

OPENING PANDORA'S BOX?

**Desegregation and Transformation in Six Elite Public Schools
in the Western Cape Province of South Africa**

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	iii
Declaration of originality	iv
Plagiarism declaration	iv
Copyright	iv
Abbreviations and acronyms	v
List of addenda	vi
List of tables	vii
List of figures	viii
Clarification of form and meaning	ix
PART 1: BACKGROUND AND BASIS OF THE STUDY	
CHAPTER 1: LOCATING THE RESEARCH	1
1.1 Introductory comment	1
1.2 School desegregation as international focus point	2
1.3 School segregation and desegregation in South Africa	2
1.3.1 Regulatory changes allowing for the voluntary desegregation of public schools in 1990	5
1.3.2 The role and effect of politics on desegregation in the sample schools	7
1.4 The study	9
1.4.1 The aims of the study	10
1.4.2 The study objectives	10
1.4.3 The research context	11
1.5 The research questions	12
1.5.1 The main question	12
1.5.2 The sub-questions	12
1.6 An overview of the thesis	13
1.7 Concluding comment	14
CHAPTER 2: A REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE	15
2.1 Background	15
2.2 Literature on school segregation and desegregation in an international context	16
2.2.1 Literature on school desegregation in the US	16
2.2.2 Literature on school desegregation in Great Britain	19
2.2.3 Literature on school desegregation in South Africa	20

2.3	Literature on a perceived shift from racism to ‘classism’ in school choice and learner admissions	29
2.4	Literature on school marketisation	30
2.5	Concluding comment	38
CHAPTER 3: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK		39
3.1	Introductory comment	39
3.2	Theoretical antecedents	40
3.2.1	Durkheim and Social Facts, Social Solidarity and Control	40
3.2.2	Bernstein and Moral Order, Cohesion and Attachment to the Collective	41
3.2.3	Braddock and the Perpetuation Hypothesis	42
3.2.4	Bell and the Interest Convergence Thesis	43
3.2.5	Tilly, the Durable Inequalities Thesis and the concept of ‘Opportunity Hoarding’	45
3.3	The issue of ethos	47
3.3.1	What is ethos	47
3.3.2	Particularising ethos	48
3.3.3	Ethos in schools	51
3.3.4	The impact of ethos	53
3.4	Marketisation as an influential component of ethos	54
3.5	Concluding comment	57
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY		58
4.1	Introductory comment	58
4.2	Framing and delineating the investigation	58
4.3	The study sample	59
4.3.1	The study area	59
4.3.2	The selection of the sample schools	61
4.3.3	An introduction to the schools within their community context	61
4.4	Data collection	66
4.4.1	Quantitative data collection	66
4.4.2	Qualitative data collection	68
4.4.3	Source documents	69
4.4.4	The interview instruments	69
4.5	Issues of reliability, accuracy and generalisability	71
4.5.1	Reliability	71

4.5.2	Accuracy	72
4.5.3	Generalisability	72
4.6	Concluding comment	73

PART II: PRESENTATION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

CHAPTER 5: FROM SEGREGATION TO DESEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS	74	
5.1	Introductory comment	74
5.2	The desegregation of the collective of South African public schools	74
5.3	Groundwork towards the racial diversification of public schooling in South Africa	78
5.3.1	Schools acting against the grain of their own racial biographies	78
5.3.2	The triggers for 'going open' in 1990	80
5.3.3	The drivers of the process of 'going open'	84
5.4	Common responses to desegregation in the sample schools	85
5.4.1	The cultivation of an 'ideology of racelessness'	85
5.4.2	The preservation of the school's existing ethos	87
5.4.3	The perpetuation of existing operational approaches	90
5.4.4	A dearth of understanding around change and a lack of readiness for fundamental transformation	91
5.4.5	The question of standards	92
5.5	Marketisation in desegregating elite schools	94
5.5.1	Background	94
5.5.2	Selecting and excluding learners at the time of the initial desegregation of the sample schools	94
5.6	The pursuit of market share: Hunter's strategies as applied in the sample schools	101
5.6.1	Selecting and excluding learners	101
5.6.2	Maximising revenue by charging escalating school fees	103
5.6.3	Enhancing social networks	103
5.6.4	Improving academic results	104
5.7	Marketing, marketisation and commodification in the sample schools	105
5.7.1	Setting the scene	105
5.7.2	Marketing	106
5.7.3	Marketisation	107
5.7.4	Commodification	108
5.8	Concluding comment	109

CHAPTER 6: THE EVOLUTION OF AN ETHOS OF SCHOOL CHANGE	110
6.1 Background	110
6.2 The origins and evolution of ethos in the sample schools	110
6.2.1 Whence the ethos in the sample schools	110
6.2.2 The evolution of ethos in the sample schools	111
6.3 An inherited generic ethos common to all the sample schools	113
6.3.1 An inherited architectural ethos	113
6.3.2 An ethos of history and tradition	115
6.3.3 An ethos of established excellence, achievement and merit	115
6.3.4 An ethos of selectivity, class and culture	116
6.3.5 Social drawing power	116
6.4 A developed associative ethos	119
6.4.1 An English-medium ethos	119
6.4.2 A classic liberal ethos	120
6.4.3 A genderised ethos	121
6.4.4 A geographically-based ethos	122
6.5 The unique institutional ethos in the sample schools	123
6.5.1 Site, situation and architecture	124
6.5.2 Cultural, social and religious influences	125
6.5.3 A traditionalist vs. progressive ethos	128
6.5.4 The impact of the schools' catchment areas on their ethos	129
6.5.5 Neighbouring institutions as influencing factors	133
6.5.6 Variations in sporting ethos	134
6.5.7 The ethos of cultural activity	136
6.5.8 An imposed ethos of change	138
6.6 Concluding comment	139
CHAPTER 7: DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS	140
7.1 Introduction	140
7.2 Moving the racial demographics forward.	140
7.2.1 Setting the scene	140
7.2.2 Four 'waves of change' in the sample schools	141
7.2.3 Difficulties concerning data	142
7.3 Changes to learner demographics in the sample schools	142
7.3.1 Early demographic changes – "breaking the legal prohibition ..."	142
7.3.2 The second wave – "a period of conservation and consolidation ..."	144
7.3.3 The third wave – "from desegregation to transformation ...?"	147

7.3.4	The final years – “and then there were the #Fallists ...”	152
7.4	Societal reaction to the opening of white public schools to learners of all population groups	154
7.5	Demographic changes to staff, management teams and governing bodies in the sample schools	155
7.5.1	The racial demographics of educators	155
7.5.2	The racial demographics of management teams	159
7.5.3	The racial demographics of governing bodies	162
7.6	Concluding comment	164
 CHAPTER 8: TRANSFORMATION BEYOND DEMOGRAPHICS		166
8.1	Introductory comment	166
8.2	The influence of #Fallism	167
8.3	The transformation of ethos	168
8.3.1	The creation of a ‘transformation structure’	169
8.3.2	The transformation of learner attitudes	170
8.3.3	The place of history and symbols	171
8.3.4	The transformation of legacy and ritual	172
8.3.5	Change related to languages	174
8.3.6	The approach to scholarships	176
8.3.7	Selecting and excluding learners	177
8.3.8	The transformation of learner leadership	179
8.3.9	The transformation of conduct, dress and grooming	180
8.3.10	Creating ‘safe spaces’ where learners hold an opinion and support a cause	182
8.3.11	The transformation of the academic curriculum, sport and cultural activities	183
8.4	Transformation at the level of staffing, management and governance	187
8.5	Concluding comment	188
 CHAPTER 9: OVERVIEW, LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS		189
9.1	Introductory comments	189
9.1.1	Background	189
9.1.2	The research questions	189
9.1.3	Data sources	190
9.2	An overview of the research findings	190
9.3	Answering the research questions	191
9.3.1	Whence the contrasting demographic patterns	191

9.3.2	The triggers and drivers of school desegregation	197
9.3.3	The impact of desegregation on school ethos	199
9.4	Developing a unique ethos in each of the sample schools	202
9.5	Changing learner demographics	205
9.6	Changing adult demographics	208
9.7	Responding to change	209
9.7.1	Initial response	209
9.7.2	Responses to reduced government financing and staff right-sizing	209
9.7.3	Responses to marketisation in desegregating schools	210
9.8	The alignment of school change in the sample schools with the identified theoretical antecedents	210
9.8.1	Interest convergence thesis	210
9.8.2	Perpetuation hypothesis	211
9.8.3	The concept of 'Opportunity Hoarding'	211
9.9	Quo vadis?	212
9.10	Limitations of the study	213
9.11	The opening of South Africa's elite public schools – a Pandora's Box?	214
	References	216
	Addenda	232

ABSTRACT

OPENING PANDORA'S BOX?

Desegregation and Transformation in Six Elite Public Schools in the Western Cape Province of South Africa

In 1991, four years before race-based enrolments were outlawed in South Africa, 204 white public schools opened their enrolments to learners from 'other' population groups. Their desegregatory actions differed from international desegregatory precedent, however, and the schools appeared to act against the traditions of their own racial biographies (Jansen and Kriger, 2020). The questions arising from their atypical trajectories of transformation, together with a paucity of prior research on the topic, provided the impetus for the research.

The study considers the desegregationist and transformational trajectories followed by six elite white public schools in Cape Town's southern suburbs – the “most untransformable area in southern Africa” (Jansen and Kriger, 2020, 2) – during the period 1990 to 2019. It identifies contextual factors which influenced change in the sample schools, and examines the impact of desegregation on their functioning and ethos over three decades.

The main research question considers how and why public schools in similar communities, which followed identical laid-down desegregatory procedures in 1990, emerged with such contrasting demographic patterns and school ethos. The study considers racial and class demographics at learner, staffing, management and governance levels, transformation beyond demography, the post-desegregation marketisation of schools and the commodification of learning and learners.

Initially the sample schools manifested pronounced similarities of ethos rooted in a 19th-century Arnoldian inheritance typified in the approaches of Britain's public and grammar schools of that time. During the course of the study period, however, markedly different patterns emerged.

The most important findings to materialise are the following:

- By the end of the study period markedly different levels of learner desegregation – from 29% to 99% learners of colour – were manifest across the sample schools;
- Despite notable learner desegregation in four schools, the desegregation of the governance, management and educator components in all the sample schools was limited;
- Three distinct 'eras' surfaced around the schools' desegregatory and transformational trajectories:

- an immediate post-1990 period characterised by a preponderant intent to break the legal prohibition on the enrolment of learners of colour, manifesting in the assimilation of the new intake, the preservation of ethos and the perpetuation of traditional approaches;
 - a second era, encompassing the period 1997 to 2015, characterised by consolidation and conservation; and accompanied by the modulation of race as the critical segregationist criterion through the increasing stratification of schools by class;
 - a third era, provoked by the pressures of #Fallism and characterised by changing mindsets and approaches to school attributes as divergent as ritual, learner leadership and the provision of bursaries.
- The two latter eras saw the commodification of education instilling a change in the provision of schooling as a prescribed public entitlement for residents within reasonable proximity to a school, to a commodity for private consumption aimed at those able to ‘purchase’ it through a contribution to the school’s financial, social or performatory capital.
 - Whereas historico-political and racial discrimination has not been eradicated from school choice and learner selection processes, the study postulates that levels of desegregation and transformation are also influenced by features of the urban landscape like transport nodes and conduits; catchment area and feeder school demographics; racial configurations in contiguous suburbs; and the social drawing power or ‘aura’ (Tatar, 1995) of the schools.
 - Indeed, geographical location emerged as a considerable factor in desegregatory developments in schools. Factors such as physical locality and proximity to public transport routes, and urban geographic developments such as commercial encroachment into the residential spaces in close proximity to schools surfaced as among the strongest determinants of the ways transformation unfolded in South Africa's desegregating suburban schools. The schools’ individual catchment areas, aligned feeder schools and unique social drawing powers were also influential, manifesting in both their widely differing demographic patterns and an own unique ethos in each school. Much of the ‘sameness’ had dissipated.

In arriving at its conclusions, the study focussed on the decisions, responses and reactions of leadership, management and officialdom rather than canvassing the opinions of learners and parents. The latter have no executive or decision-making powers in their individual capacities, and their collective opinions were canvassed by means of interviews with representatives of the schools’ governing bodies, wherein both groups have representation.

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The ideas, opinions and conclusions expressed in the pages that follow do not necessarily reflect the views of any of the above.

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Cape Town has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university, that this is my own work in design and execution, and that all material from published sources contained herein has been duly acknowledged.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

APBSA	The Association of Public Boys' Schools of South Africa
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
DBE	Department of Basic Education
IBSC	The International Boys' Schools Coalition
KZN	The province of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa
MEC	Member of the Executive Council (the senior political luminary in a provincial government department)
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
OBE	Outcomes-based Education
OSA	Open Schools Association (also used briefly and regionally by an opposing organisation calling itself the Own Schools Association)
RCL	Representative Council of Learners
SACS	South African College Schools
SAGSA	South African Girls' Schools Association
SASA	South African Schools Act, 84 of 1996
SATA	South African Teachers Association
SGB	School Governing Body
SMT	Senior Management Team
UCT	The University of Cape Town
UK	The United Kingdom of England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales
US	The United States of America

LIST OF ADDENDA

Addendum 1	Granting of approval for the research by the UCT Ethics Committee
Addendum 2	Researcher's request to schools to participate in the research project
Addendum 3	Supervisors' request to schools to grant research access
Addendum 4	Interview information for participants
Addendum 5	Consent form to be signed by research participants
Addendum 6	Distribution and types of interviews undertaken
Addendum 7	Summary of interview schedule and description of information elicited
Addendum 8	Principals' interview schedules – types, examples and categories of questions
Addendum 9	Interview schedule – first-generation principals
Addendum 10	Interview schedule – second-generation principals
Addendum 11	Interview schedule – third-generation and #Fallist period principals
Addendum 12	Interview schedule – first-generation governors
Addendum 13	Interview schedule – second-generation governors
Addendum 14	Interview schedule – third-generation governors
Addendum 15	Interview schedule – senior state officials involved in facilitating desegregation
Addendum 16	Interview schedule – senior officials in a professional association which facilitated and assisted in public school desegregation
Addendum 17	Interview schedule – senior official in a professional association providing guidance on desegregation
Addendum 18	Interview schedule – miscellaneous, unattached observers
Addendum 19	Conference motions with a racial connotation passed by the SATA 1977-1990
Addendum 20	List of schools in the 'Wynberg-Mowbray educational corridor'
Addendum 21	Cape Education Department Circular 65/1990 detailing the procedures necessary for opening a school to all race groups
Addendum 22	Explanation of the application of Circular 65/1990
Addendum 23	Critical court cases that influenced education during the study period

LIST OF TABLES

Table 5.1	Desegregation of schools: Learner movements (per racial classification) into previously segregated schools (Source: Department of Basic Education, unpublished, own calculations)	77
Table 5.2	Increasing enrolments in the sample schools in the period 1990 to 1997 (Source: Individual school records, unpublished, own calculations)	102
Table 6.1	Learners of colour in sample high schools and their aligned primary schools (Source: Department of Basic Education, unpublished, own calculations)	132
Table 7.1	Demographic breakdown of learner populations in the sample schools in 2006, by percentages (Source: Department of Basic Education, unpublished, own calculations)	147
Table 7.2	Increasing enrolments in the sample schools in the period 1997 to 2006 (Source: Individual school records, unpublished, own calculations)	147
Table 7.3	Demographic breakdown of learner populations in the sample schools in 2015, by percentages (Source: Individual school records, unpublished, own calculations)	148
Table 7.4	Comparison between Learners of Colour in sample schools vs. People of Colour in the immediately contiguous suburb and the broader assessed catchment area (Source: School data, 2011 Census figures and own assessment of catchment areas)	150
Table 7.5	Demographic breakdown of learner populations in the sample schools in 2019, by percentages (Source: Department of Basic Education, unpublished, own calculations)	153
Table 7.6	Desegregation of teaching staff in sample schools – 1997 (Source: Individual school records, unpublished, own calculations)	156
Table 7.7	Desegregation of educator component in the sample schools – 1997 to 2019 (Source: Individual school records, unpublished, own calculations)	158
Table 7.8	Desegregation of Senior Management Group in the sample schools – 1997 to 2019 (Source: Individual school records, unpublished, own calculations)	161
Table 7.9	Desegregation of the governance component (i.e. elected, appointed and/or co-opted members) in the sample schools – 1997 to 2019 (Source: Individual school records, unpublished, own calculations)	163
Table 9.1	Desegregation of Educators, Senior Management Teams and School Governing Bodies, 2019 (Source: Own research, school sources and cross-referencing of schedules and photographs)	208

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1	The Study Area: The Wynberg-Mowbray educational corridor, with divisive transport arteries Source: Data: City of Cape Town open data portal (https://odp-cctegis.opendata.arcgis.com/) Cartographic assistance provided in respect of map creation: UCT Libraries GIS Lab	60
Figure 6.1	A schematic representation of the inflow of learners from suburbs forming the secondary catchment areas to the primary catchment area Source: Data: City of Cape Town open data portal (https://odp-cctegis.opendata.arcgis.com/) Cartographic assistance provided in respect of map creation: UCT Libraries GIS Lab	131

CLARIFICATION OF FORM AND MEANING

a) A matter of form: the use of quotation marks and ‘scare quotes’

Throughout this thesis double inverted commas are used in the standard form to denote the exact words used by a source being quoted. In a different form, The Oxford Manual of Style (an internal university style guide) indicates that single inverted commas – what it refers to as ‘scare quotes’ – may serve ‘to hold up a word for inspection, as if by tongs, providing a cordon sanitaire between the word and the writer’s finer sensibilities’. Single inverted commas are further used to denote foreign, technical or otherwise potentially unfamiliar words; words being used somewhat peculiarly – e.g. to indicate irony, inaccuracy, or scepticism; or to indicate that a word or phrase is being used in a form and with a meaning which is widely and semi-idiomatically used to denote an accepted concept. The following examples of the use of ‘scare quotes’ from the thesis illustrate such usage:

- To ‘go open’ refers to the decision to desegregate taken by schools in October/November 1991 and shortly thereafter: as in the schools were granted permission to ‘go open’ and the ‘going open’ of the schools in 1991 ...;
- Widely used local terms used colloquially: as in where different interviewees, highlighting the variances in ethos, chose to comment on the differing emphases of ‘rugger-buggers’ and ‘culture vultures’;
- Terms borrowed from another language which may be unfamiliar to some: e.g. descriptors of terrain as in ‘platteland’ to denote country districts, rural or backveld areas; and ‘vleis’ denoting lakes, marshes or swamps – ‘vlei’ is the singular form and ‘vleis’ plural. In this study, these are terms most commonly borrowed from Afrikaans, but which are widely used in South African English;
- Phrases using common words, but which are used in combination to describe a specific, created concept: e.g. ‘white tone’ which refers to the role of schools, especially formerly white schools, in bestowing prestigious linguistic and other embodied practices shaped by racial-cultural hierarchies.

b) A CLARIFICATION OF CRITICAL CONCEPTS

i) Terms which reflect racial groupings

With the plethora of writing on school and education matters in South Africa, both in serious studies and in popular literature, it is understandable that concepts which are similar may well be described by different writers in a diversity of terms. Clarity is thus provided below around the form in which particular terms are used in this study.

The term 'race', except where used in a direct quote from other sources or clearly denoted otherwise by the context, does not refer to or predicate any concept of race as a biological reality, but reflects the political system of racial classification that underpinned legislation across the board in South Africa during the apartheid era, and which has continued in use for statistical purposes in the post-apartheid era, including in education and schools. Within this system the various subsets of race are identified as follows:

- *black*, which means any individual or group not classified as *white*, or who do not identify as *white*;
- *African or black African* which means descendants of nations or tribes originating in sub-Saharan Africa, other than South Africa's Khoi and San people;
- *coloured* which means people of mixed race;
- *Indian or Indian/Asian* which denotes people whose ancestral origins were on the Indian subcontinent; and
- *white*, which means Caucasian people whose ancestral origins lie in Europe.

In collective form the overarching terms 'racial groups', 'racial groupings', 'racialised groupings', or 'population groups' are preferred to the terms 'race' or 'races'.

In more recent post-apartheid South Africa the term 'black' as denoted above is more popularly designated by the term 'people of colour' (POC). 'POC' is a general umbrella term that collectively refers to all individuals or groups who do not identify as white. Houghton Mifflin's (2005) *American Heritage Guide to Contemporary Usage and Style* notes that this descriptor has been in use since as early as 1796, at which time it referenced 'light-skinned people of mixed African and European heritage'. It was initially most widely used in the US, and the popularity and broadening of the term was enhanced through its use by theorists such as Frantz Fanon and activists like Martin Luther King Jr. The latter used the term 'citizens of color' as early as 1963, but it emerged in wide usage and became fashionable only in the late 1970s (Safire, 1988). It has now gained wide acceptance as a counter to the condescension implicit in the phrase 'non-white', with both anti-racist activists and academics seeking to reposition the understanding of race beyond the prevailing black-white dichotomy (Martinez, 1994). Following its wide circulation in the US, it has since been adopted elsewhere in the Anglophone world, including in South Africa. Currently it is also used in parallel with other collective categories such as 'women of colour' (WOC), 'men of colour' (MOC), 'communities of colour', 'students of colour', and so on (Landgraf, 2018). The use of these terms in academic articles and research has been widely recommended, for example by authorities as divergent as the Stanford Graduate School of Business and the American Heritage Guide to Contemporary Usage and Style.

In this study the term ‘people of colour’ and derivatives thereof such as ‘learners of colour’, ‘teachers of colour and ‘governors of colour’ are used with the meaning and within the context described above.

ii) Terms which refer to the segregation or integration of racialised groupings in schools

- ***Integration, desegregation and ‘resegregation’***

The terms ‘integration’ and ‘desegregation’ though not clearly or formally defined in the literature, are used widely in this study. ‘Segregation’ as a general term is commonly regarded as having reference to the legally or socially enforced separation of ethnic minorities from majority mainstream communities, most frequently manifesting as the separation of ‘other’ racial groups from whites. It may also refer to the physical separation of people along racial lines and the provision of separate or segregated facilities, services and opportunities across the full social spectrum; aspects such as schooling, employment, housing, medical care and transportation. It can also, however, be indicative of other expressions of race-based structures or procedures, such as the separation of roles or variations in status or standing within an institution.

Inverses to segregation are terms and actions such as integration, desegregation, ‘resegregation’ and transformation, which refer to the termination of the separation of racial groups; and multiracial, multicultural, non-racial, inclusive and diverse or diversified, which refer to demographics and culture, where more than one racial group is represented.

Following the practice of Rothermund and Simon (1986), Kane Berman (1987), Penny et al. (1993), Vandeyar and Jansen (2008), Rathbone (2010) and Jansen and Kriger (2020), among others, the terms ‘desegregation’ and ‘integration’ are regarded as synonymous, and are used widely and interchangeably in this study. Words such as ‘multiracial’, ‘multicultural’, ‘non-racial’, ‘inclusive’, and ‘diverse’ are used sparingly. Where they are used they retain their common, everyday meaning which is clear from the context in which they are used.

The concept ‘resegregation’ as used in this study could possibly become a contested term, even though it has been widely used in American research for more than half a century.

In its ‘common-sense’ form, ‘resegregation’ refers to the renewal of segregation after a period of desegregation; or the state or process of segregating again after a period of desegregation. Whereas desegregation is generally a legally initiated and enforced phenomenon, ‘resegregation’ is community driven and socially effected.

The term was already to be found in research papers as early as the 1960s. It has since been used by a range of researchers – e.g. in *Diminishing The Opportunity For Resegregation* (Doughty, 1978); in *The Resegregation of Schools in Small Towns and Rural Areas of North Carolina* (Di Bona, 1987) and in a seminal study by Orfield and Yun (1999) titled *Resegregation In American Schools*, published as part of the Civil Rights Project at Harvard University. Orfield, sometimes together with other researchers, has written prolifically on the topic in the 21st century, and many other authors have used the term in the research of the past two decades.

The term also emerges in respect of South Africa’s desegregating schools, but is used in a slightly different form by Jansen (in various forums) and by Vandeyar (2008) and Kriger (2020) in joint writings with Jansen. For example, Jansen and Kriger (2020) describe the phenomenon of ‘resegregation’ as occurring when white flight in the face of growing black student numbers turns a former white school black (Jansen and Kriger, 2021 xxiii) – i.e. where an initially white school desegregates by enrolling learners of colour, but subsequently ‘resegregates’, and in the process of ‘resegregation’ does not revert to its former white-dominant status, but becomes black-dominant (Jansen and Kriger, 2020).

In the research for this study, no cases of initially-white-dominant South African schools desegregating and subsequently reverting to white-dominant status (i.e. manifesting the common-sense form of resegregation) could be identified. There are, however, a number of initially-white-dominant South African schools which have subsequently become black-dominant on the back of white flight. Given that this is the dominant form of ‘resegregation’ in South African schools, and further that it has occurred in one of the sample schools in this research, the term ‘resegregation’ is used in this sense in the current study. Where it is used, however, it is presented as a ‘scare quotation’ – see section a) above.

- ***Transformation***

‘Transformation’ has become a 21st-century buzzword in the South African lexicon, though it is difficult to find a single, accepted definition for the term. Transformation is viewed by many as a complex, open-ended concept which is often dismissed as “so vague and indistinct that it is basically an unusable term” (Venter, 2015, 174). It nevertheless continues to be widely utilised in both formal and informal literature, and in everyday and academic discourse alike.

Practically, transformation in society is not to be understood as a single action or occurrence, but rather as a process, a matter of improving and creating a more just and equitable society (Waghid, 2002). A transformation policy commonly focuses not merely on giving previously-excluded individuals access to an institution, but includes also the provision of opportunities

for employees, and the offering of support in respect of institutional endeavours to 'subordinate' or minority groups, so as to increase their possibility of success (Du Preez and Roux, 2010).

In the South African schooling context, the term 'transformation' is used particularly to denote marked change in respect of political and racial approaches, attitudes or forms. A school undergoing transformation is seen to operate in a markedly different and improved way from the past (Lawrence, 2006). Transformation is thus perceived to include the creation of a new spirit in people and institutions that makes change possible, and presumes a strong values base. It also assumes that the school is a centre of continuous enquiry, an organisation that is in an evolutionary state (Lawrence, 2006).

In everyday school discourse in South Africa, a clear distinction appears to have arisen between desegregation (a single act which mandates or allows the admission of learners from racial groups other than the dominant racial group in a school) and transformation (an ongoing journey which progressively recognises and affirms the presence and contribution of 'others' in a previously white hegemonic environment). There is no automatic progression from desegregation to transformation, but the latter is not possible without the former.

It is in the form described above that the concept of 'transformation' is used in the current study.

- ***Desegregation vs. diversity***

In respect of race-based demographic transformation, Grujters et al. (2022) distinguish clearly between desegregation and diversity. A desegregated school in terms of their definition displays a demographic profile which accords numerically with the racial representation of each population group in the national demographic. In a diverse school, on the other hand, learners of differing racial groups are spread evenly across the school. The reality is that there are, in terms of their definition, virtually no 'desegregated' schools in South Africa and an equally limited number of diverse schools. Their characterisation in terms of these expressions describes a statistical particularity rather than a qualitatively useful descriptor and is not used in their sense this study.

iii) The issue of assimilation

The broad approaches utilised by white schools in South Africa to 'integrate' their new intakes into the ethos of the school throughout the 20th century were acculturation, assimilation and enculturation. There is, however, widespread evidence that the most strongly favoured mode of

accommodating newcomers in desegregating schools, not only in South Africa, but worldwide, was assimilation. This has been confirmed by researchers in the United States (Rothermund and Simon, 1986); in the United Kingdom (DES Circular, 1965); and, of course, in South Africa (for example, Christie, 1990; Penny et al., 1993; Motala and Pampallis, 2002; Soudien, 2004 and 2010; and Vandeyar and Jansen, 2007). Less formally it has also been noted in the popular press, by school principals in their annual reports, and by proponents of the #Fallist movements and other progressive voices. From the latter there have been accusations that the point of departure of white-dominant schools in South Africa was simply that the members of the new intake from black racial groupings were required to be “the right kind of black person in the right kind of situation” (Chikane, 2018, 6). Chikane holds that the role of the new intake was “merely to play the game within their ambit” (Chikane, 2016, 9) and that it was expected of them to buy uncritically into the existing, hegemonic norms and values “... because it is the right thing to do”, and that without such buy-in the “system of coexistence wouldn’t work” (Chikane, 2016, 10). He objects thereto that the black learners in the desegregating schools were never “truly free to be who you want to be. You can only be what whiteness wants you to be” (Chikane, 2016, 16).

c) THE RACE, CLASS AND GENDER POSITIONALITY OF THE RESEARCHER AND THE INTERVIEWEES

A large majority of those interviewed for this study are white, middle-class, English-speaking and opposition-supporting males – a classification which is also reflective of the researcher. Their lived experiences must inevitably have coloured their views, attitudes, approaches and interpretations around the transformational trajectories as they unfolded in the sample schools. The researcher was intimately involved in the initial transformatory moves in a school similar to those in the sample and so can hardly be categorised as strictly neutral or entirely objective. His background naturally influenced both his selection of, and interaction with, those interviewed. Furthermore, given the historical setting of the research, it was inevitable that most of the school-based interviewees – principals and governors of the time – were also white and male. However, though some of the findings reported in this study may initially have been coloured by personal experiences and observations, attempts were made wherever practicable to include the experiences and views of people differently categorised. For example, in four of the six schools, leaders of colour from governance structures were included in the interviewee group as soon as they began to play an influential role in their schools. In addition, the interpretations made and conclusions drawn are grounded in the data that have been gathered from elsewhere, or from other sources, and the reliability thereof is bolstered by several factors including the multiplicity of official and internal documents, external figures, yearbooks and official histories utilised, and observations made.

The study includes a sufficiently extensive sample to make detectable the emergence of patterns across the class of school under consideration. At the same time, the sample is small enough to discern and describe qualitatively and quantitatively the nuanced specifics of the schools' desegregationist trajectories.

Interviews have been conducted in sufficient numbers and with an appropriately varied category of role players to ensure both a representative breadth of views and the reliability of the data. By asking similar questions to all across the full range of respondents, reliability of the accounts given by the different interviewees was confirmed or negated, and a more accurate, in-depth narrative was achieved. Additionally, the involvement of someone from each sample school who has enjoyed longitudinal exposure to the institutions allows for the authentication or refutation of the data gleaned from different interviewees and sources. It is held that all these processes have aided the research reliability.

PART 1: BACKGROUND AND BASIS OF THE STUDY

CHAPTER 1: LOCATING THE RESEARCH

1.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENT

In many parts of the world, school desegregation has long been one of the most explosive social issues in the educational arena (Stephan and Feagin, 1980). While incipient also in countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia and New Zealand, it reached its apogee in the United States and also surfaced strongly in Great Britain: and, of course, it has emerged in South Africa.

