section 6.2 Coloured schools face financial shortfalls and operate on increasingly restricted budgets, as such they are unable to fund or subsidise transport and access to resources for pupils. The cost of private-hire transport is too great for schools, but the use of public transport or minibus taxis is often considered too unreliable or unsafe. During my fieldwork period there was a spate of attacks on busses in which hit men hired by taxi-operators would shoot at busses (Johns 2000a). Many of the taxis are run by groups affiliated with the various gangs operating in Coloured areas and taxis are therefore often targets for gang reprisals (Sylvester 2002). In the case of school-facilitated access to resources in the CBD, Coloured schools in urban areas, particularly in Cape Town, continue to be marginalized through the interaction of spatial and economic factors.

Apartheid spatiality at both the provincial and city scales continues to impact upon the quality of education provided for the Coloured population and continues to reinforce the educational status of White schools.

6.6 Marginalization of Coloured Schools and/or Coloured Pupils

This chapter has focused on experiences of Coloured schools in the post-apartheid era. It is important to note that a considerable number of Coloured pupils attend previously White schools. Some White Cape Town schools near Coloured areas now have a Coloured intake of up to 70 percent and have noted considerable changes in the culture within schools (Staff Reporter 2002 and Oosterwyk 2000a). This high proportion of Coloured pupils is unusual, but many do attend White schools. This therefore brings into question the general claims of Coloured marginalization, do those who attend White schools have any claim to marginalization? Is it not just those

Coloureds attending Coloured schools that have a valid claim? If so, the claim of marginalization refers only to an educational sector and not the entire Coloured population group, which would indicate that class was now more important than race in determining opportunities. I argue that although Coloured pupils attending White schools tend to be less marginalized than those attending Coloured schools, they continue to experience marginalization on both cultural and economic grounds.

One of the major factors that has perpetuated the marginalization of Coloured pupils in White schools is the continued impact of apartheid spatiality. Although many pupils now attend White schools, very few live in historically White areas. Most of those attending White schools have to take public transport or minibus taxis to school, often necessitating travel times of more than an hour each way everyday. Beyond the obvious problems of exhaustion for these pupils, the nature of the transport system and the safety of home communities impacts upon pupils' abilities to make full use of school and community resources. Minibus taxis tend only to operate during office hours and the bus and train services are often unreliable as discussed in the previous section. Due to problems of travel times, availability and safety of transport and safety of home communities many Coloured pupils leave the school and the school's community immediately after school. As such they do not have equal access to the additional resources of the school or its community, such as sport and music facilities, libraries, museums, the important of which were discussed in sections 6.4 and 6.5. Therefore although Coloured pupils in White schools are not marginalized in terms of access to schools, apartheid spatiality prevents many from the full benefits of attending White schools.

In addition, in order to be able to afford to send their children to White schools, even on reduced fees, many Coloured parents have to make considerable

financial sacrifices. Access to many of the additional facilities at White schools, particularly music and sports facilities, require additional funding from parents. Many of the Coloured pupils cannot afford to have music lessons or to buy sports equipment, therefore, once again do not experience many of the additional educational resources available.

Coloured pupils are often at an academic disadvantage in White schools, particularly within high schools for a number of reasons, including parental education, previous education and medium of instruction. As discussed in Section 6.4, C2005 places encourages self-directed learning using projects as a key means of assessment. The Head of Grassy Park noted that this put children from better educated families at an advantage over others since they are more able to help their children (Stadler 11/05/01). Many of the Coloured children attending White schools come from less educated backgrounds than their White classmates and are therefore at a comparative disadvantage. Most of the Coloured pupils attending White schools attended Coloured primary schools. Their progress at high school is often affected by their experiences in these comparatively under-resourced schools, and therefore they struggle academically, particularly in the first few years of high school. A final reason for academic disadvantage is the language of instruction, which is a particular problem for Coloured and Black pupils attending English medium-schools. There are many Coloured and Black schools that have English as their official medium of instruction, since English is considered higher status, but teaching is more usually in mixed English and Afrikaans and mixed English and Xhosa respectively. Within this context the often-poor use of formal English does not pose a problem for pupils (Poggenpol 04/05/01). However, in White schools, where there are higher expectations of language capability, these bilingual pupils tend to struggle academically.

Finally Coloured pupils have experienced marginalization relative to their White classmates as a result of direct and indirect racism within the schools. One of the girls I interviewed at Trafalgar had previously attended a White high school and had left the school because she felt that she was discriminated against by pupils and teachers on grounds of race. Many pupils at Knysna who had previously attended the town's White school also reported this. I spoke to a learner at the nearest White school to Emil Weder who spoke of the racism between White and Coloured pupils within the school and told me of a recent attack on a Coloured learner that had resulted in a stabbing with scissors (Kate 28/10/00). The marginalization of Coloureds was also evident in less explicit school constructions. It was apparent in Camps Bay that there was an expectation that Coloured and Black pupils would be in lower-streamed classes for core subjects (Correia 31/05/01). Pupils are put into streams on entering the schools and are then moved following testing throughout the year, throughout this system there is a tendency automatically to place White children in higher sets. In all White schools, teachers continue to be predominantly White, despite considerable changes in the composition of the student body (Department of Education 2001d). This dominance of White educators within the White system reduces the sense of belonging and ownership amongst Coloured and Black pupils.

It can therefore be concluded that there although Coloured pupils in White schools are less economically and culturally marginalized than those attending Coloured schools, they are still marginalized in relation to the White pupils in their schools. It is this continued lack of equity within schools and not simply between schools which challenges the assertion that opportunities post-apartheid South Africa are based more on class than race. This is certainly the direction in which South Africa appears to be moving, but there are still considerable barriers to this,

particularly apartheid and pre-apartheid spatiality and issues of language within schools.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the claim of Coloured marginalization in the light of experiences within schools and post-apartheid education policy. In terms of Coloured marginalization it has demonstrated that there are both cultural and economic elements to this claim of marginalization that are supported by experiences within schools.

It is important to note that assertions of marginalization have tended to be made in the context of relation to other schools in the Western Cape, since this is the frame of reference of pupils, communities and teachers. Education spending in the Western Cape has been higher than that of other provinces in the post-apartheid era, allocating 34.4% of the provincial budget in 2001 and 32.7% in 2002 to education (Western Cape Provincial Government 2001 and Gaum 2002). It was the only province in the country that did not underspend in 2001-2002 (Macfarlane 2002). Due to historical economic advantages in Western Cape education, i.e. a higher proportion of White and Coloured schools, the average condition of schools in the province exceeds that of other provinces. Key differences in conditions of education in the Western Cape are noted in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7 Conditions within Schools at the Western Cape Provincial and National Levels

Indicator	Western Cape (%)	National (%)
Schools without telecommunications facilities	1.9	35.5
Schools without water on site	2.0	27.8
Schools with electricity	95.5	57.1
Schools with access to computers	54.8	29.3
Schools reporting incidents of crime	49.3	35.6

Source: Department of Education 2001a

As Table 6.7 illustrates, apart from incidents of crime, conditions in schools in the Western Cape are far better than in South Africa as a whole. Although there may be evidence that Coloured schools are relatively economically marginalized within the province, it must be noted that this is not the case at the national level.

There is no evidence to support the claim that there is intentional marginalization of the Coloured population within DoE publications in terms of content or discourse. Experiences of marginalization are at times the result of problems of implementation, there was evidence of the three kinds of implementation problems introduced in Section 6.1, “time-lag”, “unrealistic vision” and “resistance”, with the first two being the most influential, although all three are linked. Coloured marginalization within the education tends to be the result of the Department’s attempts to reconcile potentially conflicting ideals within the government direction. As concluded earlier in the chapter the key issues that have yet to be reconciled by South Africa, a state in transition, are both economic and cultural.

The Department is attempting to structure education in such a way as to promote equity and Black empowerment, and yet at the same time to maintain the support of the White economic elite and the international economic community. In this complex balancing act of attempting to satisfy groups with the most economic

power and with the most political power, the Coloured population which is not represented strongly in either group is marginalized through neglect. The following two chapters deal further with Coloured perceptions of education and their reactions to their perceived marginalization.

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Chapter 7: Pupils' Reactions to Perceived Marginalization

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the ways in which pupils react to their perceived marginalization within the school context. Chapter 6 identified the forms of marginalization articulated by pupils. The basis of these articulations was shown to be related to both the nature of the current education system and the broader political and cultural issues faced by the Coloured population. Within this chapter I consider how pupils react to their perceived economic and cultural marginalization within three main sections. The first section focuses on their perceptions of the purpose and value of education, followed by a section on their aspirations. The third section analyses the pupils' attitudes to each other within the schools, particularly focussing on Coloured on Black racism. Within these three sections geographical variation across the field sites is considered, thereby demonstrating the importance of the historical analysis of Chapter 4. Following these three sections I consider cross-generational differences in attitudes towards education, focussing particularly on teachers' reactions to pupils' attitudes.

7.1 Purpose and Value of Education

Chapter 6 indicated that Coloured pupils considered themselves to be marginalized by the current education system. In this section I discuss whether these beliefs have affected pupils' understandings of the purpose and value of education.

7.1.1 The Purpose of Education

As indicated in the previous chapter, the government has selected education as one of the key means by which a new form of South African national identity is to be developed. Within DoE publications the socialising function of education is considered to be as important as its economic function.

Although the DoE has prioritised this function of education, pupils in the schools did not consider socialisation as one of the more important purposes of education. In the questionnaires pupils in all schools overwhelmingly responded that the school should teach moral values as well as facts. Although it has been recognised that the questionnaire data are flawed, they can still be used illustratively. In the four field sites pupils the percentage of students who agreed that schools should teach values as well as facts ranged from 63.8 percent to 84.4 percent. The lowest percentages were recorded in the two schools that were based in tight-knit communities dominated by religious organisations, Emil Weder and Knysna. This can be accounted for by the presence of other powerful organisations to impart moral values outside of the home environment.

The questionnaire data would appear to indicate that the pupils did concur with the government's belief of the purpose of education, however the interview data challenges this conclusion. In every interview conducted pupils were asked where they thought they got their morals and values from. Without exception they responded that the place where they learned their values and where these should be learned was at home. For example, Tasneem, a Grade 11 pupil from Grassy Park said the following in response to the question of whether the school played a part in the teaching of morals and values:

“As for morals and that, before I came to Standard 6 I was more than established in my morals. I knew already what sort of people I should hang out with, what was right and what was wrong. So I don’t think that high school changed me much.” (Tasneem 14/5/01)

During the interviews pupils did not consider the teaching of values to be one of the functions of the school, as this statement by a pupil at Grassy Park indicates:

“I think that stuff you should be learning at home. It shouldn’t be expected for teachers to come and teach that at school because they’re supposed to give you an education. OK, maybe behaviour models and that type of thing is part of it, but that’s something your parents should do.” (Vivian 14/5/01)

The consensus of pupils in all field sites was that the role of the school was primarily to teach them skills which would enable them to get jobs on leaving school. They believed that the only moral role of the school was to reinforce what had been learnt in the home. The boys in particular spoke of the need for the school to discipline them so that they could continue to practise what they had been taught at home. This interpretation of morals and values related to the common perception of the school as a place where pupils could be influenced by negative forms of behaviour, where the values and patterns of behaviour they had learnt in the home were challenged.

This was in part an articulation of peer pressure as is clear from this section of an interview with a group of Grade 8 boys labelled as trouble makers at Trafalgar:

*“Mark – Your parents do learn you manners, but if you come at school now, and you sit with your friends and your friends is rude... You feel uncomfortable if you’re not like them.
Morné – It’s like... You swear, OK? We’re friends now and they swear and I don’t because my mommie has told me not to. Now, I’m like a moffie¹ to them.” (8b Boys Trafalgar 21/8/00)*

¹ *Moffie* is a derogatory term meaning *Homosexual*. The branding of someone a *Moffie* indicates that they are not as manly as they should be.

As well as an articulation of peer pressure, the pupils also spoke of the school as a place where they were exposed to social problems that they did not experience within the home context. This was recognised particularly by pupils coming from wealthier backgrounds, who had not previously witnessed the drugs and gang issues they saw in schools. One pupil from Grassy Park told me, “*High school doesn’t teach you morals, it only exposes you to more disrespect*” (Shamina 14/5/01).

The school was constructed as a place where the *deurmekaar*² aspects of Coloured communities threatened to impinge on the values of “respectable” Coloureds. With the construction of the school being a place where the good moral values from home were threatened, there was the expectation that the teachers should play a part in protecting the pupils from the negative influences of the school, or as Noddy, a Grade 10 pupil from Trafalgar, explained it, “*The school must just remind you how to behave*” (Noddy 18/8/00).

In the light of this assertion I asked pupils what should happen to those who have been taught different values at home when they come to the school. Most of the pupils, particularly those from Trafalgar, where a high proportion of pupils were from another cultural background (i.e. Black African), responded that these pupils should simply adapt. One put it as follows, “*When you go home you can go back to your ways, but when you’re at school you must be like it is here, you must adapt. That’s why the teachers must also tell you how to behave*” (Lameez 18/8/00).

This in some way explains the difference between the questionnaire and interview responses. When answering the questionnaire the pupils were responding to the statement, “*The school should teach values as well as facts.*” During the

² *Deurmekaar* is an Afrikaans word meaning chaotic, confused or insane. It is often used by the Coloured population to indicate the negative aspects of Coloured culture.

interviews the pupils were asked, “*Where do you think you learn your values and morals?*” and further questions leading from the initial question. In the interviews pupils were responding about their own personal experience of morals and values, but in the questionnaire they were responding to the perceived threat to their values by what they saw as negative elements of society.

The assertion that the school should teach values as well as facts derives from pupils’ fears of being considered as part of a negatively constructed Coloured community, as Jensen and Turner’s work on coping strategies has indicated (Jensen and Turner 1996). The pupils believe that the school should teach morals to the “naughty” children, not only because they represent a threat to the personal morality of the individuals, but also because they affect the way the school and its community are then viewed by outsiders. This was best articulated by a pupil at Trafalgar, Aseef:

“Maybe you take a course up and you go to university and now you come out and you look for a job, but there are no jobs. Then you try for a job and you come up against another pupil, from a White school maybe. They look at your credentials, and they see that no, he comes from Muizenberg High, where you have nice people, and you come from Trafalgar school and er... Well, you don’t look so promising, that’s all” (Aseef 24/8/00).

As noted in Chapter 6, pupils do feel that they are both economically and culturally marginalized. When the interview and questionnaire data are considered together, it seems that pupils believe that the only reason that values should be taught in school is to counteract further marginalization resulting from bad reputations and from the interruption of teaching by undisciplined pupils. This issue is considered further in Section 7.3.

The general understanding of pupils is that the main purpose of the school is to impart information to them that will enable them to gain employment, and not to impact upon their identities, as the DoE believes. Therefore when pupils were asked

to identify what they considered to be the most important subjects at school they tended to identify languages and the specific subjects required for entry into their chosen careers. I put it to them that the DoE considered history to be fundamental to education in post-apartheid South Africa. The interview section below demonstrates a typical response to this point:

“Jane – The government are trying to say that history is one of the most important subjects.

Lauren 1 – It is important. We learn about people and how to deal with them now. We are learning about our rights and that is important...

Amanda – That’s what we are doing now, but other things that we did last year about the Khoi and that. I mean, you need to know about your past and that, but nobody’s going to ask you when you’re going for a job, “So, do you come from the San or the Khoikhoi?” No, that’s just not useful.” (9e2 girls Grassy Park 14/5/01)

It can therefore be seen that pupils believe that the purpose of education is to impart knowledge to enable them to gain employment. Many believed that the school was wasting its time attempting to teach them new cultural values, as they needed to maximise teaching time for useful knowledge to counteract their perceived economic marginalization. According to the pupils interviewed, the only socialising role of the school was to control what they viewed as the negative forms of behaviour in the school. They believed these *deurmekaar* elements would not only challenge their values, but would also threaten their employment opportunities by encouraging negative constructions of the schools.

7.1.2 Value of Education

Pupils in all schools expressed fears of economic marginalization, particularly when entering the work force. This was articulated most forcefully by pupils in the two Cape Town schools, many of whom had family members who had had negative experiences of affirmative action. The interview section below resulted from a question of how the pupils would vote in a general election:

“Marlon – I wouldn’t vote, but I’d wait for a Coloured party to stand. I think both parties (DA and ANC) won’t help us. Nothing is going to change for us, until we get up and do something. You see, it was apartheid... give the Whites opportunities. Now its, give the Blacks...

Nicholas – Affirmative action!

Marlon – Now where are we? We... it’s almost as if we’re lost.

Nicholas – We’re still the packers at the till points, we’re still the petrol attendants. We’re still everything like that. We’re always in the middle. We’re never the CEO.

Marlon – And you hear about Black empowerment. Everything is just Black or White. There’s this division, there is no Coloured. It shouldn’t be Black empowerment, it must be Black and Coloured empowerment.” (12E2 Boys Grassy Park 21/5/01)

In Genadendal the main fear was of being overlooked by companies and sports unions giving study bursaries, due to the school’s relatively isolated location and the fact that the pupils are not Black. The Head Boy of Emil Weder spoke of this fear, saying, *“In Cape Town we know if your colour is Black, you are also going to get many opportunities, but they just aren’t seeing us. That’s my opinion”* (Cresswell 3/11/00).

I suggested jokingly that he should maybe change his name to an African name. Laughing, he said there was no way he would do that, he was proud of his name, and what it meant. He went on to say, *“Some day there will be an opportunity, and if I and the other children aren’t going take it, it’s our own problem”* (Cresswell 3/11/00).

Cresswell’s understanding of his economic situation indicates one of the key aspects of the value pupils attach to their education. They believe that they are marginalized in the education system in relation to the White pupils and face further marginalization in the future when they attempt to gain employment or study bursaries, in relation to Black pupils.

My first expectation was that pupils would react to this perceived marginalization by ascribing less value to their education, the notion that since they

believed that these factors were in operation there was no point in trying. Although some pupils reacted in this way, a high proportion of pupils, particularly the more academically able students, condemned this reaction. Yolande, a Grade 12 pupil in Knysna, spoke of a friend of hers who had left school the previous year in these terms, “*Sy sit daar by haar ouers. Sy sê sy het nie die opportunities nie. Die waarheid is, sy wil net nie gaan nie (She sits there at her parents’ house. She says she doesn’t have the opportunities. The truth is, she just won’t go.*” (Yolande 1/3/01).

This attitude was reflected by the Head Girl at Trafalgar when she spoke of the attitudes of some of her fellow pupils:

“In my eyes it doesn’t matter if they’re going to put you in a school in Manenberg (gang-controlled area), it’s what you make of your education. If you choose to get gutter education, if you choose that you don’t want to pay attention in class, that you don’t want to make something of yourself, that is your decision. Don’t blame the school... I don’t have any money, but I’m going to make sure that I get enough so that I can get that degree. I’m going to get a bursary; I’m going to write to companies, I going to, I’m going to. Ag, I’m a very determined person, a very determined person... Everyone stopped believing in me; they were like, ‘just give it up.’ And I was actually being pulled into that. I was beginning to think that way, you know. But then I thought, ‘No, don’t accept that. You’re going to go, you’re going to go.’”
(Shafieqa 23/8/00)

Many pupils value their education because they see it as their only chance to move beyond their current economic situation. In Knysna in particular pupils believed that “*if you keep blaming your circumstances you will never get out*” (Keith 13/2/01). Pupils recognised that their communities had been historically marginalized, and that they were potentially marginalized through affirmative action, but they saw their education as their main opportunity to overcome some of these disadvantages.