In the US, from as early as the mid-19th century, individual citizens have been turning to the courts to facilitate the desegregation of society in general and of schools in particular. In 1849, for example, the Massachusetts Supreme Court heard the case of *Roberts v. City of Boston*, in which African-American parents, led by Sarah Roberts, challenged the legality of Boston's racially segregated schools. The parents lost their case but they had placed the issue on the political agenda.

In 1896, with transformation moving at a snail's pace, desegregationists suffered a further strategic setback when the US Supreme Court ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) – arguably the most important segregation vs. desegregation case in the US prior to the 1950s – that the contentious 'separate but equal' doctrine was to be regarded as generally applicable. It specifically described the establishment of separate schools for white and 'colored' children as "constitutionally acceptable" (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896).

Black reaction to growing racial repression in the aftermath of *Plessy* led ultimately to the emergence of W.E.B. du Bois as a champion of increasing militancy against societal segregation and the founding of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1910. The NAACP recognised the importance of using the law to challenge segregation across the board in the US. Almost immediately, and on an ongoing basis from the 1930s onwards, the NAACP championed efforts to have the *Plessy* ruling disaffirmed.

In 1948 the NAACP won its first important case on school segregation in an action widely referred to as *Sipuel v. Oklahoma* (*Sipuel v. Oklahoma State Board of Regents*, 332 US. 631, 1948). A further case, *McLaurin v. Oklahoma Board of Regions of Higher Education* in 1950, was also won by the Association, bringing the NAACP to the conviction that "the time had come for an open challenge to segregation in public schools" (Stephan and Feagin, 1980, 11). This conviction led ultimately to the case *Brown v. Board of Education* in Topeka County, Kansas. In a unanimous judgment handed down on 17 May 1954 by Chief Justice Earl Warren's Supreme Court, segregation in education was

declared unconstitutional, overturning the *Plessy* judgment. The ruling handed down by the court is often regarded as the pivotal point in school integration, but it was, in reality, a climax rather than the commencement of a judicial enforcement of educational desegregation.

1.2 SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AS INTERNATIONAL FOCUS POINT

The struggle for school desegregation was not limited to the US. Similar tussles emerged around schooling in South America and Latin America, while more nuanced responses and reactions to the issue emerged in the UK, with factors other than race taking centre stage in some instances. In Northern Ireland in particular there were clear instances of school segregation on the basis of religion (Murray, 1985) while in other parts of the UK several studies placed a lesser emphasis on race per se, highlighting segregation rather as a manifestation of 'social disadvantage'. In such instances class replaced race as the focal issue in school segregation.

There are limited parallels between the American and British legal battles around school segregation and desegregation in South Africa. The question may thus legitimately be posed as to whether their desegregatory struggles hold much relevance in the local context. In South Africa, segregation by religion is rare, providing little of relevance to the desegregationist initiatives in this country, and it is not considered further in this study. The perception of the replacement of race by class in the desegregationist context, however, is important, with researchers such as Van der Merwe (1975), Randall (1982), Soudien (2004, 2010 and 2019), Bell and Morton McKay (2011) and Hunter (2015) all suggesting that it has been replicated locally, albeit indirectly.

Within the South African context, school desegregation has emerged as a major issue only in historically white schools. There have been no initiatives aimed at addressing the demonstrable lack of diversification in schools serving traditionally black African and coloured communities. School desegregation is thus largely a class consideration centred on transformation within already desegregated institutions (personal communication with Martin Gustafsson, University of Stellenbosch, February 2020). Critically, however, the integrationist battle in the US has served in many ways as the socio-political wellspring from which local desegregatory initiatives have drawn their sustenance. Within that context, South Africa draws strongly on the desegregatory roots of the US civil rights movement. This accounts for a possibly disproportionately strong focus on school transformation in that country in this study.

1.3 SCHOOL SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The first non-African, westernised school in the Cape was opened on 17 April 1658 (Molteno, 1984). It was aimed at the instruction of young slaves, recently arrived from West Africa, who were to be

taught the Dutch language and the rudiments of the Christian religion (Malherbe, 1977). A second school was opened in 1663. Though intended to serve the needs of the children of the colonists in the main, it was not segregated in any way, and opened with 17 learners on the roll: 12 white and five 'others', four of them slave children (presumably of Malay parentage) and one a Khoikhoi child (Molteno, 1984).

The non-segregated nature of schooling in the colony did not proceed unchallenged. In 1676 a formal proposal for educational segregation was submitted to the colony's Council of Policy by a local Church Council. The proposal was finally given substance by the establishment of race-, class-, and gender-segregated schools in 1685, marking the first steps towards formal segregation in the education system of South Africa (Malherbe, 1977).

The segregation of schooling at the Cape by racial grouping remained a matter of custom and practice rather than legislation for over two centuries. The tradition was more strongly entrenched in the erstwhile Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek (South African Republic or ZAR) during its brief existence, but a stronger marker was laid down after the re-annexation of the ZAR by Britain following the 2nd South African War.

In April 1903 a person of Indian origin sought permission from the British Lieutenant Governor, Sir Alfred Milner, to enrol his children at a school for whites. The request was refused. It was, however, the School Board Act of 1905 in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope which took racial segregation beyond the practice of custom or the realm of the individual and made "the first constitutive moves with respect to classification, ranking and ordering of the ... long history of race-making" in the amalgamated colonies of Southern Africa (Soudien, 2019, 21).

Two years later the segregation of learners by racial groups gained further impetus with the enactment of the Transvaal Education Act (Act 25 of 1907). It precluded access by any person of colour to schools for white persons. This segregationist approach was to persist with little formalised challenge right through to the last quarter of the 20th century.

There were individual reactions to, and limited collective actions against, school segregation, particularly in the independent schooling sector, from as early as the 1950s. It was not until after the Soweto uprising of 1976, however, that the idea of the desegregation of schools gained any significant momentum or extended public exposure.

The groundswell around the opening of schools did not play out in a vacuum. Well before South Africa's democratic changes were implemented through legislation post 1994, sectors of the white community had begun to recognise and accept that the disparities in funding, quality and

opportunity between different education departments (and thus also between racial groups) could not be sustained in perpetuity. In 1976 the first white school in the country to test the desegregatory waters enrolled two learners of colour. Its example was followed by several other independent schools in 1977, and in 1978 the authorities assented to the petitions of the churches and independent schools movement to allow the admission of learners of colour to white private schools. In the same year the South African Teachers Association (SATA), a grouping of largely white, English-speaking public-school-based educators, invited black speakers to address their (closed to the public) branch meetings for the first time. In 1979 the Cape Town Branch of the Association invited members of the coloured Cape Professional Teachers Association to discuss classroom and related practices in large, branch-based interactions between rank and file members of different racial groups. During the 1980s some of these professional teachers associations, forerunners of the later teacher unions, became quite strident in their criticisms of the status quo. Conference motions decrying apartheid as unacceptable in education (see Addendum 19) and presentations on the unsustainability of the then-current situation in education became more and more common. In 1983 the SATA, at its annual conference held in Kimberley, passed the following motion:

“Recognising that the present dispensation presents insuperable obstacles in working towards equal opportunities for all the children of our land, the SATA condemns apartheid as detrimental to education in South Africa.”

It took considerable lobbying and extensive groundwork to get the motion passed, but its acceptance was a timely indicator that certain segments of the traditionalist white education sector were unhappy with the political-educational status quo, with significant numbers in the public education sector supporting the concept of public-school desegregation.

Among the questions addressed in this study is where this desegregationist intent emanated from, and how it came about that a small number of public schools subsequently decided to request the opening of their doors to learners from all South Africa’s population groups well before there was any legislative imperative to do so.

There were both predictive and funnelling initiatives in this regard. For example, John Kane Berman, erstwhile Director of the South African Institute for Race Relations, addressed the 1987 Annual Conference of the Natal Teachers’ Society on *School Integration as Preparation for The Future*; McGurk (1989), principal of Johannesburg’s Sacred Heart College, and arguably the doyen of the open schools discourse in South Africa in the 1980s, guided the SATA towards *Education as a Creative Response to our National Crisis*; and Cook (1990) engaged the Transvaal English Medium Parents Association on *Preparing for Open Schools*. During this period, a small number of schools, mainly in the southern suburbs of Cape Town, sporadically and in what was seen by some as a form of

posturing, separately and individually requested permission from the government to open their enrolment to all learners, regardless of their apartheid-era racial classification. None of the schools was granted such permission, and at the time the Minister of Education in the (white) South African House of Assembly suggested that the actions carried out in the name of these leading elite public schools reflected merely the caprices of a group of “starry-eyed white liberals” (Minister P Clase, in a February 1989 meeting with the Open Schools Association (OSA), of which all the schools in this study were members).

1.3.1 Regulatory changes allowing for the voluntary desegregation of public schools in 1990

Despite the ministerial view, pressure from a small number of white schools continued unabated. In September 1990 the authorities in control of white public schools offered those keen to go the ‘open schools’ route a limited and stringently regulated opportunity to test their community’s intent by means of individual, school-by-school votes on the matter. Particulars of these regulatory changes are outlined in broad terms below, and elucidated in Addendum 21.

1.3.1.1 Initial moves towards public-school desegregation

Within the politico-educational realities and legalities of the time, all the sample institutions in this study were de jure white public schools in 1990. The only other-than-white pupils they had enrolled comprised of a very small smattering of learners of colour who were the children of foreign consular staff or high-profile foreign business or professional practitioners. During the 1980s the children of accredited foreign diplomats working in South Africa were accorded automatic entrée to ‘white’ schools, regardless of their racial origins. Once nominal independence was granted to South Africa’s ‘bantustans’, permission was extended also to diplomats from these ‘states’ to enrol their children in South Africa’s white public schools. High-profile foreign business leaders and professionals could apply for temporary, individual permission to enrol their offspring at a ‘white’ public school while they were resident in South Africa. This was then allowed (or not) on the strength of the individual motivations. However, actual admissions of such learners of colour made up less than 1% of the overall enrolment in the sample schools.

On 23 March 1990 the Minister of Education and Culture in South Africa’s House of Assembly (i.e. the parliamentary house serving and overseeing ‘white’ affairs and activities, and funding them) tabled for discussion in parliament a draft of two additional models for the provision of education, the implementation of which would

make it possible for individual school communities “to exercise their choice ... with regard to the determination of an admission policy for a specific school” (Media statement by the Minister of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Assembly, 23 March 1990).

These models would allow for the communities concerned, if they were dissatisfied with the prevailing educational provisioning current in their school, to select a different approach to the governance, management and structure of the institution. Such selection would allow for either:

- The privatisation of the school; or
- The granting to the school community the right to authorise the admission of pupils from race groups other than the then dominant grouping.

The models were to be referred to relevant statutory advisory bodies for advice and comment, after which a decision regarding their possible implementation would be taken.

The ‘relevant statutory bodies’ took nearly six months to provide the necessary follow-up information. On 10 September 1990, however, the Minister revealed a set of regulations which emanated from the process (see Addendum 21). Conceding some acknowledgement to Minister Piet Clase who introduced them, they were generally referred to as the ‘Clase Models’.

1.3.1.2 The ‘Clase Models’

These new alternatives initially made provision for three options, rather than the original two, any one of which would, among other things, allow white schools to legally enrol learners of colour. Later expanded to four, these *Additional Models for the Provision of Schooling* provided for a certain measure of restricted and strictly controlled desegregation in white public schools in South Africa for the first time. They made provision for the legal admission of black learners, additional to those admitted by the special dispensation highlighted in Section 1.3.1.1, to previously white public schools in South Africa. The first admissions were to occur in January 1991.

Within weeks of the government announcement, something of a mass movement had developed around the ‘opening’ of schools, and it soon attracted wide public interest (Folb, 1991a). The SATA had predicted in September 1990 that no more than 25 schools countrywide would achieve the necessary poll percentages to qualify for the

opening of their institutions. However, during October and November of 1990, the parent bodies of 204 of the then 2 111 South African public schools designated for white learners voted to open their schools to learners of race groups other than the dominant racial group for whom the school had up to then provided education (Lemon, 1994, 206) – more than eight times the predicted total.

1.3.2 The role and effect of politics on desegregation in the sample schools

This study submits that desegregation in South Africa's elite schools was initially impacted by a number of factors: the micro-politics of individual schools; the efforts of certain officials and teachers; the influences of some smaller professional associations; and the views of opinion-makers in circumscribed geographical areas. It is further intimated, however, that while these influences provided important impetus, they did not reflect the full narrative around the desegregation of schools, particularly not in the sample schools in this study. It is suggested that other factors, particularly the macro-politics of the day, came strongly into play. Penny et al. (1993) and Stonier (1996) are among those who accord the politics of the late 1980s and early 1990s a prominent position in the developments leading to school desegregation in the sample schools and similar institutions. The manner in which the macro-politics of the time played out in the sample schools is visited below.

A senior education official of the late 1980s and early 1990s, tasked with proposing a system to allow for the desegregation of public schools, described the overarching political environment within which schools – and indeed the country – were operating at the time:

“By 1991, on the political front there were a huge number of issues which were arising ... there was the whole question of what was going to happen in Namibia ... [and] with everything that was going on, it was very clear that something big was going to take place. [Then there were] the TBVC countries [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei]. All had their own education legislation and provisions for running their schools and their educational activities. While there were areas of commonality there were also ways in which they differed, and quite markedly, from each other. ... [In addition, there were also the] self-governing territories [i.e. the South African 'bantustans'] ... where some of the departments were doing pretty much as they liked. It was obvious that there were going to be some massive shifts” (Interviewee 37).

Also looming large at the time were the questions of trade and military sanctions. South Africa was increasingly being isolated in reaction to its political policies, and the country was, in a sense, on its knees, financially and economically. Circumstances were challenging in respect of imports and exports and it was becoming difficult to arrange borrowings on international monetary markets. Furthermore, people were already gearing up for the discussions which

ultimately came to be known as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) (Interviewee 37). Within such a milieu, it would be naïve to suggest that schools were “impelled by a desire to contribute to fundamental social transformation” (Penny et al., 1993, 431). Rather, it is postulated, the decision to integrate was generated by the political turmoil of the time in a narrow segment of the population (Folb, 1991a).

Some individuals, schools and professional associations active at that time claim to have led the charge which finally induced the government into sanctioning a narrow form of desegregation of white public schools. It is the view of both departmental and association officials interviewed for this study, however, that it was not pressure from outside, but rather pressure from inside government that eventually impelled Minister Clase into making regulations which consented to a highly constrained form of desegregation in white public schools. Reports of the time suggested that when the Minister did so, he was almost certainly responding to pressures emanating from within the Cabinet. In particular, it was suggested, State President FW de Klerk and his ‘verligte’ (politically enlightened) Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, were keen to introduce a formula whereby the growing clamour for the structured desegregation of certain schools could be accommodated. It is also likely that the government recognised a need to groom its own supporters in anticipation of what could be foreseen as the path to be followed by education across the country in the future. Simultaneously, though, Minister Clase, cognisant of the party’s right wing, felt the need to mollify it and put in place voting requirements of such stringency that only a very small minority of schools were thought to be able to achieve the criteria necessary for taking up his options.

Education department officials ascribed the number of schools opting for desegregation to a ‘bandwagon effect’, while Minister Clase contended that the moves to open schools were being run from behind the scenes by the (opposition) Democratic Party of the time. He was concerned that the English-language newspapers and the Democratic Party were deliberately encouraging the desegregatory moves and had actively lobbied for parent involvement in the vote. *Die Patriot*, a conservative Afrikaans-language newspaper, accused principals of ‘unfairly’ influencing the outcomes of the vote by arguing that a ‘yes’ vote would be in the school’s best interest.

Such accusations were not without foundation. The Chair of the School Committee at School A in this study suggested at the time that “there were some grounds” for the objections of *Die Patriot* (Folb, 1991a, 11), and Penny et al. (1973) and Jansen and Kriger (2020) are in

agreement that “school principals strongly influenced parents’ choice of a model for integrating their schools” (Penny et al., 1973, 414).

Interwoven with the protestations and accusations, the perception is that the views of opposition political parties that were the strongest and most active at the time influenced ‘informally’ both the principals and schools concerned and the professional associations to which many of the principals and teachers belonged (Interviewee 16).

Though it may be that Clase was responding mainly to moves from within his own party in removing some of the strictures on ‘open’ schooling, teachers and their professional associations were not without impact. For example, notwithstanding the OSA’s rather weak support base of just 30 schools, it was reported that its ideas had at least in some measure influenced government thinking (Folb, 1991a). Meetings of the Association with Cabinet ministers and education officials were reportedly characterised by a thorough exchange of views, with the Association remaining steadfast in its insistence that school communities should have the right to determine the character of their own schools. The idea of state schools achieving desegregation by privatising (i.e. the concept that later emerged as Model A) was never supported by the OSA; it was adamant that parents and school communities should not have to pay for desegregated schooling. Though the OSA lost the confrontation on that particular point, the Model B option that eventually emerged was based to a significant extent on the recommendations of the Association (Folb, 1991a) and in January 1991 the desegregation of South Africa’s white public schools was set in motion. The macro-politics of the day had prevailed.

Whatever the processes were that impacted on the vote to ‘go open’, schools were entering territory where they were to receive hardly any formal guidance, where they had accumulated a minimum of experience, and where, according to Interviewee 34, they had very little appreciation of the consequences of their actions. They were, according to Penny et al. (1993, 418), “just sort of fumbling in the dark”, opening an educational Pandora’s Box, and so exposing themselves to an unfamiliar future encompassing multifaceted and complex problems with unknown and troublesome implications.

1.4 THE STUDY

At the time of the Clase Models, the conditions surrounding many (but not all) of the desegregating schools in South Africa mirrored the circumstances prevailing in desegregating schools elsewhere, particularly in the US. For example, desegregating schools worldwide were often situated in depopulating areas (at least in respect of children of school-going age); were subject to declining

enrolments; were financially fraught; and were confronted by the threat of imminent closure. Among the schools in South Africa opting for desegregation, however, was a small number of schools that were oversubscribed, affluent, sought-after and in no danger of closure. In voting to 'open' they appeared to be behaving in a manner not expected of them in the context in which they functioned, reflecting what some hailed as a "profound social upheaval" (Folb, 1991a), or acting "against the grain of their own racial biographies" (Vandeyar and Jansen, 2008, vii). It is their decisions and subsequent actions that gave rise to this study.

1.4.1 The aims of the study

The primary aim of this study is to describe and analyse the desegregation process which materialised in six elite white English-medium public schools in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. This desegregation emerged consequent upon the promulgation of the 'Clase Model' concessions granted to segregated white public schools of South Africa in 1990.

In accordance with the initial models, a certain measure of restrained and firmly controlled desegregation of white public schools would be allowed, and the regulations, for the first time since Union, made provision for schools themselves to decide on the admission of black learners to previously white public schools in South Africa. The regulations were eventually voided by the advent of democracy and the demise of apartheid in 1994, and were replaced by legislation in the form of the 1996 South African Schools Act.

This study seeks to identify the contextual factors that either enabled or blocked transformation in desegregating schools and to analyse and describe the subsequent change trajectory followed by the sample schools. It also examines the impact of desegregation on the approaches, marketisation initiatives (after Hunter, 2019) and ethos in the sample schools.

The period selected for this study encompasses the time from January 1991, when the sample schools enrolled their first black learners, to the end of 2019, some four years after the onset of the #FeesMustFall and related protest action around public schools and other educational institutions; protests which had a significant impact on the ways schools and school leadership teams approached the issues of desegregation and transformation.

1.4.2 The study objectives

In pursuing its aims, the following objectives are addressed by the study:

- To gain an understanding of what the drivers were which enabled or persuaded sustainable elite white schools to open their doors to learners of other races four years

before it was made compulsory by the state, and how their apartheid-period ethos shaped their decisions;

- To identify both the drivers and inhibitors that impacted on the day-to-day governance, management and operations of these schools, and hence their post-apartheid ethos;
- To portray the diverse processes and stages of desegregation in the trajectory followed by the schools subsequent to the initial enrolment of black learners in 1991;
- To capture the distinctive configurations of racial integration and change which emerged in the schools in the study period, as illustrated by selected characteristics which manifested themselves in four exemplar years. These years are 1997, the first year of full operationality in respect of the post-apartheid national department of education, in which centralised data collection, a common senior certificate examination and the SA Schools Act were fully implemented across the country for the first time; 2006, the middle year of the study period; 2015, the year which saw the emergence of the #Fallist movements; and 2019, the final year of the study;
- To identify the extent of ongoing demographic deracialisation among learners, staff and governance structures in desegregated, elite South African public schools (what Vandeyar and Jansen, 2008, 1, refer to as “first order changes”);
- To evaluate the ways in which ‘second order changes’ reflective of issues of staffing, the formal and informal curricula and the visible symbols and rituals associated with the dominant racial culture and history of the schools (after Vandeyar and Jansen, 2008) have taken place in response to the increase in black enrolments;
- To establish the degree to which racial desegregation and change have been complemented by social and educational integration between the original dominant racial group in the schools and those from other groups who have since gained admission.

1.4.3 The research context

Though downplayed by the democratic forces of the time, the “belated and minimalistic adaptation to changing realities” (Lemon, 1994, 203) which occurred in 1990/1, was the first step towards racial integration in white public schools in South Africa. Though restricted and truncated, this initial desegregation of public schools “represented a major departure from apartheid principles” (Lemon, 1994, 203). It embodied both a fundamental policy shift by government, and an unprecedented move by the schools concerned.

Elsewhere in the world, school desegregation had had to be mandated by court rulings or legislative compulsion (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1), and was often accompanied by significant antipathy, violent protest and forceful attempts to obstruct the admission of black learners to

white schools. Most notably, this gave rise to the infamous actions around what became known as the Little Rock Nine in Arkansas, US. By contrast, in the sample schools in South Africa no cases of violence or protest linked to their opening to all racial groupings in 1991 through 1993 were reported in school records or by any of those interviewed for this study. At the same time, a precedent had been set, possibly informally, inadvertently and unintentionally, for acquiescent rather than antagonistic desegregation when this was legislated for in respect of all South Africa's schools from January 1995.

While the initial and voluntary opening of white public schools to black learners was a significant event, the narrative of the early 1990s remains largely unrecorded and ignored in formal studies. In researching the events and analysing the schools' desegregationist responses, this study focusses in particular on the actions of school leaders, the developmental trajectories of public schools, and the influence, impact and role of schooling in some critically important societal areas which emerged as the institutions themselves and society at large reacted to the opening of schools to learners of all races.

1.5 THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to impart shape and structure to the study, a main research question and four research sub-questions were articulated.

1.5.1 The main question

How and why did public schools serving communities with significant cultural, societal and feeder area commonalities and which followed identical laid-down desegregatory procedures and actions in 1990, emerge over time with apparently contrasting demographic patterns and modified school ethos in the post-segregation period?

1.5.2 Sub-questions

1.5.1.1 What drove oversubscribed and affluent white, upper-middle-class schools to embrace voluntarily the fundamental shifts in school policy required of them in order to desegregate: that at a time when in the international arena it was undersubscribed and financially challenged schools that were desegregating, and which were doing so under governmental duress or judicial compulsion?

1.5.1.2 How did the responses to desegregation impact the ethos in the schools during the study period?

1.5.1.3 How, why and to what extent did the schools' demographics change in the period of desegregation?

1.5.1.4 How did the schools respond to the changes wrought by their opening, including their responses to issues of assimilation, demographics, academic results, school fees, school marketisation and #Fallism?

1.6 AN OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

This thesis is divided into two parts: **Part I** provides the background to and basis for the study while **Part II** presents the research findings:

Part I follows a standard approach, with four chapters focussed as follows:

- Chapter 1 introduces and locates the research.
- Chapter 2 consists of a review of literature relevant to the topic. It considers in particular:
 - literature pertaining to the historical context of schooling in South Africa;
 - literature relevant to school desegregation in the US, Great Britain and South Africa; and
 - literature relevant to general aspects of desegregation of South African schools, including the desegregation of independent schools in South Africa; the voluntary desegregation of public schools in South Africa between 1983 and 1993; the forced desegregation of schools in South Africa post 1994; a perceived shift from racism to classism in school choice and learner admissions; and school marketisation.
- Chapter 3 presents a theoretical framework, based on the postulations of Durkheim concerning Social Facts, Social Solidarity and Control; and of Bernstein on Moral Order, Cohesion and Attachment to the Collective. It places an emphasis on the propositions of Bell (1980) in his Interest Convergence Thesis; Braddock (1980) in his Perpetuation Hypothesis; and Tilly (1998) in his Durable Inequalities Thesis together with the concept of 'Opportunity Hoarding'. It also considers the issue of ethos, including its definition, its impact in schools and the effect on ethos of the marketisation or commodification of education.
- Chapter 4 identifies the study area, elucidates the selection of the sample schools, and introduces the schools within their community context. It describes data collection and analysis, and considers issues of reliability, accuracy and generalisability.

Part II presents the research findings in the following manner:

- Chapter 5: the initial commonalities among the sample schools, but also the later emergence of dissimilarities and issues particularly pertaining to emerging marketisation;
- Chapter 6: the trajectory of the ethos of the sample schools;
- Chapter 7: the demographic desegregation of the schools;
- Chapter 8: transformation beyond demographics; and

- Chapter 9, which summarises the conclusions arrived at and draws together emergent themes from the analysis, before identifying certain limitations of the study and suggesting some matters to be considered for further research.

1.7 CONCLUDING COMMENT

This chapter has highlighted the segregationist thread which runs through the emerging educational milieu in South Africa from the 1650s to the 1980s. It was these three centuries (plus a little bit more) which saw the inexorable and systematic replacement of an indigenous African education with a westernised counterpart, implemented by successive colonising powers and their descendants. It highlights the fact that within a little more than a decade of the founding of the first school at the Cape – a racially integrated school with a mixture of social classes – the initial moves towards the segregation of education emerged, based partly on demands that schooling be segregated along class lines, with freemen separated from slaves. Over time segregation also occurred on other grounds: to a limited extent on religious and gender grounds; often, particularly post 1948, on language grounds; and more recently on the grounds of socio-economic class; but always with an underlying racial tone.

In South Africa, racially segregationist overtones were driven to an apogee with almost religious fervour during the four decades from the 1950s to the 1980s. Segregation and integration were also explosive issues in international society at the time. The social pressures thus generated combined with the influential profile of the American civil rights movement, and inevitably led to school integration, initially in the US and subsequently also in South Africa. Beginning with a small grouping of independent schools in the 1970s, and eventually encroaching into the elite public sector in 1990, this country experienced the onset of an inexorable and inescapable, though currently still incomplete, unravelling of race-based schooling. The trajectory of this movement as it unfolded in a selected sample of six elite schools in the public schooling sector forms the essence of this study.

A consideration of the literature on the topic as assembled in Chapter 2 assists in locating the study by underlining the relative paucity of research on the desegregationist trajectories of elite, previously white schools in South Africa. The gap is an aspect which this study is intended to address.

CHAPTER 2: A REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

2.1 BACKGROUND

Down the years the history of South African schooling has been addressed in scholarly literature from a variety of standpoints. Notable examples include Malherbe's (1925 and 1977) study which Christie (1990) identifies as the definitive work on white education in this country; the historico-educational narratives of Behr and MacMillan (1971), Behr (1988) and Hartshorne (1992 and 1999); and the more revisionist expositions of Hlatshwayo (2000) and Christie (2006).

In parallel with these studies are numerous works on the shortcomings of socio-political and education policy in South Africa; an analysis of the education system spawned by such policies; and the schools which came into being as a result. In contrast to the early research, which showed significant bias towards 'white' education, later works have moved largely towards an opposite pole. For example, a series of papers collected and edited by Kallaway (2002) exemplifies a post-apartheid research focus on the previously largely ignored education of black South Africans. It examines the education scene from a black perspective, and makes a significant contribution to the research pool on black education in South Africa. The contributors to this collection expound on aspects such as the origins of Bantu education; worker education under apartheid; working inside Bantu education schools; and the role of what became known as the 'new professionalism', which emerged almost exclusively in the black teacher unions of the left.

Aspects of the literature on South Africa's schooling have been rooted not only in different social and racial milieus, but also in contrasting disciplinary approaches: for example, the behavioural approach of Van der Merwe (1974); the sociological approach of Molteno (1984); the religious approach of King (1996); and the political approaches of Motala and Pampallis (2002) and Soupen (2017). This literature is amplified by the journalistic approach of newsletters of educational organisations and newspaper articles of relevance to educational developments. These were published sporadically as actions of interest in the education environment materialised. The slants are rounded out by the 'encyclopaedic' approach adopted in the general chronologies of individual schools (Gardener, 1999, viii), enlivened by reminiscences and legends (Veitch, 2016) penned by authors such as Hawthorne and Bristow (1993), Coyne (1997), Gardener (1997) and Veitch (1996, 2003 and 2016), and set against the historical milieu of western-style South African schooling since the earliest days of colonisation.

2.2 LITERATURE ON SCHOOL SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Worldwide, the separation of learners on the basis of race has expressed itself in a number of countries, and since the mid-20th century, school segregation and its alter ego, integration, have been critical topics across the globe. Penny et al. (1993), quoting Sharp (1992), suggest that school desegregation has long been a volatile issue in western and westernised communities, while ethnographic evidence has highlighted the importance of culturally and historically specific conditions in shaping educational forms.

According to Rothermund and Simon (1986), in most countries integration in schools initially implied the assimilation of minority groups into a majority culture, such as occurred in the United States. In other countries, however, such as Malaysia and Indonesia, they contend that desegregation manifests in a more volatile process whereby a majority group is incorporated into a privileged ruling minority culture. The latter is strongly exemplified by the situation in South Africa.

Certain important differences notwithstanding, the desegregatory trajectory as it manifested itself in the US presaged subsequent desegregationist developments in South Africa, and events that occurred in the US, and also those in Great Britain, are seen as holding relevance in respect of this study. Literature in this regard is considered below.

2.2.1 Literature on school desegregation in the US

To a significant extent the story of school segregation in the US was written not only in formal research literature, but also in judgments emanating from the country's courts. For a full understanding of the school desegregationist trajectory in the US and a recognition of its influence on international desegregatory thought patterns it is necessary to examine not only research literature, but also the passage of desegregation through the courts.

As indicated in Chapter 1, Section 1.2, from as early as the mid-19th century, individual citizens in the US turned to the courts in their battle for that country's desegregation of society in general, and of schools in particular. Emanating from this approach are rulings of the US Supreme Court in cases such as *Roberts v. City of Boston* (1849), *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) respectively. It was in the Plessy case that the reviled and strongly disputed doctrine of 'separate but equal' first surfaced, while it was the Brown case which overturned Plessy nearly 60 years later.

Soon after the Plessy ruling (1896), and applying in practice the principle explicit in the judgment, the San Francisco School Board established a segregated primary school for Chinese children, including those of Chinese extraction who were American-born. This segregationist

policy was later also extended to Japanese children (Rathbone, 2010), reflecting a tendency to lump together all those of Asian origin and foreshadowing a situation which was to be re-enacted in South Africa half a century later.

It was, however, not until 1954, nearly three decades after the *Plessy* case, that the groundbreaking judgment in *Brown v. Board of Education* in Topeka County, Kansas, was handed down, finally reversing the *Plessy* adjudication.