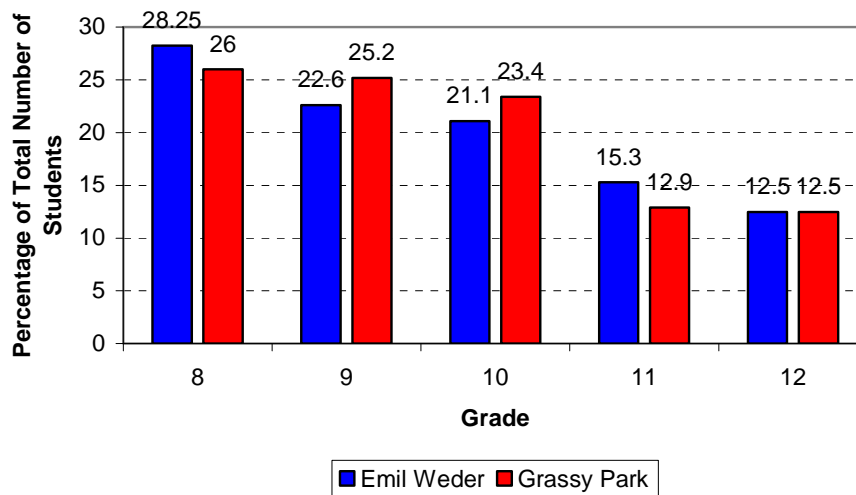
A second reason for the pupils’ belief in the value of education was the result of the protective nature of the school environment. Although it was noted in Section

7.1.1 that many pupils thought that the school was a place where they were exposed to problems in society, a number thought that the school also served to protect them. This response was common amongst older boys in the schools, particularly in Knysna and those who stayed in the hostel at Emil Weder. A number of the boys at Emil Weder had been sent to Genadendal by their families to remove them from their gangster friends, and claimed that being in the school had changed their attitudes and behaviour (e.g. Henry 18/10/00 and Danfred 30/10/00).

When I asked some of the less academic Grade 12 boys at Knysna what their friends who had already left school were doing I was told that most of them were in jail, and those that weren't were doing nothing, just sitting at home (Neilton 12/3/01). In the interview group of six boys they all asserted that the only thing that had prevented them following the same route was their continued attendance at school.

There were of course those who didn't value their education, although these were fewer than the dropout rates indicate. Figure 7.1 illustrates the drop out rates at two of the field sites.

Figure 7.1 Percentage of Pupils per Grade in Emil Weder (2000) and Grassy Park (2001)



At Grassy Park the dropout rate was low until the end of Grade 10. This was the result of many leaving school to attend technical colleges where they could learn practical subjects not taught at school. The dropout rate therefore tended to be related to pupils taking advantage of different forms of educational opportunities available in the city.

At Emil Weder on the other hand, there was a significant drop in pupil numbers between Grades 8 and 9, as well as after Grade 10. Some of those who leave school after the first year of secondary education do so because they do not consider education important to their futures, as one Grade 8 pupil explained to me:

“There is 15 children in Standard 6 that is gone already, they don’t think about their future... I did ask one of them, he did say he didn’t want to finish Standard 10 because it doesn’t matter when he finishes school, he is going to be the same thing, and he’s going nowhere. He said he’s going to work on the farm and when his friends are in Standard 10 and he don’t go to school, he can have money and they have to go study.” (Megan 25/10/00)

This was also understood by the teachers who recognised that the employment opportunities in the area are for semi-skilled individuals, so there is little motivation

to get an education to obtain better jobs (Cloete 5/10/00). They also noted that many of the pupils adopt adult roles in the family homes at a very early age and therefore sometimes approach the teachers with the attitude of “*What can you teach me that I need to know?*” (A. Adonis 17/10/00)

However, dropout rates are not simply linked to a lack of valuing of education. In Emil Weder, as in the other schools, many pupils dropped out due to financial difficulties. Not only are many families unable to afford school fees, but they also cannot afford for their children not to be in some form of employment (Adonis 31/10/00).

It can therefore be seen that although pupils generally value their education highly, economic circumstances often prevent them from taking the full benefit of their educational opportunities. The following section therefore analyses how pupils’ aspirations are shaped by their perceptions of marginalization both within and beyond the school.

7.2 Aspirations

This section has two parts, the first discusses the pupils’ plans for their futures and the second looks at the issues that affect their abilities to fulfil these plans.

7.2.1 Plans

In all data sets – participant observation, interview and questionnaire – pupils in the schools expressed ambitions to occupy higher socio-economic positions than their parents. For example, in the questionnaires at each school over 70 percent of pupils indicated that their parents were either unemployed or were employed in non-professional occupations, including trades such as carpenter and mechanic. By

contrast between 59.7 percent (at Knysna) and 65.1 percent (at Emil Weder) indicated that they either wanted to be employed in professional occupations or to study further for professional qualifications. The lower percentage at Knysna can be accounted for by the percentage of pupils who indicated that they wanted to have their own businesses. At over 9 percent, this was considerably higher than at the other schools. When pupils were asked about this in the interviews they indicated that this was the result of the tourism in the town. Knysna has a rapidly developing tourist industry; pupils therefore believed that there were many opportunities for entrepreneurship.

In Knysna and Genadendal future geographical location often seemed more important than the nature of employment. When pupils discussed their futures, the majority of those choosing either professional careers or further study asserted that their main ambition was to move to Cape Town. This ambition was driven by two main factors, the boredom of living in small towns and the lack of opportunities in their home areas. The following interview section with pupils at Emil Weder indicates the pupils' attitudes toward the village:

“Leanne – You must understand, Miss, there’s nothing wrong with Genaal.³ It’s just that it’s boring.

Realda – it’s not so nice. Everything is old and the people skinder (gossip).

Leanne – Mos elke dag, elke oggend, die selfde plekke, die selfde mense (Everyday, every morning, the same places, the same people)

Realda - But you will come back

Harriet – Yes, I will come back some day. When I’m old.

Leanne – Yes, I will come back... to the school. I will come back because I will miss my friends, you know. But not to live here.” (11a girls 2/11/00)

The lack of opportunities was noted by pupils aspiring to all kinds of career and many expressed a desire to go to Cape Town for employment. In the case of Knysna it is at first surprising that pupils should focus on Cape Town (490 km away)

³ *Genaal* is a local name for Genadendal.

as opposed to Port Elizabeth, which is just 280 km from Knysna. However, there are a number of factors which influence this Cape Town focus. Firstly, the rates of unemployment in Port Elizabeth are considerably higher than in Cape Town. This may influence the pupils' decisions. I would argue that two further factors influence their decisions. Port Elizabeth is located in the Eastern Cape and Cape Town in the Western Cape. Many of pupils want to stay in the Western Cape because they distrust the ANC provincial governments of other provinces.⁴ The final reason for pupils' preference for Cape Town is linked to the historical importance of the city for the Coloured population. Western (1981) has written about the symbolic importance of Cape Town in Coloured identity. The schools have reinforced this historical importance. A pupil at Emil Weder spoke of the Cape Town focus of much of the teaching in the school as follows:

“The thing is, people are always talking about... in every lesson there's some reference to Cape Town and people always go to Cape Town for the weekend – well, the teachers and that. It sometimes almost feels like people live with their bodies in Genadendal, but with their heads in Cape Town.” (Riva 2/11/00)

A small number of pupils indicated that although they would go to Cape Town to study, they intended to return to their home towns. These were often the pupils who felt that they had a responsibility to return something to their community. For example, Keith, a Grade 12 pupil at Knysna, often spoke to me about how others in the community had not had the opportunities he had now. His ambitions were therefore shaped by this belief, as the following indicates:

“I'm also going, I'm trying to work for Mr Gericke at the moment and Mrs Grootboom for a sports bursary at Cape Tech, sports administration. Like I told you I'm a lover of sport. In Knysna we've got clubs here, very good athletes here, but they don't get a chance to be developed. So that's what I will try to do. It will only be three years

⁴ Subsequent to field research for this thesis being carried out, the Western Cape has come to be governed by the ANC.

study, and then I will assure the people in Knysna that they will be developed in sports.” (Keith 28/2/00)

The pupils of the two Cape Town schools did not feel the same affinity to the city and I found that in Grassy Park in particular a lot of the pupils in the senior years wanted to leave South Africa and go to America or England. There were two main reasons for this desire to leave South Africa, the first being the idealisation of countries like England and America. This is linked not only to American cultural imperialism through films and music that dominate South African mass media, but also to the long established association of urban Coloured South Africans with urban African-Americans, as has been noted by Manuel and Hatfield (1967) and Haupt (2001), among others.

I would argue however, that many of the pupils who spoke to me of going overseas, although influenced by this, were not expressing these desires out of blind idealism. The pupils, particularly in Grassy Park, were well informed concerning economic opportunities in England and, to a lesser extent, America, having had friends or family who had left South Africa. These pupils spoke of emigrating due to the lack of opportunities in Cape Town. They felt that this was a problem that affected all South Africans, but particularly the Coloured population. Pupils spoke initially in terms of the general problems of the South African economy, such as the weak Rand and high unemployment, as the quote below illustrates.

“Look at your family. There’s a lot of people with degrees and that, and they can’t find jobs. What are we going to do when we leave school? You won’t end up doing something you like. You’ll end up doing something because you have to, because there’s nothing else. That’s why we must leave” (Shamina 14/5/01).

Following this they began to speak of what they felt was economic marginalization of their communities. Within this they often articulated the

xenophobic and racist attitudes of the media. The following two quotes were drawn from the same interview with a group of Grade 11 boys at Grassy Park.

“You see, one of the reasons we have limited jobs here is because of immigrants coming, Nigerians and so on. And they take our jobs, you see, they end up with the jobs. We’re South Africans and we don’t have jobs. They sell fake stuff, imitations and that. They come here and they take our money over there, their money’s not worth fifteen cents of ours” (Llewelyn 16/5/01).

“My father, he works for the South African Defence Force. There was hardly any Blacks, and then apartheid went out and the Blacks started coming in. And then they all got higher ranks than him. He said he doesn’t know how they did it, because it takes years. You have to go on courses every time to get promoted to a higher rank. And all of a sudden they are colonels and all that nonsense, but he says half of them can’t even read. That is why he says I must leave the country” (Gavin 16/5/01).

Pupils articulated these views in class as their main motivation for planning to leave South Africa. One pupil challenged this attitude, saying the following:

“Some people say that those Africans are coming from up country and take our jobs. How do you feel when they take our jobs? But then you’re going to other countries and taking their jobs. It’s exactly the same thing” (Waheeda 10/5/01).

In general pupils at the two Cape Town schools were more open to expressing fears of the impact of their perceived marginalization on their plans for the future. Pupils in the other schools, particularly Knysna, believed firmly in a meritocracy. They believed that they had chances, they just had to leave Knysna to obtain them. The difference in attitudes can be accounted for by differences in experiences. Pupils in the Cape Town schools tended to have friends or family who had been affected in the workplace by affirmative action. This was not true of the pupils at Knysna or Emil Weder whose families tended to be employed locally where the influence of affirmative action was not felt, due to different economic and social situations.

The aspirations of pupils in all schools did not appear to be negatively influenced by their perceptions of marginalization within and beyond the school. They

were however prepared, to a greater or lesser degree, to be unable to meet these goals as a result of these factors. Thus, the pupils may disadvantage themselves in their attempts to meet their goals through a lack of self-belief.

When I returned to Trafalgar and Emil Weder in 2001, I found that many of the school leavers from the previous year had not obtained bursaries or found employment. Almost all of those who had expressed a desire to leave Genadendal were still in the village and I heard of only one of the pupils from Trafalgar who had actually left the country. When speaking to staff at all four schools they told me that this type of outcome was common, very few pupils would meet their goals.

In Section 7.2.2 I therefore discuss some of the reasons why pupils are not fulfilling their ambitions.

7.2.2 Thwarted Plans

There are a number of reasons why pupils are not fulfilling their ambitions. This section seeks to demonstrate these reasons are not simply the outcome of current or apartheid economic marginalization, but are also fundamentally linked to Coloured identity issues. Although there are many reasons why pupils fail to fulfil their ambitions, I have chosen to focus on four in this section: lack of finance, lack of adequate school guidance, parental pressure, and pregnancy.

7.2.2.1 Lack of Finance

The lack of financial support to study further is one of the main reasons that pupils fail to meet the ambitions. Pupils failed to obtain bursaries and their parents were unable to fund them to study further. Although a number of pupils said that if they failed to obtain a bursary they would work for a year to raise money and then study,

the reality was that once they had missed the opportunity they would not be able to raise the money independently.

Jerome, an ex-Grade 12 pupil at Emil Weder, represents a typical case. He failed to secure a bursary to study electrical engineering and returned to his parents' home in Kleinmond (a small fishing town about 100km from Cape Town). When I visited him in June he was unemployed and had not worked since leaving school. He had found it impossible to find employment in the town and had refused to take part in the abalone poaching endemic in the area due to his strong Christian faith. Jerome therefore sat at home everyday with no chance of earning the money that would enable him to pay for further study. He later introduced me to a number of other ex-pupils in the town in the same situation.

Jerome's case typifies the experiences of many pupils and his situation was the result of both apartheid and post-apartheid marginalization of the Coloured population. Factors attributable to post-apartheid marginalization include the inability of many Coloured pupils to obtain bursaries, despite the poverty of home communities and schools relative to White pupils. The economic conditions created during the apartheid and pre-apartheid eras have not been adequately challenged during the post-apartheid era, and the measures to develop equity in tertiary education have not been accessible to many working-class Coloured pupils. The problems experienced by pupils like Jerome have, in the eyes of many in the Coloured communities, given credence to their assertion of they are the most marginalized population group in post-apartheid South Africa, since they have neither the financial resources to support future generations nor the ability to access state support.

7.2.2.2 Lack of Guidance from School

A second factor that impacted upon pupils' fulfilment of aspirations was the lack of clear guidance on careers and obtaining bursaries, this was most evident in Genadendal where the school asked me to assist them in finding bursaries for pupils. Knysna had acquired an excellent careers guidance CD-Rom resource, which was made available to senior pupils on request. Careers guidance was generally limited and senior pupils in all four schools spoke of how they now felt they had not had adequate guidance on subject choice at the lower grades.

Again this lack of guidance is a function of both apartheid and post-apartheid experiences. Due to the economic constraints placed upon the Coloured population, accentuated by geographical situation in Genadendal in particular, few pupils have family members or friends with experience in professional careers or further study. This vital source of information to supplement school guidance is therefore under-represented, leaving the pupils at a further disadvantage. Within the schools the redeployment strategies of the post-apartheid era, as discussed in Chapter 6, have meant that the few guidance teachers in Coloured schools have been retrenched or have been forced to change their role and now teach core subjects. In Grassy Park, pupils recognised the difference between their experiences and those of their older siblings:

“When my sister was here, they used to have like Guidance classes. There you could go and they would tell you what you would be doing in that job. You could have things like go to the mall, walk around and ask questions of people and ask about what you would actually do. They don't do that kind of thing anymore” (Amanda 17/5/01).

Also attributed to the financial pressures of the post-apartheid era, is the reduction in student choice of subjects and their choice of whether they pursue

subjects to Higher or Standard Grade.⁵ The retrenchment of staff and the corresponding increase in class size and teacher workload has led to schools streamlining teaching, thereby removing choice from pupils. Subject decisions are often made by teachers on the grounds of pupils' academic abilities, for example, the arts subjects are usually not offered to academically strong pupils.

In addition the WCED has been awarding financial rewards to schools with consistently high pass rates. Schools often advise pupils to take Standard rather than Higher Grade subjects in order to guarantee higher pass rates and therefore gain more resources for the school. This has left a number of pupils without the requisite qualifications for University entrance or funding. In 2000, the University of the Western Cape announced that it would consider applicants from pupils without exemptions, in recognition of this and other problems in the education system (Johns 2000b).

The problem of pupils not being able to obtain the required qualifications is due to be exacerbated in the near future as schools have been inadequately prepared for proposed changes in post-Grade 9 education. The OBE system is intended to serve the General Education phase and a range of different systems is intended for the Further Education and Training phase. The exact nature of these systems and the transition from OBE to these systems has not been adequately explained to schools. The uncertainty around the implementation and proposed outcomes of the different sectors of the systems will lead to pupils receiving less guidance on subjects and even the mode of education they chose after Grade 9. It is anticipated that, as with the implementation of C2005, historically White schools will be better informed and will

⁵ If University Exemption is to be gained, pupils must pass a certain number of subjects at Higher Grade.

have developed strategies for implementation, thereby further advantaging these schools.

7.2.2.3 Parental Pressure

One of the main reasons that pupils in the non-Metropolitan schools fail to fulfil their ambitions is parental expectations. Pupils have been brought up to believe that they should work to support their parents, and this often means that they should continue to live in the family home, as a pupil at Knysna explained:

“There’s this thing here... When you are big, you must work for your parents. That’s why most people stay in Knysna. But why must I work for them? That’s how most of the girls make their mistake” (Nicolette 1/3/01).

This parental belief is grounded in two factors, one economic and one cultural. As noted earlier, the current generation has access to many more occupational opportunities than their parents’ generation. Parents’ expectations of their children’s responsibilities and how these should be met have not significantly altered in many households, this has resulted in the problem of thwarted plans.

The second factor is the family structure in these areas. In both Knysna and Genadendal the community is dominated by the church. Hornlee, the Coloured area of Knysna, has 24 different church congregations serving a community that has just two primary schools and one secondary. The character of both the Christianity and Islam of the Coloured population of South Africa tends to be very patriarchal, thereby influencing the family structure. It is therefore evident that unfulfilled ambitions are not simply the product of post-apartheid and apartheid economic inequalities, but are also the result of patterns of cultural development within Coloured communities.

7.2.2.4 Pregnancy

A final factor that needs to be considered is that of pregnancy. Pregnancy rates within schools are high, for example, at a school in Lavender Hill (near Grassy Park) 35 girls had had babies in the year 2000 (Bamford 2000), out of a total school population of 970 (Western Cape Education Department 2001a). Assuming that half the school population was female, this means that over 7 percent of the female students fell pregnant in this time period. When I met up with a group of Emil Weder pupils three months after they had left school, they knew of 4 of the 36 girls in their year who were already pregnant.

There are many reasons for these high pregnancy rates, including community attitudes to abortion and poor access to adequate sex education. However, the most important factor is the gender norms in the communities. The difference in expectations of girls and boys is immense. In the hostel at Emil Weder, for example, the girls were expected to hand wash not just their own clothes, but also the boys'. The Deputy Head at Grassy Park told me of a number of girls who attempted suicide because their home environments were so strict or abusive (D'Allende 18/5/01). Many of the teachers believed that these family structures were the root cause of many of the pregnancies in the school. One expressed the problem as follows:

“The girls are so used to being disregarded that when a guy grabs them, they just giggle and encourage him. They are thinking, ‘At last, someone who thinks I’m worth noting’” (Low-Shang 15/5/01).

This attitude results not only in girls not fulfilling their potential, but a number of other social problems. For example, one of the girls at Emil Weder was so severely beaten by her boyfriend that he knocked her unconscious, but she stayed with him and was one of the four pregnant ex-pupils (Eugene 5/12/00). In the rural Southern Cape, the area around Knysna where many pupils live, Artz estimated that 80 percent of

Black and Coloured women were victims of domestic abuse (Artz 1998, 12). Another problem, particularly in Grassy Park was “Taxi Queens,” where local taxi drivers would pick up girls to ride in their taxis for free in return for sex, clothes, alcohol and drugs. Some became drug runners for gangsters as a result (Franke 07/5/01).

As Section 7.2.2 has demonstrated there are many interrelated factors that have contributed to the failure of pupils to fulfil their ambitions. Chapter 8 discusses some of the means by which the schools have attempted to counter-act these problems.

7.3 Attitudes towards Other Pupils

One of the most striking reactions to perceived marginalization was the attitude towards pupils of other population groups, particularly at Trafalgar where there was noticeable tension between the Coloured and Black learners.

This manifested itself in a number of ways. Pupils informed me that if there was a fight between a Coloured and a Black pupil, it would turn into a fight between the two races in the school. More generally, classrooms were self-segregated and there was a general lack of relationship between the two groups. This was typified by one of the Black pupils telling me that she was friendly with a Coloured boy in her class until his friends mocked him for speaking to a Black girl. Since then they had not spoken (Jackie 21/8/00). More subtly, both Coloured pupils and teachers would speak of the rudeness and loudness of the Black pupils. Often in class Coloured pupils and teachers would tell off the Black pupils, even though the Coloured pupils were behaving equally badly.

Although teachers at Knysna indicated that there was some racial tension between pupils at their school, only one group of interviewees spoke about it, and I

did not see it during fieldwork. Possible reasons for this were the location and size of the settlement, and the similar economic status of Coloured and Black pupils, as indicated in Section 3.1.2.3.

When I asked pupils at Grassy Park what would happen if Black pupils were to enter their school, most said that they anticipated that reactions would be similar to those in Trafalgar, recognising their fellow pupils' reactions to news stories. For example, one pupil said:

“There’s now like someone you hear on the news... Someone was killed or whatever, and then an African name crops up. Then you hear, ‘Ja, Blacks this and Blacks that.’ I don’t think its fair, because just as much as what they do, we do it also... In this school there are a lot of racist children. They will say to your face, ‘I am racist, so what?’”
(Tasneem 14/5/01)

7.3.1 Racism as a Response to Perceived Marginalization

These expressions of racism can to a large degree be seen to be responses by pupils to their perceived marginalization. As noted in Chapter 6 pupils believed that the Black population now had more opportunities than them on leaving school and were now even advantaged within school, as this interview section with pupils at Trafalgar demonstrates:

*“Megan – There’s only job opportunities for Black people know, any job, even if they don’t have an education.
Fatima – OK, also I think, I don’t know for sure, but I’ve heard that President Nelson Mandela made the education system more easier for them, like the matriculation easier for them to pass and that because they couldn’t understand how it was. So I think he made it, like, easier.”* (10a girls Trafalgar 18/8/00)

In Trafalgar a number of the teachers also admitted to these beliefs, although they accepted the necessity of affirmative action. For example the Deputy Head told me of how he looked at classes, saw the racial divide and thought about how the

Black pupils would end up with better futures despite having lesser academic credentials (Hendricks 14/11/00).

A large degree of the racism can be attributed to the sense of powerlessness felt by many of the pupils. In their perceived weakness, they act out their frustrations on the Black minority in the school as representatives of some faceless majority that they feel they have no ability to react against. This attack on a minority within the school through fear of the majority outside of the school was evident in pupils' beliefs about the status of Black pupils in Trafalgar. Although the Black pupils consistently said that they did not feel as if they were considered full members of the school and that they were ill-treated by pupils and staff (e.g. Khanyiso 23/8/00 and Thabo 22/8/00), the Coloured pupils asserted that they felt the Black pupils were trying to take over the school. The interview section below demonstrates this belief:

“Megan – They (Black South Africans) think they rule South Africa now, they take it over.

Terry – Ja, they mos take over the school.

Megan – They're almost the majority in the whole school. If the school got a Black teacher they would think they were even more in power.

Terry – Ja, they would think they were more in control. It would make it even worse for us.” (10a girls Trafalgar 18/8/00)

7.3.2 Racism as a Response to Historical Constructions

The racism expressed by pupils should not only be attributed to perceived marginalization in the light of affirmative action and other post-apartheid policies, the attitudes evident in the school are also attributable to the historical experiences and attitudes of the Coloured population. As discussed in Chapter 2, with reference to Coloured voting patterns, even before the end of apartheid there was an anti-black feeling amongst large sections of the Coloured population.

As discussed in Chapter 2 and 4, the economic and social status of the Coloured population in both apartheid and pre-apartheid eras was defined in relation to the Black population. It was their difference from the Black population that assured their social position, but it was also their colour that prevented them from attaining the status of the Whites. Any association with the Black population was considered a threat to their precarious status. In addition, when many Coloureds saw the Black population, they saw that element of themselves that they despised, that which made them Coloured and not White.

As noted in Chapter 2, this form of racism has traditionally been associated with the less-educated working-class Coloured population, who had more to lose if apartheid laws were to change. This was particularly noticeable in Grassy Park. The first-language Afrikaans pupils tended to be from less wealthy areas and families. The teachers in the school noted that it was these pupils who have a reputation for racism and it was with the Afrikaans Grade 8 classes that they experienced the most trouble when introducing Xhosa lessons to the school (van Reenan 16/5/01).

Much of the racism acted out in the schools was the result of these established identities and not solely a response to the particular post-apartheid situation. The behaviours and attitudes were not simply reactions to situations, but were part of the teaching of values and morals that pupils had spoken of. This was recognised by a number of the students. When I asked the Head Girl of Trafalgar why she thought pupils were racist, she said:

“It’s because they don’t know how to think for themselves yet. It’s the homes they come from... OK, I can’t classify and I can’t judge, but its mainly areas like Belhar,⁶ those places. Those people, their mothers and fathers and grandparents were, like, really affected by apartheid.

⁶ A poor Coloured area of Cape Town

So, like, what they planted in their heads is 'Africans is bad, Africans stink, Africans...'" (Shafieqa 23/8/00)

Pupils noted in interviews that the racism was not a recent phenomenon, a result of post-apartheid marginalization, but was the outcome of generations of racism, as one pupil noted:

"Racism is still here. It's taken long to fade out. It's going to take generations fade out because of the way people are brought up and what their parents taught them, and their parents before them." (Gavin 16/5/01)

These values had been supported by the content of apartheid education as discussed in Chapter 5. This meant that in previous generations Coloured racism had gone unchallenged, since it was validated by the state.

Despite this recognition of deeper reasons for racism, the expression of racism usually related to affirmative action and similar post-apartheid policies. Pupils were using these policies as a means of legitimising the racism present in their communities. The root cause of the racism was not these policies, but can be traced to the identity issues of Chapter 4. This is particularly evident when these attitudes are considered together with attitudes toward other Coloured pupils in the schools, as Section 7.3.3 indicates.

7.3.3 The Creation of "Others"

In the two entirely Coloured schools, Grassy Park and Emil Weder, there was a process of "Othering" of groups of pupils within the school, a creation of outsiders even within the Coloured population. In Emil Weder there was a division between the children who lived in the hostel and the local children.

The hostel children would mock the local children for being *plaasjaapies*⁷ and would allude to their Khoikhoi history, making them primitive. One of the hostel children I interviewed constantly referred to the locals as “Bushmen” and jokingly described the following scene:

“I took one of the Genaalers (locals) back home with me to Cape Town, and we was watching TV, a wildlife focus. Anyway, he grabbed the broom. And so I asked why, and he was like “Gooi hom! Gooi hom!” (“Throw it at him! Throw it at him!”). He wanted to throw the broom through the TV and to kill the lion dead. He thought it was a real one.” (Keegan 30/10/00)

In mocking the locals for their lack of worldliness and historical links with South Africa’s indigenous peoples, the hostel children were labelling themselves as worldly, modern and civilised. They were attempting to assert their similarity to the White population and therefore claim their right to equal treatment by Whites. Like the Coloured on Black racism, this Othering was an attempt to distance themselves from the things within themselves and their heritage which they considered shameful.

At the same time, they would also complain of how the local children, particularly those from important families in the village had advantages over them in school. For example, this group of Grade 12 hostel children were talking about the problems of computer access for pupils:

“Henry – Mr Daniels tells us we must pay if we want to use the internet. They say we must use the computers in the other room and they can only use the new ones.

Vernie – But also you can only use the machine if you have a “name”, like Johannes, Arendorff.⁸

Henry – Yes, there was this one time that I asked Mr Daniels if I could use the computers for a project. He said I couldn’t. When I came away later in the day and Monique (Arendorff) and Nicky (Johannes) were sitting there. It’s like a racism.” (Grade 12 mixed Emil Weder 30/10/00)

⁷ *Plaasjaapie* is similar to the English Country Bumpkin

⁸ These are two of the most wealthy and influential families in Genadendal.

Conversely, the locals would speak negatively about the hostel children, attempting to distance themselves from the gang related background of many of these pupils. This was again an attempt to separate themselves from what they saw as a form of Colouredness that would negatively impact upon the way they themselves were perceived. The local pupils would complain of how they were academically marginalized within the school because teachers paid the hostel children more attention by holding homework sessions for them. While the hostel children were attending these sessions most of the local children were doing things like collecting firewood and therefore claimed that they were disadvantaged. This attitude again mirrored with the attitude towards Black pupils in Trafalgar and the general complaint of continued marginalization within the Coloured population. This indicates that one of the impacts of the historical construction of Colouredness is an innate sense of being marginalized, as alluded to in Chapters 2 and 4.

In Grassy Park the division took many forms on grounds of language, religion and the location of homes. This was noted in the attitude of both pupils and teachers. For example, a group of Grade 12 boys told me of how it was the Muslim children who were those linked to the gangsters and not them, the Christians (Rudi and Nicholas 21/5/01). The Headmaster and many of the teachers told me that many of the pupils in the English language stream were in fact Afrikaans speakers who had chosen to be educated as English due to the negative perceptions of Afrikaans speakers in the Coloured community (Stadler 25/5/01). This interview section illustrates demonstrates the pupils' impression of Afrikaans:

Tasneem – Because, in the past – and it is still like that – the Afrikaans people they almost like, if you speak Afrikaans we look down on you. The English is seen as higher.

Charmaine – More cultured, civilised.

Tasneem – But if you are Afrikaans. If you are at school speaking to someone they will take you “Do you know that boy is Afrikaans?” she

was speaking to him and her friends were like “No you can’t speak to him.” Just because he was in an Afrikaans class.
Natalie – Most of the Afrikaans children aren’t from Grassy Park, they are from like Lavender Hill and Lotus River, those places man.
Charmaine – Wild places.” (11e1 Girls Grassy Park 14/5/01)

Despite this, I struggled to find pupils in English classes who would admit to being from Afrikaans-speaking families. This is often because Afrikaans-speaking parents attempt to bring up their children as English, as one pupil explained:

“My eldest brother, my sister and my parents are Afrikaans. I’m the youngest and my sister is two years older than me, we are the only two in the house that speak English. My sister and my brother, they were brought up in Bonteheuwel, by my Granny because my mommy and daddy were working so there was no-one to look after them. So in Bonteheuwel, its like the wild people, they are Afrikaans. When my mommy stopped working because she was sick, they all came back home. My brother came to Grassy Park High and my sister was in Std 4 when she came here, and she was already Afrikaans speaking, so she went to Afrikaans class. And me and my sister we went to primary and my mommy put us in the English class because she could see that there was almost like a gap between the two languages and the hatred and whatever. So she put us in the English class. They speak English to us, they struggle a little bit, but they speak English.” (Waheeda 14/5/01).

As is evident, the issue of language, location and class are closely linked within the Coloured communities in Cape Town. The teachers further expressed this notion. One teacher, referring to the changing demography of the school discussed in Chapter 6, said that the incoming pupils were more *bos*⁹ and more *Coloured* than ever before.

The Othering of pupils whom they perceived as displaying negative characteristics of Colouredness in Grassy Park, as at Emil Weder, again mirrors the attitudes towards race in Trafalgar and demonstrates negative self-perception of many within the Coloured population.

⁹ *Bos* literally means Bush. In this context, it means wild.

Although not as apparent, this process was present in Knysna as well. For example, one boy spoke to me of how he was too dark to get a girl (Regan 8/2/01) and one of the girls explained social attitudes as follows:

“One thing is, most of our Coloured people, they want to be like White people. They buy their blue contact lenses and their blonde hair dye. I mean, just be yourself! If I’m calling Melissa, ‘Jy, jy is a hotnot!’ (‘You, you are a hotnot!’)¹⁰ She will want to kill me. But if I say to her, ‘Jy is so wit,’ (‘You’re so white’) she will smile and be happy with me.” (Lauren 2 28/2/01)

In this case, as in the other schools, the accepted situation was that the more White physical and cultural characteristics you had, the higher your status was, often irrespective of financial status. This issue has been widely noted by academics, politicians and artists in South Africa, as noted in Chapter 4.

In this section I have not treated Coloured on Black racism and the construction of “Others” within the Coloured population as two separate issues, but different forms of expression of the same cultural issue. The Coloured on Black racism has tended to be associated with the working-class Coloured population and the process of Othering sectors of Coloured society has largely been associated with higher status and wealthier Coloureds. Despite the different manifestations, these are both clearly related to the received negative constructions of Colouredness.

These constructions have served to promote the perceptions of marginalization within Coloured communities. Therefore although the racism evident in Trafalgar and latent in the other schools can be perceived to be a reaction to the pupils’ perceptions of marginalization, it needs to be noted that these perceptions and subsequent reactions are shaped by cultural issues far removed from the present educational experiences.

¹⁰ *Hotnot* is a truncated version of *Hottentot* and is used as a derogatory term for Coloureds

7.4 Generational Differences

In each of the schools teachers spoke of a generational difference in attitudes towards education. As noted in Chapter 6, many of the teachers were ex-pupils of the schools and so were able to speak of how attitudes in the field site schools had changed.

They spoke of how current pupils were less interested in independent thinking than they had been. For example, one of the teachers at Trafalgar remembered how he had been a member of the Debating Society and had organised lunchtime seminars on current affairs (Behardien 26/7/00). They also spoke of how much less politicised pupils were. Again, an ex-pupil who was a teacher at Trafalgar related how in 1985, when he was in Standard 8, schools had been so disrupted that the House of Representatives allowed all pupils to go into the next standard irrespective of whether they had passed the year or not. All the pupils at Trafalgar had elected to repeat the year (Prins 31/7/00). The highly politicised nature of Grassy Park in the 1980s was written about by Bill Finnegan in his book *Crossing the Line*. A teacher at Knysna who had been very active in the anti-apartheid movement noted how it was only the Black students who appeared to have any political understanding and motivation (Bastiaan 12/3/01).

The change in pupils' attitudes to education and politics was variously explained by teachers. Some believed it was a function of the "cream" of the pupils moving to White schools (Hendricks 24/7/00), others attributed it to the rise of TV culture in South Africa (Emaren 26/7/00), parents failing to educate their children about their history (D'Allende 18/5/01), increased drug abuse in the communities (Low-Shang 23/5/01) and the reduced status of teachers within Coloured communities (A. Adonis 5/10/00).

The explanation that seemed most feasible when theoretical findings were considered was that offered by a teacher at Trafalgar who noted that the highly political and intellectual nature of schooling in the 1980s was because of and not despite the apartheid education system (Behardien 26/7/00). It appears that the commitment of pupils and teacher to education under apartheid was to prove that they were as good as the Whites and that they would not be broken by the system.

I believe that the fundamental reason for the change in attitude is a loss of narrative. Almost every Coloured person I spoke to over the age of 20 had a story to tell of what apartheid did to their family. Almost everyone seemed to have been had been evicted under Group Areas. Almost everyone seemed to have had a relative who left the country to be able to marry the person they loved. Almost everyone seemed to have had family divided by reclassification.

The youth do not have stories they can tell. Their families still live in the same sub-economic conditions. They still cannot get the jobs they want, as they cannot afford the training. Many still do not have the opportunities to marry the people they love for fear of being termed a sell-out, if those people happen to be White. Their situation can no longer be blamed on apartheid, thereby removing a powerful source of narrative. There is now no obvious political oppression to strive against. In previous generations pupils and teachers were highly ambitious as a form of political activism, to challenge the system. Now there is no recognisable system to challenge, so this has waned. That is not to say that there is yearning for apartheid, but there is the feeling that a reason has been lost, that people no longer have stories to act as battle cries.

Due to the absence of a clearly unjust political system and the small size of the Coloured population, pupils believe that there is no point in protest. Many believe that

they have no voice in the new democracy. For this reason education has become less politicised. Pupils now therefore focus their efforts on meeting the demands of the curriculum in order to obtain the best possible chance at overcoming what they see as their marginalization under affirmative action in the work force.

7.5 Conclusion

Given the analysis of Sections 7.1 to 7.4 it can therefore be seen that students' perceptions of marginalization are fundamentally linked to historical constructions of Colouredness and the impact of current political experiences on these constructions.

I would argue that throughout South African history the constructions of Colouredness have been such that division rather than unity has been encouraged, even within the Coloured population. In conjunction with the economic outcomes of the apartheid system, these historical constructions have led to the Coloured on Black racism evident in the schools and the Othering of groups within the Coloured population. The sense of continued marginalization is to a large degree the result of these constructions and experiences. The sense of marginalization has been heightened by the loss of narrative in the post-apartheid era and with it the loss of a sense of legitimacy of protest. Pupils' reactions to perceived marginalization are not simply the result of underlying group identity issues. As indicated in Chapter 6, in the context of education, there is evidence that the Coloured population are marginalized in the post-apartheid era.

This chapter has demonstrated that this sense of marginalization and the nature of post-apartheid educational inequality have impacted upon pupils' attitudes towards their education. According to the teachers, there has been a fundamental shift in attitude towards education since the end of apartheid. Under apartheid, the school was

seen as a site of protest and was therefore highly politicised. In the post-apartheid era, pupils no longer see the legitimacy of protest; in their view the school must simply impart the knowledge and skills that will enable to them overcome some of their marginalization. This desire for the maximisation of knowledge has reduced the desire for the school to develop independent thought and debate. This shift in attitude, in conjunction with the reduction of staff numbers, has placed the schools and their pupils in conflict with the objectives of post-apartheid education policies. The difference in attitude has further impacted upon pupils' beliefs about their role in post-apartheid South Africa.

In the following chapter I consider how the schools have reacted to these attitudes towards education.

University of Cape Town

Chapter 8: Schools' Reactions to Pupils' Perceived Marginalization

This chapter focuses on the ways in which the schools have reacted to the pupils' attitudes towards education in the light of their perceptions of marginalization, particularly relating to racism and Othering of different groups within Coloured communities. In this chapter I consider three forms of school reaction. The first is the lack of reaction to pupils' perceptions and actions. The second is the creation of alternative identity options. The final reaction considers the role of the school as a location for the outworking of power relations in society at a variety of scales.

8.1 *Lack of Action*

The first reaction of schools to pupils' reactions to their perceived marginalization was to fail to react to it. This occurred for two main reasons: lack of resources to challenge these attitudes and agreement with pupils' beliefs.

8.1.1 **Lack of Adequate Resources**

The first reason offered for the lack of reaction to pupils' attitudes towards education and their role in post-apartheid South Africa is the lack of adequate resources available to the schools. This lack of adequate resources is associated with three inter-related factors, all rooted in the structure of apartheid education, which have remained in the post-apartheid era.

The first factor is the lack of adequate training for teachers. As noted in Chapter 5, under apartheid teachers were trained in such a way so as encourage pupils to accept the status quo. However, in many Coloured schools teachers resisted this

model. Due to the nature of job reservation in South Africa, many of the most academically gifted members of Coloured communities had few options other than teaching. These highly gifted, and often politicised, individuals encouraged pupils to challenge this model and set about educating them for participation in an alternative South Africa. However, when the voluntary redundancy packages were offered under redeployment, it was often these highly educated and experienced teachers who accepted these packages. When talking about the previous spirit of activism in Trafalgar, one of the senior teachers spoke of how only he and one other teacher who represented that vision were still present in the school (Hendricks 22/8/00). The reduction of staff numbers and the introduction of new teachers have led to the loss of many of the valuable skills that could have been used to assist pupils.