Beyond the court rulings, numerous research studies have also recounted facets of the lengthy struggle for school desegregation in the US. For example, Stephan and Feagin (1980) brought together under a single title the work of 17 researchers on a variety of topics around school desegregation in the US, from the historical background to the future of school desegregation; Ayscue and Orfield (2015) comment on educational opportunity by race; Lee and Madyun (2008) consider the effect of school racial composition on academic achievement; Eitle and Eitle (2010) trace links between public-school segregation and juvenile violent crime; Walsemann, Bell and Maitra (2011) connect adolescent depressive and somatic symptoms; Freeman and Steidl (2016) review the impact of segregation on racial disciplinary patterns; while Flynn et al. (2017) examine segregation as a barrier to an inclusive economy.

One of a number of responses aimed at arresting the 'evasion of compliance' with *Brown* and enforcing greater racial balance in schools was a programme which entailed the transporting or 'busing' of learners from where they lived, often in residentially segregated areas, to schools spread across the city. This response was characterised by Orfield (1978, 1) in a major study in 1978, as "the last important issue to emerge from the civil rights movement of the 1960s ...". He and others among his peers (for example, Campbell, 1971; Downs, 1975; and Fiss, 1974) researched and wrote widely on the topic.

In the years that followed the 1954 *Brown* ruling, various judgments supportive of desegregation continued to emerge from the justice system across the US (e.g. *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*, 1968; *Alexander v. Holmes*, 1969; and *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado*, 1973). Such cases documented evidence indicating unequivocally that school segregation still existed in large parts of almost all of America's major cities. It remained prevalent, not just in the south, where it was widely regarded as part of the legacy of the region's racial history, but also in the north where evidence of unconstitutional segregation was laid before the courts.

The fiftieth anniversary of the *Brown v. Board of Education* judgment in 2004 reignited the debate around the case's legacy and led to a number of revisionist writings questioning the

view that desegregation had been the best means of ensuring equality of educational opportunity. Bell (2004) argued that trying to ensure that separate schools were equal in resources and standards would have achieved better results for African Americans. Another revisionist, Klarman (2006), posited that *Brown* did more harm than good as it provoked a backlash from white southerners and reinforced racist attitudes which had been showing signs of easing. The contention of Goluboff (2007) was that NAACP lawyers would have been better advised to concentrate on fighting and righting economic inequality and discrimination in employment, rather than focussing so strongly on school desegregation. However, in a review of Goluboff's ideas, which was published in *Democracy Journal* in 2007, Mary Frances Berry (2007), a former chairwoman of the US Commission on Civil Rights, defended the legacy of *Brown*. She argued that if the case had not legally redefined equal protection, the subsequent triumphs of the Civil Rights movement might have failed. *Brown* was, she argued, "the inspirational fount for all that followed. *Brown* is not just a school desegregation case; it is emblematic of our national will to renounce segregation and to live up to the promises of American democracy" (Berry, 2007, 5).

The Supreme Court returned to the issue of school segregation in 2007, considering two cases, in Seattle and Louisville, where School Districts had used race as a factor in admissions to ensure more integrated schools. In a judgment seen as a critical reversal by school integrationists, the Court, under Chief Justice John Roberts, ruled by a 5-4 majority against the school boards' efforts at desegregation in the two districts concerned. It argued that using race as a factor in allocating school places – even with the best of intentions – was a violation of the 14th Amendment's equal protection guarantee. Berry's (2007) interpretation of this decision was damning: namely that the Roberts-led Supreme Court had clearly announced that it was out of the desegregation business.

Despite the reversal, Berry (2007) remained strongly supportive of *Brown*. She argued that whatever new strategies for school desegregation may be developed, the underlying principles of *Brown* should not be abandoned. She maintained that the case was iconic, presenting the US as the world's leading exemplar of educational justice in a multiracial democracy. She tied the desegregationist issue in the US to subsequent developments elsewhere, suggesting that South Africa, among other countries, had enshrined the principles of *Brown* in its fundamental law (Berry, 2007). She categorised the *Brown* principles as having laid down an international desegregationist benchmark and characterised them as the signal philosophical contribution made by NAACP lawyers and the Supreme Court. Through the *Brown* case, she argues, lawyers forged a legal basis for racial justice in schools in the US and elsewhere.

The foregoing praise notwithstanding, however, almost 70 years after *Brown*, school segregation remains a burning topic in American politics and it continues to feed into the desegregationist debates across the world.

2.2.2 Literature on school desegregation in Great Britain

In many respects British schools, in their moves towards desegregation, traversed historical paths which were different from those identified in the US and South Africa, with studies pointing to the “markedly different nature of the race ‘problem’ in Britain and the United States” (Longaker, 1974, 1783). It is nevertheless contended that the British experience is relevant to building an understanding of the transformational trajectories followed by traditional, elite, white South African schools. Large parts of the chapters which follow examine how the sample schools in this study came to desegregate within a liberal worldview inherited from the UK. Furthermore, their inherited and associative ethos as described in Chapter 3 was based strongly on British schools, educational models and societal norms. Cocooned as they were by both apartheid and their own histories and interests, the drivers of segregation in the schools represented in this study were very largely ignorant of the colonial literature penned by authors such as Fanon, and were therefore immune to the anti-colonial pressures emanating therefrom. In this light, the study views a consideration of the literature around transformational developments in the UK to be more relevant to my study than traditional colonial literature, and the former is examined further in the following paragraphs.

As stated above, school desegregation in British schools followed a trajectory which was somewhat different from the approaches used in the US and South Africa. This is understandable, given the smaller proportion of black learners in the UK, their relatively recent arrival in that country, and the fact that in terms of their political organisation, racial minorities in that country have generally been too weak and fragmented to exercise strong political influence (Kirp, 1979). It is thus only since the mid-1960s that the topic of race relations in Britain has generated significant volumes of published research (Longaker, 1974). With Britons tending to have a predilection towards “traditional social patterns and common law values” in preference to legislative coercion (Longaker, 1974, 1784), there is a much stronger focus in British research literature on the nature and extent of school segregation per se, rather than on any significant consideration of desegregation or much active pressure to effect integration.

Iconic in British literature on school desegregation is a wide-ranging study on discriminatory practices commissioned by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research. Their study considered various aspects of discrimination, including discrimination in education, and paid particular attention to the Race Relations Acts of 1965 and 1968. It also probed whether

legislation against discrimination played any significant role in eliminating it. The outcomes were published in a comprehensive report entitled *The Prevention of Racial Discrimination in Britain* in 1971.

In other research in the last quarter of the 20th century, Kirp (1979) gives attention to the nature and statistical extent of ethnic separation of learners in schools, as well as to general policy and law on educational segregation. He also considers the responses of society, both the dominant original inhabitants and minority groups, to 'busing' or 'dispersal', as it came to be known in Britain. In other research The Hillgate Group (1987) described the reform of British education; Murphy et al. (1990) evaluated the effectiveness of City Technology College selection procedures; Burgess et al. (2005) researched the extent of segregation in schools and the neighbourhoods they served; and Whitty (1989) considered changes to the national curriculum through the lens of the 'New Right'.

Taking a different line, Willis (1977) illustrates how working-class learners in Britain reproduce class. Allen and Vignoles (2007) followed a similar line, producing a review of the literature on segregation through the lens of class rather than race. Reay (2017), likewise considering the educational disadvantage of the working class rather than that of racial minorities, recognised the strong congruency of class and race, but also devoted attention to racial segregation and the desegregation of schools.

2.2.3 Literature on school desegregation in South Africa

For the purposes of this study, the literature on school desegregation in South Africa is divided into four sub-topics: general literature on the desegregation of South African schools; literature on school desegregation in the independent sector; literature on the voluntary desegregation of public sector schools which appeared between 1983 and 1994; and literature on research carried out in schools in respect of the post-apartheid period.

Given the centrality of the issues of a shift from racism to 'classism' in approaches to school choice and learner admissions, and the role of marketisation in modern iterations of school desegregation, these two topics have been accorded particular status and are considered in Sections 2.3 and 2.4 as sub-topics in their own right.

2.2.3.1 Literature on general aspects of the desegregation of South African schools

Four important documents that gave form to the desegregation of schools across the system as a whole in South Africa are:

- The Congress of the People's Freedom Charter (1955);

- The South African Government's Education White Paper 2 (1996);
- The South African Schools Act (Act 84 of 1996); and
- The South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996).

Much of the literature in the field of school segregation and desegregation in South Africa has focussed on continuing shortcomings in the country's education system: for example, social and class reproduction and resistance in education; practical issues related to under-resourcing; deficient amenities; curricular concerns; and poor outcomes in international benchmarking tests. Examples of the latter include the quantitative research of Stellenbosch University's programme for Research on Socio-Economic Policy (ReSEP) and the analyses of benchmarking test outcomes by Spaull (Stellenbosch University) and Fleisch (University of the Witwatersrand).

Despite the extensive library of scholarly literature and serious research into general aspects of education in South Africa, there are aspects of the educational arena which have remained largely untouched. In 1990 Christie commented that the issues of white schooling "have scarcely been addressed ..." (Christie, 1990, 2). In particular, almost entirely absent from the research is any reference to a feature of school desegregation which is all but unique to the South African education scene: the form of self- or voluntary desegregation which occurred between 1990 and 1992. There are also few published statistics on the current state of play vis-à-vis the desegregation of South African schools, this despite the fact that "the issue of integration by race (or 'population group' to use the official term) is very much talked about" (personal communication with Martin Gustafsson, University of Stellenbosch, 28 February 2020). When it comes to research on school integration per se, the only comprehensive account of integration across South Africa's public schools, that of Chisholm and Sujee in 2006, is "very dated", (Gustafsson, 2020). The paucity of interest in researching the integration in local schools can be ascribed to Gustafsson's claim that integration is only really an issue in the former white and Indian schools together with a small segment of previously 'coloured' schools (Gustafsson, 2020).

2.2.3.2 Literature on the desegregation of independent schools in South Africa

Though this study is not centrally concerned with the desegregation of independent schools, the segregationist trajectory of such schools set precedents in dealing with desegregation locally, and their experiences identified both positive attributes and significant tribulations on the transformational path.

Insofar as research in the independent schools' sector is concerned, the particular matter of school desegregation or the 'opening' of the Catholic community of schools is well-documented. It is the subject of an entire section in the Catholic Church archives in Cape Town, not only in the form of minutes, memoranda and records, but also in various pamphlets and numerous articles in the Catholic newspaper, the *Southern Cross*, especially in the mid-1970s. The research of Christie (1988, 1989 and 1990) on what became known as the 'open schools' provides a broad and extensive litany on the desegregation of independent schools, and Catholic schools in particular.

Christie (1990) identifies three other 'notable' academic works from among the published literature on open schools – those of Randall (1982), Flanagan (1982) and Cross (1987).

The studies of Flanagan (1982) and Cross (1987) are specifically focussed on Catholic schools. Flanagan, secretary to the Catholic Department of Schools, was "influentially involved in the open schools movement from its inception, and she gives a brief but insightful account of open schools in the context of Catholic education" in the apartheid period (Christie, 1990, 2). Cross (1987) considers Catholic open schools in the erstwhile Transvaal. Other literature in this regard, notably that of Abraham (1989), includes references to the need for and the rationale behind the desegregation of Catholic schools and schooling. His work does, however, approach the topic more from a Catholic, dogma-based and religious point of view than an educational one.

Randall's (1982) treatise moves beyond the Catholic realm and examines issues across a broader spectrum of independent schools. It also touches to an extent on the situation in elite public schools. He traces early policy shifts in negotiations between private schools and government and includes a brief consideration of 'open schools' in the 1970s. He raises the possibility of such schools being the "harbingers of non-racialism" (Randall, 1982, 205), although Cross (1987) cautions against viewing the 'open schools' as forerunners of desegregatory approaches to come or as education laboratories of the future.

Still in the realm of the independent schools, but in juxtaposition to the studies of Flanagan (1982), Cross (1987) and Christie (1990) in the Catholic stream, were authors (rather than formal researchers) who produced a small number of works. These publications address the issue of the desegregation of schools outside of the Catholic body, albeit almost in passing. Coyne (1997) and Gardener (1999), in the histories of St George's Grammar School and the Diocesan College (Bishops) respectively, provide an

Anglican perspective on school desegregation. They consider original documentation from, and undertake interviews in, two of South Africa's oldest schools in order to present the details of and describe the processes around the desegregation of these two institutions. In so doing, they throw light not only on desegregationist moves in the individual schools concerned, but also on the thought processes and policies applicable to the racial integration of Anglican schools in particular, and in private schools outside of the Catholic realm in general.

Also of relevance are the studies of Freer (1992) on the possibilities and realities of non-racial education in South Africa and the contribution by Muller (1992) on the context of private and alternative schooling, and private school options for the future.

2.2.3.3 Literature on the voluntary desegregation of public schools in South Africa between 1983 and 1994

In other parts of the world where segregated schools have been desegregated, their integration has commonly been in response to legal injunctions that either required integration or outlawed segregation. In South Africa, by contrast, governing bodies in a small number of public schools between 1990 and 1992 acted to desegregate their schools of their own volition, often in the face of real or tacit opposition from government and/or officialdom. However, in studies of school desegregation very little reference can be found to the processes whereby the formal desegregation of public schools in South Africa first took place, or the developments which followed.

The dearth of relevant research on voluntary desegregation and the nature subsequently assumed by schools which embarked on that exercise is emphasised by both Christie (1990) and Chisholm and Sujee (2006). Christie notes a particular absence of research on how South Africa's desegregated public schools 'opened', or what took place in desegregated schools once they became 'open'. Chisholm and Sujee (2006, 154) state that "a great deal more quantitative work is specifically needed to understand the role of the former minority schools in shaping new class and social identities".

In the second half of the 1980s and in the early 1990s, the soubriquet initially used in the independent schools sector from the 1970s, namely 'open schools', was annexed by public schools wishing to desegregate. There are several unpublished works on this second generation of 'open schools' and their moves towards desegregation. Some of these are general in nature, and some specifically presage the opening of public

schools. Among these works are the address by Kane Berman (1987) to the Natal Teachers Association; wide-ranging contributions from McGurk (1990); and Cook's (1990) paper on preparing for school desegregation referred to in Chapter 1. These pieces were important scene-setters and incentivisors for moves towards the opening of public schools, which became a possibility with the promulgation of the 'Clase model' regulations of September 1990. Christie (1995) provides a clear summarised explanation of this development, while the first formal study into what was happening in open public schools in South Africa, and one of only two extensive studies which examined the developments in desegregating white public schools during the period 1991 to 1994, was undertaken by Penny et al. (1993). This study attempted to address the aforementioned paucity of research, and was prompted by the "dearth of assessments on ways in which schools are dealing with the new mandate to open enrolments [to children of 'other' population groups]" (Penny et al., 1993, 412). The research was, however, carried out very early in the desegregationist process and prior to the more significant transformational initiatives which emerged later. This work can be regarded as an important introduction to the research topic and a baseline from which desegregatory progress in South Africa's public schools can be measured.

The only other significant study focussing on the voluntary segregation period comes from Lemon (1994). He focussed on "the unravelling of apartheid education, with particular reference to the state's first tentative steps to allow selective and closely controlled desegregation of white state schools" (Lemon, 1994, 200) and a subsequent switch to a policy of 'semi-privatisation' of public schooling in 1992.

Four personalities who played a role in the early moves towards desegregating state schools in South Africa collected personal documents, letters, reports, minutes and cuttings covering school desegregation in the period 1985 to 1991 and the founding and operations of the OSA. They were: Professor Peter Folb, chair of the governing body of the South African College Schools (SACS) at the time and also an executive member of the OSA; Douglas Brown, deputy principal of the same school; Fiona Watson, principal of Sans Souci Girls' High School in the run-up to the opening of the school, and for several years thereafter; and John Stonier, director of the OSA throughout its brief lifespan.

While Brown's (1991) *SACS Open School Archives* focus specifically on early desegregationist moves at the school, Folb's (1991b) *Open Schools Papers* give a slightly broader view and add original documentation from the OSA. Both contain

valuable historical records and are extremely detailed in their content. However, they largely record the ideas and processes occurring in two individual institutional milieus (SACS in Cape Town, and the OSA, based in the same city) rather than elucidating outcomes or influences that shaped the emergent desegregation of public schooling in a more general context.

Stonier's (1993) collection contains minutes, reports, discussions, newsletters and workshop materials which throw light on what was the only extended formal professional attempt to prepare public schools, their management and their teachers for desegregation.

Watson (1997) provides a personal collection of press cuttings and copies of her own letters, reports and addresses of the time. She also penned an unpublished piece on *The Changing Face of Sans Souci* in order to record the developments of 1991, together with the preceding and subsequent events. Once again, though, as with the SACS papers, her collection focusses almost entirely on a single school.

Four of the schools represented in this study have published histories of their institutions. These histories are somewhat brief and superficial in their treatment of the desegregation of the schools. The history of School A is the most detailed in this regard, devoting three pages to the matter. There are two pages on the school's desegregation in the history of School B, but they are almost entirely devoid of reference to the desegregatory actions themselves. School C's history devotes less than a page to the topic. The history of School D does not devote a specific section to the school's desegregation, but rather weaves the desegregationist initiatives into the chronological narrative of the period. In combination, these four publications nevertheless throw useful light on the desegregationist initiatives of four elite public schools. The other two sample schools have not published histories.

2.2.3.4 Literature relevant to the desegregation of schools in South Africa, post 1994

It was only in the post-1994 period that mass desegregation across the public-school system in South Africa was legislated for and obligated by law. The outcomes of this process, in stark contrast to the earlier desegregatory initiatives, have been extensively documented. The obligation on schools to desegregate brought significantly more schools into the desegregationist milieu, and with this came not only the first reports of significant racial conflict in desegregated schools, but also enhanced interest in the subject of school integration. A large amount of research on desegregated schools was

carried out and published in the following decade and a half: for example, the studies of Naidoo (1996), Fakier (1998), Hofmeyer (2000), Harber (2001), Van der Linde (2001), Motala and Pampallis (2002), Soudien (2004), Chisholm (2006) and Hunter (2010, 2015 and 2019). In all of these bar the works of Hunter there is a strong focus on structural malaise in the schools rather than on the identification or application of their approaches to desegregation, measurable transformation indicators, or any garnering of information on how the developments were shaping the schools.

Studies which considered segregation and desegregation per se were also undertaken, though they looked largely at particularities of a specific time and in particular schools, rather than general shifts in discourses and practices around desegregation and change over time. Among them are the studies of Van der Linde (2001), which examines racist manifestations at Potgietersrus Primary School and Vryburg High School, neither of which desegregated voluntarily. Peel's work (2000) is journalistic in nature, and focusses specifically on the Afrikaans-medium schools of Meyerton in which he identifies a reluctance to desegregate at all. Hofmeyer (2000) considers schools which have desegregated and then 'reseggregated', though with a change in the dominant cultural group. Wieder (2001) provides a principal's perspective of school integration at Plumstead High School, which the writer debatably identifies as the first school in Cape Town to integrate.

Broader considerations of desegregation were undertaken by Lemon (1995) in which he draws some interesting comparisons as he identifies desegregationist lessons South Africa could learn from Zimbabwe. Tikly and Mabogoane (1997) consider marketisation as a strategy for desegregation and redress, an issue also foregrounded by Hunter (2015 and 2019) in two later studies in selected Durban schools.

In a paper which has certain commonalities with this study, empirical research undertaken by Bell and Morton McKay (2011) investigated the degree to which the socio-economic status of applicants impacts on admission to public high schools in Sandton, an affluent, former white region in northern Johannesburg. Their paper focusses on the extent of racial desegregation in these schools; the socio-economic profile of the learners; the influence of catchment areas in learner placements; and the impact of school-related costs on parental choice. They found that while their sample schools have indeed desegregated, the class profile of the schools remains unchanged. They postulate that geographic catchment areas superimposed upon embedded residential class patterns influence the socio-economic profile of learners, though they

suggest further that school fees and transport costs play a more significant role in determining learner profiles than feeder zones. While no formalised discrimination on the basis of income was identified, the authors indicate that educational laws and policies, alongside income disparities and the managerial autonomy of schools to determine their own catchment areas and set school fees, play a significant role in the exclusion of working-class learners from elite schools.

Among other research undertaken in the post-apartheid period (1995-2019), the issue of language in desegregated schools is dominant. The persistent and problematic hegemony of English is addressed by several researchers, among them McKinney (2013), Makoe (2014), Makoe and McKinney (2014), Grootboom (2014) and Hunter (2015). The issue of the medium of instruction in South Africa's desegregated schools is addressed by Manyike and Lemmer (2014), Vandeyar (2010) and Ndlangamandla (2010). In a later paper on the language issue, Christie and McKinney (2017) relate the supremacy of English in schools to decolonisation demands and the school protests of 2015/6.

The construction of an own identity by black learners in desegregated schools is addressed by Makubalo (2007), McKinney (2007, 2013), Carter, Caruthers and Foster (2009), Makoe (2014), Hunter (2015) and Jacobs (2017). Both McKinney and Makubalo focus on language in desegregated schools. McKinney (2007) in her analysis of data gathered in three desegregated schools in Johannesburg, argues that desegregated schools are strategic sites for the acquisition and maintenance of a prestige version of South African English – sometimes referred to as 'Model C'¹ English. McKinney also suggests that linguistic ideologies provide an important understanding of how black girls in desegregated schools orientate themselves to varieties of South African English.

Makubalo (2007) explores the English-language practices of Grade 10 learners in a desegregated Johannesburg school, and how these learners position themselves and others as users of English and other languages. He argues that English plays a significant role in how learners imagine themselves as members of the school community and the extent to which language constitutes an important part of learner identities. He echoes McKinney (2007) as he underlines the position of 'proper' English as "an important commodity which is in great demand" (Makubalo, 2007, 38).

¹ *Model C or ex-Model C*: Model C schools were historically white state-aided schools. The term Model C is no longer in official use, but it continues to be used by the public (often in the form 'ex-Model C') to refer to historically white state schools. For an explanation of the Models, see Chapter 1, section 1.3.1.2.

A recurring theme in these studies is the emergence of language as “one of the sites where the sense of self is constructed and contested” (Makubalo, 2007, 38). Carter et al. (2009) provide empirical evidence of how a complex set of social interactions in both the US and South Africa limits the ability of teachers and learners to comply with the aims of integration, equity and the redress of cumulative disadvantage.

Hoadley (1999) and yet again Hunter (2015 and 2019) address the issue of school choice in a working-class context. Hoadley, quoting Gerwitz et al. (1995), argues that school choice is very directly and powerfully related to social class differences (Hoadley, 1999). She posits that in systems of school choice, “more advantaged schools and more advantaged families seek each other out” (Hoadley, 1999, 11).

This view is consistent with the theses postulated by many of the critics of school choice policies. Hoadley (1999) also highlights the emergence of ‘prestige’ schools among still-segregated institutions in working-class areas. These ‘prestige’ schools provide an important stratification of the education offering within homogeneous residential areas.

The schools’ admissions policies favoured, and continue to favour, middle-class learners over working-class children, but also favour the settled working class above the migrant working class.

This conclusion was reaffirmed 20 years later by Hunter (2019) who identifies the emergence of ‘exceptional schools of choice’ in black townships as early as the 1970s, and points out that such schools still exist. These ‘exceptional schools’ to a significant extent mirror the situation pertaining to the selection of learners in middle-class white schools, and upset the pattern of school choice through the imposition of selective admission policies.

In an unfamiliar approach in education studies, Battersby (2004) as well as Lemon and Battersby-Lennard (2009) and Hunter (2015 and 2019) bring a spatial and geographic slant to school desegregation. The former considers the geographies of school provisioning in Cape Town, the emerging geographies of school attendance in Cape Town, overcoming the apartheid legacy in post-apartheid Cape Town, and the role of schools in desegregating residential spaces in Cape Town. Lemon and Battersby-Lennard (2009) suggest that education policy and school integration have the potential to reduce spatial inequalities and influence urban planning, and all comment on the more rapid desegregation in South Africa of schools than of residential areas. Hunter,

by contrast, while underscoring the social capital generated by desegregated schools and the role they play in legitimating black presence in white areas, challenges the common-sense view that desegregated schooling could be a lynchpin of the deracialisation of society. He points to the extent to which inequalities are not merely sustained, but in certain instances even created, by schools and education. The approach of these researchers brings a unique and different slant to educational and desegregational literature in South Africa.

2.3 LITERATURE ON A PERCEIVED SHIFT FROM RACISM TO ‘CLASSISM’ IN SCHOOL CHOICE AND LEARNER ADMISSIONS

From the very early days of colonisation at the Cape, class featured strongly in education circles. This is illustrated by the 1676 proposal of the Church Council to split the schooling of the children of slaves from that of the children of ‘free’ families (see Chapter 1, Section 1.3). From then on class was always a ‘presence’ in South African schooling, bubbling largely beneath the surface in the official circles but emerging clearly in the build-up of a general community view which identified certain elitist schools of the 20th century as schools for “the sons of gentlemen” (Van der Merwe, 1974, 54). The division was further extended by researchers who distinguished between rugby-playing (middle-class) and soccerite (working-class) schools (cf. Randall, 1982 and Hunter 2015), and the existence of high-fee vs. lower-fee schools in both the state and independent sectors.

In post-apartheid South Africa, Soudien and Sayed foregrounded the issue of class in their 2003 work *Integrating South African Schools? Some Preliminary findings*. They argue strongly that while the official policy in any individual school may be that of being open to all population groups, in reality this openness is conditioned by finance, location and language. They theorise that “race no longer operates in its crude form, but is being mediated through class” (Soudien and Sayed, 2003).

This, they suggest, was hardly unexpected, as the South African Schools Act (1996) “projected parental identity around a restrictive middle-class notion of who parents were and how they function” (Soudien and Sayed, 2003, 38). They contend that, “given the disjunctions between the race and class nature of South Africa, particularly its large working-class community and the middle-class orientation of the SASA and the SGB process, governance turned out to be a process that was flawed and exclusionary...” (Soudien and Sayed, 2003, 38).

The classism concept is revisited again by Soudien (2004), who suggests that in the decade between the first fully democratic elections in 1994 and the writing of his article in 2004, South Africa’s public-school system “changed quite dramatically” (Soudien, 2004, 89). This, he posits, made it possible, not just for whites, but for an expanded middle-class, which by 2004 included significant numbers of

people of colour, to consolidate its position of privilege and hoard educational-social opportunities, exemplifying a strong manifestation of Tilly's (1998) 'opportunity hoarding' concept. Conversely, working class and poor people continued to experience high degrees of vulnerability, discrimination and exclusion.

Battersby (2004) came to similar conclusions around an emergent 'classism', though she approaches the issue from a geographical viewpoint in discussing desegregated and desegregating spaces as they relate to issues of class.

Harley and Wedekind (2004) illustrate how new curricula goals post 1994 were assimilated into dominant social class patterns, thus producing or reproducing class divisions. Chisholm and Sujee (2006) also expand on the issue of class, suggesting that "education contributes to the socialisation of classes and the differential preparation for positions in the economy, politics and society" (Chisholm and Sujee, 2006, 144). They conclude further that "the role that schools, particularly desegregated schools, might be playing in class formation [is] significant" (Chisholm and Sujee, 2006, 144). Hunter (2010) also examines the issue of "how racial privilege is giving way to class privilege" (Hunter, 2010, 2640).

Soudien returned to the issue in 2010, arguing that "the new conditions of democracy ... have brought race into a much more dependent relationship with other factors, among which class is central" (Soudien, 2010, 382). In this regard he enjoys the support of Bell and Morton McKay (2011) who indicate that South African society is increasingly stratified along class lines rather than racial ones.

2.4 LITERATURE ON SCHOOL MARKETISATION

Since the 1990s there has been, worldwide, an ongoing restructuring of the role of the state in managing the public service. The restructuring has clearly affected the governance of education (along with that of other state departments) and has led to a fundamental change in state-education relationships (Mok, 2003). Widespread demands concerning enhanced school access, funding, accountability, quality and managerial efficiency are perceived as dominant global drivers of issues related to education (Currie and Newson, 1998; Mok and Welch, 2002). The expectations emanating from the demands on education management have led to a reformulation of the relationships between government on the one hand, and schools and their parents on the other (Power and Whitty, 1999). Among the measures commonly adopted during this restructuring were policies that impose market forces on schools.

There is no clearly identifiable ‘father’ of the term marketisation, though the concept took flight at the same time as public-school desegregation took off in South Africa. Muller (1990), with his study on *Schools Without the State*, was an early local proponent of the broad idea, while elsewhere Stephen Ball, with at least six articles or addresses in the period 1990 to 1992, popularised the concept. It was taken further in the South African milieu by Tikly and Mabogoane (1997) and Hunter (2010, 2015 and 2019).

When marketisation comes into play in schools, education emerges as a commodity or service provided in a consumer-orientated and market-driven setting. Communities, parents and students who are in a position to do so, are able to ‘purchase’ in some or other way – e.g. financially or through the display of desirable personal attributes – the educational services on offer.

Among the countries where marketisation policies have been introduced are the US, England, Australia, Chile, Sweden, Poland and South Africa, all of which experienced the introduction of similar policies at about the same time. Other countries where comparable approaches have been tried and then reported on in research papers include Canada (Sefa Dei and Karumanchery, 1999); Singapore (Mok, 2003); and New Zealand (Fiske and Ladd, 2000, and Woodfield and Gunby, 2003). The almost simultaneous emergence of comparable reforms across different continents suggests that “the marketisation of education ... [is] a global phenomenon [which is] ... related to a broader economic, political and cultural process of globalisation” (Power and Whitty, 1999, 15).

Advocates of the exposure of the education system to market forces argue that schools will only improve if education is treated as a private good, mediated through the unconstrained interplay of market forces. It is advocated that the transfer of power from the producers of education (government education departments and school management teams) to its consumers (parents and learners) ensures that schools improve. The related inferences of freedom and individual responsibility make such marketisation self-evidently appear as a ‘good thing’, requiring no validation (Power and Whitty, 1999). The propagated approach “may then take on the appearance of a faith – of unquestioned assertions about the overwhelming superiority of the blind, unplanned, uncoordinated wisdom of the market over the rational but ineffective interventions of the state” (Joseph, 1976, 57).

Viewing matters from a US perspective, Wiener (1981) argues that in a marketised environment, corporate interests and approaches increasingly manifest themselves in the classroom, and there are numerous claims concerning the advantages that accrue as a result. The suggestion emerges that marketisation forges a new intimacy between the school curriculum and the world of commerce.

Not all researchers extol the virtues of the education market place, however. For example, Usher and Edwards (1994, 175) contend that in a marketised educational environment “the state plays less and less of a role” in education. This is despite it being one of the prime responsibilities of the state to provide a public educational offering which is made available to all its citizens. Under such circumstances, “education ceases to be a publicly prescribed and distributed entitlement and becomes a commodity available for private consumption” (quoted in Power and Whitty, 1999, 16). Scott (2012, 5) complains that marketisation initiatives “fail to map into broader social and educational justice concerns”; that they turn corporate philanthropists into “de facto public policy makers”; and that those parts of the populace most affected by the changes have not been consulted on the reforms. Sefa Dei and Karumanchery (1999) argue for a ‘serious questioning’ of marketisation and its impact on socially disadvantaged groups. They suggest that its harmful consequences “will be felt most severely in relation to issues of equity and access in education” (Sefa Dei and Karumanchery, 1999, 111). Power and Whitty (1999) maintain that a consequence of marketisation is that curriculum materials inevitably begin to portray a partial, and simultaneously inaccurate, account of business interests. They further express the fear that such moves may damage the cultural work of the school and impoverish the cultural heritage of the community.