The impact of this lack of adequately-skilled staff must be considered in association with the financial constraints and lack of time that have challenged the ability of the few adequately skilled teachers to challenge and meet the needs of pupils. As noted by the Headmaster of Grassy Park, the workload of teachers has increased considerably in the last ten years (Stadler 25/5/01). As a consequence the involvement of teachers in extra-curricular activities, such as debating societies and school magazines, has fallen. Teachers at the schools also complained that although C2005 called for more discussion-based classes, with subject areas such as Life Orientation, the conditions in the classroom did not allow for this to be successful. For example, one of the teachers at Knysna spoke of the difficulties of having a class of 54 in a small, poorly lit room. She explained how after two months she still did not know the names of the pupils and had to move them round the room periodically to at least have a chance of getting to see all of them (Bastiaan 6/3/01). She asked how under these conditions it was possible to have the kind of discussions proposed by the

new education system, and how to have any positive impact upon the pupils, educationally or socially. Much of the frustration felt by teachers revolves around the fact that they are expected to teach in a manner that they see could have a positive influence on pupils, but have not been granted the means to perform in this manner.

The issue of lack of finance relates both to schools and to communities. In comparison with White schools,¹ the schools have not been able to afford access to many of the teaching resources available, both in and beyond the schools, as discussed in Chapter 6.

However, while it is true that these schools were marginalized economically and geographically, schools sometimes failed to take available opportunities. For example, at Trafalgar the school was located in District Six. One of the core textbooks was “Buckingham Palace: District Six” by Richard Rive, which dealt with the Group Areas Act and aspects of Coloured identity in the area. Although the subject matter dealt with the experiences of many of the pupils’ families, the lessons dealt with the text as any other text. Although walking through the wastelands of District Six would have been an excellent way of developing discussion, the school had not considered this as a useful practice. At Grassy Park on the other hand, two members of staff had been involved in the creation of a board game about Robben Island for the pupils, in which they aimed to teach pupils about their history and to challenge their beliefs. Grassy Park and Emil Weder had also been involved in community archaeology projects organised by the University of Cape Town.

¹ In this chapter, I use the terms Coloured, White and Black schools. By this I mean schools historically attended by pupils from these population groups. Further explanation of these terms can be found in Ch 6, fn 1.

However, despite these problems of lack of adequate resources, a key part of the schools' inaction in challenging the pupils' racism resulting from unease regarding affirmative action was in fact their recognition that the forms of behaviour were attributable not simply to the current situation, but to historical experiences and constructions. Teachers felt that this was too large an issue for them to attempt to face and were therefore inactive in allocating time and resources to deal with the issue.

Another aspect of pupils' attitudes towards education that could be perceived to be negative is the perception of the purpose of education and the role of teachers. As Chapter 7 demonstrated, most pupils believed that the main purpose of education was to provide them with knowledge and that it was the role of the teachers to impart this information. In the pupils' understanding there was a clear pupil/teacher division, unlike the more flexible learner/facilitator model proposed by the DoE. This attitude towards education, independent thinking and authority within Coloured schools has been cited as problematic in terms of career development. Although this attitude is to a degree the result of the lack of resources, some teachers have also encouraged it.

In the increasingly resource-poor Coloured schools there is a struggle to maintain teaching quality and many teachers believe that the government's current vision for education has adverse effects on their efforts. This belief is not restricted to Coloured schools: 78.4 percent of teachers interviewed for the Values, Education and Democracy Interim Research Report (Department of Education 2001h, 10) agreed with the statement, "*The government puts too much emphasis on 'children's rights,' which leads to problems in our classrooms.*" Both in my field sites and the schools surveyed for the report teachers indicated that they believe that it is in the schools' and pupils' best interests not to encourage the challenging of the authority structures as it is these that enable the "survival" of the school.

8.1.2 Acceptance of Pupils' Beliefs

A second reason for the failure of the teachers and schools to challenge the beliefs of pupils was that they held the same beliefs. This was asserted widely by the Black pupils attending Trafalgar, who spoke of teachers who often verbally abused them for no reason. The problem at Trafalgar appeared to be worsened by the attitude of the Headmaster. When I was interviewing a group of Black girls he made an announcement over the intercom about the opportunity for 15 Grade 11 pupils to go to a community arts project. One of the girls was very keen to be involved, so I sent her to the Head who then sent her to go around the school informing all Grade 11 classes. As he sent her he told her not to just tell her "friends", by which he meant the Black pupils. When the selected pupils went to the community arts project, not a single Black pupil had been included. The presence of this Headmaster was cited by many pupils and teachers as a barrier to development in the school, socially and educationally. Throughout my research I noted how important the Head teacher was to the character and ethos of the school.

As with the pupils, teachers would not admit to having racist or negative group attitudes. At Trafalgar, the teachers were keen to discuss how active the school had been in the anti-apartheid struggle, to demonstrate their openness to Black pupils. These protestations of non-racist attitudes were contradicted by their behaviour towards pupils. I was party to discussions by a group of teachers who wanted to find ways of not accepting Black pupils the following year, on the grounds that they did not give anything to the school and could not speak Afrikaans. The teaching at Trafalgar was single-medium English, so this should have been immaterial.

It was not only in Trafalgar where the teachers reflected and supported the social attitudes of the pupils. As noted in Chapter 7, the teachers in Grassy Park often spoke of how different sectors of the Coloured community represented in the school were bad for the school's reputation.

That is not to say that all teachers concurred with the problematic constructions of pupils, or even that those who did expressed their views consistently. For example, one of the teachers who was attempting to limit the number of Black students at Trafalgar also refused to fill in an official survey sent to the school asking for a racial breakdown of pupils. It was regarding teachers like these the following dialogue took place:

Thabo – Can I ask you something? Do they like what you are doing? Researching about this? Do they expect you to ask about these things? Racism and all this?

Jane – Um, there are one or two teachers who are not happy about it. They say, like, racism is past now and this is the new South Africa.

Thabo – Ah, Woah (laughter). Those are the ones, those are the ones. (9 boys Trafalgar 22/8/00)

In his reaction, Thabo implied that the teachers who were using notions such as non-racialism to argue against the government were the very teachers who were the most racist within the school.

Teachers' inability or unwillingness to challenge negative pupil attitudes is largely the outcome of the backgrounds of the staff. As noted in Chapter 6, many of the teachers are ex-pupils of the schools they teach in and have similar family backgrounds and histories to the pupils they teach. Without exception, all the teachers were Coloured and were products of apartheid era education. As such they had been educated and socialised into the same system as others in the community. This explains the apparently conflicting attitudes of some of the teachers. Although many

despised racism and the negative constructions of Coloureds, they were unable to extricate themselves fully from their backgrounds.

This has serious implications for the state's view of education as a tool for social transformation. The programmes proposed by the state can only be effective if those implementing them are in full compliance with the ideals of the programmes. All South Africans, including those working for the state, are scarred by apartheid to a greater or lesser degree. This raises questions as to whether the social projects devised by the DoE would be able to have their intended impacts, even if issues such as resource poverty were to be resolved. If teachers do not support or believe in the principles that they are teaching, this is certain to impact upon how pupils interpret the content.

8.2 *Alternative Identity Options*

Despite the problems that led some teachers to fail to challenge negative attitudes of pupils, in each of the schools there were some teachers and community members who used the school to challenge received notions of identity. In all four schools there was an attempt to promote some form of alternative, localised Colouredness. Within this section I discuss the forms of identity proposed and the reason that schools have played a part in the construction of alternative forms of identity.

8.2.1 *Forms of Identity Proposed*

The two most consciously constructed forms of identity were those of Trafalgar and Emil Weder, both of which attempted to engage with pre-Colonial histories to promote alternative identities. By contrast, Knysna and Grassy Park promoted identity

forms relating to contemporary religious and political models. The nature of each effort to promote identity options is elaborated on below.

8.2.1.1 Trafalgar

Due to Trafalgar's status as the first high school for Coloureds in South Africa and its history of activism, the obvious form of positive identity to promote would appear to be a particularly localised identity related to the school. However, teachers in the school have instead promoted a form of identity based on the pre-colonial history of a section of the school community.

The Deputy Headmaster of the school initiated this attempt at identity construction, through the foundation of the South East Asian Schools Touring Society in 1996. These tours are sponsored by local businesses and are not officially linked with the school, although largely organised by members of staff.

The purpose of the tours was to teach pupils about their history, since their ancestors had been taken from the area. Clearly, given the history of the Coloured population of Cape Town described in Chapter 4, this entails the production of a highly selective history. This promotion of a particular strand of the school community's history is also evident in the form of identity proposed at Emil Weder and will be discussed further in Section 8.2.2.

The promotion of the Asian heritage in the school is linked to the Islamic identity of the school. For example, the school has special dispensation from the WCED to close early on Fridays to enable pupils to attend Mosque, and it is common to greet teachers with the "As-salaam alaikum,"² despite the official secular status of

² This is a Muslim greeting meaning "Peace be with you" or "Blessings and safety from Allah be upon you"

the school. One of the teachers who was an ex-pupil of the school noted how the school has become increasingly Islamic in recent years, noting how the school has only recently started closing early on Fridays to enable attendance at Mosque. In the past the break period was extended on Fridays for the devout, but everyone returned to school afterwards (Prins 3/8/00).

The focus by sectors of the staff on the Asian and Muslim heritage of the pupils is profoundly exclusionary. Just over 60 percent of the school is estimated to be Muslim, so the promotion of this form of identity excludes both Christian Coloureds and the entire Black population of the school who, as noted in Chapter 7, feel marginalized within the school.

8.2.1.2 Emil Weder

Like Trafalgar, this school was also used to promote an identity based on a particular aspect of the school community's history. In the case of Emil Weder the identity promoted surrounded the Khoikhoi heritage of the pupils and the 19th century history of the village. Visitors to Genadendal often report that it is the only place where they find people who are proud of their Khoikhoi heritage (see for example Robertson 2000). However, my fieldwork did not find this. As noted in Chapter 7, the hostel children mocked the Khoikhoi heritage of the local pupils, and even among the local pupils interviewed, none were keen to discuss this element of their ancestry.

Most visitors to the community only have contact with the people who run the Genadendal Mission Museum, which is controlled by Dr. Balie who is the only individual in the community who actively promotes the Khoikhoi heritage. When I interviewed him, he spoke of his pride in his heritage and the surprise that the White population, in particular the Afrikaners, express when they hear this. He said that they

associated the Khoikhoi with laziness and thieving, but he has invested his life in finding the true history of his people (Balie 26/10/00). Dr. Balie wrote his doctoral thesis on the history of Genadendal and since retiring as Headmaster of Emil Weder he has made educating the community about their history his mission. He explained that he wanted to educate the community about how economically successful and culturally significant the settlement was, to counteract some of the negative constructions of the community and the Coloured population that have arisen.

The Museum has strong links with the school and every year it runs a history writing competition within the school to encourage the development of a sense of pride in the history of the settlement, as described in Chapter 4. In 1999 the Museum entered into a partnership with the UCT Archaeology Africa project (Clift undated). The Museum used the project to involve pupils from Emil Weder further in their history.

As in Trafalgar, the history promoted was exclusionary to many of the pupils in the school, particularly those in the hostel, but also those from families that had moved to Genadendal. However, unlike the identity promoted in Trafalgar, which seeks to trace an entirely pre-colonial heritage, the Genadendal identity traces the history of a locality throughout South Africa's history. In this way it points to an alternative way of understanding South African history and thereby provides an alternative for the entire population. The form of identity promoted is therefore less exclusionary than that of Trafalgar, because it is not solely accessible to a people with links to a particular area.

8.2.1.3 Knysna

The identity promoted within the school at Knysna was not based on a particular local history, but on the faith of the community. As noted in Chapter 7, Hornlee (the community in which the school is located) has 24 congregations, and 15 pastors are actively involved in the school. The day that I left the school, a worker from Youth For Christ (YFC) was arriving for a week's mission in the school. The Life Orientation classes used YFC resources and the school was one of the few offering Biblical Studies as a subject. Provincially there were just 1000 pupils taking Biblical Studies and 150 of them were at Knysna (Lionel 5/2/01).

There is a strong Christian identity in the whole of Knysna, in all population groups. This Christian identity is often used as a challenge to the "licentiousness" of Cape Town. For example, in May 2001 the first Pink Loerie, a gay pride festival, took place in Knysna. The churches in Knysna protested against this and argued that this was the type of practice to be expected in Cape Town, but it was not acceptable in a God-fearing and "respectable" town like Knysna (Gosling 2001).

Within the Coloured community of Knysna the main negative construction of Cape Town is that of the gangsterism and drugs problems of the city's Coloured population. The promotion of a localised Christian identity serves to distance Knysna's Coloured community from these constructions.

Although there were some members of staff who actively promoted this form of identity, most simply tolerated it and a few were antagonistic towards it. One in particular complained of how people came to evangelise at the school. She said that it would never happen at White schools and that these organisations only targeted what they thought were "gullible Coloureds" (Hagglund 9/3/01).

Those who were antagonistic towards this form of identity tended to be those who had been very active within the anti-apartheid movement and were highly politicised. They did not however attempt to promote a political identity within the school, as they believed that pupils would reject this, as the youth were too apathetic.

8.2.1.4 Grassy Park

The most inclusive form of identity was that proposed at Grassy Park. Although senior members of staff complained of how the school was considerably less politically active than it had been, the school continued to be the most political of the field sites. In keeping with the school's anti-apartheid activist past, the school still has a strong Human Rights culture. This Human Rights identity was characterised by the assertion of the equal rights and citizenship of all South Africans. This was supported by the encouragement of an awareness of the injustices of the apartheid era and of their individual and collective rights in the post-apartheid era.

One of the purposes of this identity promotion was to encourage a positive sense of self, the lack of which was believed to be the cause of the Coloured on Black racism and Coloured on Coloured Othering. Pupils were therefore given more choices within their education than in other schools and were affirmed in the expression of their opinions and ideas. An example of the choice given pupils was that this was the only school where class teachers would ask their classes if they agreed to having me sit in on their class.

As noted pupils were affirmed in order to promote a positive sense of self, in recognition of the fact that many of the pupils came from backgrounds where they were rarely affirmed (D'Allende 18/5/01). In one class a pupil offered his opinion, starting his statement with "*Correct me if I'm wrong, but...*" The teacher answered

him by saying, “*Don’t ever start with ‘Correct me if I’m wrong’. It’s your opinion and your opinion can never be wrong.*” (Lewin 5/5/01). This kind of encouragement of pupils was common in the school; I attended a Grade 8 maths class where a pupil was laughed at for getting an answer wrong. The teacher stopped them and said, “*Don’t laugh, because sometimes when we laugh, we are trying to hide that we are also confused*” (Roberts 24/5/01). A further, and more structured, case of pupils being offered being encouraged and reminded of their individual rights was the involvement of the Pregnancy Help Centre, a local educational NGO, in the school. The organisation had been invited into the school to conduct an eight-week course with pupils to encourage the girls to believe that they had the right to not have sex and to develop their senses of self worth. As discussed in Chapter 7 (Section 7.2.2.4), many girls have particularly negative self-images. This school was the only one actively attempting to face this problem.

Another purpose of the form of identity promoted within the school was to educate pupils about their corporate rights; by this I mean the teaching of a broader human rights agenda. Human Rights Education is a part of the Grade 7 history curriculum; Grassy Park took this section of the curriculum far further than the other schools. While I was conducting field work in the school a competition was being carried out within the whole school in which classes or groups had to create posters and paintings on the theme of Human Rights. Many of the classrooms were decorated with these paintings and wall hangings. The rights based culture of the school was therefore always being reinforced. The theme of Human Rights was incorporated into lessons in all subject areas, even maths.

The focus on individual and corporate rights was all taught within the context of the pupils’ place in a united post-apartheid South Africa. Pupils’ understandings of

the country and their roles within it were constantly discussed within classes. One economics teacher in particular spoke to me of how she used her lessons to get pupils to critically examine their beliefs and opinions about South Africa. She said that she tries to use lessons to inform them as they have strong opinions, but are not well informed (Parker 25/4/01). For example, I attended one lesson where she started a debate on the ANC slogan “A Better Life for All”.

There were many other teachers who used lessons for similar purposes. For example I attended an English lesson in which they were reading Yeats’ poem “The Second Coming.” This lesson turned to a discussion of the nature and value of anarchy in the context of the difference between the current previous South African political systems. Another English teacher was using the cartoon “The Lion King” as a tool to analyse signs and symbols in popular culture. The teacher turned this study into a debate about stereotypes and then about race and racial division South Africa. In these and many other lessons, the theme being invoked was common citizenship and rights in South Africa.

Certain teachers in the school have been very active in the promotion of this identity, such as the two history teachers responsible for the Robben Island board game mentioned earlier in this chapter. Other teachers were involved in voluntary teaching in the Black townships at the weekends (D’Allende 18/5/01). Two years ago the school also initiated a weeklong exchange programme, where pupils attended a range of schools in Cape Town. The aim of this was to expose pupils to as many different learning environments as possible and then to get them to report back to their peers for comparative purposes. Through this a greater understanding of the experiences of people of all population groups was developed within the school.

As opposed to the promotion of a particular local form of identity, thereby fragmenting Colouredness, Grassy Park has widened the form of identity by encouraging a national form of identity. Some teachers did not promote this unity and held strong views on elements of the Coloured population, however these were in the minority and even they were in favour of the Human Rights form of identity in principle.

As can be seen in three of the four schools the form of identity promoted was fragmentary and localised. It was only in Grassy Park that there was an effort to promote a broader, more obviously inclusive form of identity. The following section considers why these specific identities were promoted and why the schools were used to promote alternative identities in general.

8.2.2 Reasons for Proposals of Alternatives

The promotion of alternative forms of identity within schools has occurred for a number of reasons, with the core reason being the negative constructions of Colouredness within and beyond the Coloured population of South Africa.

8.2.2.1 Background Reasons

The assertion of difference based on localised identities is not a new phenomenon within Coloured communities. For example, this divisive element of Coloured identity was frequently examined in the work of Richard Rive (See, for example “Buckingham Palace: District Six” (1986) and “Advance Retreat” (1983)). As noted in Chapter 4, status within the Coloured population has historically been linked with phenotypic and cultural associations with the White population (Western 1996, 37). This higher social status was the result of, and gave rise to further, economic opportunities for

members of these elite groups. These groups therefore distanced themselves from the darker and less culturally acceptable members of the Coloured population. It is for this reason that when pupils were writing projects about their family trees in Grassy Park they were keen to point out their European heritage. As one teacher noted, given their descriptions of their heritage you would be forgiven for thinking you were in a White school (Titus 2/5/01).

This divisive attitude increased with the passing of the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts. There was a clause in the Population Registration Act that classified a White person as “*a person obviously white in appearance who habitually associates with white people*” (de Villiers 1988, 371). This impacted on how members of the Coloured population related to one another, as one of the teachers at Grassy Park explained:

“...But on the other hand, if you lived in a White area and were friends with Whites, the law would sometimes classify you as ‘White by association’ as you lived like Whites. At this time then you got a lot of borderline people moving from Salt River into Observatory or Woodstock, which were seen as white areas. People would chummy up to White people to get them to vouch for them to say that they were like Whites and should be reclassified. Now, if you had gone White and you saw a dark-skinned school friend on the street you would cross over the street and ignore him. That was, you’d avoid being associated with him and blowing your cover. The people who didn’t quite pass got bitter about being ‘this close to being White.’ A lot of them continued trying to be White and disassociated themselves from being perceived as just Coloured” (Low-Shang 23/5/01).

I encountered considerable bitterness in the Coloured communities over people who had become “pass Whites.” When researching in Knysna there was a debate over the race of a “White” sports star. I was told by the teachers that he was Coloured, without a doubt, and that I would find no people anywhere in the world more able to detect Coloured heritage. Through gritted teeth one of them told me, “If

you are ever in doubt about somebody's race, just ask a Coloured" (Verhaelst 6/2/01).

What has developed in the schools is not so much a promotion of alternatives *to* Colouredness, as alternatives *within* Colouredness. The schools are not being used to promote identities that deny the Colouredness of pupils, but to challenge what pupils believe this means for them. This is largely the result of the negative constructions of Colouredness discussed in Chapter 4. The media tend to portray the Coloured population only in the light of gangsterism, drug addictions, broken homes and domestic abuse. The promotion of localised identities is an attempt to offer alternatives for pupils, to give them a positive sense of self so that they don't fall into the patterns of behaviour described by the press. A further reason for the promotion of a positive localised form of Colouredness is to reduce racism, which is believed in part to be the outworking of insecurity in the light of Black cultural awareness. This is discussed further in the next section.

It must also be noted that those promoting these alternative identities have also been affected by the negative constructions. It may also be that they are not only promoting alternative identities for the good of pupils, but because they are ashamed of their Colouredness in the light of these negative constructions. This was evident when one of the teachers at Grassy Park walked into the staff room and announced that she had just told a class, *"The Coloureds are a disgrace to South Africa"* (Abrahams 8/5/01).

The promotion of alternative localised forms of identity appears to be a form of fragmentary self-reification. That is to say that the process is one of both erasure and reification. This was discussed in Chapter 4 as a response to negative constructions, the notion of a single form of Colouredness as imposed from outside is

rejected and fragmented. In its place, elements of Coloured identity, often based on reconstructed histories, are asserted, thereby reifying these elements.

8.2.2.2 Increased Attempts at Promotion of Identities

As noted in the previous section, the Coloured population has always been influenced by the assertion of alternative localised identities. This process has increased in recent years, as is illustrated by the recent development of the South East Asian Touring Society at Trafalgar. In this section I consider the reasons for this increase.

The first reason appears to be the increased presence and violence of gangsterism within Coloured communities, particularly beyond Cape Town. The problem has been developing in Cape Town since the removal of people from areas like District Six to the Cape Flats as a result of the breakdown of communities and economic marginalization, as well as some of the underlying identity issues challenged further in the post-apartheid political environment, as explained by Emile YX? of the group Black Noise:

“Being so-called coloured is the most confusing and mind-boggling thing there is. Although people brush it aside, the sense of belonging is important - especially now in this country. Kids wonder where they fit in. Before, when people spoke of ‘black’, it included us - now it doesn’t. A gang can give you a sense of family and security and finance - possibly many of the things a group identity would give. That is what makes it a bit easier for kids living in Khayelitsha and Guguletu (Black townships) - their sense of family heritage and ancestry” (Emile YX? in Visser 1998).

The increase in violent gangsterism and serious drug abuse in the Cape Flats has led the communities to adopt many strategies to overcome these problems. These strategies have included the development of vigilante groups, the most notorious being PAGAD (People Against Gangsterism and Drugs), which was formed in 1995

(Le Roux 1998). The attempts to use to the school as a site of alternative identity construction can be seen to be part of this general mood.

There has always been small-scale gangsterism in areas outside of Cape Town, members of local gangs were termed “Plastic Gangsters” and “Play-Play Gangsters” by pupils of Emil Weder and Knysna. In recent years the character of gang activity has changed as some of the main gang leaders of Cape Town have extended their turfs beyond the city to avoid the police and rival gangs (Kinnes 2000 and Joseph 2000). This has resulted in a change in the character of gang activity outside of Cape Town. Gangsterism has become increasingly linked with the drug trade and gang activity is considerably more violent than before due to the influence of the Cape Town gang leaders. Bishop Ulster, a retired Genadendal clergyman who has played a pivotal role in the development of community projects, spoke of how the community was prone to these problems due to its relative proximity to Cape Town, the high labour migrancy and local unemployment (Bishop Ulster 1/11/00). The community has suffered an increase in violent crime in recent years as a result of these factors, including two murders in early 2002 (A. Adonis 29/7/02).

Although the pupils did not appear to be concerned by the changing character of gangsterism in these areas, both community leaders and the wider media were very concerned. The Coloured communities of Genadendal and Knysna fear that gangsterism will become as endemic as it is in areas of Cape Town and have therefore attempted to provide the young people with alternative forms of identity to give them the strength to resist the lure of the gangster life-style.

A second reason for the increase in identity promotion within schools results from teachers’ reactions to pupils feeling threatened by Black culture. As noted in Chapter 7, some of the teachers believed that at least some of the racism expressed by

Coloured pupils was because they felt threatened by the obvious cultural heritage of the Black pupils. That is to say, they believed that the racism was in part the outworking of an insecurity resulting from a lack of a history to call their own. This sense of threat has increased in the post-apartheid era, due both to the cultural dominance of the Black population, and the increased contact with Black pupils within the school environment. Teachers have therefore encouraged the promotion of identities that aim to give the pupils security in their heritage.

In the case of Trafalgar and Emil Weder this took the form of engagement with pre-colonial and colonial histories. In Grassy Park, on the other hand, the heritage was that of the anti-apartheid struggles of the area, which therefore enabled engagement with Black South Africans as a part of a common resistance history. The promotion of alternative identities can therefore be seen to be an attempt to limit pupils' racism towards the heritage-aware Black majority, by providing them with a sense of their own heritage and therefore a more rooted sense of self.

A third reason for increased promotion of identities links with the general national and international focus on "Roots". It has become popular to become "ethnic." Often this is not simply due to an interest in heritage. Dr. Balie of the Mission Museum in Genadendal noted how it has become economically beneficial for groups to discover their "roots", particularly if they are the indigenous groups of South Africa (Balie 26/10/00).

As is evident from the activities in Trafalgar, and to a lesser extent Emil Weder, the discovery of roots is often as much about rewriting history as uncovering it. Again Emile XY? manages to express the nature of the problem of searching for roots for members of the Coloured population:

“Who am I? I am everything, I am every race that exists. I don’t know myself, there is no way I’m going to find out, because there are no records to find out. I know bits and pieces, and therefore the fullness of who I am will probably never be. So my personal sense of who I am is then limited. And that for me, I think, is what being who I am at the moment is about. It’s about keeping asking questions, keep searching in directions that most people won’t even bother. So, it doesn’t limit you to think, OK, I only have this ancestry.” (Emile YX? 26/01/01)

Given that there are a number of reasons why alternative forms of identity are being promoted, it is important to discuss why the school is increasingly being used as a site for this promotion.

8.2.2.3 *The School as a Site of Promotion of Identities*

In the cases of Trafalgar, Emil Weder and Knysna, the main actors in the promotion of these alternative identities were community leaders. Although community leaders were involved in the promotion of identities in the schools, the type of community leaders and the nature of their relationships with the schools varied.

In the case of Trafalgar the main instigator of the form of identity promotion was one of the teachers, the Deputy Head. He used his status as a senior member of staff to legitimise his extra-curricular involvement in the promotion of this form of identity. He acted as the instigator of the South East Asia tour and as a gatekeeper to give access to the school to other individuals and organisations. The individuals who were involved in the school tended to be local business owners. Their role was to provide financial support for the projects initiated by the Deputy Head. Without exception these individuals were ex-pupils of the school and held similar political views to the Deputy Head. They had become involved out of concern over the declining academic aspirations of pupils and the breakdown in discipline. In the case of Trafalgar it can be seen that the involvement of community leaders was encouraged and directed by a member of staff using his position within the school to implement

programmes unrelated to formal school activities and shaped by his own personal political and cultural values.

Emil Weder had a very different experience of community involvement in the school. Where Trafalgar was characterised by the school's relative autonomy due to loose community ties, Emil Weder was characterised by a close interdependent relationship between the school and the community. This was the result of size and relative isolation of the community, but also its particular history as a mission settlement dominated by the Moravian Church. As noted in Chapter 4, the Moravian movement was characterised by a focus on literacy and the promotion of skilled labour. As a result, the school has always been central to the community and its development. Although the school is no longer under the control of the Moravian Church, the Church continues to have a strong influence. The community leaders involved in the promotion of the localised form of identity at Emil Weder tended to be those with strong links to the Church. However the identity they were attempting to promote was not simply a form of Christian identity, as had been the case at Knysna, but an identity based on the community's history within the Church. Therefore the most influential community leaders were Bishop Ulster and Dr Balie. Both had been senior members of staff at the school and both were seeking ways of community upliftment through engagement with Genadendal's history. As a result of their high status within the community and the Church, and their historical relationships with the school, they had a profound influence on the character of the school and the support of the staff to promote the form of identity discussed earlier.

As discussed in Section 8.2.1.3, the community leaders involved in Knysna tended to be representatives of the many churches in the community. Like Emil Weder, the location of the school within the community meant that the school had to

be open to these individuals and groups (although as noted earlier, there was more resistance by staff, particularly those from Cape Town, to the influence of community leaders).

These individuals and groups have chosen to use the schools as a location for attempting to promote alternative forms of identity for a variety of reasons.

The first reason for the involvement of community leaders related to community attitudes towards young people. As noted in Section 8.2.2.2., the communities fear increased gang activity, in addition to other social problems such as alcohol and drug abuse, domestic abuse and teenage pregnancy. This was not simply the result of experiences of the communities, but also due to the influence of the media representations of Coloured youth. The negative media representations are almost as influential on Coloured perceptions of Coloured communities, as they are on other population groups. Community leaders have therefore focussed on schools, as they believe that it is the youth who are most likely to become involved in activities likely to damage communities and to be psychologically affected by such negative constructions. They also recognise that the young people are still developing their identities and are therefore easier to influence than other community members.

A second reason for the targeting of schools is that due to the relatively comprehensive nature of schools, a single campaign within a school is likely to reach a greater sector of the community than in almost any other sphere. In addition, through presenting the same alternative identity to a diverse cross-section of the community at the same time, it is hoped that some of the divisions within the communities will be overcome.

Thirdly, the school has been selected because community leaders believe that in this location the young people are removed from conflicting messages. That is to say, they are presented with the alternative identity option in an environment where the influences of home and street will not influence their decision to consider the promoted identity. This is not reflected in the reality of the schools, where the influences of home and street are clearly evident in school in the attitudes brought in with pupils and even in the visual reminders. An example of this was the display of the “*JFK*” logo on school walls and desks of Grassy Park, which signified that the school was the territory of the “Junky Funky Kids” gang. There was also much drug dealing and drug taking within the schools. Therefore the assumption that pupils were somehow removed from wider influences once they were within the grounds of the school was misplaced.

The fourth reason for the focus on schools was the result of the recognition of the authority structure of schools. While DoE documents call for teachers to be termed *facilitators* and a more dialogue-based method of teaching to be employed in schools, in the field site schools there was still the accepted notion of teacher authority and that the information they imparted was almost indisputable. Therefore, by promoting identities with the involvement or approval of teachers with this status community leaders believe that their message will be received with less questioning of its authority and truth than in other venues.

Within this section I have demonstrated that there a number of reasons for the promotion of alternative identities. Although the intentions of the projects have been to promote a positive sense of self within the student body, I believe that the fragmentary self-reificatory nature of the projects will only have limited positive outcomes. In terms of Coloured identity in general, the promotion of localised

identities has failed to question the dominant constructions of Colouredness as a whole. By promoting localised identities, which place the emphasis on difference from the rest of the Coloured population, the schools have validated the negative constructions and therefore legitimated the practice of “Othering” within the Coloured population. Therefore, although pupils may develop a stronger sense of self and pride in their local communities, this will not impact upon their attitudes towards outsiders nor will it encourage them to challenge the media representations they see.

The promotion of localised forms of identity is also problematic in terms of the engagement of Coloured communities in South African society. Although part of the purpose of promoting local cultural heritage was to overcome some of the racism that resulted from pupils feeling threatened by Black pupils who were highly aware of their own cultural heritage, I believe this practice is ultimately divisive. As noted in Chapter 7, there are clear links between the racism and the “Othering” of groups of Coloured pupils within the school. In the same way, the solutions to these problems are restricted by similar issues. Although the promotion of heritage does provide a basis for a positive sense of self, it ultimately stresses difference over commonality, local over national. Grassy Park, alone, was able to overcome this by the promotion of an identity based on anti-apartheid activism and present human rights. The ultimate outcome of the promotion of these localised forms of identity was demonstrated in the opening quote of Chapter 2, repeated below:

“The country sometimes feels like a ship winging wildly on a single anchor that is threatening to break loose. The passengers are fiercely proud of their vessel, but none of them really care about the others, or have bothered to find out their names.” (Matshikiza 2000)

The DoE has attempted to put in place structures to enable the promotion of national identity, see for example the 2001 Values in Education document

“Celebration of our National Symbols” (Department of Education 2001g). However, as indicated in Chapter 6, the resources and teaching skills necessary to implement the promotion of a national identity have not been adequately provided by the state. At the same time, the relative autonomy granted to schools under C2005 has enabled schools to promote these localised forms of identity at the expense of national identity. There is a clear conflict of interests between the state and the schools and communities. The use of the school as a site of contestation is considered further in Section 8.3.

8.3 The School as a Site of Contestation

This final section considers a number of different scales of governance with a common theme of the challenge of top-down imposition of structures being resisted by bottom-up challenges to these structures. As noted in Chapter 5, the Coloured and Black populations of South Africa used the school as a site of community protest against apartheid. This use of the school has continued in the post-apartheid era due the continued perception of importance of education for future wealth of community members. A further reason for the mobilisation around schools is that they are one of the most comprehensively-used services in the communities and therefore a more emotional engaging service than others.

The most publicised post-apartheid case of the school being used as a site of contestation in the Western Cape was Grove Primary School’s resistance to the teacher redeployment in 1996 (for further details of this case see Lemon 1999, 99-100). In this case the historically White primary school, which came to be supported by 80 other schools, objected to the DoE’s staff redeployment plan and took the Department to court. In 1997 the school won a case at the Cape High Court in which

the redeployment scheme was deemed illegal and the school was granted the right to advertise for teachers and to select them without government interference (Staff Reporter 1997). One of the key figures in the Grove case was Helen Zille Maree, then chair of the governing body of the school. Zille was not simply a concerned parent, but a senior member of the Democratic Party in the Western Cape and the case arose at a time nearing local elections in the province (Helen Suzman Foundation 1999). She later became the Western Cape Minister for Education. It could therefore be argued that, like the provincial AIDS policy discussed in Chapter 2, the school was used as a site for a political feud between the national ANC government and the provincially strong DP opposition.

In all the field sites there was evidence of some form of struggle between different groups attempting to assert control by using the school. As noted in the previous section, each of the four main field sites schools had groups external to the school operating within the school seeking to impact upon the identities of pupils. These were often in conflict with the government's prescribed constructions, thereby challenging power relations within the education system.

In this section I consider two cases in which top-down edicts were challenged from below.

The first occurred in Emil Weder. Corporal punishment has been banned from schools, but was still in practice at the school when I was conducting fieldwork despite this ruling. When new pupils arrived at the school, parents were asked to sign a consent form to allow the pupils to be hit if their child's behaviour was particularly bad. Most of the pupils seemed to believe that this was a good practice and was the reason that the school had such good marks, since it encouraged good behaviour (Vernie 18/10/00). One of the teachers I spoke to said that she was shocked by the

practice when she arrived at the school, but was now very glad that it was still in operation (A. Adonis 19/10/00).

After I left the school, one of the pupils brought a court action against the Headmaster on the grounds that his human rights had been abused through the administering of corporal punishment. The Headmaster was fined R5000 and the school no longer uses corporal punishment. I was told by one of the teachers that the school is now faced with growing problems of discipline and that the quality of teaching has been affected (A. Adonis 12/8/02).

This case was particularly interesting in that the challenge to the top-down governance, in this case the school, was being opposed from below by their co-option of a representative of the power grouping above the school, the WCED. This clearly demonstrates the many scales of power operating within the school location.

The second case demonstrates the school as a site of conflict between two equal groups, the political and administrative branches of the provincial education department. The Headmaster of Grassy Park related a disciplinary issue that he had experienced within the school the previous year. He had been forced to admit a pupil with a history of violence into the school. Within two weeks the pupil had got into an argument with another pupil, picked up two large stones from the field and smashed them into the pupil's head, leaving the pupil with two large indentations in his skull. The Headmaster applied to the WCED Head of Education for the pupil to be expelled. This was an administrative decision and was granted. The parents of the pupil then appealed to the Western Cape Minister for Education, who overruled the decision and made the school take the pupil back: a political decision (Stadler 11/5/01).

In this case the Head of Education had made a decision based on concerns over the impact of disruptive pupils upon the quality of education within the school and therefore the province. The Minister for Education made the decision on the grounds of preventing a potentially damaging lawsuit being brought, which would damage the general population's perceptions of the provincial government. This case clearly demonstrates the impact of conflicting interests beyond the local school environment upon the individual school.

As is evident from this section, there are many groups with different interests and objectives operating within schools. The school therefore becomes not simply a site for education, but also a site for the negotiation of power at many levels. Given the delicate political balance in the Western Cape, as described in Chapter 2, the manipulation of the school for such purposes is an important consideration in discussions about identity issues within education.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the reaction of schools and community groups utilizing the schools to negative identity constructions within Coloured youth resulting from perceived marginalization.

The previous chapter noted how pupils' attitudes are not simply the result of situations within the schools, but also of broader identity issues within the communities. Many of the strategies within the schools appear to be reactions to immediate situations; however, on deeper analysis the problems are not simply linked to current experiences of education, or even wider current experiences of Coloured communities in South Africa. The problems are linked to the cumulative impact of educational experiences throughout South African history and the constructions of the

Coloured population from the earliest days at the Cape. It is only when these factors are considered that both pupils' beliefs and reactions and the reactions of the schools and surrounding communities can be interpreted.

The use of the school as a site of contestation and the nature of this usage can only be viewed within the context of both current and historical experiences of the Coloured population in South Africa. In post-apartheid South Africa, the school represents a potent symbol of, and site for, an attempt by a minority group to locate their place and rights in a transformed political and social environment.

The final section of this chapter looked at the use of the school as a location for the outworking of varying scales of governance. In Chapter 6 I employed Bîrzea's model of education within a nation in transition, this section has demonstrated a few of the means by which the process of transformation occurs, as a process of progressive challenges to structures of power.

This chapter has brought together the political debate of Chapter 2, the theoretical and historical analyses of Chapters 4 and 5, and the analysis of Chapters 6 and 7, thereby linking the key elements of this thesis to demonstrate the complexity of the issue of education in post-apartheid South Africa. The final chapter returns to these themes within the context of the original aims and objectives of the thesis set out in Chapter 1.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This concluding chapter considers the findings of this thesis within the context of the original objectives and central aim. The purpose of this chapter is not simply to draw conclusions and to locate the thesis within its broader research context, but also to indicate possible future research that would develop this work.

9.1 Objectives

Within this section I draw conclusions as to my research findings and their wider significance based on the objectives established in Chapter 1.

9.1.1. Objective 1. Is it correct to speak of a “Coloured” population of South Africa? Are there multiple forms of Colouredness? Does race as a mode of identification have relevance for post-apartheid South Africa?

The first question posed as part of Objective 1 is one that is central to this thesis and post-apartheid political and academic discourses. The question has both political and theoretical dimensions that are closely linked.

Many academics and members of the Coloured elite have rejected the term “Coloured”. In these circles the terms, “so-called Coloured” and “Black” are more commonly used. Both of these terms have been used to indicate the belief that “Coloured” should not be used as an identifier as it is a construct of South Africa’s racist history and is a term used to signify a group that has no internal cohesion. It is further believed that the continued use of the term Coloured validates the apartheid strategy of the classification and separation of peoples. This ideological stance is part of the process of Erasure as discussed in Chapter 4.