A different view to the model described above has emerged in schools in the UK. British studies, for example those of Sexton (1987), Ashworth et al., (1988), Taylor (1990) and Ball (1993), relate marketisation more strongly to the matter of school choice than to business interventions. They regard the movement of custom or customers – i.e. learners – towards a successful school and away from a failing school as the essential characteristic of consumer preference or marketisation. From their perspective, policies that enable individual parents to compare schools and make a choice drive schools to demonstrate either high quality or distinctiveness in order to attract desirable applicants.

The (English) Department of Education and Science admits that marketisation provides scope for schools to develop distinctive characteristics and then compete for pupils on the basis of these characteristics (DES, 1987). In such a marketised environment, ‘producer capture’ has become a common scapegoat for the failings of the educational system. A public sector monopoly in the provision of education is blamed for a lack of proper accountability to consumers and for the consequent complacency of the educational establishment (Seldon, 1986; Flew, 1988; Cox and Marks, 1989; Peterson, 1990; and O’Hear, 1991).

Proponents of the marketisation of education argue that, if the key to success is offering something that other people want, then schools that meet this critical test should prosper. Conversely, schools that fail the test should not be protected against the consequences of their unpopularity. Ineffective schools must improve, or close (Chubb and Moe, 1990). In such an environment, marketisation

allows individual schools to develop their own particular ethos, quality or distinctiveness, and to publicise their perceived strengths in order to attract ‘the right kind of learner’ (Penny et al., 1993; Lemon, 1994; and Hunter 2015 and 2019).

Under circumstances of school marketisation as described above, the natural assumption is that the most successful schools display strong growth in their enrolments, thus providing enhanced services to a growing clientele. The possibility, however, is that some successful marketised schools may well select not to grow – and indeed, many make this choice. Leading English independent schools, for example, which are often cited as exemplifying the stimulating effects of a market orientation, have normally exercised their market appeal to become more selective rather than larger (Edwards et al., 1989a). They view the cost to the school’s manageability, pressure on facilities and a change in ethos as outweighing any advantages afforded by an expanding roll (Edwards and Whitty, 1992, 103). That successful schools may be enabled to select whom they teach is a consequence of a competitive marketisation that its advocates tend to ignore.

Clearly from the above, and as has also occurred elsewhere in the world, researchers in the UK do not unanimously accept marketisation as a panacea for the shortcomings of public education systems. Unanticipated consequences of marketisation can easily emerge in marketised schools. With the emergence of a “competitive market of desirability” (Christie, 2020, 202), successful schools begin to sift prospective learners more carefully; they use their market appeal to become more selective; and they hand-pick whom they wish to teach. Such selectivity is almost certain to lead to a diminution of equity in their intakes (Edwards and Whitty, 1992; Sefa Dei and Karumanchery, 1999). Edwards and Whitty (1992) further raise questions around whether a school is entitled to make whatever selections it wishes, or whether its freedom to enrol its preferred learners is constrained by, for example, an obligation to give preference to local applicants or those whose siblings are already in the school; or by a more general obligation to secure a balanced intake (Edwards and Whitty, 1992).

Selectivity based on market forces also brings into question the identification of quality teachers and teaching, and throws some doubt on the validity of school effectiveness assessments. Researchers question whether institutions popularly recognised as ‘better’ schools are indeed better at teaching, or whether they are merely the beneficiaries of having more able and ‘teachable’ learners (Edwards and Whitty, 1992). The sponsorship of able children from ‘less well-off homes’ to attend elite schools on scholarships can be seen as further enhancing the receiving schools’ academic selectiveness and thereby the examination results on which their market appeal largely depends. Hardly surprisingly, then, there are researchers who argue that the academic excellence claimed by leading schools in the English private sector is something of a myth. Their excellent outcomes are viewed as a

confirmation of their capacity to recruit better motivated and more able learners, and as indicators of the quality of their intakes, rather than the quality of their professional inputs (Edwards et al., 1989b).

For those members of disadvantaged groups who are not sponsored out of schools at the bottom of the state's hierarchy, either on grounds of exceptional academic ability or alternative definitions of merit, the arrangements emanating from marketised schooling may hold distinct disadvantage. The concentration of 'good' learners in elite schools on the back of school marketisation is seen to occur at the expense of 'competing' 'ordinary' schools from which those learners are sponsored to withdraw (Edwards et al., 1989b). Many learners from disadvantaged groups consequently find themselves languishing in schools with drastically reduced opportunities available to the children who are left behind. The exercise of choice by some parents leaves the choices of other parents and learners diminished (Murmane, 1990) and there is thus a clear danger that, in providing escape routes for some from mediocre schools, the effects of marketisation can undermine both the will and the capacity to reform those schools attended by the least advantaged in society.

Further, marketisation in practice is widely impugned for encouraging popular public schools to raise their prices (i.e. their fees) so as to control demand. In this way, marketisation may be a powerful factor in the reproduction and entrenchment of class divisions. In British education for example, rather than being recognised as promoting a class or demographic diversity, which market advocates endorse, marketisation is often accused of promoting a long history of hierarchy and distinction. There have been predictions of both city technology colleges and grant-maintained schools striving to move up the traditional hierarchy of esteem and develop an image that appeals to parents seeking a traditional secondary education for their children (Walford and Miller, 1991; and Fitz et al., 1991).

Though some South African public-school principals complain of – or fear – being forced into a businessman mould rather than practising their educationalist role (Penny et al., 1993; Hunter, 2019), there is little evidence locally of the retreat of the state from its role as provider of a public entitlement (Usher and Edwards, 1994; Power and Whitty, 1999); of intimacy between the school curriculum and the world of commerce (Weiner, 1981); or of the intrusion of corporate interests and approaches (Usher and Edwards, 1994).

Comparing the school marketisation experiences as described in the relevant literature on schools in South Africa with those in the US and the UK, the South African experience emerges as more closely related to the phenomenon as it manifests in Britain than in the US. Considering the South African milieu, Tikly and Mabogoane (1997, 165), in their research on marketisation in four desegregated schools in the north-eastern suburbs of Johannesburg, argue that "the perspective of marketisation provides a useful lens through which to view the desegregation process [in South Africa's

desegregated, elite public schools]”. It is an understanding which is supported by Hunter (2010, 2015 and 2019). Research highlighted in the latter paragraphs of this section suggests that marketisation as applied in South Africa’s elite schools is highly influential in the development of ethos or ‘tone’ and has become a strong determinant of who is admitted to these schools (Tikly and Mabogoane, 1997; and Hunter 2010, 2015 and 2019).

Tikly and Mabogoane’s (1997) study was carried out shortly after the advent of legislated school desegregation in South Africa. It aimed to set a benchmark against which it would be possible to demonstrate how the traditional recipients of education within the ex-Model-C sector, who “constituted a small but powerful minority”, would, in the future, “relate in educational terms to the hegemonic project of nation building” within what they refer to as “the New South Africa” (Tikly and Mabogoane, 1997, 161).

Research on marketisation by Hunter (2010, 2015 and 2019) was undertaken a decade and more later than that of Tikly and Mabogoane (1997). In his narrative on the marketisation of desegregating South African schools, Hunter (2019), recounting developments during the early years of desegregation, focusses strongly on what he terms ‘marketised assimilation’. This, he suggests, manifested itself between 1976 and approximately 2000. During this period black learners were simply expected to ‘fit in’ at newly desegregated schools, a phenomenon also noted by Christie (1988) and Penny et al. (1993). Hunter (2019), however, notes a marked change during the 2000s, with the emergence of what he calls a ‘racialised market’. The development of such ‘racialised marketisation’ has brought into being an intense competition among schools (Hunter, 2019). In order to attract what were regarded as ‘desirable students’ (Hunter, 2019, 127), schools needed to enhance their ‘political economy’ – their means of promoting their prestige or ‘brand’. However, the competition among schools appears to have intensified markedly without achieving the commonly espoused advantages of marketisation in schools internationally – improving equity, raising academic standards in the education system, and generating a systemic shift towards non-racialism (Hunter, 2019, 125). Following interviews with educators and parents, together with observations in a number of schools in Durban’s upmarket Berea, the ‘rough and tough’ lower-middle-class Bluff suburb and the working-class Umlazi township, Hunter (2019) confirms the earlier perception of Tikly and Mabogoane (1997) that the ex-Model-C schools display few of the characteristics typical of school marketisation elsewhere, particularly in the US.

The problematics notwithstanding, Hunter (2019) postulates that the racialised marketisation of the ex-Model-C schools has indeed enhanced school choice for many middle-class white learners and a limited number of black families. This is in keeping with expectations of marketisation internationally. However, marketisation in South African schools has also led to growing class

divisions and an increased ability on the part of the schools to select those learners and parents with the capacity to pay their way by contributing financially, or by adding to the status and standing of the school through exceptional performance in some or other field (Hunter, 2019).

Although marketisation in the South African context appears to have reached a zenith in post-apartheid, desegregated, elite public schools, school marketisation in South Africa is not solely a post-desegregation phenomenon. While marketisation approaches have expanded significantly in the post-apartheid period of desegregated schooling, Hunter (2019) describes the 1970s era when certain institutions in Durban's black African Umlazi township, long before desegregation, were widely recognised as 'excellent schools'. According to township inhabitants quoted by Hunter (2019) there were, varying over time, between two and about seven such high-performing state schools in the township. Common features of these schools included characteristics such as a competent, well-trained, qualified and dedicated staff corps who upheld a critical tone and educational philosophy, strict discipline, and long hours. As precursors of the marketisation to come, they were also characterised by:

- Selective admissions policies;
- A strong competitive streak;
- The ability to attract learners from afar;
- A focus on the mastery of English, seen as unlocking social and professional advancement and employment opportunities; and
- Providing a "vital route to upward mobility" (Glaser, 2015, quoted by Hunter, 2019, 86).

Hunter (2019) suggests that the schools at the top of Umlazi's schooling hierarchy achieved their success by "following three main strategies: improving results; selecting and excluding pupils; and collecting fees" (Hunter, 2019, 144). All these can be categorised as examples of marketisation, and presage similar strategies now current in marketised, desegregated, elite public schools in the country.

Examples of marketised pre-democracy township schools were not limited to Umlazi. Soweto also enjoyed a "history of excellent public schools" (Hunter, 2019, 78) with examples emerging from as early as the mid-1950s. Morris Isaacson High School and Orlando High School were two such schools (Glaser, 2015). Similarly, Cape Town had schools with admirable reputations in both the coloured sphere of influence (for example, Livingstone High School and Harold Cressy) and in the black African community: e.g. Luhlaza). I suggest that an important common factor in the successful outcomes and enviable reputation achieved by these schools was a selective intake approach and a concomitant reliance on a form of marketisation.

As it became an important aspect of the schooling market, “schools picking learners and parents picking schools” (Hunter, 2019, 87) was widely supported by township families of the time. Yet, the selectivity of the excellent schools’ model with its clear marketisation footprints has not enjoyed unanimous acclaim in South Africa. As a start, it flies in the face of the 1955 Freedom Charter’s intent that the doors of learning be open to all. It also, much later, attracted criticism from South Africa’s Constitutional Court. In one of several landmark rulings which helped shape education law in this country (see Addendum 23), Deputy Chief Justice Dikgang Moseneke in 2016, in his judgment in the case *Federation of Governing Bodies for South African Schools (FEDSAS) v. Member of the Executive Council for Education, Gauteng and Another* [2016] ZACC 14, made a not-very-veiled attack on marketisation. While conceding that schools “would rather have higher achieving learners and better results”, he ruled that there could be “no justification for one school to shift the burden of admission of a troublesome learner onto other schools” (Moseneke 2016, para 44). This was in amplification of his view that while it was “quite in order that a school seeks to be a centre of excellence and to produce glittering examination [results] and other good outcomes ... public schools are not rarefied spaces only for the bright, well-mannered and financially well-heeled learners. They are public assets which must advance not only the parochial interest of its immediate learners but may, by law, also be required to help achieve universal and non-discriminatory access to education” (Moseneke, 2016, para 32)².

Among other seeds of marketisation emanating from legislation or regulation could be counted the failure of eight of the nine provinces to set school feeder zones. This has been able to occur because the *Admission Policy for Ordinary Public Schools*, s.33, stipulates that the heads of provincial education departments ‘may’ set such zones rather than ‘must’ do so. The effect of their not doing so has been massively increased travel by learners in order to access quality schooling. In this regard, however, Hunter (2019) does not accept placing the blame fully on legislation, pointing out that the market in South Africa’s elite schools is formed in *relation* to, rather than being *restricted* or *driven by* the country’s newly introduced schooling laws or regulations (Hunter, 2019, 128).

² The US’s strongly litigious approach to school desegregation in particular is in sharp contrast to the situation in South Africa, where Deacon et al. (2016) record no cases in the country’s courts specifically aimed at enforcing desegregation per se. There have, however, been numerous cases peripherally concerned with transformation, particularly concerning language issues and admissions: for example Mikro (2005), Rivonia (2011), Overvaal (2018) and several FEDSAS cases. However, these were all in situations where schools were already desegregated, and at issue was not desegregation, but rather the medium of instruction, admissions policy or the admission of an individual learner.

2.5 CONCLUDING COMMENT

In summary, the literature considered in this section is important in the overall structure and content of the study.

Early studies on segregation and desegregation beyond South Africa's borders, e.g. the work of Rothermund and Simon (1986) and the litigation of the American Civil Rights Movement, allow for the contextualisation of South Africa's subsequent desegregatory initiatives within the international ambit.

Literature on education in South Africa provides both a firm base and context for my research. The early work of Christie (1988, 1989 and 1990), albeit focussed on independent schools and the Catholic sphere, provides a situational framework against which the desegregation of public schools is able to be considered, as well as some pointers on methodology and approach in considering a study of transformational trajectories in schools.

The study of Penny et al. (1993) provides a base from which to measure progress (or otherwise) in respect of approaches around school desegregation since the initial moves nearly three decades earlier. Vandeyar and Jansen (2008) offer an interesting contrast for the current study, through their research in a working-class school.

School culture and ethos feature prominently in this study. Coleman et al. (1966), Rutter (1979) and Prosser (1999) demonstrate progression from the 'schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement' (Coleman et al., 1966) school of thought through the 'school ethos impacts on school outcomes' (Rutter et al., 1979) to the 'deeper and different nuances of school culture' described by Prosser.

The post-segregation studies of Naidoo (1996), Chisholm and Sujee (2006), Soudien (2004 and 2010) and Hunter (2010, 2015 and 2019) introduce the important concepts of class vs. race. Hunter (2019) in particular gives form and substance to the issue of marketisation, while Naidoo (1996) and Chisholm and Sujee (2006) provide early benchmarks on which this study can build.

Finally, the review of the literature underlines the relative paucity of studies on the desegregationist trajectories of elite, previously white public schools in South Africa, a gap which this study attempts to address.

CHAPTER 3: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENT

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework for this study, drawing directly on five different but complementary theoretical notions.

The major theoretical centre-points underpinning the study are, firstly:

- Aspects of Durkheim's (1960) theory focussing on the concepts of *mechanical* and *organic solidarity*; and
- Bernstein's (1975) concepts of *expressive* and *instructional* order and *ritual*, which grew out of Durkheim's concepts.

Secondly, the chapter looks at some important characteristics of the sample schools which manifest themselves as emanations of the theoretical maxims of Durkheim and Bernstein. The latter were influential in the formulation of explanatory underpinnings for the concept of school ethos, and provided the foundations for three further postulations:

- Braddock's *Perpetuation Hypothesis* (1980), which posits that in social environments tenanted by children who have not had sustained experiences of desegregated settings during the earlier phases of their lives, segregation inclines towards sustaining and reproducing itself;
- Bell's (1980) *Interest Convergence Thesis*, which is prominent in Critical Race Theory and which holds that "the interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of whites" (Bell, 1980, 523); and
- Tilly's (1998) concept of *Opportunity Hoarding*, which suggests that privileged social groups appropriate for themselves control of access to desirable community resources which are in short supply, are renewable and are subject to monopoly. They do this in such a way as to prevent the resources from being accessed by individuals outside of the advantaged group. By these means, members of groups other than the dominant privileged group are negatively impacted and are, for example, excluded from the most advantageous educational, social and economic opportunities.

In the South African school context, concepts such as culture, ethos and tone are used by numerous writers, and the terms are encountered in everything "from academic journals to glossy magazines and the popular press" (Prosser, 1999, 3). Section 3.3 devotes significant attention to the concept of ethos. It is posited that school ethos is largely a manifestation of the theories of Durkheim and Bernstein, extended through the hypotheses of Bell, Braddock and Tilly.

3.2 THEORETICAL ANTECEDENTS

This section considers the theoretical antecedents which underpin the study and the extent to which the theories pay attention to connections between forms of social cohesion and modalities of control in schools.

3.2.1 Durkheim and Social Facts, Social Solidarity and Control

To a significant extent, Durkheim's theory revolves around the study of *social facts*, a term he coined to describe phenomena that have an existence in and of themselves. Such social facts can be material in nature (physical objects) or immaterial (concepts encapsulated in meanings, sentiments or symbolism). Material social facts are embodied in artefacts such as buildings, statues or statuettes, flags, banners or badges. Many social facts however, have no material form and even the most 'individualistic' or 'subjective' phenomena, such as love, freedom or suicide were regarded by Durkheim as objective social facts, despite the absence of any physical embodiment thereof.

Furthermore, it is quite possible for physical objects to represent both physical and non-physical characteristics as they take on the embodiment of Durkheim's social facts. For example, a flag is a physical social fact, but it also can have attached to it various non-physical social facts, such as meaning, symbolism and importance. The latter cannot be seen or touched, but they can nonetheless become real and in so doing, assume 'facticity', even though they have no material form.

Durkheim posits that groups or entities, in interacting within themselves, can create an own culture to which they attach powerful emotions. Where this occurs within a societal or group context (for example in a cohesive community, a strongly socialised entity or a school) social facts may exercise notable coercive power over the people constituting the group or entity concerned. This may be observed not only where 'social facts' are translated into formal laws and regulations in society at large, but in terms of Durkheim's hypothesis, especially in situations characterised by the presence of informal rules, such as in religious rituals, family norms or, of specific relevance to this study, in schools and school ethos.

Members of the socialised group become emotionally bound to the particular culture of the entity, and operate in concert with its cultural norms and expectations because they recognise or at least accept that within the context of the entity, this is the responsible, moral way to behave. It is in this manner that social facts become endowed with coercive authority, by

reason of which they bring to bear powerful influences or even virtually unhampered control over individual behaviours of the constituent members of the group.

3.2.2 Bernstein and Moral Order, Cohesion and Attachment to the Collective

Broadly located in cultural reproduction theories, Bernstein's (1975) work and his understanding of the school as a social form are derived from Durkheim's notions of moral order, cohesion and attachment to the collective (Wilburn, 2016). Bernstein (1975) proposes an analytical distinction between two interrelated orders of the school's social structure that together constitute the moral order or ethos of the institution. These are the 'instructional' and 'expressive' orders of the school.

- The 'instructional order' controls the complex of behaviour and activities to do with the acquisition of knowledge and skills, (i.e. the curricular and pedagogic aspects of the school), and is potentially divisive in function. This aspect is, however, not of particular relevance to my study, as curricular and pedagogic matters are perceived by principals and other school leaders in South Africa's desegregating public schools as being largely imposed on the school rather than selected or developed by it (Penny et al., 1993).
- The 'expressive order', on the other hand, controls the complex of behaviour and activities to do with conduct, character and manners. It binds the school together as a "distinct moral collectivity" (Bernstein, 1975, 34), is highly school specific and is consciously maintained and developed by the school as an underpinning of its unique ethos.

Bernstein suggests that at the level of the school, the expressive order is encapsulated in documents, rules, rituals and assemblies, etc. making up a formalisation, crystallisation and possibly even an idealisation of a particular image of conduct, character and manners. In this way the expressive order is constituted as the social structure which controls the conveyance of the school's shared values. Bernstein considers the expressive order as potentially cohesive, in contrast to the divisive instructional order, as it represents a shared or collective moral ideal into which members of the school 'family' buy.

Bernstein argues further that the expressive order, i.e. the norms of conduct, character and manner of the collective, are transmitted through 'consensual rituals'. Such rituals manifest in the ethos, giving the school a distinct identity. They channel sentiment toward the value system of the dominant segment of the community served by the school. His theory posits different social bases of control, bureaucracy and ritual, which fulfil different social ends within the school. It is the non-instructional, social domain that, to a greater or lesser extent, binds

together or converges the school through shared values, norms, expectations and ideals, and which manifests as ethos.

In characterising the structuring of the expressive orders operating in schools, Bernstein (1975) develops a theory of 'school ritual'. Herein he develops a taxonomy of ritual, beginning with a distinction between 'consensual' and 'differentiating' ritual.

He understands ritual as an important transmitter of the expressive order. His definition of ritual and symbolic function is as follows:

“Ritual in humans generally refers to a relatively rigid pattern of acts, specific to a situation, which construct a framework of meaning over and beyond the specific situational meaning. Here the symbolic function of ritual is to relate the individual through ritualistic acts to a social order, to heighten respect for that order, to revivify that order within the individual and in particular to deepen acceptance of procedures which are used to maintain continuity and boundary and which control ambivalence towards the social order” (Bernstein, 1975, 54).

Bernstein suggests that the two focal categories of ritual “facilitate the internalising and revivifying of social order” (Bernstein, 1975, 56). In a ritualised conveying orientation, the major source of control “is the internalising of the social structure and the arousal and organisation of sentiments evoked through ritual, signs, lineaments, heraldic imagery and totems” (Bernstein, 1975, 62). At the same time he argues that the two orders potentially reflect a source of strain within the school and may be more or less dominant in relation to each other.

3.2.3 Braddock and the Perpetuation Hypothesis

The third of the theoretical concepts on racial segregation considered in this study, viz. the *Perpetuation Hypothesis* developed by Braddock (1980), suggests that segregation tends to repeat itself where learners have not had sustained experiences in desegregated settings during the earlier phases of their lives. Drawing on Pettigrew (1965 and 1971), Braddock (1980) derived his hypothesis by focussing on the tendency of black Americans to perpetuate racial segregation. While this hypothesis accepts the reality of structural constraints in racial integration, the focus is on:

- The ways in which individuals adjust their behaviour to accommodate, and thus perpetuate, such constraints; and
- How exposure to desegregated environments can change this behaviour.

Of course, at the onset of the limited desegregation of white schools in 1991, neither the original, dominant (white) group of learners in South Africa's elite public schools, nor many of the incoming cohort of learners from other racial groups, had experienced desegregated settings during their early years of schooling. (The exception was the small group of black learners who transferred to desegregating public schools from the already desegregated independent schools' sector, together with a miniscule number of children of foreign diplomats or foreign business or professional people who had been accommodated in 'white' schools by the granting of individual permits.)

A nuanced view of school desegregation in South Africa's elite white schools through the lens of the *Perpetuation Hypothesis* could suggest a post-desegregation perpetuation exigence within the original (white) racial grouping in the school. Pandering to anxieties concerning a 'lowering of standards', which many in segregated white school communities feared might accompany desegregation, was arguably an important driver of the schools' actions in foregrounding assimilation as the preferred approach in the early stages of desegregation, thus perpetuating existing racial constraints as suggested by Braddock (1980).

3.2.4 Bell and the Interest Convergence Thesis

In October 1978, the Harvard Law School convened a symposium to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the seminal ruling of the United States Supreme Court in the case *Brown v. Board of Education*. In its ruling in that case, the court had ordered the end of state-mandated racial segregation in public schools. At the symposium Harvard Professor of Law, Derek A. Bell Jr, a prolific African-American researcher and writer, presented a paper in which he coined the notion of 'interest-convergence' to explain a conviction that he had held for some time. In 1980 a later version of Bell's paper was published as a Comment in the *Harvard Law Review* (volume 93, 518), where he took his thoughts further.

In explaining his interest-convergence concept, Bell (1980, 523) suggested that a "sober assessment of reality" indicated clearly that racial equality was "not deemed legitimate by a large segment of the American people, at least to the extent it threatens to impair the societal status of whites" (Bell, 1980, 523). He went further to posit that it was possible to discern a "subordination of the law to interest-group politics with a racial configuration" (Bell, 1980, 523).

Although the 25th anniversary celebration was the first occasion on which Bell used the term 'interest-convergence', it was not the first time he had articulated analogous underlying thoughts. Some four years earlier, he contended that "white self-interest predominantly

accounts for any relief from racial oppression that blacks have experienced throughout American history” (quoted by Driver, 2011, 158). Bell claimed that whatever measurable improvements had occurred in the status of blacks, such improvements had not substantially altered the maxim that “white self-interest will prevail over black rights” (Bell, 1980, 6). He stated unequivocally that the motives which propelled white people to address racial inequality went beyond basic moral concerns regarding the subordinate status experienced by black people. Even a rather cursory look at American legal history, he postulated, indicated that “the most significant political advances for blacks resulted from policies which were intended to serve and had the effect of furthering the interests and convenience of whites rather than remedying social injustices against blacks ...” (Bell, 1976, 6).

The notion, expounded in the *Interest Convergence Thesis*, has enjoyed significant following over the years, but is not without its critics. Driver (2011), in ‘rethinking’ the interest-convergence idea, criticises several aspects of it. He accepts that the notion is ‘influential’, and concedes that whatever the theory’s shortcomings, it is “crucial not to overlook its considerable contributions to legal discourse” (Driver 2011, 157). He nevertheless criticises the notion on several grounds. Two criticisms of relevance to this study are:

- The almost complete absence of agency accorded to two groups of actors who exercised a great deal of control regarding the advancement of black interests: the black citizenry and the white judiciary. Bell’s implicit discounting of the capacity of black people to participate in their own upliftment, and the reduction of white judges to mere functionaries who do the bidding of the white establishment, not only downplays their considerable contributions, and denies credit owed to white members of the judiciary who challenged that hierarchy: it simultaneously diminishes the culpability of those white judges who exercised their authority to maintain the existing racial hierarchy; and
- The implicit evocation that the theory ignores significant racially egalitarian decisions. Bell’s thesis suggests that the judiciary, although sporadically issuing apparently racially even-handed decisions, does so only when such decisions are vital in order to avoid the endorsement of a racially discriminatory law. Driver (2011) by contrast contends that while people may well make decisions based upon a narrow idea of what will be good for them, there is, in addition to raw material self-interest, “the possibility that more idealised interests involving concepts like honour, altruism, justice and reality also come into play” (Driver 2011, 169).

These matters are of particular interest and relevance in respect of transformational initiatives in South African schools, and will be returned to in the latter chapters of this study.

3.2.5 Tilly, the Durable Inequalities Thesis and the concept of ‘Opportunity Hoarding’

Tilly’s (1998) concept of *Opportunity Hoarding*, an outflow of his notion of a ‘durable inequality’ in society, manifests when privileged social groups get to control access to community resources and prevent underprivileged groups from utilising such assets. In the process a dominant group identifies a valuable resource and acts in a manner which prevents its worth from being exploited by individuals outside of the group.

The central, overarching thesis of Tilly’s (1998) concept of *Opportunity Hoarding* is that the large, significant and durable inequalities relating to advantage among human beings “correspond mainly to categorical differences such as black/white, male/female, citizen/foreigner, or Muslim/Jew rather than to individual differences in attributes, propensities or performances” (Tilly, 1998, 7). Where one of the opposing categories of people listed above is able to systematically exclude the other from accessing a particular resource, the group with dominant access to that resource can generate and retain significant advantage for itself through the mechanism of ‘opportunity hoarding’. ‘Opportunity hoarding’ is thus seen as a process and not a discrete moment of strategic intervention.

In applying Tilly’s thesis to education, Diamond and Lewis (2020) contend that the hoarding of educational opportunities by white people is one of the dominant refrains in the history of US educational systems. Anderson (2010) highlights the historical patterns of opportunity hoarding, writing that “US whites have long hoarded opportunities by establishing school systems that provide no, or an inferior, education to blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans” (Anderson, 2010, 8).

Historically, ‘white spaces’ in the US and elsewhere, and notably also in South Africa, were produced explicitly through the law and attendant rules of exclusion. Yet these ‘white spaces’ endure long after the mechanisms that created them have been eliminated, enforced mainly through the concept that scholars have increasingly identified, after Tilly (1998), as ‘opportunity hoarding’. Tilly (1998) and Anderson (2015) suggest that the perpetuation of ‘white spaces’ has proliferated through the use of ‘opportunity hoarding’.

The concept of ‘white space’ in which opportunity hoarding is able to thrive, was described by Anderson (2015, 10) in the following terms:

“Society is still replete with overwhelmingly white neighbourhoods, restaurants, schools, universities, workplaces, churches and other associations, courthouses, and cemeteries, a situation that reinforces a normative sensibility in settings in which black people are typically absent, not expected, or marginalised when present. In turn, blacks often refer to such settings

colloquially as ‘the white space’ – a perceptual category – and they typically approach that space with care.”

In expanding the discussion, Anderson (2015) considers both the demographics and symbols of ‘overwhelmingly white places’ – spaces that are demographically dominated by white bodies and in which black people feel they must act ‘with care’. Along with others, he suggests that ‘whiteness’ is not about demographics so much as about relations of power within a system of white supremacy. In ascertaining whether schools or other organisations are white spaces, he proposes that the metrics should go beyond demographics and examine also questions of resource distribution, power, culture, climate and mission (cf. Chesler, Lewis and Crowfoot, 2005; Ray, 2019).

Diamond and Lewis (2016), in expanding on Tilly’s (1998) concept and Anderson’s (2015) elucidation, focus specifically on the ‘whiteness’ of educational spaces. They explore how white space is shaped and fortified in schools, often in ways that on the surface are presented as being ‘racially-neutral’. In doing so the writers impel the discussion about white spaces beyond those organisations which are overwhelmingly white and include also places that may be demographically diverse, while they remain very predominantly ‘white’ in key areas. In doing so they drive the discussion towards a consideration of the mechanisms and processes whereby white spaces not only get created, but also how they are perpetuated and protected.

In a post-civil-rights era, dominated by colour-blind racism, schools and other organisations are able to maintain their legitimacy by appearing to function in race-neutral ways. It is not uncommon, for example, for anti-discrimination statements to accompany job announcements in such schools (e.g. we are an equal opportunity/affirmative action employer) or for schools to include equity statements on their websites. Such organisational practices are important to the perpetuation of white spaces because they provide institutional legitimacy, suggesting that the organisation is functioning in a fair, race-neutral fashion even as it produces racially disparate hiring practices or educational outcomes (Pager et al., 2009; Quillian et al., 2017).