I did not find this attitude to be common within my field sites. The vast majority of learners were taken aback that someone should think that the term “Coloured” was offensive, and although a few within the Cape Town schools used the term “So-called Coloured”, it was without political motivation. It could be asserted that the attitudes of these pupils and teachers were still influenced by the power of the apartheid constructions and that they were less politically aware than the academic elite. There is certainly an element of this, but does this mean that they are wrong in continuing to recognise themselves as Coloured? Are they wrong in asserting an identity that the state holds to be counter to the processes of social and political transformation?¹

Through its historical analysis and investigation into issues in education, this thesis has begun to demonstrate why members of Coloured communities persist in identifying themselves and their communities as Coloured. It has indicated that the continued usage of the term Coloured is linked not simply to historical experiences and constructions, but also due to perception of experiences and threats to identity in post-apartheid South Africa. If identification as Coloured is to be rejected in favour of a more inclusive sense of South African-ness it will only occur from a position of security and will be internally motivated.

As this thesis has demonstrated many members of the Coloured population consider themselves to be threatened and marginalized and are therefore not in a position to abandon their identity as Coloured, which through its familiarity offers a sense of security. It is therefore still correct to speak of a Coloured population in

¹ Although members of the ANC have argued against the continued recognition of Colouredness and the use of apartheid terminology, the government continues to validate these distinctions. For example, while I was carrying out fieldwork at Trafalgar the school was issued with instructions to construct a database of all pupils and the subjects they took, according to race.

South Africa, as although it may sit uncomfortably with academic and political groups, it still has great cultural meaning for the majority of people classified as such. To reject it completely would demonstrate a lack of respect for the beliefs and voices of the majority of the Coloured population.

Through both analysis of historical documents and through interviews conducted I have demonstrated that the notion of Colouredness is grounded in a history that extends as far back as the earliest days at the Cape and has links with pre-colonial identities of the constituent people groups of today's Coloured population. This historical basis of identity not only gives the continued acceptance of Colouredness in the post-apartheid era validity, but also a positive and empowering association often ignored in the literature.

The continued recognition of Colouredness has further relevance due to the unique experiences of apartheid of people within that population group, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. In efforts to overcome the injustices of the past, it is essential to continue to use apartheid nomenclature to assess the outworking of policies.

One of the most powerful critiques of the persistence of Colouredness as a mode of identification has been that there is no such thing as a single Coloured population, and that people classed as Coloured by the apartheid system came from diverse populations grouped together for administrative purposes. This research has indicated that there is a wide diversity of ethnicities within the Coloured population and that the unique historical and geographical experiences of different communities have led to multiple understandings and expressions of Colouredness. However, as Chapter 4 indicated, it is possible to locate a degree of commonality that I believe allows such multiple forms of identity still to be considered as particular to the Coloured population as a whole. I claim that this commonality is the product of

external rather than internal factors. That is to say that the treatment of those classified as Coloured in colonial, union, apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa has encouraged the formation of common elements of identity. As Chapter 4 indicates the construction of Colouredness was largely based on the conditions of the relationship between the White population and those who came to be classified as Coloured. Therefore although there were cultural differences within the group, the commonality imposed from above led to the development of some form of internal cohesion.

Throughout Coloured history the negative construction of this group from outside (as has been the case in mixed-race groups throughout the world) has produced an interesting form of commonality of identity, through assertions of difference, as discussed in Chapter 8. In each field site there were efforts made by the community to assert a positive local construction of Colouredness, in opposition to the general construction. Through this rejection of normal constructions of Colouredness, the commonalities of Coloured as an identity were accepted as being true across the country, just not for them. I found that this complex and seemingly contradictory identity of self-loathing and self-elevation is a feature of Coloured communities and individuals.

Finally, in answering the question of whether race still has relevance as a mode of identification, I turn to the previous results. There have been many claims that the consideration of race over class in post-apartheid South Africa is counter-developmental and only further entrenches the social structure of apartheid. My findings indicate that the continued consideration of race is essential in understanding transformation and for critiquing government policy. Firstly, without an appreciation of race and culture, directions for policy direction will be over simplified and ineffective. Secondly, since apartheid operated on policies of differential treatment for

different population groups, it is essential to consider development in terms of these groupings in order to formulate strategies to overcome negative aspects of racial identification. This will enable communities themselves to choose to identify themselves as fellow South Africans, linked by common experiences and realities, rather than having these new identities imposed from above. Finally, the majority of the population continue to think in terms of race and not class. It is therefore essential to consider race when interpreting perceived biases in government policy, since the way that the general population reacts to policy has been shown to have profound impacts on patterns for future development.

9.1.2. Objective 2. Are assertions of marginalization made by all members of the Coloured population, or does this practice relate only to certain sectors of the population?

My research has indicated that assertions of marginalization are not made only by certain sectors of the population, they were common to all field sites and all generations. The central assertion was most clearly articulated by a pupil at Trafalgar, as illustrated below:

“When there was the White people in power, they got the most opportunities. Now the Black people are in power, they have the most opportunities. And the Coloureds, the Coloureds... well, we are always getting left out.” (Zaida 1 15/8/00)

This was the general theme of the claims of marginalization in all schools, including the economically privileged Coloured pupils at Camps Bay High School.

There are three possible reasons for this common assertion of marginalization. Firstly, it could be that there are common experiences of marginalization, this reason is discussed further in Section 9.1.3. There is evidence for this in the common

experiences of educational development programmes, such as the retrenchment of teaching staff and the increased financial strain placed upon Coloured schools. There is certainly evidence of marginalization of Coloured schools in relation to White schools when access to resources and the ability to adapt to new curriculum demands are considered. The losses incurred by the Coloured (and Indian) schools are the greatest and most disruptive of all school sectors. There are definite grounds for claims of marginalization within education when relative gains by other sectors are considered. The assertions of marginalization do however exceed the actual experiences of marginalization.

A second reason is that the Coloured population has been influenced by the media and powerful figureheads who have encouraged this belief (Cronin 2000). Cronin asserts many members of Coloured communities, particularly the less educated working-class people, are easily led and convinced by powerful figureheads. This is partly the result of the identity of compliance nurtured under apartheid, it is also linked to blind acceptance of leaders who claim to be able to protect them from the feared loss of status and the authority of religious leaders in Coloured communities (many political figureheads are also religious leaders or rely strongly on religious imagery). This was evident when interviewing pupils who inevitably told me of how they still were as marginalized as they had been under apartheid. When asked if they remembered what it was like under apartheid, most conceded that they did not, but they had been told about it and seen it on the television. Many of them were simply reproducing the arguments they had heard in the media or from community leaders.

A final, and related, reason is simply that the history of the Coloured population has led to a general identity based on a belief of marginalization. That is to

say, the constructions of Colouredness as in-between, as a buffer between Black and White, has encouraged the continued belief of intentional exclusion and difference. These historical experiences and constructions of marginalization have had major impacts upon how members of Coloured communities perceive the role in post-apartheid South Africa. These histories and experiences therefore need to be carefully considered in the construction of policies and programmes for development.

These three options have been considered within the thesis, at this point it is sufficient to note that assertions of marginalization are widespread and not just originating from certain key figures within the population.

9.1.3. Objective 3. Is there evidence that South African education policies are biased against the Coloured population? Is there evidence that government policy in general marginalizes the Coloured population? Is there a difference between government rhetoric on reconstruction and development and their implementation of policy?

The work of this thesis, particularly Chapter 6, has indicated that there is evidence that Coloured schools have been disproportionately affected by changes in education policy. Of particular note was the impact of the changes in staff provision to schools, however, the changes in the final structure of the school is of equal importance to the ability of schools to function adequately. As Chapter 6 indicated, financial structures have been put in place which have allowed historically White schools to maintain their advantages over other schools through to their ability to raise fees, and the bulk of redistribution is being aimed at historically Black schools. Coloured schools therefore consider that they have been disproportionately affected by changes. This has occurred for two reasons. The first reason is that they have seen their state funding

reduced considerably from the comparatively high levels contributed during the tricameral government era, as discussed in Chapter 6. Secondly, they do not have the community wealth to charge high fees to compensate for the loss of state funding. Where there are wealthier members of the communities, they have tended to send their children to the White schools.

In this thesis I have argued that many of these issues within education are not the impact of deliberate marginalization of the Coloured population, as some have asserted, but are the result of the DoE's best attempts to overcome major problems in the system resulting from the apartheid era. As noted in Chapter 6, education is being restructured in such a way as to serve the interests of the most powerful groups in South Africa, the White minority (holding the economic power) and the Black African majority (holding the political power). The Coloured population, which is not represented in either group is therefore marginalized through neglect. I believe therefore that although there is evidence that the Coloured population has been economically and culturally marginalized within education to a degree, this was not an intention of government policy.

In this research project I have indicated that there is evidence of marginalization within government education policy. I have also considered whether this was part of a broader problem of marginalization within government policies, particularly within Chapter 2. Through debate on the rhetoric of the state, particularly on the ANC's assertion of non-racialism, I have demonstrated that the ANC has as its primary aim the upliftment of the Black African majority in South Africa. Within government discussion there is often a failure to recognise the status on other population groups as victims of apartheid. This is has been particularly evident in the rhetoric of affirmative action programmes of the state and even in the practical

outworking of these policies. Although in major documents, such as the RDP and the President's State of the Nation Addresses, the language is carefully chosen to indicate a focus on all historically disadvantaged groups, the actual practical workings of the state marginalize the Coloured population by the prioritisation of Black African needs. As in the case of education I would argue that although there is evidence of the Coloured population not being prioritised within government policy, this is not a case of intentional neglect, rather the result of the prioritisation of key groups: the Black economic elite and the most historically disadvantaged. In the case of the most historically disadvantaged, the majority are Black South Africans, which has led many members of Coloured communities to believe that the government has focussed exclusively on Black interests.

The conclusions drawn indicate that there is a difference between government rhetoric on reconstruction and development and the implementation of policy. Chapter 6 reviewed this situation in the case of education policy, and introduced the notions of "time-lag", "unrealistic vision" and "resistance", with the first two being key factors in policy implementation. Given the economic and political history of the country, many of the policies developed and the proposed outcomes are highly unrealistic. This thesis has focused on education policies, but the problem is common to all areas of government policy implementation. The failure of policies to be effectively implemented has led some to question the government's intentions, asking whether there has ever been realistic intention for the inclusive rhetoric to become reality. This gap between official government rhetoric and policy implementation has heightened the sense of intentional marginalization and distrust amongst members of the Coloured population.

9.1.4. Objective 4. What suggestions can be made from this research in terms of developments in government education policy and implementation?

There are a number of suggestions to be made from the findings of this research, relating to Coloured education and more broadly to national education and general government policy development and implementation. This process has already begun, through the report submitted to Education Department on the draft of the Education, Values and Democracy report last year. Reports have also been submitted to field site schools with suggestions for modifications to school practices. It is anticipated that further reports will be made to both national and provincial education departments.

One of the main problems within all areas of education is that of financial limitations. In recognition of this general problem, the suggestions made in this section do not depend on greater financial input into the education system, since it is recognised that this is not feasible. Instead the focus is upon non-economic issues within education. This section deals with a number of aspects of education policy: mother tongue, curriculum content, transparency, the rights-based culture of education and spatial considerations. Each of these is briefly discussed before broader conclusions as to general policy development and implementation are considered.

9.1.4.1 Mother Tongue Instruction

One consistent characteristic of post-apartheid education policies has been the call for mother-tongue instruction to be made available to all pupils. This is largely a political response to the apartheid education policy of the prioritisation of English and Afrikaans thereby placing Black pupils at an educational disadvantage and also reinforcing the White cultural bias of apartheid. There are clear educational benefits to pupils learning in their home language.

The reality of education in South Africa is, however, far removed from this ideal. There are insufficient teaching resources available in languages other than English and Afrikaans. There are even problems with receiving resources in Afrikaans, as noted at Grassy Park where learners had paid for workbooks in Afrikaans which had not been delivered due to problems with the translation process (Roberts 4/5/01).

It is partly as a result of these problems with the provision of adequate resources that many pupils are not educated in their mother tongue. Some desire to receive mother tongue education where it is not available, but more commonly in my field sites, pupils rejected this option in order to be educated in English. This was true of both Coloured and Black pupils, who explained that not having a good command over the English language made them less able to find employment in higher paid sectors of the economy. A further reason within Coloured communities was the image of Afrikaans as bearing all the negative attributes of Colouredness; the gangsterism, the lack of education, the backwardness and servility.

My fieldwork indicated that there are considerable practical and cultural restrictions upon the implementation of mother tongue education. The Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (Department of Education 2001f) also calls for pupils whose home language is English or Afrikaans to learn an indigenous African language as well, in the belief that multilingualism will increase cross-cultural dialogue. It is worth noting that some of the most racist White South Africans are also those who are fluent in these languages, so multilingualism is no guarantee of tolerance. Given the severe economic and personnel shortages in Coloured schools, this is not immediately practical.

In the light of these restrictions, I would argue that the nature of language in education needs to be redeveloped to be related to present educational realities, rather than future projections. The DoE needs to develop a greater understanding as to why its policies are being resisted and develop language in education strategies to meet both the cultural and economic needs of pupils in schools.

9.1.4.2 Curriculum Content

One of the main criticisms to come from all schools was that the curriculum had been poorly defined and that the available resources were not adequately linked with the current curriculum. This problem is inevitable given the massive transformation occurring in the education system at present, particularly with the implementation of OBE and C2005. The nature of the new curriculum has also exacerbated this problem, in that there is a high degree of flexibility and school-led directing of the teaching material. This organic nature of the curriculum makes it difficult for resources to be prepared and adequately provided.

In the light of these problems, as discussed in Chapter 6, the nature of curriculum development needs to be closely examined by the DoE. The current nature of curriculum development can be seen to be a reaction against the lack of autonomy granted schools in the apartheid era. It is aimed to enable schools to meet the individual needs of their communities. However, it is clear that the current system has placed excessive demand upon teachers within schools. The instability of the curriculum has also led to considerable confusion amongst pupils and teachers. The nature of the curriculum needs to be simplified and stabilised. This would not only reduce the stresses upon teachers, but would also enable the development of adequate teaching resources. It is important to note that this problem is considerably worse in

many Black schools and solutions to these problems must consider the needs of all schools.

Given the feelings of marginalization within the Coloured communities regarding the education system I would further argue for a greater emphasis on Coloured cultural experiences in the curriculum. This would take the place of a greater focus on histories that include the Coloured population, an emphasis on cultural aspects of Coloured experiences in South Africa, such as the use of literature in *Gamtaal*, the form of Afrikaans widely spoken in Coloured communities. This would reflect current trends in the theatre, music and art. Through a more inclusive educational environment the role of the Coloured population in post-apartheid South Africa would be validated, thereby promoting a more positive sense of self, as discussed in Chapter 8.

9.1.4.3 Transparency

Within the original Values, Education and Democracy report (Department of Education 2000c) there was a call for greater transparency, openness and accountability within schools. By this, the authors meant creating an environment where questions could be asked, debates encouraged, where the teachers gave stability and structure and were punctual and present to provide positive role models. The document failed to note the importance of modelling this within the DoE and provincial education departments.

Just as pupils need to be well informed and secure in their learning environments in order to perform to the best of their abilities, teachers also need to be adequately informed and secure. In each of my field sites there was a sense of deep insecurity and confusion within the teaching staff. They felt uninformed and unvalued

by the national and provincial education departments, and this was having a major impact upon their teaching. It is therefore essential that all teachers in all schools are given adequate training and information to be able to perform to the best of their abilities in order to enable the education system to function. The education departments therefore need to invest in training programmes, particularly in non-metropolitan areas.

9.1.4.4 Rights-based culture

A further feature of post-apartheid education has been the move from teacher-led to a learner-directed system of education, coupled with a strong assertion of pupils' rights. As with other features of post-apartheid education, this ideology has been developed in response to the highly authoritarian nature of apartheid education.

As noted in Chapter 8 however, many of the schools are not in favour of this new ideology. This is in part the result of teachers trained in the previous system being unable, or unwilling, to adapt, but there is also evidence that the education system as it stands is not capable of operating with this ideology. The schools are too short of personnel to be able to teach effectively, even if the behaviour of pupils were exemplary. The behaviour of many pupils, particularly in under-resourced schools in poor communities, is influenced by wider community problems entering into the schools such as malnutrition, gangsterism, lack of positive role models and crime. The type of learner-centred approach being proposed by the DoE is not practical in these circumstances. The promotion of an individual rights-based culture within schools is stripping learners of their fundamental right to education, since conditions in the schools are becoming less conducive to learning.

9.1.4.5 Spatial Considerations

One of the largest problems revealed through this research is the absence of spatial consideration in the construction of education policies. This was dealt with extensively in Chapter 6 (Section 6.6). Although the post-apartheid governments have attempted to overcome many of the problems associated with the structure created throughout South Africa's history, they have largely failed to note the inherently spatial nature of apartheid. Within education policies there is little evidence of consideration of the nature of space and the impact of space upon implementation and identities.

In order for education to be an effective tool for social and economic transformation, policies need to be constructed with spatial considerations as an integral part of their development. This thesis has indicated that the reliance on resources and skills external to the school, as proposed within C2005, further disadvantages historically disadvantaged schools on the grounds of location. The majority of schools in rural areas serve historically disadvantaged communities. These schools, in addition to their relative resource poverty, have poor access to staff development programmes, such as OBE training workshops, due to their relative isolation. The cumulative effect of these spatial factors is that historically disadvantaged schools are being further marginalized in the post-apartheid era through the DoE's lack of spatial consideration in policy construction.

The focus on in-service teacher training should be more actively directed to serving non-Metropolitan communities. This process has begun in the Western Cape with the introduction of seven Education Management and Development Centres in the province to support schools (Western Cape Education Department 2001c).

However, of these seven centres, four are in the Cape Town Metropolitan area, one is in Paarl (60km from the centre of Cape Town), one is in Worcester (only 120km from Cape Town) and the last is in George in the Southern Cape. It appears that even in this excellent development, many schools in non-Metropolitan areas will continue to be under-represented in access to training and support.

Further to these training issues, the current reliance on resources external to the school needs to be reconsidered and strategies to bring resources to communities need to be developed.

9.1.4.6 General Considerations

There are two broad policy development problems that this thesis has drawn attention to. The first is that there is a lack of communication within and between departments. This has been highlighted several times within the thesis, particularly regarding lack of communication between economic and educational content policy construction. Communication needs to be improved not only within, but also between departments. Although the current government has attempted to draw closer links between the education and training system and industry, this has as yet had little effect on pupils' experiences. More collaborative schemes should be developed, particularly at the provincial level.

The second problem returns to the experiences of the Coloured population. Although there is no evidence of intentional marginalization of the Coloured population within South African policy development and government rhetoric, many believe that they are intentionally marginalized. In order to overcome this the government needs to develop a greater awareness of how their discourse is received, in order to promote a greater sense of inclusivity. In particular the use of the term

“Black”, meaning all Black African and Coloured people needs to be clarified, as it has been widely misunderstood. Many people in Coloured communities do not believe that the government pays sufficient attention to their needs. This could be challenged effectively by Members of Parliament being more active in visiting Coloured communities. The government uses what it considers to be a powerfully inclusive rhetoric in major policy documents and media releases, but it needs to recognise that this is not how it is received and take steps to overcome this problem.

9.1.5 Objective 5. In what ways does this research challenge literature on Coloured identity? What can this study contribute to an understanding of the processes of social transformation in South Africa?

This research project challenges the existing literature on Coloured identity/identities in a number of ways. This section considers three key contributions to the literature. Following this the focus turns the broader second question of the contribution to an understanding of the processes of social transformation in South Africa.

9.1.5.1 Importance of Spatiality

The first contribution to the literature is that it has highlighted the importance of the consideration of space. Much of the literature on Coloured identities has focussed on the experiences of the Coloured population of Cape Town. If there has been recognition of diversity this has tended to be framed around strict binaries of middle-class/working-class or rural/urban. This approach is at odds with the often-made assertion that the term Coloured should be abandoned due to diversity of the population group.