Ray (2019, 42) argues that “racialised organisations often decouple formal commitments to equity, access, and inclusion from policies and practices that reinforce, or at least do not challenge, existing racial hierarchies.” This decoupling between formal commitments to equity (which become a taken-for-granted understanding of how schools function), and actual practices which reproduce disparities, provides good cover for opportunity hoarding through making a school’s outcomes appear fair rather than an enactment of institutional or categorical power.

It is argued that the above theoretical antecedents have each in their own way played a role in formulating and influencing the ethos of the schools in the sample. Whereas the development and concretisation of an ethos can be explained by reference to the theories of Durkheim and Bernstein, the contrasting aspects of the *changing* of an ethos on the one hand, and its *maintenance* on the other, emerge in Bell's (1980) *Interest Convergence Thesis*, Braddock's (1980) *Perpetuation Hypothesis* and Tilly's concept of 'opportunity hoarding'. With these concepts manifesting in the concretisation of school traditions, much of the second part of this chapter is devoted to examining the concept of ethos and its role in school change.

3.3 THE ISSUE OF ETHOS

3.3.1 What is ethos?

There is a pervasive acceptance that a school's particular guiding norms, standards, motivation and 'soft' characteristics, widely regarded as necessary for effective teaching, learning and school management, can be collectively depicted by a single descriptor. However, it was a seminal study by Rutter et al. (1979) which placed the concept high on educationists' research agendas. In their study Rutter et al. (1979) opted to use the term 'ethos' to define such guiding norms. Their choice of terminology was not adopted universally, and a surfeit of words has emerged to describe this "intricate and elusive notion" (Prosser, 1999, xii).

With a plethora of studies on school culture or ethos emerging worldwide in the last quarter of the 20th century, a number of other terms depicting parallel concepts soon emerged. While early studies largely used the terms 'culture' or 'school culture', by the early 1980s a wide proliferation of terms denoting the same concept was in use. These included terms such as 'school atmosphere', 'school character', 'school climate', 'school identity' and 'school tone', among many others. Also in evidence, though less widespread, were terms like 'nature', 'views', 'beliefs' and 'convictions', as well as the somewhat broader concepts of 'worldview' (sometimes written as two words), and 'ideology'.

Whatever word is chosen to identify the notion, that which Rutter et al. (1979) chose to call 'ethos' is one of the most complex and important concepts in education (Prosser, 1999). It is widely viewed as the overall atmosphere which permeates the actions of the participants in the life of an organisation, and can be regarded as a reflection of societal values. It is a notion that has its roots in anthropology and sociological traditions such as those advocated by Durkheim (Prosser 1999, 13). As a concretisation of "the way things are done around here" (Deal and Kennedy, 1983, quoted in Prosser, 1999, 33), 'ethos' is also a manifestation of the theoretical antecedents discussed in Section 3.2, notably Bell's and Braddock's respective

theses of *interest-convergence* and *perpetuation*; Tilly's thesis of *opportunity hoarding*; Durkheim's concepts of *mechanical* and *organic solidarity*; and Bernstein's *expressive* and *instructional orders* and *ritual*.

Prosser (1999, xv) postulates that in the educational environment it is 'known' that a school's ethos is "influential in determining pupils' academic achievements and behaviour". This study argues that the effect of ethos is strong, and that the essence of any school manifests in its ethos, which gives the institution its central character and essential nature.

Jansen and Kriger (2020) support this notion. In their study of admissions to elite primary schools in Cape Town's southern suburbs they refer to a particular school, which they describe as "a model of integration" and a "decolonised, exceptional school" (Jansen and Kriger, 2020, 152). They report that the most notable positive feature of this school identified by parents and teachers alike is its ethos. They suggest that ethos as a characteristic of a school makes "a lasting impression" on both parents and staff; that in their case study it was the aspect that parents most "liked about the school"; and that it is the "biggest decision maker" influencing parents when enrolment in a school is being considered (Jansen and Kriger, 2020, 173). Against this backdrop, the concept of the ethos of the sampled schools in this study emerges as a core facet of the case studies in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

3.3.2 Particularising ethos

Though an institutional ethos "is not an easy thing to define or assess" (Randall, 1982, 121), it is something of which "anyone with experience of schools is immediately aware" (Tait, 1978, 63). It is built on the basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of the organisation and has as its basis the unwritten and unspoken rules concerning what are regarded as the customary and acceptable behaviours, actions or activities which characterise an institution. The assumptions and beliefs operate unconsciously, encapsulating an organisation's view of itself and its milieu in a basic 'taken-for-granted' fashion (Schein, 1997) and resonating with the Durkheimian precept of mechanical solidarity and Bernstein's tenets of expressive order and ritual.

Despite the "embarrassment of definitional riches" related to the concept of school ethos (Brown, 1997, 5), writers rarely explicitly address the issue of the meaning of their chosen terminology, relying instead on simplistic phraseology to convey their sense. The nomenclature issue is further complicated in that different forms are favoured in different geographical locations. According to Prosser (1999), in the US the favoured term is 'school climate'; in England the preference is for 'climate'; and in Scotland the predilection is for

'ethos'. The differences in usage go deeper than mere geographic location, however: there is also a divergence of opinion across various sub-disciplines in education concerning the terminology to be used. School improvement studies generally favour the term *school culture* while school effectiveness researchers tend to prefer *school climate* to express the same concept (Prosser, 1999). In the final analysis it emerges that terms such as atmosphere, culture, character, climate or tone can be regarded as synonyms when used in relation to the ethos of schools (Prosser, 1999), and they are used as such in this study.

Along with the divergence of terminology utilised by different writers in referring to ethos, there is also "no agreement on the definition or meaning of the terms", beyond a general presumption that the various concepts defined by the phrases in use can be "assumed to be a common phenomenon that needs little explanation" (Prosser, 1999, 5).

Despite attempts to capture the essence of the concept, many of the definitions proffered by researchers are so nebulous as to be all but meaningless. The phenomenon contains comprehensive ideas of order, and can be shown to represent a way of life implied by the state of affairs pertaining to a particular school. It also includes aspects which emerge from the definitions of Kluckhohn (1949) – 'a way of thinking, feeling and believing'; 'a storehouse of pooled learning'; 'the social legacy the individual acquires from his group'; or 'a set of standardised orientations to recurrent problems'. South African authors writing on local schools and schooling have referred to the concept simply as an "indefinable quality" (Lawson, 1968, 251); an "indefinable spirit" (Neave, 1977, 124); or an "indefinable something" (Wrinch-Schultz, 1978, 104). Randall (1982) uses the term 'tone' in place of ethos, and suggests that the whole question of 'standards' is wrapped up in the 'tone' of the school (Randall, 1982, 121). However, he underlines the absence of an acceptable definition for concepts such as 'ethos' or 'tone' as he describes 'tone' simply as a "marvellous Victorian word, typically vague" (Randall 1982, 77).

Whereas most definitions of school ethos are "so general and all-encompassing [that] they are of limited worth and convey little in terms of the meanings attributed" (Prosser 1999, 9) there are at least four researchers who have attempted more meaningful descriptions – Barrett (1969), Geertz (2017), Stonier (1996) and Hunter (2019).

Hunter (2019), echoing Randall (1982), uses the term 'tone' in place of 'culture' or 'ethos'. He justifies his selection on the basis that the term 'tone' surfaces frequently in in-school discussions, especially when social boundaries are being asserted. However, he narrows and aligns the concept somewhat by suggesting that the word 'tone' may also have a racial inference. Particularly with reference to the racially marketised South African education

environment of desegregated, previously white schools of the post-apartheid era, he chooses to refer to 'white tone'.

The other three researchers are more specific in their definitions. Barrett (1969) holds that in terms of public perceptions of schooling the relationship between staff and learners is a significant contributor to the ethos of the individual institution, but argues further that the public 'most commonly' judges the ethos of the school on the basis of factors such as sports results, examination outcomes and scholarship successes. He specifically singles out the importance of sport in setting the ethos of the school and suggests that a school's sporting prowess is an accurate gauge of the quality of the school (quoted in Randall, 1982, 121). He goes so far as to suggest that when a school's sporting results are unsatisfactory, the examination outcomes will be similarly disappointing, and that the two together are accurate precursors of ethos of the school.

Geertz (2017) has written prolifically on 'culture' as a valid object of study, how it ought properly to be studied and what role it plays in social life. In applying his work to schools he distinguishes between a 'worldview' – a people's "*picture of the way things in sheer actuality are*" (Geertz, 2017, 137 – emphasis added) – and an 'ethos' – "that tone, character and quality of [school] life, [with] its *moral and aesthetic style and mood*" (Geertz, 2017, 137 – emphasis added).

In terms of Geertz's line of reasoning, the ethos of a school encapsulates *the moral and aesthetic aspects of the school's character*. It includes the tone and quality of school life and its moral and aesthetic style and mood, together with the underlying attitude of those in schools towards themselves and their world, as reflected by school life.

Stonier (1996, 248), suggests pragmatically that "all these terms, plus many others, refer to the same thing, namely, the schema that individuals, groups, communities or societies use to give direction and meaning to [institutional] life". Building on Geertz's concepts, Stonier (1996) argues that the planning and implementation of education and schooling everywhere in the world is motivated by the views, beliefs or convictions held by planners or by the communities that the planners represent. The community or the officials of the political party in power will make certain that their particular worldview informs the system which is in place. A case in point is the 1994 change of government in South Africa, which Stonier (1996) contends resulted in a shift from an education system driven by a worldview "concomitant with the apartheid political ideology to something different, the essence of which is not yet clear" (Stonier, 1996, 17).

When referring to the collective of guiding norms of a school, whether positive or otherwise, I have chosen from the various synonyms used by researchers, after Geertz (2017) and Rutter (1979), to use the term 'ethos'. In considering those characteristics which specifically influence the nature of the school in its transformational approaches, the term is intended to combine the connotations of Rutter's (1979) 'school ethos' and Hunter's (2019) 'school tone'.

3.3.3 Ethos in schools

Schools are not unique in the way ethos impacts on their character and functioning. According to Hargreaves (1995), in a view reflective of the theorisations of Durkheim, and especially of Bernstein, the actuality is that all social entities face two essential existential tasks: one is to achieve the goals for which the organisation exists, and the other is to build and sustain internal institutional relationships and behaviours. These two obligations all too often operate in opposition to one another. In a school the pressure to achieve a key goal (e.g. excellent learner achievement) may come at a cost to affirming relationships (e.g. by requiring learners to work in competition with one another at unpleasantly demanding levels and in line with strictly applied social and disciplinary norms and sanctions). The achievement of the two fundamental goals – the realisation of performative goals on the one hand, and the merging of diverse individuals into a cohesive entity on the other – requires the exploitation of those social norms and controls embodied in the 'unspoken rules' and 'taken-for-granted' actions exemplified in the school ethos. Echoes of Bernstein's functional duality represented by his *instructional* and *expressive orders* are clear.

In his discussion on school culture, Prosser (1999) identifies four broad categories of ethos:

3.3.3.1 A 'wider ethos', reflecting the reality that schools do not exist in a vacuum. Every school is to a greater or lesser degree imbued with national and local characteristics which emanate from the policies and lived experience of the country in which it is situated. The school culture which emerges as a result not only reflects universal human experiences and their local, regional or national manifestations, but also an array of socio-cultural practices linked to ethnic, professional, sexual, political, artistic and communicative systems (Prosser, 1999).

3.3.3.2 A 'generic ethos' emphasising the relationship between the collective culture of schools and the overall culture of the nation (or, in less homogeneous societies, the culture of a sector of society served by a set of schools). This underlines the recognition that schools cannot be considered as islands directing an actuality detached from that which exists in the rest of society.

3.3.3.3 A 'unique ethos' reflecting the degree of freedom of choice enjoyed by schools. Their broad national, regional or community-based school culture notwithstanding, individual institutions and those who manage them possess a degree of freedom of choice and a capacity to interpret the wider culture of schools in general as they set about creating their own school's narrower, particular and unique ethos. Such 'unique ethos' reflects the predominant values, those both inherited and embraced by the school, and encompasses also the 'folklore' which pervades the 'taken-for-granted' behaviours prevalent in each individual institution. Though legacy weighs heavily in the formation of a unique ethos, more telling is the provision of a unique and distinctive set of in-house rules to be adhered to by the individual members of the school body, and which are essential for "getting on and getting by" in the school (Prosser, 1999, 8).

3.3.3.4 A 'perceived ethos' manifesting in the perceptions created in the minds of outsiders, casual visitors and the general public. It is based on a battery of indicators such as the extent and type of graffiti on school buildings; learner behaviour outside of the school; uniforms and grooming; the school's prospectus, newsletters, and general discussion; and even local 'gossip'.

In these four categories I sense a measure of overlap, as well as an important omission, and therefore prefer to use three categories of ethos which I regard as being of particular relevance in this study: namely an 'inherited ethos', which combines the characteristics of Prosser's 'wider ethos' and 'generic ethos'; a 'unique ethos', which matches Prosser's characterisation of the same name; and a third category, namely an 'associative ethos'. These are characterised below.

The 'inherited ethos': As postulated by Prosser, schools are not founded and implanted into a social vacuum. All of them are to some extent impregnated with certain inherited, historical, social and class characteristics as well as physiognomies of a national and regional nature. They have their roots in the lived realities as well as the historical inheritances and imposed policies of the community, country or region into which they are inserted at their founding. The resultant character or 'persona' of the school is a conglomerate of inherited national, regional and local practices and reflects the impact of socio-political, ethnic, cultural, professional, gender-specific and class systems operating in its society. Schools thus reflect a reality which is in tune with their constituting communities, and cannot operate a reality which is separate from that which exists in the society outside of the school walls.

The 'associative ethos': This reflects similarities within an associated group of institutions of a consonant type or nature. It manifests in terms of norms, structures, rituals, traditions,

common values and actions deriving from and reflective of different characteristics of the members of a particular grouping of schools – public vs. independent; high vs. primary; urban vs. rural; single-sex vs. co-educational; and further manifestations of character and nature such as, within the South African context, an English- or Afrikaans-medium school, and a Western Cape, Gauteng or KwaZulu-Natal school. An individual school in this study, for example, could identify within its particular ‘associative ethos’ as an English-medium, Western Cape, boys’ high school. This would provide it with an underlying ethos very different from that of, for example, an Afrikaans-medium, city-centre, co-educational school in KwaZulu-Natal.

The ‘unique ethos’: A school’s unique ethos (sometimes referred to as the school’s ‘tradition’) is a manifestation of its appropriation of a degree of freedom of choice, its inheritances and associations notwithstanding. It is reflective of the dominant values selected and embraced by the school and the community it serves. It includes a recognition of its own heroes, folklore and the behaviours expected of – indeed demanded of – its staff, learners and, to an extent, even its parents. It is imposed and maintained by means of a set of unique internal rules and is, according to Prosser (1999, 10) the “social glue that holds organizations together” (Prosser, 1999, 10).

Morgan (1997, 139), in considering the impact of ethos on the operations of a school, encapsulates the impact of ethos as he suggests that “... life within a given culture flows smoothly only in so far as one’s behaviour conforms to unwritten codes.” When these codes, beliefs or norms are disrupted, “the ordered reality of life inevitably breaks down”.

Both the ‘inherited ethos’ and the ‘associative ethos’ are external, pre-existing paradigms into which a school ‘fits’. They provide a normative framework and identity which is passively assumed by the school, or which is imposed on it by its ‘membership’ of, or association with, the greater ‘body’ concerned, and which influences its culture or character. By contrast, if a school’s ‘unique ethos’ is to have the effect of enhancing order and effectiveness and building cohesion, newcomers to the school need to be actively socialised into the existing group culture. Only when this is achieved are teachers, learners and others in the school likely to work together effectively to achieve its goals, avoid the disruptive impediments which may exist and, at the same time, maintain social cohesion and internal relationships which are satisfying, supportive and sociable (Prosser, 1999).

3.3.4 The impact of ethos

While ethos may remain an “indefinable something” (Wrinch-Schultz, 1978, 104) when it comes to schools, it is currently widely accepted that the concept is inextricably wrapped up in

and impacts on the question of standards pursued and achieved by individual schools, and that learners are 'undeniably' influenced by the overarching ethos of their school (Prosser, 1999, xv).

Such acceptance was, however, not always the case. During the mid-1960s and early 1970s researchers such as Coleman et al. (1966), Plowden (1967) and Averch (1971) argued that students' social background was more significant than schooling as a determinant of their educational outcomes (Prosser, 1999, 2). Their findings support and reinforce the educational theories of Bernstein (1975), insofar as they hold that schools cannot compensate for the inequities of society.

However, as moves increased among a small group of researchers in the UK to understand the impact of schools in holistic terms, the prevalent thinking began to change. Drawing inspiration from American studies such as those of Halpin and Croft (1963), Finlayson (1970), Brookover et al. (1978) and Edmonds (1979), British researchers began to argue that while schools cannot compensate for society, they do constitute a major influence on the educational outcomes of their learners (Prosser, 1990).

It was against this background that the study by Rutter et al. (1979) linked the notion of a school's ethos with the effectiveness of the school. In doing so, they focussed researchers' concerns on holistic features of schooling, and around a school's ethos in particular. This led to studies such as those of Fullan (1992), which highlighted the importance of ethos in enhancing educational provision and enabling change. Those involved in the school improvement movement argue that the ethos of a school is instrumental in bringing about educational progress. They suggest that an upturn in standards comes from within the institution, and occurs in response to changes in the 'taken-for-granted' practices which go to make up the school's ethos (Prosser, 1999, xiii).

3.4 MARKETISATION AS AN INFLUENTIAL COMPONENT OF ETHOS

Tikly and Mabogoane (1997, 165) argue that "the perspective of marketisation provides a useful lens through which to view the desegregation process in ex-Model-C schools". It is an understanding which is supported by Hunter (2010, 2015 and 2019). They suggest that local research indicates that marketisation as applied in South Africa's elite schools is highly influential in the development of ethos or 'tone' and is a strong determinant of who is admitted to these schools (Tikly and Mabogoane, 1997). In South Africa's desegregated schools in particular, however, the detail of school marketisation has assumed a somewhat different complexion to that expounded internationally. Tikly and Mabogoane (1997) indicate that those in favour of marketisation policies in historically

white schools argue that such policies increase both the internal efficiency of individual schools and the effectiveness of the education system as a whole. By contrast, this study postulates that marketisation as implemented locally has amplified inequality among South African schools without improving educational efficiencies, and far from enhancing integration, has perpetuated intergenerational inequalities.

The findings of the research of Tikly and Mabogoane (1997) on marketisation in four desegregated schools in the north-eastern suburbs of Johannesburg carried out shortly after the advent of legislated school desegregation in South Africa are not propitious. In judging the impact of marketisation initiatives on desegregating schools, they argue that at the time of their research schools were using marketisation policies “to keep the numbers of blacks admitted to the minimum required to ensure financial viability and the semblance of change” (Tikly and Mabogoane, 1997, 168). Restrictions on the number of black enrolments were based, they suggest, on a belief among the principals of the time that “the admission of too high a percentage of blacks would have an adverse effect on the school” (Tikly and Mabogoane, 1997, 168).

In defining the role of market forces in South African schools, Hunter opts to follow Tikly and Mabogoane (1997). He characterises marketisation as “children’s increased daily movement for schooling as well as public schools charging fees, and schools’ increased competition for ‘quality’ students” (Hunter, 2019, 78).

This study has adopted the broad direction set by Ball (1993), Tikly and Mabogoane (1997), and Hunter (2019) when it comes to the concept of ‘marketisation’: i.e. ‘marketisation’ in education denotes a condition wherein a school:

- Accepts learners from outside the area naturally served by the institution in a manifestation of the movement of pupils towards a desirable school and away from a declining school;
- Is selective about its intake, publicising its own strengths in order to attract ‘the right kind of learners’: i.e. Those perceived to display a good ‘fit’ and an ‘ability to be assimilated’ into the institutional ethos;
- Avoids applicants it views as ‘undesirable’; and
- Favours those who are able to pay for their education, either through a contribution to the fees base or by means of attributes perceived by schools to be positive, like ideological conformity or other forms of ‘school capital’ which they can contribute in order to enhance the school’s perceived standing, reputation, ethos and marketability.

Given the advent of Christie’s (2020, 202) ‘competitive market of desirability’, the most successful institutions are able to scrutinise applicants more carefully, using their socio-educational drawing power to become ever more fastidious in their selections and cherry-picking from their applicants

those whom they wish to enrol. All these aspects are not only currently present in the approaches and processes of South Africa's desegregating schools: they have been present for a number of decades. There has, however, been a significant expansion of the concept since around the year 2000 – i.e. the beginning of Hunter's racialised marketisation – whereby approaches by schools and families alike have become more reflective of the concept of 'commodification' than 'marketisation'. The reality has become that schools are not only selling (as distinct from marketing) their product, but that at the same time parents are hawking their children's attributes to schools. This is an issue to be considered and expanded upon in Chapter 5.

This study argues that marketisation has had a greater impact on the standing and ethos of elite public schools in post-apartheid South Africa than almost any other single aspect of their management and governance. Desegregated, elite public schools in South Africa have, it is argued, particularly since about 2000, attempted to particularise their market attraction, as did marketised schools in the UK, with emphasis being placed on those critical characteristics which enhance their marketability.

It is clear that while South Africa's elite public schools inherited many of the seeds of marketisation, they themselves were also responsible for introducing major elements of marketisation into their approaches (Tikly and Mabogopane, 1997, and Hunter, 2010, 2015 and 2019). Some of the nuclei of such an approach are also to be found in post-1994 education legislation. As indicated previously (Chapter 2, section 2.3), the South African Schools Act (Act 84 of 1996), for example, envisages parental character in the new South Africa around a constricting middle-class concept of who parents in schools really are and how they behave (Soudien and Sayed, 2003, 38), so compromising its functionality. Further, Hunter (2019) notes that education legislation and the consequent marketisation of these institutions provides schools charging high fees with a particularly powerful incitement to admit learners from middle-class backgrounds. There is a strong need for them to strengthen their financial viability (what Hunter calls their 'political economy') and to do this they need to build the requisite prestige and 'tone' to attract 'desirable' learners whose families are willing and able to pay for their schooling. Such learners, Hunter (2019) reports, are able to improve their chances of acceptance into selective schools by contributing towards the maintenance or building of such prestige.

Marketisation and the other side of the same coin, commodification, present as significant elements in the managerial ethos in some of South Africa's schools. Having considered the findings of the studies of Tikly and Mabogopane (1997) in Johannesburg, and Hunter (2010, 2015 and 2019) in Durban, this study investigates whether similar patterns emerge among the selected sample schools.

3.5 CONCLUDING COMMENT

Chapter 3 has presented a broad overview, at a high level of generality, of the theoretical antecedents around which key aspects of the study are built, the assumptions on which the case studies in Chapters 6 and 7 in particular are based, and the contexts within which the data are to be explored. Moving forward, Chapter 4 makes explicit how, why and from which schools the data has been gathered, and how the theoretical base influences the way in which the data are analysed, interpreted and presented.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENT

The theoretical antecedents of this study are outlined in Chapter 3. Following that exposition, this chapter presents the reasoning behind the particular approaches followed in the course of the study. It also makes explicit the way in which the data was generated, gathered and interpreted.

The rest of Chapter 4 consists of the following sub-sections:

- *Section 4.2* discusses the focus of the investigation and frames the research;
- *Section 4.3* provides a general description of the sample schools, an elucidation of the selection process vis-à-vis the participating schools, and the reasoning behind that selection;
- *Section 4.4* describes the data collection, focussing on the form and design of the interview instruments; quantitative and qualitative data collection; and the conversion of the qualitative information deriving from the 45 interviews held in the course of the data collection;
- *Section 4.5* considers the issues of reliability, validity, and generalisability of the data; and
- *Section 4.6* draws the chapter to a close as it presents some concluding comments.

4.2 FRAMING AND DELINEATING THE INVESTIGATION

This study sets out to examine, analyse and describe the desegregation trajectory in a small sample of sustainable, white, elite, English-medium public schools serving a largely middle- to upper-middle-class segment of Cape Town's largely white suburban society. All the sample schools are among the group of 204 institutions (Lemon, 1994, 206) which in November 1990 voted to open their learner enrolment to applicants from all four of the racial groupings identified in South Africa's apartheid legislation.

The investigation foregrounds information pertaining to the decision to 'go open', highlighting the part played by critical role players from officialdom as well as management and governance structures in the sample schools. It also examines the ethos of the sample schools and the effect on that ethos of the demographic changes emanating from the decision to desegregate the learner body. Demographic identifications are not limited to the racial make-up of the learners in the schools, and the study also considers the desegregatory trajectory against the demographic profiles in respect of management, staffing and governance bodies.

Though certain aspects are reported upon on the basis of quantitative data, particularly data referring to racial demographics, the enquiry follows a mainly descriptive, qualitative approach to the investigation of the emergent nature of the schools. This approach enables the identification and classification of nuanced variations between schools and explanations or postulations which

numbers alone generally fail to reveal. Qualitative descriptions also allow for a more flexible, more targeted approach, permitting the inclusion of information which cannot be quantified.

That said, it is recognised that the value of qualitative research is inextricably linked to the quantification of certain aspects of the data. Quantitative and qualitative forms can each provide only part of the picture, but together deliver a more comprehensive view of what occurs within an organisation.

The dissertation is primarily concerned with answering questions relating to the 'what' and 'how' (Creswell, 2005) of desegregation and change in sustainable, desirable, top-performing public high schools. The sections which follow describe the selection process in respect of the schools chosen as a sample, and introduce the relevant institutions within their individual contexts and the context of the study. In respect of the collection of data, the various stages of data gathering are outlined. There is an exposition of how the research instruments were structured and what kind of information was elicited. The final aspect encompasses a description of how the collected information was translated into reliable data.

4.3 THE STUDY SAMPLE

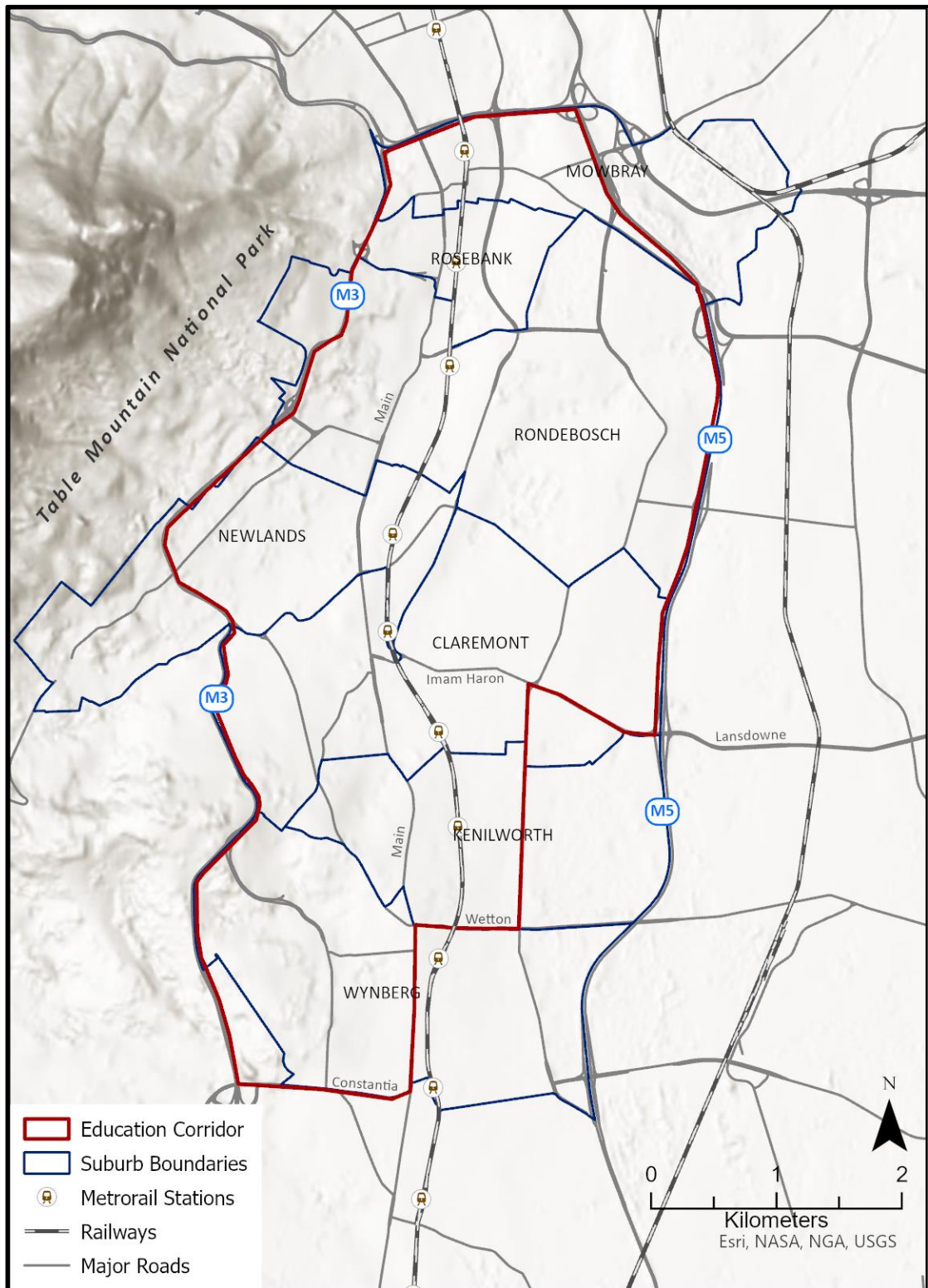
4.3.1 The study area

The study concentrates on an area defined for the purposes of this study as the 'Wynberg-Mowbray education corridor' in Cape Town's southern suburbs. It is a finite and identifiable segment of Cape Town's urban landscape, an area measuring approximately 7 km from south to north and between 1 and 4 km from east to west. It straddles Main Road as it passes through the suburbs of Wynberg, Kenilworth, Claremont, Newlands, Rondebosch, Rosebank and Mowbray (see Figure 4.1). The 'corridor' is bounded:

- in the south by Constantia Road, Main Road, Wetton Road and Imam Haron Road;
- in the east by Rosmead Avenue/Belvedere Road/Milner Road and the M5;
- in the north by the N2; and
- in the west by the M3 and the Table Mountain range

In this small space there are 45 schools teaching the formal South African Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) to children in grades between 1 and 12. All but three of the schools in the corridor were formerly white establishments in terms of South Africa's apartheid legislation. Twenty-nine are public schools and 16 are independent schools; 20 are high schools and 25 are primary schools (see Addendum 20). Most are highly advantaged schools, serving a relatively upmarket sector of the population.

Figure 4.1: The Study Area: The Wynberg-Mowbray education corridor, with divisive transport arteries
 (Source: Data: City of Cape Town open data portal (<https://odp-cctegis.opendata.arcgis.com/>))
 Cartographic assistance provided in respect of map creation: UCT Libraries GIS Lab



4.3.2 The selection of the sample schools

The narrow focus of this study is on formalised schooling in the western idiom, as it occurs in institutions in the public domain. Other systems existing within the same space (for example, traditional indigenous education, independent schooling, home-schooling and the various forms of formal, informal or non-formal training) are not included in the narrative, other than where their inclusion illustrates an aspect of formal public education.

In delineating the study, I have focussed on six elite, previously white, desegregating suburban South African public high schools. In order to facilitate comparisons and to identify both similarities and differences in the schools' approaches to and the outcomes of their desegregatory methods and techniques, schools with significant initial commonalities were identified as the subjects of the study. The selected schools are all what are generally referred to as 'government schools', founded and largely funded and managed until 1994 by the state through the relevant (white) provincial education department. Of the six schools sampled, two were founded in the first half of the 19th century, two in the last decade of the 19th century, and two in the middle of the 20th century.

At the time of their initial desegregation, they displayed notable similarities in their nature. For example, all of the sample schools:

- Were segregated public high schools which operated within similar socio-economic areas;
- Drew on similar socio-economic feeder areas for learner and educator intakes prior to desegregation;
- Applied a selective intake policy as a result of being significantly oversubscribed in respect of applications for admission;
- Offered a wide range of extra-curricular activities spanning the sporting, cultural and service arenas;
- Were recognised by their provincial education department as high-performing schools;
- Went through the same 'desegregation portal' as they voted for Model B status in late 1990 and voluntarily opened their doors to previously excluded learners in January 1991; and
- Became partially or significantly racially integrated during the period covered by the study, with all four of the recognised population groups per South Africa's apartheid-era legislation represented in each school's learner body.

4.3.3 An introduction to the schools within their community context

The schools were chosen as reputational samples from among racially diversified middle- to upper-middle-class public schools, based on criteria such as positive media images of racial

integration and visible on-site changes at the schools as they seek to address problems of racial difference and identity. In order to retain a measure of anonymity, the schools are identified simply by letters of the alphabet, as Schools A to F.

The schools under consideration, though they have been formally desegregated since January 1991, were all founded and nurtured within a race-based and highly race-conscious social and educational system. All were required to pass through the same desegregatory processes when applying in 1990 to integrate – i.e. they all carried out the same procedures and actions, followed the same regulatory processes, and met the same criteria, required of them by law and regulation, in order to desegregate their learner intakes and their staff appointments.

The six selected sample schools are:

- Two traditional girls' high schools, which have emerged with different post-segregationist demographics despite significant commonalities pre-desegregation;
- Two traditional boys' high schools, likewise with different post-segregationist demographics, despite significant commonalities pre-desegregation; and
- Two 'outlier' schools.
 - The first of these 'outlier schools' reportedly enrolled learners of colour during its pre-Union of South Africa history, and was reputedly the first white public school in South Africa to formally support the opening of the school to all racial groups. In 1986 its parent body voted overwhelmingly for such a course of action when consulted by the governance structures of the school. Yet the governing body rejected the government models offered to schools four years later, and initially refused to allow a vote on the issue as required by the state's regulations in respect of schools wishing to desegregate. The governance committee based its rejection of the models presented by the state on the grounds that the conditions attached were unreasonable, unrealistic and based on racial criteria. Simultaneously, though, the controlling body confirmed that the school was determined to open its doors to all racial groups on its own terms, and would "pursue such an objective unremittingly until successful" (*Cape Times*, 14 September 1990).
 - The second of the 'outlier' schools has a strong history of 'trail-blazing'. It is an institution which, from its founding, positioned itself as avant-garde, progressive and non-traditional despite being set in a strongly traditional suburban milieu. It has since developed a public reputation as a pacesetter with regard to a range of transformational initiatives, not only in the field of racial desegregation.

None of the six schools waited for legislative compulsion before desegregating their intakes. Yet, while all took the decision to desegregate voluntarily, they responded differently to the challenges and opportunities of change. As a consequence, they have taken on contrasting characteristics, and the unique ethos which gives each school its individual character was perceived by the end of the study period to differ markedly from that of the other sample schools.

Given the contrasts between historical similarities in the selected schools as noted above and the apparently different ethos which has emerged in each school during the desegregation process, the study focusses less on the individual characteristics of each school and more on the general shifts in discourses and practices around desegregation and change over time. It examines how geographically and historically similarly situated schools with overlapping catchment areas positioned themselves differently as they responded to change. Further attention is paid to the extent, manner and impact of the transformation on each school's ethos; how the different schools have pursued desegregation and change in the course of the study period; and how the type or nature of each institution's historical development has impacted on the emergent ethos of the school.

Some 30 years on, each individual school's culture, ethos and tone emerge as being reflective of both its unique and individual pre-democracy history and a distinctive post-apartheid transformation trajectory, resulting in a notably changed school ethos.

The decisions by the institutions concerned to bring about a significant change to the school milieu by adopting a limited form of desegregation was not simple. Those who participated in the decisions to 'open' schools had conflicting ideas and understandings around national and local politics, social imperatives, education, desegregation and schools. The prevailing views, understandings and ideas in the various school leadership structures were not necessarily shared by everyone in their communities. While certain philosophies may have been dominant in formal decision-making structures, the motives of those involved in the debates and decisions were varied and complex, bringing to their particular situation both progressive and conservative ideas, and often many shades of opinion.

Six broad (and to a greater or lesser extent, conflicting) motives are identified in the literature and reports of the time as triggers which initiated the schools' decisions to 'open' their enrolments, namely:

- The opening of schools across racial boundaries was simply an epiphenomenon, a secondary symptom of the ferment of the democratisation that was breaking upon South

Africa at the time and schools were merely acting within the ambit of the particular communities they were serving and servicing (Folb, 1991a);

- Desegregation was a moral certitude reflecting what the decision-makers viewed simplistically as the right thing to do (Penny et al., 1993);
- ‘Going open’ was a response to a perceived inevitability, given the landmark reformist speech of South Africa’s then President FW de Klerk on 2 February 1990 (the ‘common-sense’ view pertaining across much of South African society at the time, and articulated by Interviewee 7);
- Segregated white schools were confronted by an uncertain future in the face of falling rolls, financial strictures, teacher redundancies and possible closure (Lemon, 1994);
- Desegregation was a cynical ploy to ensure that white communities would continue to control their schools rather than have them fall into the hands of a democratically-elected government (Motala and Pampallis, 2002);
- Accepting one of the models on offer was an attempt by schools to retain control over the processes and perceived consequences of integration (media and officialdom’s interpretation).

It is likely, given the conflicting personalities, institutional cultures and circumstances at play in the various schools when the decisions were made, that a variety of these factors enjoyed a measure of influence in different schools at the time of their ‘going open’. Understandably, there was a belief that early moves towards desegregation would facilitate a “more measured change than might ultimately be forced on state schools which had not assumed control of their own admission policies” (Lemon, 1994, 214). Control of ‘quality’ as well as enrolments was at issue, with schools “anxious to protect their academic standards and ... their cultural ecology” (*Business Day*, June 17, 1991): or, as articulated by one principal, “if we wait until we have no choice in the matter, then we will not be able to control matters and we could well have to accept all and sundry. Selected good youngsters of other races could well be assets to the school...” (extract from a principal’s circular to parents, reported on in *The Citizen*, 3 October 1990). Divergent as the motives may appear to be, it could be argued that, taken together, they reflect to a significant extent a broad manifestation of Bell’s *Interest Convergence Thesis*.

There were also other factors that emerged with the passage of time and which influenced developments in the schools. The various concerns and dynamics at play did not remain static during the three decades of shift and change covered by this study. With the passage of time, new factors were activated by forces different from the ones which dominated during the initial moves. For example, where ‘inevitability’ may have been an initial trigger for

desegregation, 'marketisation' has arisen over time as a significant factor in learner selection as well as in the managerial approaches to admissions and the prioritisation of extra-curricular foci and the emergent ethos of the school (Hunter, 2019).

Against this fluctuating background, the study attempts a nuanced account of how each of the sample schools has approached the mechanisms controlling assimilation and multiculturalism, accompanied by alternating periods of growth and inertia, and stability and change, in different circumstances and for different schools and racial groupings post desegregation. The study also considers the factors that shaped access, exclusion and inclusion, both initially and over time.

Implicit in the nature of the research is a consideration of the social context in which schools find themselves. The concepts of diversity and difference need to be recognised, together with the way in which schools may seek to create homogenous communities, despite the extant diversities and differences among their learners. This requires an examination of the processes of inclusion and exclusion, and how they are facilitated, "who is doing the including and excluding and who is choosing what or who is to be included or excluded" (Soudien et al., 2004, 39).

Soudien et al. (2004) point to a strong normative stance in the literature suggesting that "inclusion is by definition good and exclusion, similarly so, is bad" (Soudien et al., 2004, 22). They suggest that while such a view may be laudable, it fails to recognise the possibility that inclusive policies could nevertheless result in new forms of exclusion. It therefore became relevant to consider whether the inclusion of learners in desegregating schools led to their being subjected to the status quo and placed an expectation upon them to comply with and meet standards predetermined by the institution, especially where this occurred without their involvement or inputs. This study therefore examines the extent to which there are means of empowerment in place in schools to assist learners to reshape the contexts of their educational experience, so that these contexts may be enriched by new perspectives.

While the opening of South Africa's elite public schools may have gone some way towards correcting demographic imbalances in particular institutions, Soudien et al. (2004) insist that it was short-sighted and abstruse to assume that institutional access alone would address the inequities present in desegregating schools. The fact of the matter, they posit, is that learners are not located in homogeneous, symmetrical and stable social, economic and political positions. Consequently, issues such as affordability, cultural and political environments, and practices both within and outside of schools may perpetuate exclusion, even after the learners have been admitted to schools with an ostensibly desegregated demographic. Furthermore,

they argue, any assumption that social inequality can be overcome by simply providing the same opportunities equally for all learners, or that demographic inclusiveness will address the equity divides, is far-fetched. How the selected institutions moved to address ongoing differences and different kinds of equalities (or inequalities) in the desegregated schools forms the kernel of the case studies in the second phase of the research.

4.4 DATA COLLECTION

In the gathering of data the study utilised a multiplicity of sources. These sources included original, in-house school documentation; public and school archives; school publications, including school histories, yearbooks, newsletters, circulars and the like; structured and semi-structured interviews with officials both inside and outside of the sample schools; publications on schools in general and elite South African schools in particular; and direct observation.

The bulk of the data was gathered over 21 months from October 2019 to June 2021:

- Archival material and publications were visited and revisited on an ongoing basis throughout the course of the study.
- The most important source of data in the case studies in the six schools was a series of structured and semi-structured interviews with principals and officials who were in service during critical periods of the change journey of the schools and the schooling system (see Section 4.4.4).
- The in-school data were accessed mainly during the first half of 2021.

Addendum 6 summarises the sources interviewed in the collection of data pertaining to the study.

4.4.1 Quantitative data collection

When it comes to the quantitative detail of diversification, a clear picture concerning school desegregation is not easy to obtain and perceptions and pronouncements in this regard have generally lacked unequivocal proof in the form of reliable data.

Gustafsson (personal communication, 28 February 2020) indicates that there “are no recent published statistics on the extent or spread of school desegregation in South Africa”. He intimates that researchers have experienced significant difficulty in accessing data on schooling by race, owing to the aversion of the authorities to the release of such information. He puts their reticence down to a mix of two very different factors: a liberal dislike for race-specific data because of South Africa’s apartheid past, and government’s reluctance to expose how bad the race-based inequalities are, for instance with respect to educational outcomes. The situation was exacerbated, particularly in the immediate post-apartheid era, by the refusal

of a number of the initial group of desegregated schools, including all the sample schools in this study, to label learners by race. This gesture was a signal of their antipathy towards racial classification or labelling of any sort, and led to the schools identifying all their learners, regardless of ethnic origin, simply as “other”.

Chisholm and Sujee (2006), in what Gustafsson (2020) identifies as one of the “best accounts of integration in our schools”, corroborate the paucity of data in this regard. They confirm that national statistics on school desegregation “are hard to come by” (Chisholm and Sujee, 2006, 142), despite the overt commitment on the part of government to achieving racial redress and ensuring that schools become incubators of non-racialism. Thus, with the education department’s statistics avoiding disaggregation of information on a racial basis, there was at the time of their research virtually no published statistical information in the public domain on the pace and trajectory of integration in schools across the country. According to Gustafsson (2020), this position still pertains more than a decade after Chisholm and Sujee made their judgement in 2006.

Furthermore, two administrative issues have since come to the fore. The South African Schools Act (84 of 1996) and the new Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) were promulgated only in 1996. As a consequence, the reality is that until the start of 1997 the country’s education departments continued to operate largely as they had during the apartheid era. A significant proportion of the statistical data on desegregating schools which relate to the pre-1997 period were thus collected by education departments which no longer exist – the white provincial departments of the previous dispensation. Reports indicate that a marked disinclination to retain such data emerged when the then four provinces and 19 education departments morphed into the nine new provinces and 10 different education departments post 1994. It therefore appears that most of the pre-1994 statistical data no longer exist.

There is a related impediment to accessing statistical data. Schools are not obligated to retain administrative records indefinitely. Depending on the authority concerned and the nature of the data, retention is required for periods between three and seven years, so records from the pre-1994 era are generally no longer available in the schools themselves.

The situation in the new dispensation has been aggravated by a further post-1994 administrative problem. In 2015 the Department of Basic Education changed its electronic data gathering and storage system. In the transferral from one system to the other the data for three years, namely 2015, 2016 and 2017, were corrupted. National data for the years concerned are thus also unobtainable in a form in which they can be relied upon and used effectively in this study.

In the face of these obstacles, several forward-thinking and co-operative departmental officials have provided access to such race-based data as are available, though it is limited to information from the post-2000 era and excludes the 'contaminated' information of the 2015-2017 period. A certain amount of data on race-based progression in the sample schools has also been built up during the course of this study on the basis of an analysis of school photographs, the cross-referencing of reports and programmes against names and pictures, and with trends and conclusions which emerge being verified during interviews and from minutes of meetings. The quantitative data therefore come in four iterations:

- Public or published data, where the source is acknowledged;
- Data from provincial and national education officials, generated and provided specifically for this project, but not published or placed in the public domain;
- Data from individual school records; and
- Data generated as part of my own research, including that built up by means of the analysis of lists, photographs, programmes and reports.

In all iterations the raw data have on occasion been used to calculate percentages instead of raw numbers or manipulated in other ways.

These approaches have allowed for the creation and use of hitherto unpublished data, alleviating the scarcity of published information noted by previous researchers. In all instances the original source is indicated or acknowledged where the data is included in the script.

4.4.2 Qualitative data collection

The structured and semi-structured interviews referred to in Section 4.4 provided the most significant proportion of the data used in writing up the case studies. In the gathering of qualitative data, interviews based on particularised questionnaires were held with major role players in the desegregation initiatives. The aim was to document and order the personal experiences of those who were at the forefront of change in the sample schools.

During the preliminary stages of the design of the study principals from a number of schools were approached. The main features of the research were explained to them and their reaction to the project as well as a willingness to participate in the study were canvassed. From these responses it emerged that principals were positive about the research, willing to participate as subjects and interested in the outcomes. Partially in the light of the interviews and responses, the sample of schools to be included in the study was refined and final decisions were made on the number, location and identity of the schools to be involved.

Principals in the selected schools were then given copies of introductory and permission letters and their willingness to provide access to relevant data and documents was confirmed. Signed acceptances of the conditions were obtained. These documents are attached as Addenda 2 to 5.

4.4.3 Source documents

The research identifies and reflects upon the differences in the 'trajectories of change' in the different schools from desegregation in 1991 up to 2019. The data gathered from the case studies are considered together with information and reports as noted below in order to identify general shifts over time in the discourses around school change. This includes the impact of desegregation on internal school policies, governance and management, and consequently on the ethos of the schools.

The documents listed here are among those used to illuminate the ideas, decisions and movements towards desegregation and change in the schools. They include:

- Education Department circulars and Teacher Association documents;
- Archives, annual yearbooks and the published histories of four of the sample schools;
- Subjective information as encapsulated in newsletters, accounts and reports;
- School policies on transformation, admissions, language, religion, uniform and grooming;
- The schools' Codes of Conduct;
- Schedules of subjects and extra-curricular offerings;
- Statistical data on enrolments and staffing, including information on numbers and the racial demographic of learners, staff and governors;
- Reports on how, when and by whom decisions on change were made; and
- Information on transformation initiatives such as sensitisation workshops, staff and learner guidance and support around desegregation and change, and equity and equality measures embarked upon by the school.

4.4.4 The interview instruments

Differentiated interview schedules were designed to cover the management of change in the schools during the portion of the study period when apartheid-era legal and administrative structures (e.g. race-based education departments) were de facto still in place (1990 to 1996); in what can be regarded as the early post-apartheid era (1997 to 2015); and in the #Fallist and post-#Fallist period between 2016 and 2019. The questionnaires were composed during the third quarter of 2019 and piloted in October 2019 in order to test whether they would elicit the information they were constructed to produce. This exercise resulted in adjustments to

some of the questions, and further minor modifications were made in June 2020 to accommodate those who, because of the coronavirus, opted to complete the questionnaires in writing instead of participating in face-to-face interviews.

The research questions were used to direct the structure and content of the interview questionnaires.

There were 45 interviews with relevant role players from the sample schools or elsewhere in education (see Addendum 6).

The interviews were constructed as follows, and with the following interviewees:

- One principal (or senior staff member) from each school for the period when the formal decision to apply for the right to set an own admissions policy was taken and implemented;
- Three further principals from each school (except in the case of School A, which had only two further principals during the period covered by the study); and
- School governing body members in office at different periods: three from 1990/1 when the schools voted to 'go open'; two from the 1997 to 2006 era; and three from the third decade of the study period. These were identified by earlier interviewees as significant role players in the transformation efforts of the schools concerned.

The principals' and other staff members' questionnaires (see Addenda 8 to 18) consist of 35 to 38 questions in six or seven sections as follows:

- General factors concerning the how, why and wherefore of change;
- Learner selection, inclusion and exclusion;
- Actions and activities impacting on change and diversification;
- Stakeholder responses and reactions;
- Changing ethos;
- A group of open-ended questions allowing personalised inputs; and
- For those in office during or after 2015, a seventh section, which interrogates the attitudes prevailing subsequent to the emergence of the #Fallist movements.

The governing body members' questionnaires consist of 18 to 25 questions considering those issues which lie clearly within the domain of governance. The general flow of the interviews followed the pattern of the interviews with principals.

Further differentiated questionnaires were used in the interviews with those from non-formal structures, and for officials from the education departments, teacher unions and professional associations. These questionnaires are less structured than those for principals, and contain

questions which are more open-ended in nature. There are also no sub-sections within the questionnaires for any of these officials. Their questionnaires consist of 12 questions for the officials involved in the origination of regulations, and eight questions for those involved in the implementation rather than the drawing up of such regulations.

Interviewing at least three principals in each school, as well as three categories of school leaders (i.e. school principals, professional association or departmental leaders and parent leaders) has allowed for the verification and validation of responses through a process of triangulation. Examples of these principals' and other interviewees' schedules are available as Addenda 8 to 17.

4.5 ISSUES OF RELIABILITY, ACCURACY AND GENERALISABILITY

4.5.1 Reliability

Cawood (2018) suggests that the concept of reliability refers to the extent to which data as presented is representative of the data generally (Cawood, 2018, 120). While some of the findings reported in this study may initially have been coloured by own experiences and observations, I have attempted to ground all these findings in the data that have been gathered from elsewhere or others. The reliability thereof is bolstered by several factors, including the multiplicity of official and internal documents, external figures, yearbooks and official histories utilised, and observations made.

The study includes a sufficiently extensive sample to make detectable the emergence of patterns across the class of school under consideration. At the same time, the sample is small enough to discern and describe qualitatively and quantitatively the nuanced specifics of the schools' desegregationist trajectories.

Interviews have been conducted in sufficient numbers and with an appropriately varied category of role players to ensure both a representative breadth of views and the reliability of the data. By asking similar questions to all across the full range of respondents, reliability of the accounts given by the different interviewees was confirmed or negated, and a more accurate, in-depth narrative was achieved. Additionally, the involvement of someone from each sample school who has enjoyed longitudinal exposure to the institutions allows for the authentication or refutation of the data gleaned from different interviewees and sources. It is held that all these processes have aided the research reliability.

4.5.2 Accuracy

Interviews generally lasted between 90 minutes and two hours, but varied in length owing to the open nature of a number of the questions posed. Given that the interview schedules asked the same type of questions of the different role players, the array of interviews and interviewee types afforded an opportunity to assess the correctness of the accounts of individual interviewees. The accuracy of the information obtained is, however, dependent on the respondents' recall, viewpoint and intent. In this study, conclusions drawn are inevitably based on responses provided by interviewees whose interests lie in presenting a positive view of their schools and of the desegregationist processes. In order to address this issue, the study includes interviews with a diverse range of individuals which has led to a clearer understanding of the developments and changes in the schools. Further, in order to capture as accurately as possible the information sourced in the 45 interviews carried out during the study, four complementary approaches were used. Where circumstances made it viable to do so in instances of face-to-face consultations or of interaction by electronic means, the interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed in full. Where interviewees chose to respond to the questionnaires in writing owing to COVID restrictions, the full response has been retained as part of the record. Where there was any lack of clarity in written depositions, this was addressed in follow-up discussion, and clarifying notes were appended to the record. In a limited number of cases, extensive notes rather than recordings were made during the interviews and these were transcribed into a formal record.

4.5.3 Generalisability

Maxwell (1996, 293) defines generalisability as "the extent to which one can extend the account of a particular situation or population to other persons, times, or settings than those directly studied". Issues of generalisation thus revolve around the extent to which the study can be generalised to other contexts or can be seen as representative of the broader population. Given the limitations of the sample size, this thesis can only tentatively suggest that its findings may represent results that are reflective of schools outside of the study sample. There are, however, sufficient similarities between the desegregatory trajectories of the sample schools and ex-Model-C schools outside of the sample identified by observation and precedent literature to support such a tentative suggestion of generalisability. It is, nevertheless, done with caution.

4.6 CONCLUDING COMMENT

This chapter has discussed various aspects of the research. It has provided the reasoning for the selection of the study area and the sample schools, and made explicit the criteria that guided their inclusion. It has also addressed issues related to the availability of data and data gathering. It describes the methods used to source and analyse the data, the nature of the interviews and interview instruments, and methods beyond quantitative description which are used to present certain data. Finally, it has addressed issues of reliability, accuracy and generalisation.

Part II looks to the presentation of the research findings, based on that gathered data.

PART II: PRESENTATION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

CHAPTER 5: FROM SEGREGATION TO DESEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS

5.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENT

Serious, practical moves towards the desegregation of the South African schooling milieu had their roots in the Soweto unrest of 1976. By this time white, English-medium universities in South Africa had already taken their first tentative steps down the integrationist path, and the seminal Soweto uprisings were followed expeditiously by desegregatory moves in the independent school domain. A decade after Soweto, the idea of the desegregation of white public schools was firmly within the sights of the country's white, liberal left, while the Democratic movement was in pursuit of a larger goal – the emancipation of the entire country from white nationalist rule.

Integratory moves in schools in other parts of the world – for example, the US, Britain, Malaysia, South America and parts of Africa – were already under way, and in South Africa these initiatives were extensively debated and quoted. Given this country's history and demographic spread, however, a different desegregatory trajectory from that which had played itself out elsewhere in the world emerged temporarily in the local education sector.

5.2 THE DESEGREGATION OF THE COLLECTIVE OF SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Locally, practical moves towards public-school desegregation had been sporadic and limited in scope. In 1990, however, parent bodies of segregated public schools serving an exclusively white clientele were granted the opportunity to open their doors to learners of other population groups on a voluntary basis, albeit on strict terms and only after meeting stringent conditions during a prescribed voting process. The experiment was short lived, being overtaken by political democratisation within four years, and after 1994, volunteerism was replaced by legislative coercion.

The volunteerism of the early 1990s did, however, set some desegregatory processes in motion in a small number (204) of white public schools. The 'Model C' experiment from 1992 to 1994 extended nominal desegregation to a larger number of schools, and from 1995 onwards there was a legal prerogative to forcibly undo the apartheid legacy of racially exclusive schools. While these moves were "relatively successful" in respect of historically white, middle-class institutions (Gustafsson, 2020), there remains a significant lack of diversification in respect of schools serving the working class, the poor and the children of the unemployed (Gustafsson, 2020). He postulates that:

“Desegregation and integration are only really an issue in around 12% of schools [in South Africa], specifically public schools which are historically white or Indian. No-one talks about the lack of integration in the remaining 88% of the system, which serves poorer communities ... That 88% is almost exclusively black and there’s no policy push to get white and Indian kids there. In short then, the racial integration debate is a middle-class debate focussing on diversification within itself.”
(Personal communication with Martin Gustafsson, University of Stellenbosch, February 2020).

The consequence is that while middle-class South African children are now “fairly well integrated across races”, there is “a massive layer of lower-middle-class and poor children who are schooled in what is basically a non-diverse environment in terms of race” (Gustafsson, 2020). Gustafsson’s contention is supported by other researchers (e.g. Penny et al., 1993; Soudien, 2004; Chisholm and Sujee, 2006; Weber et al., 2009; Amsterdam et al., 2012; and Gruijters et al., 2022). All of them indicate that while there has been a significant movement of learners from historically black schools to those which previously served other race groups, there has been virtually no reciprocal flow in the opposite direction.

Although it is widely espoused and accepted that during the first decade of desegregation many former white schools had made considerable advances towards racial integration (Kallaway, 1997), the extent of desegregatory movement between 1991 and 1996 cannot be illustrated by reliable data. In 1997 the new National Department of Education collected and collated enrolment statistics from across the country for the first time. Since then some credible general data have become available, though not initially for individual schools. More detailed data have emerged from 2006 onwards and it is utilised in this study to build a clearer picture of the development of desegregation in some of the critical years of change.

The following summary, together with the data included in Table 5.1, presents an aggregated view of the desegregation of the South African schooling system against which to understand and evaluate the desegregatory trajectory in the sample schools.

The 2006 data confirm many of the pre-existing perceptions around the desegregation of South African schools. By that year the proportion of black African learners in historically white schools already stood at 23% of the total enrolment. Equivalent figures for Indian/Asian and coloured learners in the historically white schools stood at 3% and 7% respectively. At the same time, proportions of white learners in historically coloured and Indian schools were 1.13% and 0.22% respectively. Historically black schools had attracted no white learners at all.

The data indicate further that in the years from 1997 to 2014 the following trends emerged (NB: in this subsection, owing to the corruption of official data for 2015 to 2017, figures for 2014 instead of those from the chosen ‘exemplar year’ of 2015 are used):

- In 1997 the white learner component in all public schools in South Africa stood at 8%, while in historically white schools it was still at a dominant 68%.
- The growth of the total of learners of colour in historically white schools between 1997 and 2014 was significant. By 2004 learners of colour already exceeded the white learner component, and in 2014 learners of colour constituted 67% of the total number of learners in historically white schools.
- The Indian/Asian component in historically white schools remained virtually unchanged throughout the period 1997 to 2014 at approximately 3%, while the coloured component in white schools more than doubled – from 7% to 16%.
- Similarly, the black African component in the historically white schools more than doubled between 1997 and 2014, from 23% to 47% of the total enrolment, though the averages hide the fact that many of these schools had ‘reseggregated’ by 2014. The white learners in historically white schools in 2014 was only 33%.
- In 2009 the number of black African learners in historically white schools exceeded the number of white learners in those schools for the first time, a position which has prevailed ever since.
- In 2014 the four racial groups constituted the following proportions in historically white schools: total learners of colour = 67%; black African learners = 47%; coloured learners = 16%; Indian/Asian learners = 3%; white learners = 33%.
- Historically coloured schools experienced significant inflow from black African learners, and in 2014 the racial groupings in these schools were represented as follows: total learners of colour = 99.8%; black African learners = 28.2%; coloured learners = 71.4%; Indian/Asian learners = 0.2%; white learners = 0.2%.
- Historically Indian/Asian schools experienced an outflow of their traditional clientele during the 1997 to 2014 period, with the proportion of Indian/Asian learners dropping from 58% in 1997 to only 31% in 2014. Chisholm and Sujee (2004) attribute the drop in Indian/Asian learners in the schools which they had traditionally attended not only to a growing flow to desegregating white public schools, but also to the desegregated independent sector which had been ‘open’ since the late 1970s.
- During the 1997 to 2014 period there was a perceived influx of both black African and coloured learners into Indian/Asian schools. Data gathered for this study run at least partially counter to this anecdotal perception. Though by 2014 the black African component in historically Indian/Asian schools had reached 66%, the proportion of coloured learners in these schools was only 3%.

These movements (or the lack thereof) are illustrated in Tables 5.1(a), 5.1(b) and 5.1(c).

Table 5.1: Desegregation of schools: Learner movements (per racial classification) into previously segregated schools

(Source: Department of Basic Education, unpublished, own calculations)

5.1a) 1997 Learners being educated in...	Black African learners		Coloured learners		Indian/Asian learners		White learners		Learners of colour	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Historically Coloured schools	129 094	17%	605 448	82%	1 772	0%	1 615	0%	736 314	100%
Historically Indian/Asian schools	127 336	38%	8 552	3%	192 504	58%	3 763	1%	328 392	99%
Historically White schools	174 728	23%	52 004	7%	19 835	3%	525 274	68%	246 567	32%

5.1b) 2006 Learners being educated in...	Black African learners		Coloured learners		Indian/Asian learners		White learners		Learners of colour	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Historically Coloured schools	221 306	24%	707 771	76%	2 245	0%	2 297	0%	931 322	100%
Historically Indian/Asian schools	177 264	55%	11 590	4%	130 039	40%	4 888	2%	318 893	98%
Historically White schools	426 316	39%	149 454	14%	38 582	3%	491 200	44%	614 352	56%

5.1c) 2014 Learners being educated in...	Black African learners		Coloured learners		Indian/Asian learners		White learners		Learners of colour	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Historically Coloured schools	288 224	28%	728 803	71%	2 213	0%	1 973	0%	1 019 240	100%
Historically Indian/Asian schools	218 260	66%	11 362	3%	101 454	31%	1 530	0%	331 076	100%
Historically White schools	575 028	47%	197 049	16%	42 654	3%	409 044	33%	814 731	67%

NB: In the above tables, percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. Adding percentages will therefore not necessarily arrive at a sum of 100%

In 2015 a different perspective began to play out in desegregated schools, in that the various #Fallist movements emerged on the South African political landscape. At the same time a hiatus appeared in

the accuracy of collected data, and only in respect of the final year of study, 2019, has access been gained to data which are credible.

Against that backdrop of the quantitative data, the following section considers the qualitative trajectory of desegregation in elite, white, public schools during the period of this study.