In this thesis I have demonstrated the impact of space and place on the production and maintenance of identities within the Coloured population of South Africa. Through this I have been able to demonstrate the diversity of Coloured experiences and identities. However, my analysis has also demonstrated that although spatiality allows different experiences and expressions of Colouredness, there are commonalities produced through similar experiences of external constructions.

The consideration of space has allowed analysis of Coloured identities to move beyond both the Cape Town biased model and simplistic binary constructions.

9.1.5.2 Importance of an Historical Approach

The second important element in this research was the historical analysis of the construction of Colouredness. Much of the previous research on Coloured identities has failed to acknowledge much of the pre-apartheid history. Within this thesis I have demonstrated that the perceptions of members of Coloured communities are more influenced more by their histories than has been given credit in research. This is of fundamental importance, since without this being acknowledged, reactions of members of the Coloured population to government policies and attempts at social transformation cannot be understood. Further analysis of the impact of historical experiences and constructions on present perceptions is vital in the development of South African social development policies and academic debate.

9.1.5.3 Cornered Communities

The major contribution to the literature is the development of Erasmus's application of the notion of Cornered Communities to South Africa's Coloured population. I have

used this theoretical stance as a means by which to challenge the existing dominant discourses of Erasure and Reification.

Chapter 4 deals extensively with this theoretical work and supports my argument with historical and spatial analysis. The notion of Cornered Communities is an important development in the literature on Coloured identities, since it provides a considerably more nuanced understanding of identities, the processes of their construction and the relationships of power in operation. Engagement with this theoretical framework provides a means of integrating historical experiences, spatial considerations and present perceptions, with the discussion of agency and structure. This is an important development in the literature on Coloured identities.

9.1.5.4 Wider Applications

The thesis makes several important contributions to understandings of processes of social transformation. The first is that it demonstrates the importance of the consideration of Coloured experiences as a means of analysing processes of social transformation. It challenges the general Black/White binary of much South African research. Through the focus on factors influencing perceptions of transformation of a minority group, claiming marginalization under both regimes, this research has located a powerful tool for analysis of intentions of the state and its power to implement policies based on these intentions.

Secondly, the thesis has demonstrated the importance of history on processes of social transformation. Much of the existing research focuses exclusively on apartheid history and its impact on the direction of social transformation and barriers to this transformation. Through this thesis's focus on the experiences of a particular population group and a specific sector, education, I have illustrated the importance of

the consideration of pre-apartheid history. This view of South Africa's past provides a greater understanding of failures of efforts to bring social transformation. Incorporation of these findings into policy development would lead to more effective programmes of implementation.

A third and related factor is the need for spatiality to be considered in policy development. As indicated earlier in this chapter, much of the power of the apartheid state was maintained by its control over space. These relic spatial structures have yet to be effectively challenged. Future policy planning for social transformation should have a strong spatial focus.

The final contribution of this thesis is the illustration it has provided of the importance of agency and power relations in the process of transformation. In Chapter 8 I discussed the relationships between difference scales of governance within the school. Through these small-scale examples, it is evident that the relationships need to be analysed further and structures developed to manage them. The issue of agency in the process of transformation is an important area that needs further consideration in both academic research and policy development.

As this section has demonstrated, this thesis has made significant contributions both to the literature on Coloured identities and on social transformation in South Africa. It also has clear political importance.

9.1.6. Objective 6. What can this research contribute to the international literatures on race, ethnicity and race relations?

There are two main contributions made by this thesis to the international literatures on race, ethnicity and race relations. The first is that throughout the thesis I have challenged the adoption of Anglo-American racial and ethnic theories. I have

recognised that these have some contribution to make, since South Africa's production of racialised identities was strongly influenced by Britain in the 19th century. However, the thesis has noted the importance of local factors in the production of identities: the people groups involved, economic factors within the country, the impact of space and even the form of religious development of the Afrikaners. I have demonstrated that the structures and meanings of race and ethnicity in South Africa are significantly different from those within the Anglo-American context, therefore the application of the latter's models for race relations and programmes for development is highly problematic. This thesis has therefore demonstrated the need for locally constructed programmes for the development of race relations and theories of race and ethnicity. These should be constructed with a much greater consideration of local history and geography than is currently the model.

The second contribution of this thesis has been its additions and challenges to the body of literature on hybrid identities. The work in Chapter 4 in particular indicated the importance of considering both the ability of groups to determine and construct their identities, and the external factors and constructions that place limitations on self-definition. Within much of the literature of hybrid identities, this second issue is often not given enough consideration. This thesis has sought to demonstrate the importance of the impact of history and spatiality upon identity construction. The spatial element is a fundamental element of this thesis which makes a valuable contribution to the literature on hybrid identities. The development of the notion of cornered communities provides a useful addition to the current theoretical work on hybrid identities.

This thesis can therefore be seen to have made valuable contributions to both South African and international bodies of literature.

9.2 *Central Aim*

The central aim of this research project was to analyse the claim of the Coloured population of the Western Cape that they are as socially and economically marginalized under the current government as they were under apartheid through a study of experiences of high school education.

Through the discussion of the above objectives, I have demonstrated the results of this research project. The research demonstrates that there is evidence to support the contention that the Coloured population continue to be marginalized by educational practices in the Western Cape. This marginalization is not necessarily the intention of the government, but is in part a necessary outworking of the efforts to amend apartheid and pre-apartheid inequalities. In addition, my research has demonstrated that there are limits to policy implementation and that these problems contribute to the degree of marginalization and perceptions of marginalization of the Coloured population.

My research has also demonstrated that perceptions of marginalization vary from community to community and that these perceptions are often disproportionate to actual experiences of marginalization. There is clear evidence that much of this is the result of the changing status and funding of Coloured education from apartheid to post-apartheid era. I have also claimed that this perceived marginalization is a product of historical experiences and constructions from outside.

The findings of this thesis indicate that many members of the Coloured population believe that they are as marginalized in the post-apartheid era as they were under apartheid. In the case of high school students this is largely based on received understandings of what it was like under apartheid. This assertion of unchanged

conditions of marginalization in the post-apartheid era has been challenged by the general political analysis and the particular focus on education experiences of this thesis. Members of Coloured communities tend to continue to be disadvantaged in relation to the White population, but less disadvantaged than the majority of Black South Africans. There is however greater fluidity in terms of social and economic opportunities than under the previous regime. It is therefore possible to conclude that although the Coloured population is still marginalized in relation to the White population, and at times to the Black population, the claim of unchanged conditions of marginalization must be rejected.

9.3 Directions for Future Research

This chapter has already indicated a number of directions for future research. This final section returns to four of the suggested areas for further research.

The first is that this thesis has demonstrated the need for a less Cape Town-centric approach to research on Coloured identities and experiences. There is a particular need for more research to be carried out on Coloured identities in small- to medium-sized towns in South Africa. This would further challenge the existing rural/urban binary division.

More broadly there is a need for further research on the changing nature of Colouredness in post-apartheid South Africa. This research should be cross-generational and multi-locational. This form of research would contribute to the debates on processes of social transformation and the shift from race to class as the primary mode of identification.

A third direction for future research is that of further studies of issues of policy implementation in South Africa, particularly with regard to the impact of spatiality on this process. This research should not simply look at problems with implementation and the conflict of interests at this point in the process, but also at the whole structure of policy development and how this fits with the state's vision for the development of South Africa.

The final direction for future research is a more theoretical consideration; further development of the notion of cornered communities. This research should develop the theoretical framework and become integrated into existing international literatures on identity construction and maintenance. Beyond these theoretical applications, the research should then be utilised to develop policy structures for application in the South African context.

9.4 Final Comments

This thesis has covered a wide range of theoretical, political, historical and geographical material in order to answer the claims of marginalization of the Coloured population. It is by its construction broad and inclusive. This has allowed the production of a number of policy suggestions and opportunities for future research. However, more importantly to me personally, this thesis developed out of concern for the experiences of my friends within the Coloured population. This research was an attempt to understand their situations and to provide opportunities for community development. It is my hope that in some way the act of fieldwork and the feedback I provided to the schools and their communities have achieved this. If I have succeeded in this, then I have achieved my main aim in writing this thesis.

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Appendix 1: Research Participants Cited

Research Participant	School	Role
A. Adonis	Emil Weder	Teacher (English)
Abrahams	Grassy Park	Teacher (English)
Adonis	Emil Weder	Head Teacher
Alana	Trafalgar	Gr. 8 pupil
Amanda	Grassy Park	Gr. 9 pupil
Andrew	Other	WCED Trainer
Aseef	Trafalgar	Gr. 11 pupil
Ayesha	Trafalgar	Gr. 8 pupil
Balie	Other	Curator of Genadendal Mission Museum, ex-Head Teacher of Emil Weder, and local historian
Bastiaan	Knysna	Teacher (Biology)
Behardien	Trafalgar	Teacher (Geography)
Bishop Ulster	Other	Retired Bishop of Moravian Church and community developer
Charmaine	Grassy Park	Gr. 11 pupil
Cloete	Emil Weder	Teacher (Geography)
Correia	Camps Bay	Teacher (English)
Cresswell	Emil Weder	Gr. 11 pupil
D'Allende	Grassy Park	Deputy Head (Geography)
Danfred	Emil Weder	Gr. 11 pupil
Emile YX?	Other	Member of local Hip Hop Group
Eugene	Emil Weder	Gr. 12 pupil
Fatima	Trafalgar	Gr. 10 pupil
Franke	Grassy Park	Teacher (English and Gr. 8 head of year)
Gavin	Grassy Park	Gr. 11 pupil
Hagglund	Knysna	Teacher (English)
Harriet	Emil Weder	Gr. 11 pupil
Hendricks	Trafalgar	Deputy Head (Accountancy)

Henry	Emil Weder	Gr. 12 pupil
Isaacs	Trafalgar	Teacher (History)
Jackie	Trafalgar	Gr. 9 pupil, Black
Kate	Other	Pupil at Overberg High (White school in Caledon)
Keegan	Emil Weder	Gr. 11 pupil
Keith	Knysna	Gr. 12 pupil
Khanyiso	Trafalgar	Gr. 11 pupil, Black
Kock	Knysna	Teacher (English)
Lameez	Trafalgar	Gr. 10 pupil
Lauren 1	Grassy Park	Gr. 9 pupil
Lauren 2	Knysna	Gr. 11 pupil
Leanne	Emil Weder	Gr. 11 pupil
Lionel	Knysna	Teacher (Biblical Studies)
Llewelyn	Grassy Park	Gr. 11 pupil
Low-Shang	Grassy Park	Teacher (Computing)
Mariam	Trafalgar	Gr. 8 pupil
Mark	Trafalgar	Gr. 8 pupil
Marlon	Grassy Park	Gr. 12 pupil
Martin	Trafalgar	Teacher (English)
Megan	Trafalgar	Gr. 10 pupil
Morné	Trafalgar	Gr. 8 pupil
Mrs. Hendricks	Other	Head teacher, Harold Cressy High School
Natalie	Grassy Park	Gr. 11 pupil
Neilton	Knysna	Gr. 12 pupil
Nicholas	Grassy Park	Gr. 12 pupil
Nicolette	Knysna	Gr. 12 pupil
Noddy	Trafalgar	Gr. 10 pupil
Parker	Grassy Park	Teacher (Economics)
Percy	Trafalgar	Head Boy, Gr. 12, Black
Poggenpol	Grassy Park	Teacher (English)
Prins	Trafalgar	Teacher (Business Economics)
Realda	Emil Weder	Gr. 11 pupil
Regan	Knysna	Gr. 11 pupil
Riva	Emil Weder	Gr. 11 pupil

Ronaldo	Emil Weder	Gr. 9 pupil
Roberts	Grassy Park	Teacher (Mathematics)
Shafieqa	Trafalgar	Head Girl, Gr. 12 pupil
Shamina	Grassy Park	Gr. 11 pupil
Stadler	Grassy Park	Head teacher
Tashmeena	Trafalgar	Gr. 8 pupil
Tashmeena	Trafalgar	Gr. 8 pupil
Tasneem	Grassy Park	Gr. 11 pupil
Terry	Trafalgar	Gr. 10 pupil
Thabo	Trafalgar	Gr. 9 pupil, Black
Titus	Grassy Park	Teacher (History)
Van Reenan	Grassy Park	Teacher (History)
Verhaelst	Knysna	Teacher (English)
Vernie	Emil Weder	Gr. 12 pupil
Vivian	Grassy Park	Gr. 12 pupil
Waheeda	Grassy Park	Gr. 11 pupil
Wentzl	Trafalgar	Teacher (English)
Yolande	Knysna	Gr. 12 pupil
Yumna	Trafalgar	Gr. 8 pupil
Zaida 1	Trafalgar	Gr. 12 pupil
Zaida 2	Trafalgar	Gr. 8 pupil

Appendix 2: Section of Fieldwork Diary

May 2:

Briefing: Report back on the meeting about what to do with Gr. 8 during the June exams. They decided that since some teachers have a much higher load with Gr. 8 it would be unfair to expect them to do the normal teaching duty and have other teachers just on invigilation. They therefore are going with having activities, one per day with each day representing one of the learning areas, except in the case of languages and social studies where they are split into two. Afterwards go to speak to D'Allende about the timetable again. He asks me to elaborate on the thesis a bit. When I say about the community side of it, he says that he doesn't think the community plays a big role in this school and then I ask him about the SGB and the Quorum. He says that three years ago they had no problem getting a quorum and had to have a vote on the SGB as too many nominees, this year they had to try a few times and then they had to get nominations at the meeting. He reckons that the parents who used to be involved have moved their children to other schools. But he doesn't feel so bad, because he knows a number of previous Model C schools where they have had problems getting a quorum. We also talk about the difference between here and South Peninsula, where the school gets a lot of money from the alumni and many of the traditional families still send their children there despite the fact that they can afford to send pupils to any other school. Also, as South Peninsula is out of the community and more popular they have the ability to refuse pupils, which they don't have here. He also talks about the problem of discipline. Think back to last week when after school there was an ex-pupil seen on the premises threatening another child with a knife. They normally have the gate patrolled, but the guy was helping with Soccer. Also there has been reported a hole in the fence, but the department hasn't provided money for more wire yet.

Lesson 1: Titus 9A History. Throughout lesson breaks into English. Is this for my benefit, or is this how lessons are taught? Starts lesson on Propaganda. Asks what it is and then says it can happen by the media, home, classroom and gives the examples of how they believe that everything American is good and Black is bad. Apparently they started the year with "Perceptions and Attitudes". Hands out pages with pictures to discuss on propaganda and its consequences, e.g. Hitler youth, migrant worker hostel, holocaust, Hector Peterson, raciology as science and identification of Jews. The class is very still throughout, a few look exhausted after the long weekend. Defines "perpetrator", "Victim", "bystander" and "collaborator". He then says they are all people like us, and all of us will be one or more of these at some point. Then talks briefly about how education was used by School, church, books. Says we still have racist perceptions although apartheid is over, we weren't born that way, so why? Says you must always be awake and aware to check that you don't have discrimination within you. Asks how the used to separate people in South Africa initially, in the context of the Star of David in Germany. A few offer skin colour and one offers the hair test. He asks who's heard of the Dompas, or the passbook. Only one is quite informed. Talks about the power of classifying for the state. Talks about the pencil test and they find it very amusing, they really don't appreciate how evil it really was. Compares two pictures, one of a WW2 concentration camp, the other of a migrant workers' hostel in South Africa. compares the two and talks about the similar discrimination, rights that they lack, e.g. privacy, poor clothing, hunger, sickness. He then says that these are the outworking of

discrimination and this is why we must be aware of our own prejudices. Says that they were born beyond apartheid and certainly after the worst of it, but they can't think that it hasn't affected them, they have received some of it within from their parents. Says that you still get children here saying, "We don't like Blacks", but asks how many black people they actually know. Then holds up the next picture which is of two black women and a white toddler sitting on the ground in front of a bench marked "Slegs Blankes". Asks how can it be that the toddler has more rights than these grown women. How can they be responsible enough to look after a white child, but not responsible enough to sit on a bench. Raises the challenge of the bystander nature, uses this in the context of domestic abuse and the silence around it. I wonder how much there is in their homes? He then asks what they can do about it. As a last point, and I think for my benefit they talk about identity issues. He starts by asking one girl what she would like to look like. She is silent. He then asks her, "OK, then, who do you think are attractive people?" Quietly, she says "I would like to look White". When they start naming attractive people they start with all the White Americans, Cindy Crawford, Britney, Christina Aguilera. Once they realise what they are doing they throw in a few others like Foxy Brown. And then one says "Macy Gray" and the whole class rolls around in laughter. Titus then asks them why that is funny and they say about her hair etc. and he then gets them on their perceptions of beauty and how the media conditions it. He then says about them all being Coloured and how mixed that is, I think in the context of what a strange term it is. He asks who of them have Xhosa family. No one admits to it. One girl is volunteered, but she explains that she has Portuguese Angolan family. He then asks who then has European ancestry. Many react to this. One girl says she has African American and Italian ancestry. Why is it OK to be African American and not African? Mr Titus says that he knows that he has European blood, but if you look at him, especially with his hair, he knows that there is now way that he only has European blood. He then says to them that many of their parents won't tell them about their African blood as they think it brings shame on the family.

Lesson 2: when going up to the lesson overhear a girl berating a boy for saying that he understands things in lessons when he doesn't, that's what teachers are there for. Good to hear that kind of accountability and positive peer pressure from kids. Geography, 9e3 Parsramen (also teaches Business Economics). Kids ribbing him re. his new haircut as well as the staff. The classroom is painted with Spiderman and other cartoons, as well as sports posters: soccer (local and foreign), rugby and cricket. Many maps on the walls (all the free ones again). Desks in three double rows. Seems to doing a spot test. Class monitor to make note of those not present or who come in late. Very very obvious gender division and over crowded (4 to 3 desks). Warns them that will be taking in their notebooks for moderation soon and says that will only get full marks if they do that little bit extra, get additional research done etc. I speak to him about this later and says that many of them get great resources and information from the papers and from the internet and other sources like Encarta. Dealing with 1ary, 2ary and 3ary activities. When they ask for a definition of 1ary activities, one lad defines it as old-fashioned work. Shows the general lack of interaction with people in rural areas. One girl, Ashlene, is keen to answer everything. I thought it was for my behalf, but speaking to Parsramen later it seems that she is always that demanding. She is not very academic at all, but always wanting to do stuff. He says that she has to be treated gently as if you tell her off she tends to think you don't like her and then gets very demoralised. He gets onto talking about Weber briefly, without mentioning it directly, but by talking about the location of the Koo factory by the fruit farms.

Then goes onto the differences between rural environments and urban environments. One girl answers, but she is clearly an Afrikaans speaker and struggles with English. Ashlene shouting out constantly. He asks another difference and a girl says that in urban areas people have successful jobs and that they don't in rural areas. Parsramen asks if all live in little Pondokkies in the rural areas, Ashlene says no, some live in double story Pondokkies. Work is all on photocopies from a new textbook, which has a lot of multicultural drawings in it. He comes over and talks to me about how nice it is to have this class as he knows them from last year. Also says that he still enjoys teaching, he knows that there are a lot of places worse off than here. He says that he has spent money on decorating his classroom for his sake. Basically he spends 6 hours a day here, he wants it to not be depressing. Notice that there are a few very white kids and one girl with red hair.