5.3 GROUNDWORK TOWARDS THE RACIAL DIVERSIFICATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLING IN SOUTH AFRICA

For many decades there were small indications of an interest from some white schools in desegregatory processes, and Schools A and B both lay claim to having enrolled learners of colour during their early histories (Veitch, 2003 and 2016). This practice was terminated legislatively by the Cape School Board Act, Act 35 of 1905. At a formal level, it was this statute which “set in train the process of separating white children from children of colour” in South Africa’s schools (Soudien, 2019, 27). The passing of the legislation did not mean, however, that all thought of an alternative framework had disappeared, though such thoughts were somewhat suppressed. Such suppression notwithstanding, sporadic examples of an awareness that a different trajectory remained a possibility emerged over the years among some in the sample schools. As suggested by Vandeyar and Jansen (2008, vii) in a different context, there are examples of desegregation taking place with schools “acting against the grain of their own racial biographies”: some examples of these moves in the sample schools in this study are considered in the following section.

5.3.1 Schools “acting against the grain of their own racial biographies”

In 1932 the first recorded action in any of the sample schools since the pre-Union days that could be viewed as indicative of ‘racial awareness’ took place in School C. It is, however, passed off in the school’s logbook with a perfunctory entry on 20th April 1932: “Mr Sol Plaatje – a native leader spoke to the girls on the present conditions of natives in S. Africa. The meeting was at 3 pm: about 60 girls were present.”

The activity evoked an ‘unsavoury’ reaction in Parliament (Willan 2018), but also some public support. The parliamentary furore fizzled out when the national Minister of Education confirmed that he would be taking no further steps in the matter since it fell within the remit of the Cape Provincial Administration (Willan, 2018, 572). Meanwhile, an ex-professor of the University of Cape Town and a parent of one of the learners at the school suggested that the “distinguished principal” be lauded for giving the pupils the opportunity to “hear the native view at first hand (reasonably and moderately put)” (Willan, 2018, 572).

A quarter of a century later two segregated (albeit independent) schools situated in the community served by some of the sample schools in this study received applications for the

admission of learners of colour. The governance structures of both schools declined the applications. Importantly though, almost two-thirds of the learners in one of the schools signed an expression of “disappointment” at the Council’s decision, while “most of the teaching staff” supported the stance of the principal which was reportedly at variance with the resolution to reject the application (Gardener 1997, 43). In 1976 the independent Roman Catholic Springfield Girls’ School, quietly and without permission from the government, admitted two black learners. Similar admissions to other independent schools followed in 1977. In 1978 the government formally acceded to the demands of the churches and independent school movement to allow the admission of black learners to white independent schools. Though these moves were confined to independent schools, they were, together with the controlled and limited opening of white universities, indicative of a segment of white South African society’s growing acceptance of, even demand for, the desegregation of education.

At the same time the desegregatory waters were beginning to be tested by public schools. Leaders of racially disparate teacher associations were talking to each other and in 1979 there was another indicator of emergent considerations around broadening the racial horizons of the learners in one of the schools sampled in this study. In that year School E hosted a leading member of the coloured community as guest of honour at its annual prize-giving, arguably the most high-profile event on the school’s calendar. The guest had no notable political profile, but in contrast with the hosting of Sol Plaatje in 1932, when only about 60 girls attended his talk, the 1979 event was attended by the entire staff and learner corps and a significant number of parents. This time the action drew no official reaction. Yet, given the racial polarisation which existed in the post-Soweto South Africa of the late 1970s, it was probably more noticeably ‘against the grain’ of societal practices and governmental policy in respect of white schools of the time than the Plaatje invitation had been.

School D did something similar in the early 1980s. More provocative in its actions, it had as its prize-giving guest a coloured educational luminary with a much higher and more radical political profile than the less controversial guest of the earlier case. This time there was an official reaction, with the principal being “summonsed to the office of the then Director of Education and given a dressing down in no uncertain terms” (Interviewee 16).

More widely reported and debated than either of the above were the actions of a fourth of the sample schools. On 2 September 1985, the teaching staff of School A, “without having had any prior notice, were given the opportunity to voice the opinion that [the school] should [be] open to all races, under a single ministry of education, and that this conviction should be made

public ...” (*Struggling to open our doors*, p4: unpublished document in the UCT Library Special Collections BC 1023). One half of the teaching staff “signed the petition without hesitation” in what the school claimed to be “the first official step towards universal education rights taken by a White government school in South Africa” (*Struggling to open our doors*, p4: UCT Library Special Collections BC 1023). The school formally applied to the provincial education department to open its doors to learners irrespective of race, and in this they were followed by a small number of other state schools in the following year or so. None was, however, granted the requested permission.

The steps described here had a minimal impact on the overall transformation of South African society and its education system. It is nonetheless held that these modest steps were the harbingers of future developments, indicating that the moves towards institutional integration in 1990 amounted to more than schools simply acting “against the grain of their own racial biographies”, as suggested by Vandeyar and Jansen (2008, vii). Open schools were more than just a reflection of developments in other areas of the body politic in South Africa during the late 1980s (Folb, 1991a) and it is surely not coincidental that within five years the government had moved to make the limited and circumscribed desegregation of white state schools a possibility.

5.3.2 The triggers for ‘going open’ in 1990

Research sub-question 1: ‘What drove oversubscribed and affluent white, upper-middle-class schools to embrace voluntarily the fundamental shifts in school policy required of them in order to desegregate: that at a time when in the international arena it was undersubscribed and financially challenged schools that were desegregating, and which were doing so under governmental duress or judicial compulsion?’

In considering school desegregation in the US, Stephan and Feagin (1980) identify two disparate pressures which he considered contributed significantly to the desegregation of American schools – the concern of the ruling class regarding the stability and legitimacy of the politico-economic system; and the desegregationist pressures emanating from black civil rights groups. Others, notably in media reports and international research, postulate that desegregation was generally initiated by falling enrolments and financial uncertainty in schools.

None of these explanations accords with the circumstances prevailing in the sample schools in this study, however. South Africa’s civil rights movements and political lobbies outside of

government were seeking much more than the desegregation of schools. According to Motala and Pampallis (2002, 147) “the issue of the racial desegregation [of individual schools] was not the major issue in the reforms taking place in the public school system”. Interviewee 16 postulated rather that the ‘major issue’ was the complete and compulsory transformation of the entire South African education and training system. He indicates, by way of example, that a leading educational figure in the civil rights groupings in South Africa, Franklin Sonn, later democratic South Africa’s ambassador to the United Nations, was ‘totally opposed’ to the idea of piecemeal integration or desegregatory voluntariness. “He was adamant that there should be no choice in the matter of the opening of schools, but that it should be compulsory. He was strongly in favour of open schools, but not on the basis of or in terms of the models proposed by [government] ... ” (Interviewee 16). Furthermore, the sample schools were oversubscribed and financially among the wealthiest public schools in the country. A different dynamic must thus have emerged in the sample schools which triggered their decisions to vote to ‘go open’. In this regard, conclusions drawn in this study are based on written records as well as interviews with school leaders and senior education officials of the time.

Folb (1991a, 13) questions whether the parental votes to ‘go open’ were indeed a robust portent to government of a widespread rejection of policies which were “patently unjust, expensive, harmful to [the country’s] children and blind to the realities of South African life” (Folb, 1991a, 13). He suggests rather that they were more likely simply an “epiphenomenon, a secondary symptom of the ferment of the democratisation that was breaking upon South Africa” (Folb, 1991a, 13). The principal of School C in the first year of its desegregation concurred:

“The existing apartheid system, which was, of course, an iniquitous system, was obviously in flux ... society around us was changing ... and the education sector had been left behind. So not to have followed this path ... would have been swimming against the current” (Interviewee 10).

The then Director of the professional South African Teachers’ Association posits differently, suggesting that a major trigger for desegregation in public schools was what he identified as “a matter of conscience” (Interviewee 16). Desegregation was simply “the right thing to do”. Largely supportive of this view, a past president of the same organisation and a principal of School E characterised it as a matter of ethics: “To me ethically – to all of us, ethically – the state school had to become open” (Interviewee 21). This view was confirmed by other principals in the sample schools. As the principal of School F phrased it, “It was just the right thing to do. Church and other parts of society in which we moved were already fully

integrated, and they seemed to be working very well and happily. I was sure that it could work in a school environment as well, and so it proved” (Interviewee 27).

Minister Piet Clase dismissed such ideas as the unrealistic and unfounded fancies of liberal groups “far removed from the realities of South African life” (Minister P Clase in February 1989, in consultation with the Open Schools Association, of which all the sample schools were registered members). Reciprocally dismissive of the Minister’s view, the principal of School E reported that in his school even “the more conservative staff members, such as some of the Afrikaans-speaking people, who might have been expected to be concerned ... gave it their full support and felt it was the right thing to do” (Interviewee 21).

The moral-ethical stand is not the only reason propounded for the opening of elite white public schools in 1991. A further suggestion is that the earlier integrationist explorations of the independent sector influenced decision-making in public schools. Such a hypothesis is, however, not supported by this research. Although developments in the independent white schools in South Africa had demonstrated the possibility of desegregation, five of the principals in the sample schools at the time downplayed any linkage between their decision to ‘go open’ and what was happening in private institutions. Only the principal of School A answered in the affirmative to the question on whether his views on the opening of the school were influenced by the experiences of the already-open independent schools in the area, and then only somewhat peripherally. He reported on his contact with independent schools:

“I remember meeting with the principal of [an independent school] ... and we talked to some of the girls about being a black learner in a school with white children. Because that’s what we had to adapt to. We had to adopt a policy at [our school] which was inclusive of black kids. So we did a lot of work with [School X and School Y, both independent schools] finding out how they had adapted to having mixed classes, classes of colour, any rules that had to change ...” (Interviewee 1).

The other principals displayed greater scepticism about learning from or being influenced by the independent sector. Typical of the answers received from them was that of the principal of School E at the time of desegregation:

“We were not influenced by the moves in the independent schools ... we didn’t end up saying, look at the independent schools, they’re doing it ... those were independent schools and we were state schools ... To me ... the state school had to become open” (Interviewee 21).

Similar views were expressed by colleagues from Schools C and F, as illustrated by a response from the latter:

“[We were] not really [influenced by the independent schools] ... they were serving quite a different community and we did not think that they had a huge amount to teach us” (Interviewee 27).

Similar responses emerged to the question on whether the universities, which had moved towards open enrolments earlier than schools, served either directly or indirectly as pressure points, guiding lights or exemplars for change in the sample schools. According to the principal of School E, the influence of the already-open universities was “an issue that of course we mentioned and just took as an underlying assumption. [But there was] no particular pressure on us. I think that’s very different these days ... [The university] has a lot of past pupils and parents and the staff there who agitate for transformation ... but that wasn’t so in my day” (Interviewee 21).

A principal of School B expanded on this response:

“I had never thought of this before ... knowing what we know now in 2020, what an exciting prospect it would have been if ALL the educational stakeholders could have met together to discuss how we could have taken in pupils of colour, mentored them and given them meaningful avenues of feedback. We all tried various systems in a rather hit-and-miss way. Intentions were good but now we see how good intentions are not enough if we want all pupils to feel at home” (Interviewee 6).

If the trigger action for the opening of elite public schools to all race groups was not to be found in falling numbers or financial strictures, nor in the lead of universities or independent schools which had already gone open, what was the trigger?

Responses from the principals who participated in the research, together with the schools’ written records, confirm the view of Interviewee 16 and the research of Penny et al. (1993) that the driving force behind the opening of the schools was in almost all the early cases to be found in political morality rather than financial or other expediency, or even any attempt to keep up with developments elsewhere in the education sector. A response from Interviewee 21 is clear:

“There was this very strong [moral] conviction which I not only shared, but to some extent spearheaded: that we should consider opening the school racially at the earliest possible opportunity” (Interviewee 21).

The public utterances of other principals of the time expand on this viewpoint. In a prize-giving address in 1990, the principal of School A confirmed that the “opening of the school to all races ... had always been seen as ... an ideal” and that the new challenge had been “welcomed

by the school". The principal of School C at the time was more cautious and ambiguous, suggesting that "the most satisfactory way of implementing open schools ... would be to consider the junior and high schools as one and for children to be accepted at junior school level and simply and naturally work their way through to the high school, having enjoyed exactly the same grounding as all the other children. However, the demand for integrated places in high schools was such that this did not seem feasible" (McIntyre 1994, 95). There was also an indication from the principal of same school that in the year in which it 'went open' it had experienced "great mood swings – of grave uncertainties, sharp optimism, misgivings, excitement, hope and some fears ..." (Principal's prize-giving address, 1991).

Two interviewees inserted variations on this common theme. Oral as well as written responses underline the viewpoint widely held by governors and staff in School D that the procedure for opening schools to all races was "flawed", but that the school nevertheless "welcomed" the opportunity to "remove the criterion of race from the admission procedure entirely" (Headmaster's Message, School D, 1990). The principal of School F added as a secondary motivation the desire to ensure that the posts of committed and loyal members of staff were not lost as a consequence of the personnel right-sizing measures which accompanied the opening of the schools, but this was the only sample school to identify explicitly the retention of educator posts as a factor.

5.3.3 The drivers of the process of 'going open'

The envisaged desegregation of the sample schools had to be endorsed by a very dominant majority of the parent body, and on the basis of such endorsement, the decision to 'go open' was formally taken by the Management Council (or the School Committee, as it was known in the sample schools at the time) and ratified by the Minister. However, there is evidence which suggests that the idea of the desegregation of the sample schools was largely championed by the principals themselves.

Jansen and Kriger (2020) and (Penny et al., 1973, 414) indicate that "school principals strongly influenced [the] choice of a model for integrating their schools". Interviews with the principals in office at the time and a perusal of their writings confirm the pivotal role they played.

The principal of School B commented in the official history of his school that "the integration process went very well ... I received great support from my governing bodies and *my recommendations for courses of action were almost without exception agreed to*" (emphasis added).

The principal of School E was quite direct about his role in the opening of the school – “I was a key mover in that [the decision to open the school to all races] ... I approached this as a process [and] called a staff meeting [where] we had a good, wide, open debate ... With an overwhelming consensus emerging ... I then approached the SGB, or the School Committee as it was then, to consider the issue” (Interviewee 21).

The principal of School F also indicated (albeit in somewhat qualified fashion) that she was the prime mover: “If anybody was the champion, I suppose it was me, but there really wasn’t the need for either a campaign or a champion. The press had been very busy with the possibilities, and our teacher associations likewise ... we all accepted it and it more or less just happened” (Interviewee 27).

Only in School A did the principal of the time not specifically drive the process of ‘going open’ – an issue to which I return later in this study.

The next section explores how the idea translated into reality and the actions ‘more or less just happened’.

5.4 COMMON RESPONSES TO DESEGREGATION IN THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS

In opening their institutions, the schools were forced by the relevant regulations into following identical processes and procedures. However, with virtually no guidance, training or experience of what was to come, individual schools, having decided to open their doors to all, reverted in practice to that which they knew best, and which experience suggested worked well. The consequence was that in the early years of desegregation they pursued similar integrationist trajectories. The expected ‘markedly different trajectories’ identified in the main research question were initially conspicuous by their absence in five of the six sample schools, with significant variations in the desegregatory trajectories emerging only some years into the democratic era.

The initial responses to the opening of the six sample schools as well as the early responses to marketisation were consequently, to a greater extent than expected, common to the sample schools.

5.4.1 The cultivation of an ‘ideology of racelessness’

The expression ‘ideology of racelessness’ is ascribed to Fordham (1988), and refers to approaches whereby people act in a manner which indicates “We’re colorblind here ... We don’t see *black* students or *white* students, we just see students” (Fordham 1988, 61).

In 1990 the demographics of the schools sampled for this study were entirely reflective of the race-based laws governing the provision of education in South Africa. Falling under the

Department of Education in the (white) House of Assembly, admissions were limited to learners from the racial grouping classified as white, except in terms of two special dispensations discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.5.2.1. The numbers of admissions under these dispensations were, however, minimal, and in practice the children of black diplomats were admitted to very few of the sample schools. Anecdotally this was as a result of one particular school emerging as the 'favoured institution' among such diplomats.

In January 1991 the first admissions to previously white schools of black learners, other than those identified above, occurred in terms of the Clase Models. With a strong intent on the part of desegregating schools to move away from apartheid labelling, most principals and teachers (though obviously not all) at this time made a considered and deliberate effort to view learners through a lens of 'racelessness'. In an illustration of what many white South Africans regarded as praiseworthy colour-blindness, most of the sample schools refused to identify their learners by race. This was markedly prevalent in the schools in the Western Cape (Chisholm and Sujee, 2006) and in practice, learners' race groupings were ignored and the child was regarded simply as one of those to be assimilated into the institutional family.

Press reports at the time of the opening of previously white schools to all racial groupings demonstrate this colour-blind and assimilationist mindset and Fordham's concept of 'racelessness':

"Schools refused to say how many children of colour they had admitted, claiming they were now 'colour-blind' ... Said deputy principal [of School D] 'As we have entered a non-racial stage, there is no classification, so we do not know how many black pupils there are'" (*Cape Argus*, 22 January 1991, 4).

Exemplifying such an attitude, all of the sample schools, when compiling statistical returns on the demographics of their learner bodies throughout the first decade of desegregation, listed the race group of all learners enrolled at the school simply as 'other', rather than utilising the official apartheid population-group categorisations. There was a single, temporary exception to this practice in the sample schools: the second post-desegregation principal of School F enjoyed a brief, two-year tenure in 1997 and 1998. During this period the school submitted statistical data which included learners by race groups. However, this principal's successor reverted to the submission of 'raceless' listings.

Penny et al. (1993, 424) confirm that schools preferred children who were able to discard ethnic affiliations and become 'raceless'. They quote a principal as intimating that he did "not see cultural differences as significant" and did not recognise race; in fact, "he talked of a 'race-

free school” (Penny et al., 1973, 424). Epitomising this approach, the principal of Blackwood School (a fictitious name) stated that she “would like to think [learners of colour] come here to be made into Blackwood girls” (Penny et al., 1973, 417). Christie (1989) reports something similar from the Catholic school sector, quoting comments such as “We don’t see race” or “We’re all the same here” (Christie, 1989, 89).

Such approaches were also symptomatic of the early years of desegregation in the sample schools. According to Interviewee 5 there was in these schools a “complete absence of the level of awareness which exists 25 years later ... the circumstances, educational background and social context of the new learner intake were seldom discussed or taken into account”. The ‘ideology of racelessness’ was deeply entrenched.

5.4.2 The preservation of the schools’ existing ethos

Research both for this study and that carried out by others indicates strongly that the initial response to the opening of the schools, despite the fact that the schools had decided of their own volition to ‘go open’, was one of the preservation and perpetuation of their ethos and all that the school had traditionally stood for. They clearly took seriously the injunction from the education authorities (see Section 6.3) that alterations to the school’s racial intake should not be allowed to effect a deviation from their established ideals and ethos. Its meticulous application led to strong assimilationist-incorporationist philosophies in the sample schools, which exhibited a robust bias towards containment rather than a transformational orientation. A 1986 School Committee document from a school with a similar ethos to the sample schools in this study emphasises the necessity of maintaining the school’s “general atmosphere, identity and traditions” in the post-desegregation era. It highlights a strong intent concerning the “retention of academic, sporting and cultural standards and the maintenance of tradition” (Webster, 2015, 73). In 1990 a follow-up document from the same school comments on a need for the “vigorous pursuit of renewal and progress” (Webster, 2014, 73), but in 1991, with the school having enrolled its first black learners, it declares its intent to be “a multicultural school with a Eurocentric base” (Webster, 2014, 74).

A similar preservationist approach emerged equally strongly in the sample schools in this study, with principals indicating clearly that assimilation was the dominant approach during the early desegregation years. For example, it is underscored in the 1991 principal’s report from School A that “the majority of the new boys have fitted in easily and well”. An equivalent report from the principal of School B in the same year suggests that the opening of the doors of the school to all South Africans had had an impact which was, at that point in time, “negligible”. The principal of School C intimated at the time that the school “believed that the

new pupils were all simply going to be 'our pupils' as our intake had always been in the past ... I just wanted [them] to be [School C pupils]" (Interviewee 10). The same principal went on to expand on the concept:

"People in the school community were ... most of all concerned that things shouldn't change, and that standards – not just academically, but also in terms of behaviour – mustn't be allowed to deteriorate ... people were anxious about changes taking place too quickly, and it was something I had to be aware of. Personally, I wanted to accentuate similarities and commonalities, not differences" (Interviewee 10).

In similar vein, the principal of School D described the pending arrival of the initial cohort of black learners as "simultaneously a dramatic change and no change at all" (Principal's Message, 1990).

"The introduction into the school of [learners] of other races ... will not affect the ideals and ethos which we have striven to maintain over the years. The school will continue ... to uphold the principles and beliefs that it has always stood for" (Principal's Message, School D, 1990).

A year later he confirmed his view that:

"[the new intake] was made up of boys whose parents had sent him to gain a [School D] education [and] would not have wanted anything to change. They had come after all, to share in what we had enjoyed to date and it was perceived to be good" (Principal's Message, School D, 1991).

He went on to indicate that "we have so far almost followed a policy of assimilation – where the newcomers, because they admire what they have seen from outside, adapt themselves to what has always been. They become [School D learners] in the same tried and trusted formula as before" (Principal of School D in the Principal's report, 1991).

The principal of School F confirmed the above, indicating that the opening of the school had brought to the fore nothing really different.

"The new pupils needed to adapt and fit in, just as all the other new pupils had to do. We had no feeder primary school of our own so we were taking in quite a heterogeneous group, and we expected them all to unite and pull together. We certainly expected them all to become good [School F learners]" (Interviewee 27).

Even in School E, an institution which over time has been viewed as a leader in approaches which can be described as transformational rather than assimilationist, the ethos in 1991 was

not markedly different from that in the other schools in the sample. The principal of the school at the time of 'going open' reports:

"I never got the feeling that there was, you know, a big change in the way we did things at [the time of the opening of the school] ... undoubtedly we said 'You ... know what rules and so on we have [and] ... you've got to meet those expectations'. At the same time, there was also a very, I think, honest realisation that this was going to, in time, change how we would do things, but my time at the school predated what was to come later" (Interviewee 21).

The transformational initiatives that were most favoured in the early 1990s focussed predominantly on pedagogics and cultural activities, rather than on changing the school ethos or character. All the sample schools reported that their staff members had adapted their teaching approaches 'somewhat' to account for the academic background and cultural contexts of the racially expanded learner intake. All additionally arranged some form of bridging classes to compensate for incoming learners' academic gaps or shortcomings. These classes were not, however, restricted to learners from particular racial groupings or feeder schools. The processes in two of the sample schools are enumerated below:

"We provided bridging classes where help was arranged to compensate for academic gaps or shortcomings – you know, they were given some sort of help. But ... we'd done the same with [white] kids. So, it wasn't sort of a major racial issue. We just strongly sort of emphasised to the whole standard six staff group that ... the kids come from different schools and there's a vast difference. So, you really need to see where they are and deal with it and get them sort of on board" (Interviewee 21).

The principal in School F outlined their particular situation in the following terms:

"There were one or two pupils who we advised to go away and prepare to come back in a year's time, as we were convinced that they would not cope with the academic demands of the school. Those that we took were quite capable of looking after themselves and we did not prepare them particularly differently from all the other Grade 7s who were coming into the school" (Interviewee 27).

Despite changes in the demographics of the learner population (see Chapter 7), the ethos in all the schools initially remained largely unchanged during the early years of desegregation. By 1997, with statutory change entrenched, the traditional inherited and associative forms of ethos were still dominant.

5.4.3 The perpetuation of existing operational approaches

A view gained traction during the analysis of interview responses that the principals in the sample schools at the time of the initial changes saw the breakdown of racial uniformity as their main goal. Interviewees displayed remarkably similar opinions around the nature of the schools' operational realities five or six years into the desegregation period, and all six of the sample schools continued to perpetuate many of their pre-segregation operational approaches. They demonstrated little change except in respect of learner demographics during the initial period of desegregation, and interviewees confirm that in all of them:

- The school had largely retained its character, standards and traditions;
- The curriculum offering in respect of subjects available to learners had changed little;
- The sporting, religious and service activities remained largely unaltered;
- Both with regard to leadership positions such as prefects, sports captains and cultural society chairs, and in respect of the learner academic results hierarchy, learner leaders continued to come largely from the original demographic;
- The educator demographic displayed little change;
- The educators' pedagogic styles and approaches continued in much the same form as previously; and
- The offerings in the tuckshop, and meal menus at functions, on camps and during outings, and also in the school hostel, where such a facility existed, remained much as they had been in 1990.

According to those interviewed, the most significant changes that emerged during this time occurred in the realm of cultural activities. Traditional evenings representative of the culture of the new intake were staged in five of the six sample schools. Societies for religious groupings other than the original dominant group (broadly reflective of the mainstream Christian denominations) were introduced in five of the sample schools (the sixth institution, School C, ensured parity by means of the dissolution of the Students' Christian Association rather than introducing a Students' Muslim Society). Variations in the field of music also surfaced, for example, through the emergence of varied types of music and the creation of marimba bands, jazz bands and steel bands, all in keeping with the interests and tastes of the new learner intake.

However, only one of the six schools, School E, reported having done anything formal to prepare the learners already in the school for the transformational changes to come.

“Once we had determined that this was going to happen, even though the actual change was not going to be significant, we had sessions with the school ... [There were] low-key sort of assembly

type talks, and then using the Guidance context we got the whole ... Standard 9 group ... into a session we called 'the ebony and ivory': that was the title. And in this we got a number of kids to talk about their experiences. Now of course they were largely white kids. This was where they met or interacted with black kids and we had some very nice sharings ... sitting in the hall in little groups of six ... because we wanted them to discuss [the issues] and we threw at them questions like, 'What do you think a black kid coming into this vastly organised white school feels like?' and conversely 'What do you guys feel like having some black kids in the school?' ... It wasn't mind-shattering, but it was a good exercise ... [and elicited] a very powerful statement that the kids were there before us ..." (Interviewee 21).

While only this school had gone to these lengths to prepare their learners for the anticipated adjustments, all six schools reported specific initiatives to prepare the staff in their institutions for modifications to the learner racial demographic. The two most popular measures in use were special modules offered during employee development sessions, and the preparation of relevant notes, articles or guidelines for the staff (both were applied in all six sample schools). Obviously a question arises which revolves around the effect such preparations had on the ethos and approaches of the schools concerned.

5.4.4 A dearth of understanding around change and a lack of readiness for fundamental transformation

Penny et al. (1993) report that at the time of their initial desegregation, schools were "ill-prepared for the changes and opportunities confronting them" and had been given "little or no support from the respective education authorities" (Penny et al., 1993, 419). Interviewee 34 confirms this perception, indicating that the school leadership of the time was "unprepared for any fundamental change at a deep level". He reports being "unable to recall any recognition of the change that was going to be precipitated by the movement to open public schools to learners from all racial groupings". White teachers, he suggested, given the structural and personal divides imposed by apartheid,

"had no meaningful or practical knowledge about the cultural norms of any of the other racial groups in South Africa, or experience in dealing with them. In desegregating their schools, they were opening a veritable Pandora's Box. Nobody, least of all the teachers in the sample schools, really had any idea of exactly how developments were likely to unfold. They were uncomfortable with this and unclear about how to deal with transformation and integration matters of which they knew and had experienced virtually nothing" (Interviewee 34).

The resultant reality was, as postulated by Interviewee 34, that nobody "had any real notion of what was involved ... the average teacher in the schools and professional associations agitating

for desegregation were more than satisfied with the notion that [they had] made a statement, even though it was done without appropriate reflection on the significance or the magnitude of the potential outcomes of the initiative” (Interviewee 34).

Once the desegregation had taken place and moves materialised from the professional associations to provide practical advice for schools on how to proceed with a non-racial policy, there were numerous queries about why educators could not just carry on as they always had. “They wanted to know why it was necessary for them to change so many aspects of their approaches to what they were doing and had lived out all their lives” (Interviewee 16). According to Interviewee 34, “while teachers were feeling guilty about apartheid, [they] did not really feel comfortable with the fact that they had got to deal with things that they didn’t know anything about” (Interviewee 34).

With so many of the staff uncertain as to how they were going to handle the issue of change, it was hardly surprising that schools, faced with such uncertainties, “reverted to a reliance on what had worked for them in the past” (Penny et al., 1993, 419).

5.4.5 The question of standards

A commitment to ‘high standards’ was part of the ethos of the sort of schools sampled in this study – standards of academic achievement, sporting results, cultural performances and learner behaviour, to mention a few – and the maintenance of these standards emerged as a major issue and leading priority in the prelude to the opening of white schools, sample schools and others alike.

Penny et al. (1993, 417), for example, in identifying a number of common themes to emerge from the perspectives of principals in desegregating schools, note that “widespread concern was expressed over whether standards would be maintained and the extent to which the ethos of the school would be changed”. They reported that at least one management council had stipulated formally that “standards and the present ethos of the school would be maintained” (Penny et al., 1993, 416). They further quote an assertion by a principal in one of the desegregating schools that “the aim of opening the schools would not be achieved if standards were to drop”. It was felt that those in the new intake needed to “be good academically or good at games” and to achieve early success in their school careers, in order to demonstrate a capacity to meet the perceived standards nurtured by their new schools (Penny et al., 1993, 417).

In similar vein, Webster (2014, 73), in discussing actions taken by schools in preparation for open schooling, highlights the need felt by school management councils to provide some reassurances for those critics who were “scared that the standards would drop”. He quotes a 1986 ‘document’ from a school similar to some sample schools in this study. In addressing the issue of ‘open’ learner admissions, this document accords significant priority to the maintenance of the standards to which the school was seen to adhere in all fields of endeavour as well as the intent to maintain the existing quality, character and practices of the school (Webster, 2014, 73).

Similar thoughts were implicit in the responses of the sample school principals of the time who were interviewed for this study. They were not operating in a social or educational vacuum, and the same themes as identified elsewhere recur strongly in documents in their internal records, from which emerge comments such as the following:

“[C]hange is not synonymous with lower standards and the standards at [the school] will not change. The school will still set out to maintain universal norms of good manners, academic levels, believing in good sportsmanship and have the will to win ...” (Principal’s report, School A, 1991);

and

“[The school] will continue the balanced pursuit of excellence in all fields ... [and] set for itself high standards; [and] uphold the principles and beliefs that it has always stood for ...” (Principal’s report, School D, 1990).

A year later the same principal reported:

“The maintenance of our previous admission criteria and certainly academic standards to date has hopefully eased the minds of those who watched our move [to open schooling] with trepidation ... I have no intention of being labelled in years to come as the principal who saw the school slide into indiscriminating mediocrity...” (Principal’s report, School D, 1991).

And lastly:

“There was in all our schools a fear about the possible lowering of standards. In our school, though, [a deterioration in performance] didn’t materialise at all: indeed the results improved as the school opened. The new intake pupils were just so delighted to have the opportunity which, academically, they saw as better than they had before, and they worked really hard, both because they wanted the results, and I think probably they also wanted to make sure that they could not be accused of lowering the standards” (Interviewee 27).

The above thoughts and quotes inevitably give rise to questions about whose standards and what standards. A scrutiny of prize-giving programmes in the relevant schools indicates quite clearly that existing standards were regarded as important, while a comparison of the prizes awarded over time are indicative of the extent to which space was eventually made to recognise also standards in activities of particular relevance to the new intake in the schools – e.g. all the original prizes and categories have been retained, while some cognisance of changing demographics is accorded recognition by the introduction of prizes for trilingualism, for the top performers in isiXhosa in the various grades and for the recognition of service activities, improvement and consistent effort.