Lesson 3: Fisher away so no class to go to, was going to be life orientation. Run into Stadler who says that many teachers were away today and I almost got put into a class. I think they have brought in some substitute teachers, they seem to be older and not working so well with the new system. Walk around the back of the school to where Mandy's class is and see a few smokers hanging around, all lads. Difficult to regulate space as the buildings are all so densely packed with so many nooks. Roberts it outside with the remnants of her history class, as most of them are away on an economics and business economics class, seems a nice comfortable set up. Seem to be quite a few kids running errands and selling things. Argus delivery comes through around this time of day. Sitting outside an Arts and Culture lesson, sounds like its being led either by a substitute teacher or someone who is not happy with the OBE system, keeps referring to someone as "you boy".

Lesson 4: Go into the computer room, Low-Shang is always willing to talk to me about the school. Says how dynamic the teachers are here. Asks where I've been before, when I say Trafalgar he says what a rough school that is. He went there when he was selling software and said how bad he thought it was and that it came down from the attitudes of the teachers, talks about the dress code of the pupils and how it is led by the staff. Full of praise for this place. Says that one of the big positive points is that 80% of the teachers come from a 10km radius, therefore they are more committed to being in school (no need to travel long distances) and they are also part of the community that the school is serving. Again tells me how not a cent of this came from donations and when the school sent a letter out saying why had increase school fees one year to R400, the parents came back and said "Make it R450". Mrs Berry has a class for a lesson, 8a2. They are typing up an essay they have done on "why I'm happy/satisfied to be in South Africa" for an Afrikaans lesson. They are working mainly 2 to a computer, but are all quiet and courteous and get on with what they are trying to do. Mr Low-Shang is a good resource to have, even though Berry is very computer competent, just that extra pair of hands makes a big difference. Afterwards ask Berry if it would be possible to have a few examples of the piece when they have finished. During the lesson Low-Shang also mentions to me that the children in the Afrikaans classes tend to be from poorer backgrounds.

Lesson 5: Franke 9e3 History, dealing with Human Rights, gets them to work in groups. His board is followed with notes for a music lesson, basic theory. Their task is to take a situation at home, school or church (later adds Madressa – Muslim School) where they think a Human Right is being abused and to discuss it and come up with a solution. Interesting again that the church and mosque are considered so important again. Sit at the back with Ashlene's group. Sets them to do it in groups. One girl in my group takes the lead and explains again what they are meant to do.

Ashlene gets the idea of the old women gossiping at church. The other girl says they should do abuse of people at school. A lad comes over the Franke and asks about Freedom of Movement. Impressed by how they actually stick to the subject they are meant to be discussing, at least for the first 10 minutes or so. I like this whole problem solving approach, though sometimes left thinking about whether it is history. Ashlene and co. seem to be working out a drama or something, don't remember that being part of the brief. Overhear then talking about how rowdy they will be in Matric. Franke goes around the class checking on them. One lad comes over to me to tell me that it's David Beckham's birthday today. Franke seems to be a person with very little command over the group. They then go round the class putting forward their issue and how they would deal with it.

1) Lack of clean environment in school toilets. They get into a debate about fund-raising and the school. Franke says that they should go to the LRC about the issue and make them accountable. He says that they must also take responsibility for the toilets themselves. It seems that there are special toilets for Matrics.

2) Disrespect to teachers – right to freedom of expression. They suggest suspension, but Franke says that there are rules governing things like suspension

3) Hate speech and scratching in other people's bags at school (Liesel's group). She says that you must keep your bags with you and take responsibility for your stuff. Franke points out that they are trying to create a culture of trust and of group responsibility. Someone says about people in this school having a "Coloured mentality". Franke questions what they mean by that. His suggestion is that they should have a meeting about it in the class and agree to respect each other. Ashlene shouts out that that won't work. Franke says that they need to make conscious decisions to change.

4) Right to proper education – group of girls talking about getting hit at Madressa – the parents had a meeting with the Imam and it got solved. Franke says that this is a good example, problems will not generally continue if they are challenged.

5) Right to privacy - gossiping, judging of people by looks etc. Asks if they can solve this kind of discrimination on looks. They say no. Franke says that they need to build up trust. He says that Liesel suggested that you shouldn't trust anyone. She corrects him saying that she said that you mustn't trust everyone, you must know who you can trust. Good to see that kind of challenging of staff.

6) name calling – solve by standing up for the person being bullied and challenge the bully

7) Right to respect and privacy – stand up for self and throw the jibe back to them. Also recognise that they are jealous of you

8) Freedom of movement at school – wanting to play at back behind rugby posts, but the school won't let them as they think that they will smoke or jump the fence. He admits that there are some that are guilty, but not all. Franke asks if it is good to have rules that limit to protect. They say it is, but the field is part of the school and it is theirs. The school is overcrowded and there are people patrolling other parts of the field. It seems that in addition to staff and prefects there are some parents who patrol. They suggest more patrolling at the back. What is the use of having the space otherwise? Franke says that the school needs to re-assess the situation of the back field. So actually quite a successful lesson.

9) right to movement in houses – they raise the issue of curfews limiting your rights, but then also bring up the issue of competing rights, i.e. the rights of the parents and the rights of the child competing.

Appendix 3: Examples of Questionnaires Distributed

Emil Weder : Vraelys

N.B. Al antwoorde is naamloos.

1. Ouderdom 15 jr.
2. Geslag manlik
3. Graad 9.C
4. Geliefkoosde Sport en Span Rugby onder 15
5. Geliefkoosde Musiek en Groep Rave / Good hope DJ's / Black Noise
6. Wat wil jy doen nadat jy jou skoolloopbaan voltooi verder studeer vir argitek of kunst beoefen.
7. Na watter graad sal jy skool laat? Graad 12
8. Met wie woon jy? As jy broers en susters het, hoe oud is hulle? (As jy in die Koshuis woon, skryf waar jy woon gedurende die vakansie) Ek woon by my ma op Arniston gedurende vakansies met my broer en suster.
9. Wat beroep beoefen jou ouers:

Vader?	Eienaar van skeite (Visserman)
Moeder?	Ontvangsdame
Ander huishoudelike mense?	hou / Gebou werk
10. Watter taal praat julle in die huis? Watter ander tale praat jy? Afrikaans
11. Hoe lank is jy by Emil Weder gestudeer? 1 jaar
12. Watter skool het jy voorheen bygewoon? Primêre Riviersonderend
Sekondêre
13. Waar woon jy? Waenhuiskrans of Arniston
14. Het jy voorheen op 'n ander plek gewoon? Waar? Riviersonderend.
15. As jy in die Koshuis woon, hoekom het jy hier heen gekom? Om vir

myself in toekoms te bou.

Vir die volgende vrae, skryf slegs die nommer 1-5 neer (5 = sterk verskil, 4 = verskil, 3 = geen opinie, 2 = ooreenstem, 1 = strek ooreenstem) om jou opinie uit te druk. As jy addisionele inligting het, skryf asseblief langs jou nommer.

16. Ek kry 'n goeie opvoeding2.....
17. Ek kry dieselfde geleenthede as kinders by ander skole.....6.....
18. My opvoeding berei my voor vir die toekoms1.....
19. Opvoeding behoort morale waarde, en nie net feite in sluit nie2.....
20. Opvoeding aan Hoërskool Emil Weder sluit ook onderrig in morale waarde in.
.....2.....
21. Wat ek op skool leer, het my houding oor mense van ander kulture en plekke verander1.....
22. My opvoeding het veroorsaak dat ek deesdae anders oor myself voel1.....
23. My opvoeding is iets wat ek waardeer1.....
24. My opvoeding is vir my ouers belangrik.2.....
25. Is daar iets jy in die skool wil verander?
26. Het jy enige ander inligting?

Baie Dankie! 😊

Grassy Park High School/Grassy Park Hoërskool

N.B. All answers are anonymous/Alle antwoorde is naamloos

1. Age/Ouerdom. 14. 2. Sex/Geslag. F..... 3. Grade/Graad. 8...
4. Favourite sport and team. Geliefkoosde sport en span. Soccer Man-United
5. Favourite music style and artist. Geliefkoosde musiek en groep
House music R and B. R-kelly and Diddy K.
6. After what grade will you leave school? Na watter graad sal jy die skool verlaat?
gr. 12. MATRIC
7. What do you want to do when you finish school? Wat wil jy doen nadat jy jou skoolloopbaan voltooi het? I want to become an actor.
8. Who lives in the same house as you? By wie woon jy? My mother
father, Grandmother, Brother and my dog, shades.
9. How old are your brothers and sisters? Hoe oud is jou broers en susters? My
brother is 21 yrs old. My sisters are 24 and 26
yrs old.
10. Does anyone in your household work? What do they do? Watter beroep beoefen die mense in jou huis? Yes, my mother works and NBS bank
in cape town and my father is a taxi driver.
11. What language do you speak at home? Watter taal praat julle by die huis? English.
12. What other languages do you speak? Watter ander tale praat jy? Afrikaans
13. What year did you start attending Grassy Park High? In watter jaar het jy begin studeer aan Grassy Park Hoërskool? the year 2001
14. What other schools have you attended (Primary & Secondary)? Watter ander skole het jy voorheen bygewoon (Primêre & Sekondêre Skole)
Fairview Primary School
15. Where do you live (e.g. Grassy Park)? Waar woon jy (b.w. Grassy Park)?
Grassy Park
16. If you don't live in Grassy Park why did you choose to come to Grassy Park High? As jy nie in Grassy Park woon nie, hoekom het jy gekies om Grassy Park Hoërskool by te woon?
17. Have you lived anywhere else? Where? Het jy voorheen op 'n ander plek gewoon? Waar? NO.

For the following questions (18-26), write the number which best expresses your opinion (5 – strongly disagree, 4 – disagree, 3 – no opinion, 2- agree, 1 – strong agree). If you have additional comments, please write them next to the number. Vir die volgende vrae (18-26), skryf die nommer 1-5 neer om jou opinie uit te druk (5 – verskil grootliks, 4 – verskil, 3 – geen opinie, 2 – stem ooreen, 1 –stem heelhartig saam). As jy addisionele inligting het, skryf asseblief langs jou nommer.

18. I receive a good education. Ek kry 'n goeie opvoeding... 2.....
19. I have the same opportunities as children from other schools. Ek kry dieselfde geleenthede as kinders by ander skole.... 1.....
20. My education prepares me for the future I want. My opvoeding berei my voor vir die toekoms..... 1.....
21. Education should teach values and morals as well as just facts. Opvoeding behoort morele waardes, en nie net feite in te sluit nie... 2.....
22. Grassy Park High teaches values and morals as well as facts. Opvoeding aan Grassy Park Hoërskool sluit ook onderrig in morele waardes in. 1.....
23. What I have learned at school has changed my attitudes to people from other cultures and places. Wat ek op skool leer, beïnvloed my houding teenoor mense van ander kulture en plekke... 2.....
24. My education has affected how I feel about myself. My opvoeding het veroorsaak dat ek deesdae anders oor myself voel.... 1.....
25. My education is something that I value. My opvoeding is iets wat ek waardeer... 2..
26. My education is important to my parents. My opvoeding is belangrik vir my ouers 1.....

27. Is there anything about the school that you would change? Is daar enigiets omtrent

die skool wat jy wil verander? YES, some of the teachers mustn't shout at the

pupils for the smallest thing and before they shout at us they must

find out what's up first. 1 Reason

28. Any comments? Enige kommentaar? NO.

Thank you! ☺ Baie Dankie!

Appendix 4: Example of Interview Data

Group Interview: Grade 10b boys. Hendrick's room, lesson 4 Friday 18 August

Lameez, Mannenburg (1) (good looking well presented guy), Amir, Mitchell's Plain (2) rugby lad, dark, Salvatore, Bonteheuwel (3) small East Asian looking, Zehir, Woodstock (4) nice looking, trendy looking guy, Michael, Walmer Estate (5) small cheeky looking guy big teeth, smiley

J – OK, so some of you guys live quite close to the school and some of you...

2 – Mitchell's Plain

j – ja, how do you get here?

2 – train, takes about 40 minutes

j – ja, this is what I'm finding quite strange, because where I come from you basically go to school where you live. You know, the government says if you live in this area you must go to this school, but it doesn't seem to be like that here

5 – no here you can choose any school

1 – ja, any school you like to go to

2 – that's why this school gave us until half past eight to get to school because people travel so far to come here, but you must know the reason why I'm here is because my parents and my grandparents came here

j – ja, do you guys also have family here

1 – ja, all my family have come here

2 – the Emarens are family of us

j – ja, it seems like everyone's related in this school, like all the staff are related and all the pupils are related

4 – ja, most of those teachers are like family

j – so have you guys thought of going to any other schools or

4 – ja, I used to go to Queens Park. It was a huge jump because it was so different. Like everything was in order. Because when I started at this school they still had to do all the timetables and stuff. It took about a week or so. The first day you came into the school at Queens Park you had to work

j – ja, OK, so how come you decided to change to Trafalgar?

4 – I just came here I don't know why.

J – so, none of you guys wanted to go to Cressy?

General no

4 – no man, I don't like Cressy

3 – no way

5 – they are like our worst enemies in everything, I mean we have a lot of friends there, like they're all friends, but in sport its like war

1 – ja, there's this real competition between the two

2 – ja, when we play against Cressy its just violence

j – ja, because that match on Wednesday...

1 – ja, we saw you there, what did you think?

J – well, it was like war....

Some girls come in so they switch the tape off

1 – ja, as we were saying, Cressy and Trafalgar are worst enemies in any sports or so

2 – yesterday we were mos fighting with them

5 – yoh, and the referee couldn't do anything?
 J – (to 5) were you playing?
 5 – no, but he (2) played.
 2 – ja, I saw you there with Miss Southgate and Miss Martin
 1 – it was like Cressy, man, they don't want to play the ball they want to play the man, the want to hurt people
 2 – ja, they don't play the game they play the man
 j – ja, and like the game started quite nicely and then... but you guys have still got one pool game left and then to the finals hey?
 2 – ja, next Wednesday we play against Gardens Commercial
 5 – ja, and then we must decide of who we play against in the semi-finals, and then if we win that semi-final final then we play the final against whoever.
 J – ja, probably against Cressy hey?
 2 – ja, probably
 j – do you guys know anyone who goes to, you know, what used to be the White schools?
 1 – SACS?
 general ja
 1 – um, there by my cousin's, he attends SACS, Shafeeq, he lives by Hanover Park. Its not actually, how can I say, its not racism on that school like it is.... I mean ¾ of that school is white, and we like went, er, I have season tickets... like the majority of them is white. I have a season ticket for the Stormers and that and I met a lot of them and they are cool, very cool, the White Ous. You know, they were talking with us, making jokes
 4 – there's hardly whites there on Cape Town High
 j – is it?
 1 – ja, because the drugs and
 2 – the drugs is worse than this school.
 4 – that's one of the worst schools for the drugs
 3 – one of the worst schools in Cape Town
 j – ja, but they still seem to have loads more facilities, they have better sports facilities and stuff
 5 – ja, they have a lot of stuff, but that's because they are a rich school
 2 – there was a lot of whites that used to go there, but now mostly blacks
 j – is it, because I like lived in Camps Bay when I was a kid and we lived there until 1988, and in those days it was a completely white school.
 4 – but you never see whites going to township schools. Ja, but I saw in the newspaper two days ago that this one white boy decided he wanted to go to a township School
 1 – ja, I saw that, uh
 j – yoh, I've never heard of that
 1 – I was watching the news yesterday and I saw like this lady's, um, she killed, this lady's lover killed her husband, she planned it. And like a 1000 black children from the school and other schools, like, er, wanted to kill her and she was in protective custody and they like opened fire on the policeman in the school grounds. Yo, what's happening
 j – ja, I heard that one too. I don't know it seems like township schools are very different to...
 3 – ja, they're more violent
 1 – ja, like some of the black children fight on the school here, like two children and then maybe somebody else from another school will come and fight them.

3 – and then there'll be this huge fight
 4 – everyone fighting
 General excited talk about fights can't separate on tape
 J – ja, because I heard that a couple of years ago there was quite a lot of gang activity in this School
 General ja
 2 – ja, and like if a Black and a Coloured have a fight then its like blacks against coloureds outside the school fighting
 j – ja, its weird, hey, because I like came here thinking that maybe because the schools are integrated people would all like sit together in classes, but its really not like that
 5 – ja, like you'll see the class half blacks there and half coloureds on one side
 2 – ja, they don't mix, its like Coloureds... Blacks
 4 – but I think like maybe its not because of the racism, its because of language
 1 – ja, the language, so...
 4 – ja, cos you going to sit like one out of ten black children because they're like just going to talk Xhosa, they're not going to talk English
 5 – and their friends all know it, so they're used to it, their culture
 2 – you get some different black people, like Victor. He will like sit with us in class and make jokes and that
 3 – he often won't sit with black kids
 2 – he's cool. ja, its almost as if he's a Coloured
 1 – its because he lived in Woodstock
 5 – he's a black but he says some weird stuff, like he doesn't like blacks.
 2 – ja, he doesn't like blacks
 2 – ja, like he says he doesn't like black people, I don't know why
 j – ja, so do you think it's because people live apart that they stay apart in school?
 4 – no, well, he lives in Langa now
 1 – ja, he lives in Langa
 3 – doesn't live in Woodstock anymore
 1 – but because he lived in Woodstock he's like one of the guys
 j – so do you think the situation's going to get any better in the school, or will it stay like it is?
 1 – you can't say, you can't judge because you don't know what will happen tomorrow. We never... so you have to see
 5 – wait and see
 1 – what happens. Maybe in a year or two some changes will happen, hopefully soon, I hope so.
 J – do you think the changes have got to come from the pupils or from the teachers?
 General boths
 4 – both teachers and pupils, maybe get a black teacher
 j – ja, because on the questionnaires I did, a lot of the Xhosa speakers were saying that they wanted to have a black teacher at the school, do you think that would make a difference?
 3 – ja, maybe
 1 – it will make a difference
 5 – I don't think it will make a difference, they will still disrupt classes
 2 – did we have any black teachers here already?
 4 – last year at Queens Park they introduced this black teacher to us, but, I don't... OK, you know the Xhosas speak loudly and so on, but when he taught them they were quiet, because they want to... because mos its like their own culture, and so on. He

was always sitting with them because... and it was like Maths or English and he was like speaking Xhosa to them, so we were fighting it and we were having walk outs and going to the principals office and so on.

J – so you think it probably causes more problems than it solved?

4 – ja

j – but would you like it to change? Would you like to have more...

1 – mixing? Ja.

5 – ja, to have less fighting and

2 – the easiest way you would be to ban Xhosa

4 – ja

1 – ja, the children must stop speaking Xhosa, because this is an English school. But it's their first language. But now the teachers say something to them and they answer back in Xhosa

3 – ja, they swear in Xhosa

j – and you have no idea what they're saying

5 – ja, that's the worst thing

j – but there's also a lot of guys who come from Afrikaans families

general ja

j – and they speak Afrikaans in class the whole time as well

1 – like Gerald, he's an Afrikaan but he speaks English

2 – most of them understand Afrikaans you see

4 – like there was this girl who scored a hundred, 190-odd, a black girl, for Afrikaans in the June Exams. She got a C, I mean that's good for her.

1 – ja, that's her third language which she's speaking

j – ja, when I was doing the questionnaire I was asking people to write down the languages they spoke and some had 4 or 5 black languages and English and Afrikaans. I mean I can only speak English and understand Afrikaans. So, do you think out of school things have changed much since the end of apartheid?

General ja

1 – ja, you can see like, not all, but a lot of white people did actually change. Because you can see like, when I walk out of school and see you know the people on the street and they ask white people for money, Some white people will give. But then again you walk further and you see another man and...

2 – you see also a white walking married to a, with a...

5 & 3 – black

2 – black, and they've got married.

1 – like on primary school, I had a white teacher who was married to a black man. And now, like, I'm checking how did they get along. Comes to, you come to realise that everything's changed, apartheid is finished, people mix now.

INTERVIEW CONTINUED