5.5 MARKETISATION IN DESEGREGATING ELITE SCHOOLS

5.5.1 Background

Pre 1991, where the number of applicants for admission to an elite school exceeded the number of vacancies, as was the case to a greater or lesser degree in all the sample schools, principals entered into a process of selection on the basis of self-imposed admissions protocols which in most instances were in the form of unwritten and non-formal conventions rather than policies. Such protocols were unilaterally applied by the principals in the sample schools, who were familiar with and practised in the particular procedures of selection commonly applied in their school.

Despite this individualised locus of control, there was some commonality around the general approaches used in the different schools in this study, but only once the realisation dawned that the nature of learner intakes could change significantly, did governors react and authorities draw up a national admissions policy for schools. This was in October 1998, and even then the responsibility for individual school admissions policies devolved upon the SGB.

5.5.2 Selecting and excluding learners at the time of the initial desegregation of the sample schools

This study identifies the following as the main selection issues taken into account at the time of the opening of applications to all racial groupings in 1990, and in the immediately succeeding years.

5.5.2.1 School catchment areas

In none of the sample schools in this study could a formal, written admissions policy dating back to 1990 be found, either in school records or in the principals' memory

banks, and the sample schools fell under the jurisdiction of an education department which in 1991 had no policy that prescribed feeder zones for schools. During interviews with principals of the time, however, there emerged a recollection of applying an informal, self-delineated catchment area with somewhat porous boundaries. There was also a general understanding, observed by schools and education authorities alike, that in the case of a school being oversubscribed, preference would be accorded to an applicant whose 'normal place of residence' was closest to the school to which application had been made. All of the sample schools reported that they adhered to this general principle. Circumstances under which the 'closest suitable school' concept was not strictly applied are considered in the following section, and the impact of the catchment area determinations is considered in Chapter 6, Section 6.5.4.

5.5.2.2 *Overriding the 'closest school' clause*

Jansen and Kriger (2020) indicate that the term 'nearest suitable school' was used to embrace various practical issues which could affect intake, but it was also invoked when a specific learner was deemed to be a particularly 'sought-after' candidate on the one hand, or was regarded as an 'unsuitable' candidate for any reason. Among the cases in which 'the closest suitable school' maxim was applied to either include learners from beyond the informal feeder zone or exclude those within it, were the following:

- 'The best interests of the learner' – when the number of applicants exceeded available places, this catch-all phrase was often applied (entirely subjectively) by the principal when having to adjudicate on the admission or exclusion of learners between whom there was little objective distinction. It was also invoked where a particularly 'desirable' learner was the applicant – outstanding ability on the part of the learner in some or other field, such as exceptional capacity in the fields of academics, sport and music, was particularly favoured;
- Family links (often referred to as a 'heritage benefit') – this occurs when siblings of learners currently or previously enrolled at the school are accorded preference in the admissions process, even if the family has since moved out of the 'school closest to the home' zone. The children and even grandchildren of alumni were also often treated preferentially with regard to admissions (sometimes with a rider, specifically mentioned by a principal of School D in personal discussion, that the parent/grandparent should be an 'involved', 'interested' or 'committed' alumnus); and

- In applying a 'community school' concept – two of the schools in the sample identified themselves as community schools at the time: one principal specifically named the four suburbs surrounding the school from which learners would be granted preferential access, while a second principal recalled according preference to learners 'who could walk or cycle to school'.

5.5.2.3 *The age of the learner*

In the sample schools the age of the applicant was regarded as a matter of significant importance and the procedure most widely applied was that an applicant whose age varied by two years or more relative to the statistical age norm of the grade cohort would not normally be accepted into the school. (Statistical age norm = grade to which admission is sought + 6: e.g. statistical age norm for grade 8 = 8 + 6 = 14: an applicant who was older than 15 was therefore highly unlikely to be admitted into Grade 8.)

5.5.2.4 *The home language and language ability of the applicant*

In the period up to 1991, in South African state schools where the medium of instruction had been declared by the education authorities to be English or Afrikaans, as distinct from dual or parallel medium, only learners whose home language matched the declared medium of instruction of the school were permitted to be enrolled in the school. All the sample schools in this study were declared English-medium schools, and Afrikaans speakers, even from the white racial grouping, were excluded. This requirement was on occasion 'more honoured in the breach than the observance', particularly in the case of candidates who were particularly sought-after. In such instances the language requirement was often overcome by classifying learners from the 'other' language group, but who were reasonably fluent in the language medium of the school concerned, as 'bilingual' rather than ascribing them to a single language group. In declared English-medium schools such as those sampled for this study, it was thus simply an extension of a practice current at the time, to disregard the home language of the applicant, provided he or she was sufficiently fluent in English to benefit from the education on offer through that medium. This was not without its problems, of course, and the principal of School A makes mention in his 1991 Prize-giving Report of the realisation that "... it is not easy to bring a pupil from a Xhosa 1st Language and English 2nd Language school to one where the medium of instruction in the majority of subjects is English 1st Language." He said that this difficulty should have been foreseen, but conceded that it had not been.

The principle of a learner's familiarity with English was built in to later iterations of admissions policies which emerged when they were made mandatory by the South African Schools Act. A generic policy document in circulation at the time from a recognised governing body association suggests that when placing applicants, consideration should be accorded to the learner's "understanding of and ability to converse in the medium of instruction of the school at such level that language will not be an unreasonable impediment to his/her academic progress".

At the time, the admissions policy of School B contained the following stipulation:

"The ability of the school to provide adequately for the educational needs of the applicant (including but not limited to the language needs and other special needs) will be considered before offering a place to a learner" (Admissions Policy School B, 2004).

5.5.2.5 *The capacity and intent to meet school fee obligations*

The ability to meet school fee expectations, which became an issue of importance later, and which is addressed in Section 5.6.2 was of little relevance within the lifespan of the Clase Models (1990 to 1994). At that time school fees constituted a voluntary contribution to school funding rather than a compulsory obligation, and the then monetary value of the school fee was small. In the case of the sample schools in their upmarket suburban locations, hardly any of those living within the informal catchment area would have found the levies unaffordable, and a small number of non-payers could easily be accommodated.

5.5.2.6 *'Merit'*

A clear attitudinal distinction can be identified between those viewing schooling through a democratic lens and those steeped in the selective ethos of oversubscribed schools. Whereas both groups were supportive of a universal right to education, their views on the right of admission to the applicant's *school of choice* were markedly divergent. The admission decisions of those displaying the democratic bent illustrated a belief that learners not only had a right to education, but also a right to education *in their school of choice*. As a consequence of such a philosophy, selection of learners at the vast majority of schools serving black communities, other than in the marketised township schools referred to in Chapter 2, Section 2.4 was virtually non-existent. On the other hand, those already used to a competitive and selective approach to enrolment, such as the sample schools in this study, based their selections on 'merit'. In these selective environments 'merit' continued to be viewed within the idiom of the

pre-desegregation western hegemony. Applicants were admitted on the grounds of their ability to contribute to the schools' "cultural ecology" (the term used by a Johannesburg principal, quoted in the *Business Day* newspaper on 17 June 1991); its social capital (through learners displaying a cultural 'fit' with the school); its academic capital (through exceptional scholastic capacity); or its sporting or artistic-creative capital (through outstanding physical skills or creative capacities in fields such as music or drama). Within the context of oversubscription and selectivity, schools lived out an assimilationist approach and acted as though pupils, and especially pupils of colour, should be grateful for the opportunity to be admitted and simply 'fit in'. The following extracts from either the interviews or writings of principals of the time support this view:

- School A: We wanted to normalise education ...[with] everything just going on as usual] (Interviewee 1);
- School B: the new intake of learners was expected to be hugely "appreciative of the opportunity of being at 'our' school" (Interviewee 5);
- School C: We believed that the new pupils were all simply going to be "our pupils" as our intake had always been in the past. We therefore did not see the need to put in place any particular measures [to make the newcomers feel at home] (Interviewee 10);
- School D: [The new learners were expected to] adapt themselves to what has always been ... [and] become members of our school in the same tried and tested formula as before (Principal's report 1991);
- School E: It wasn't quite a case of you've got to be like us, but certainly it was that you are coming into this milieu with its rules – and they are not going to change (Interviewee 21);
- School F: Certainly we believed that the black new learners needed to adapt and fit in ... those that we took were quite capable of looking after themselves and we did not prepare them particularly differently from all the other Grade 7s who were coming into the school ... we were not keen to accentuate the differences, so we didn't do anything in particular, either for the existing pupils or the newcomers (Interviewee 27).

5.5.2.7 Class and culture

South African public schooling was, until the 1990s at least, rigorously partitioned along racial lines. There is, however, evidence that post-apartheid South Africa's previously white elite public schools are increasingly stratified across class rather than

racial lines. In the first year of desegregation in the sample schools, Swilling (1991), with Lemon (1994) later concurring, predicted that a racially desegregated society would evolve, with a new hegemony built around income and class rather than race. In such a social order, Kallaway (1997) postulated, school fees and residential proximity to schools would benefit the professional and privileged classes – as distinct from racial groupings – in their attempts at enrolling their children in the best-resourced schools. A decade later Soudien, (2004) produced research showing that income and socio-economic status in post-apartheid South Africa, more than race, were indeed facilitating entrée to well-resourced educational institutions, and that class was becoming the most important distinguishing factor in accessing quality local schooling.

In the early years of desegregation, selection for admission to the sample schools was very much in tune with the concept of enrolling those whose class and culture were compatible with the existing character, traditions and ethos of the school. English speakers or those with an explicit predilection towards English-medium education were preferred; all official communication took place through the medium of English and the use of the vernacular was often banned in the classroom and sometimes even on the playground or in transit to and from school (e.g. at School F). School D retained its tolerance of Afrikaans, but in all the other sample schools the standing of Afrikaans was diminished and the language downgraded (e.g. from Home Language to Additional Language status). The thoughts and actions of principals in office at the time, provide supporting insights in this regard:

- School A – the school concentrated on its upper-middle-class suburban catchment area and high-performing candidates (in the South African context a strong indicator of class) for its intake: it also made little allowance for a growth in enrolments in order to accommodate learners from elsewhere (see Table 5.2);
- School C – the majority of parents and pupils were drawn from the contiguous upper- and middle-class residential suburbs: and as comments by the principal of the time suggested, learners from a working-class residential area would not have fitted in comfortably;
- School D – the principal implied that learners of colour “simply integrated” and were thus welcome in the school;
- School E – the school assumed that the new intake of learners would simply become ‘our pupils’, very much as had occurred in the past;
- School F – the principal stated explicitly that the background and socio-economic class of the coloured learners in particular (who made up the largest segment of

the new intake in the early years of desegregation) was fortunately 'not markedly different from that of the existing learners';

- School B – this school, among the sample schools was the one with the most class-diverse catchment area, and the only one in which there was no comment during interviews on selection by class or culture.

On the level of culture in the narrower sense, acceptance of 'other' cultural practices was rooted in the presumption that the dominant culture was an unquestionable good (Soudien, 2004, 103/4). There was, however, an attempted acknowledgement of cultural diversity by all the sample schools: they staged cultural evenings, presenting themselves as "self-consciously inclusive" (Soudien, 2004, 105) with learners of colour attired in their native guises on these special occasions. However, the 'tolerance' manifest in such (artificial?) displays of acceptance left the dominant, pre-existing cultural relationships unaltered.

5.5.2.8 *The children of live-in domestics*

Hunter (2019) devotes considerable attention to the schooling of the children of domestic workers in the area of his study. Yet this is an aspect which barely featured in any of the discussions in the study area of my research. In part this is attributable to regional differences. According to Hunter (2019, 161) during the "booming post-war period, an army of live-in domestic workers cleaned [Durban's suburban] houses and helped raise white children". However, both time and convention have moved on since then. Within the study area of the current research, the lived experience in the middle-class residential areas which feed the sample schools in the southern Cape Town suggests that live-in domestics are scarce. Domestic service is provided in the main on a part-time basis by live-out chars, and they are drawn predominantly from the coloured segment of the population, rather than black Africans. The children of these chars live with their parents, primarily in traditionally coloured residential areas served by schools which are perceived to be more acceptable than those in the black townships. For both geographical and educational reasons, therefore, there is a lesser demand for access by domestic workers' children to elite schools in the study area covered by this research than in Hunter's (2019) study area.

In respect of changes over time, Hunter's (2019) work, like the research for this study, recognises the emergence of a new reality in respect of live-in domestics. By the latter part of his study, for example, he indicates that only 2 of the 82 families surveyed still employed full-time, live-in domestic workers. The only references to

domestic workers' children which emerged during the research for my study arose when it was reported that the principal of School C specifically championed the enrolment of children of the school's own domestic workers in the school where they lived and worked; and by a comment that, especially in the early days of desegregation, the presence of a white person (i.e. usually the employer of a domestic worker) in the application process signalled that the children had a sponsor who would cushion the school against unpaid school fees. By and large, then, the children of domestic workers were treated in the same way as other applicants for admission, and those applying for enrolment and who lived within the "closest school" zone were generally offered places where there were no objective reasons (usually poor behaviour or scholastic incapacity) why this should not be so.

5.6 THE PURSUIT OF MARKET SHARE: HUNTER'S STRATEGIES AS APPLIED IN THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS

Hunter (2019) identifies four strategies employed by institutions across the spectrum of South African public schools in the pursuit of market share. According to him, they have been perfected by desegregating elite institutions such as the sample schools in this study. The four strategies are:

- Selective intakes ("selecting and excluding pupils" – Hunter, 2019);
- Maximising revenue (largely by charging high and escalating school fees);
- Enhancing social networks and alliances; and
- Improving academic results.

These strategies, as they manifested themselves in the sample schools in this study, are considered and expanded upon below.

5.6.1 Selecting and excluding learners

The sample schools were all 'selective intake' schools in 1990, and had been so for many years during the period leading up to the opening of the schools to learners from all racial groups. Selection processes continued virtually unchanged during the period 1990 to 1997, and there were only minor procedural changes in this regard during the first two decades of the study period. However, all the schools concerned grew their enrolments during this period. With the larger pool of potential learners from which to choose, they were able to do so without diminution of selectivity. The extent to which learner numbers grew in the sample schools is evident in Table 5.2:

Table 5.2: Increasing enrolments in the sample schools in the period 1990-1997

(Source: Individual school records, unpublished, own calculations)

School	Enrolment 1990	Enrolment 1997	Percentage increase
School A	650	716	10.2%
School B	703	857	21.9%
School C	640	748	16.4%
School D	664	778	17.2%
School E	752	919	22.2%
School F	294	447	52.0%

All the sample schools indicated that during the admissions processes they granted priority to 'proximity'. In this, some distinguished between proximity of the learner's normal place of residence and parents' workplace, but none disregarded proximity entirely. Equally, in all the sample schools applicants were expected to attend a personal interview (in some cases it was referred to as an information meeting, in deference to departmental antipathy towards interviews) and all took account of the academic capacity of the applicant. Testimonials or personal reports were relied upon by four of the relevant principals and the ability or potential of the applicant to shine in a particular area other than academically was considered important by all but one of the principals interviewed. In two of the single-sex schools preference was given to learners who indicated that they particularly wanted a single-gender environment.

All but one of the schools broadened or extended their so-called 'feeder areas' so as to include, for example, township learners. The one that did not formally extend the feeder area, School B, indicated that the traditional service area which recognised 'closest proximity' was already significantly desegregated, while several sample schools indicated that their traditional feeder primary schools were appreciably integrated by this time. These conditions, they held, negated any need to change significantly the catchment or service area of the affected high school.

None of the sample schools had in place, either formally or informally, any quotas or specific numeric goals in respect of the enrolment of black learners. Yet one half of the sample schools reported that in the early years of desegregation, they 'actively recruited' learners from black communities.

What emerged clearly in the interviews was that learner selection was firmly in place, and it was regarded as a high priority – in most of the schools the interviews were undertaken by the

principal personally, and “it was never delegated below senior executive level” (Interviewee 18). All the sample schools, however, mentioned that they had experienced difficulties in identifying and attracting ‘suitable’ black African pupils for enrolment.

5.6.2 Maximising revenue by charging escalating school fees

Desegregated elite public schools could, according to Hunter (2019), be viewed as “... businesses whose primary concern is to admit middle-class fee-paying children ...” (Hunter, 2019, 131). A one-time principal of school E, in a personal communication during the latter stages of the study, recalled that the concluding years of the 1990s had been ‘all about school fees’.

“We needed to keep our staff [in the face of ongoing retrenchments] and the best pupils in order to protect our standards and our ethos. We were under pressure from the independent schools in the area, and I believed that we would lose our reputation at our peril. The state subsidy had been cut to virtually nothing, and whereas they had been paying the salaries of 50 staff members at the start of my tenure, by the end they were paying only 23 – and the enrolment had increased! We therefore cut out our planned development of amenities and concentrated on staffing – but we simply had to have fee-paying families in order to afford the best teachers in sufficient numbers” (Personal communication, follow-up discussion with Interviewee 22, May 2021).

This is borne out by the figures obtained from other schools in the sample. These figures indicate that the forced change to Model C in the course of 1992 precipitated the first really significant hike in fees. These fees, despite the large initial increases circa 1992, were virtually doubled between 1994 and 1997, and doubled again between 1997 and 2000.

In those of the sample schools where accurate records go back to the 1990s, it emerges that 1997 was the individual year showing the highest fee increases – a reflection thereof that 1996 and 1997 were the years in which large numbers of state teachers were retrenched, staff provisioning to schools was severely pruned and the elite schools who could afford to do so set out to employ a number of those retrenched in order to maintain their teacher : learner ratios. Enrolments were increased at the same time, so as to expand the fee base, and since that time personnel costs have become and remained by far the largest line item on the school budgets.

5.6.3 Enhancing social networks

Hunter (2019, 131) suggests that the desegregating schools were able to “form pacts with other schools to gain advantages in the schooling market”. In support of his contention, he quotes the case of three Durban schools, a preschool, a junior primary school, and a senior

primary school (none of them part of this study), forming a 'three-school alliance' to encourage progression from one to the other. This was not, however, common practice among the schools in this study. By contrast, at least some of them downscaled ties with traditional feeder schools in order to accommodate applicants from previously excluded schools. In certain instances this led to somewhat strained relationships, with the primary feeder school principals unhappy that their long-standing links with and loyalty towards particular high schools were no longer recognised. On the other hand, some welcomed the new circumstances, indicating that the increased competition for entry into sought-after high schools gave them some leverage in enhancing the work ethic of their learners and motivating them towards better behaviour.

Though not formalised, casual links were in some instances established with previously disadvantaged schools which were perceived to maintain reasonable academic standards or produce talented sportspeople.

Stronger networking links than those with particular schools emerged with donor organisations who provided bursaries and support services to black African learners wanting to enrol at elite, sought-after high schools. These organisations had the resources, both financial and human, to identify suitable candidates, prepare them for the move to high school and provide ongoing guidance and support during the course of their high-school careers. A number of the sample schools confirmed the value of such links and in time have come to rely almost exclusively on them to source suitable black African applicants for enrolment.

5.6.4 Improving academic results

All the schools in this study are high-performing institutions in the academic field. All but one feature virtually without fail in the list of top-performing schools in their province in the National Senior Certificate Examination, and would be extremely disappointed were their learners to be absent from awards lists at the annual departmental award ceremonies. Furthermore, learners from four of the six schools have featured among the award-winners at national level over the past 20 years, and several have earned international acclaim. The aim of these schools is thus the maintenance of an enviable record rather than a striving after improvement. They maintain their academic standing, on which their market appeal principally rests, by means of careful selection of their learner intakes; the hiring of additional staff and the selection of teachers with strong academic credentials; the provision of excellent academic facilities such as libraries, laboratories and IT systems; and fostering the concept of excellence in a highly competitive environment.

5.7 MARKETING, MARKETISATION AND COMMODIFICATION IN THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS

5.7.1 Setting the scene

Hunter (2019) suggests that in respect of the desegregation of South African public schooling, the ending of apartheid was not a cataclysmic event marking a rupture between the segregation of apartheid-era schooling and the desegregation of the post-apartheid period. Rather, he postulates, there were marked continuities between the segregationist and desegregationist epochs in South Africa's schools.

South Africa's apartheid-era elite public schools were rooted in a racially and spatially planned education system which was at the core of the development of apartheid from the 1950s. The vision was of local populations in distinctive, racially defined and class-based residential suburbs feeding learners into community schools which, like the suburbs in which they were situated, were racially exclusive, language specific and architecturally upper-middle-class. However, with burgeoning emigration and a trend towards smaller families in white communities, the facilities were no longer being as easily filled as previously. When desegregation was introduced into the public school sector in 1991, though it brought with it an extended assemblage of potential enrolees, it generated also an outflow of some top learners to emigration destinations as well as to the independent schooling sector. Further, not all candidates from the new, expanded pool of applicants were regarded by the strongly classist elite schools as equally 'desirable'. This was the educational milieu into which the newly desegregated schools were impelled in 1990, and it spawned the first signs of structured marketing in these schools. Consequently, through what this study refers to simply as 'marketing', and which Hunter terms 'marketised assimilation', a limited number of better-off black children with an ability to be assimilated were admitted into the first of the desegregating schools (Hunter, 2019).

From January 1995, the start of the first post-democratic-election academic year, and especially from 1997, with the de jure opening of all the county's schools to all racial groups in terms of the new Constitution and the South African Schools Act, the pool of potential learners expanded substantially and competition between parents and schools around vacant places intensified appreciably. These new circumstances, along with the financial stresses resulting from staff right-sizing and fiscal cutbacks, demanded a greater sophistication of initiatives aimed at attracting 'the right kind of learner'. This gave rise to a much more aggressive concept of marketisation, which Hunter refers to as a 'racialised market'. Schools no longer simply advertised their attractions but embarked on the headhunting of 'desirable' staff, a 'facilities warfare' (Interviewee 5) and a marketing frenzy aimed at enhancing significantly

what was on offer, together with the creation of scholarships aimed at 'desirable' learners. Hunter's 'racialised marketisation' was coming to the fore.

This study suggests Hunter's (2010) 'marketised assimilation' and 'racialised market' were followed by a third stage in the selling of education, to which I have appended the moniker 'commodification'. These concepts and their applications are expounded upon in the following sections.

5.7.2 Marketing

In the early period of desegregation post 1990, the school 'market' was, according to Hunter (2019), relatively unsophisticated and 'benign'. This can be ascribed to the reality that in 1991, when desegregation occurred, the sample schools were still to a significant degree community schools, drawing their intake from their immediate environs. These environs were well-endowed with 'suitable' children, and there was relatively little competition for learners between schools. Such market battles as manifested themselves were largely between the most highly rated public schools and those in the independent sector, or, in the girl-learner component in particular, between the girls' schools on the one hand and the increasingly fashionable co-educational institutions on the other. In such an environment marketing was seen by many as an unbecoming form of 'touting' and remained, where it existed, largely under wraps.

As the principals in the sample schools at the time of 'going open' suggested during interviews undertaken for this study:

School C: "At that time we were never really into any marketing initiatives. The school was full and everybody knew when and how to apply. Also, the issue of the opening of the schools had been well covered in the press and everybody knew how to go about making application. We did have one or two parents come in and ask how to go about it and we obviously helped them, but there was no big marketing drive. In addition, remember the school was already to all intents and purposes full and so there was only room for 10 or 12 newcomers to be accepted at that time" (Interviewee 13).

School E: "[We didn't market ourselves to the black community] primarily because, you see, we had a problem with over subscription rather than any difficulty with filling places ... given our circumstances, it was too early to do a concerted marketing thing – that only came much later" (Interviewee 21).

School F: “[We didn’t market ourselves to the black community] at all. The press and other media made sure that the issue was well aired and known to all concerned. We did not see the need for marketing any differently from what we had been doing previously” (Interviewee 27).

Beyond that, another response from the principal of School E highlighted a difficulty emanating from the disturbance of the ‘natural’ schooling marketplace: “Though to me it was very important to get some black [African] kids here ... we weren’t too keen to bring them all the way from Khayelitsha [Cape Town’s biggest black African township, some 30 km from the school]; but in the end even that happened, though it resulted in some problems” (Interviewee 21).

The times, however, were changing. In the elitist milieu in which they were operating, the sample schools were aware of the need to maintain the standards to which their clientele had become accustomed. This imperative demanded a commitment to “continued educational efficiency” (Penny et al., 1993, 429), but also the attraction of ‘the right kind of learners’ who would ‘fit in’ in the new environment and could pay their way (Hunter, 2019, and Jansen and Kriger, 2020). This gave rise to some rather amateurish marketing initiatives which did little other than publicise the existing positive attributes of schools. It resulted in a limited intake of learners of colour into the elite schools, but in the main, applications and acceptance procedures and school ethos remained much the same as they had been.

5.7.3 Marketisation

The sample schools in this study and their institutional peers enjoyed from early on numerous historical and spatial advantages established by the apartheid system. Their location accorded them access to wealthy parents living in affluent, contiguous catchment areas and provided them with a strong pool of learners from which to draw. They also employed well-experienced and highly qualified teachers. They had the capacity to raise money or obtain other backing from businesses and alumni. Their physical assets included spacious buildings, laboratories, libraries, IT and media centres, fields, swimming pools and other sporting and cultural facilities. From the late 1990s, however, the expansion of the de facto catchment areas made growing competition among schools an inevitable and integral part of their developing ethos. Previously it was taken for granted that children would attend the school closest to their homes. When schools were opened to all racial groups, however, there was a partial breakdown in the concept of the school serving its contiguous catchment area. Given the spatial geography and race- and class-based residential patterns in South Africa’s urban residential areas, if learners of colour were to be enrolled in desegregating schools, most would perforce be drawn from areas outside of the ‘closest-school’ zone. At the stroke of a

pen desegregation rendered the 'closest-school' criterion moot and the catchment areas virtually borderless – and overlapping. Schools, while trumpeting their obligation to admit local learners, were able simultaneously to solicit applications from those beyond their traditional catchment areas, and with the 'closest-school' criterion significantly loosened, historically white schools began to apply what Hunter refers to as 'soft zoning'. This selective approach, confirmed by all interviewees in this study, saw the schools enforcing their zoning priorities when it suited them, and respecting the constitutional emphasis on the non-exclusion of out-of-area learners, but at the same time pursuing their own intent of retaining authority over their admissions – which is their prerogative, according to SASA – and selecting 'the right kind of learner' for their particular institutions.

In this changing milieu of the second stage of desegregation, the fee-charging schools found themselves subject to new pressures – a need to increase further the 'quality' and number of applicants, especially from middle-class families willing and able to pay the burgeoning school fees; to enrol increasingly "smart, well-behaved and athletic learners" (Hunter 2019, 146); and to attain stand-out National Senior Certificate and sporting results. They also needed to collect sufficient fees to enable and facilitate the foregoing.

As Hunter (2019) notes, the marketisation of these institutions provided those schools charging high fees with a particularly powerful incentive to admit students from middle-class backgrounds. With a strong need for them to maintain their financial viability (what Hunter calls their 'political economy') their way of doing so lay in building the requisite prestige and 'tone' to attract 'desirable' learners willing and able to pay for their schooling in some or other way. Learners, Hunter (2019) reports, earned their keep not only by paying school fees, but also by contributing towards the maintenance or building of prestige – for example, through their contribution to the school's social capital (through learners or their families being drawn from a particular social class, or displaying a cultural 'fit' with the school); to academic capital (through proven academic performance); or to sporting or artistic-creative capital (through exceptional sporting skills or creative abilities in areas such as music, art and dramatics). Marketisation thus emerged as a significant element in the managerial ethos in some of South Africa's schools, including the sample schools in this study.

5.7.4 Commodification

Hunter's (2019) 'racialised market' and eventual full-on marketing war, which one educational leader from KwaZulu-Natal characterised as a 'dog-eats-dog' situation, represent a condition of marketisation which is a far cry from early efforts at the marketing of schools and the marketisation of the 1990s.

With growing competition for places in the desegregating schools over the passage of time, the realisation grew in the most sought-after schools that they possessed a valuable commodity – their desirable education – which they were in a position to ‘sell’ to the highest bidder. Conversely, the parents of ‘the right kind of learner’ likewise recognised that their children’s various attributes and skills were eminently marketable, and that they were in a position to ‘sell’ these attributes to the school offering the parents or child the most attractive package.

As suggested by Ball (1993) and Hunter (2019) the higher the aura or ‘social drawing power’ of a particular school the more it was able to ask of potential learners, “What can you do for the school?”, thus increasing its selectivity. At the same time, learners could equally ask of the school, “What are you prepared to offer me?” – usually in the form of a bursary or some other benefit. It is this extreme form of marketisation, ‘commodification’, which emerged during the third stage of desegregation and reached its peak during the #Fallist period.

In the operational and commodified context of elite, desegregating institutions, marketisation and its offshoots triggered a significant shift in ethos. From previously striving to meet the expectation of providing a basic education as a public entitlement to learners residing in reasonable proximity to the facility, the commodified schools moved to selling the product of schooling to those who could afford to buy it, wherever they may live.

5.8 CONCLUDING COMMENT

Political concessions in the field of education in late 1990 appeared at the time to be grudging and unimportant. They reflected, however, a major shift in political thinking and government policy which opened some significant possibilities around a more just, equitable and palatable way forward for South Africa’s public schools. The following chapter considers the extent, as well as the manner in which the country’s elite state schools responded to the opportunities and challenges with which they were confronted.

CHAPTER 6: THE EVOLUTION OF AN ETHOS OF SCHOOL CHANGE

6.1 BACKGROUND

The research sub-questions considered in this chapter focus on the manner in which the responses of school leaders impacted the nature and ethos of their institutions. Following the interviews and school visits, the data were analysed to detect commonalities and differences in approach and to identify significant tensions and discernible trends which emerged in the schools, both during the prelude to, and in the course of, their diversification and transformation processes.

It is postulated that the manner in which these emerging trends and tensions were managed was impacted by the ethos prevailing in each school at the time. Furthermore, the effects thereof and the manner in which they played out in practice influenced strongly the desegregatory trajectory of the sample schools and shifts in the unique ethos of each school. It is this emergent ethos which is described in this chapter.

6.2 THE ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF ETHOS IN THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS

6.2.1 Whence the ethos in the sample schools?

When an official schooling system was being introduced after the second annexation of the Cape by the British in 1806, the colonial authorities, in seeking exemplars of excellence, turned for inspiration to institutions in the home country. Those schools were widely recognised as among the world's leading practitioners of good teaching – schools such as Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Rugby and other top schools in England and Scotland in particular.

Thus it came about that the early formal schools in the western convention founded in South Africa were to a large extent based on the traditions of the British public and grammar schools of the 19th century (Ashley, 1974), and in the formative years of education in this country, South Africa's pioneer educators were recruited almost exclusively from Britain (Randall, 1982).

Many of the current features and value sets espoused by the schools in this study are reflective of those historical origins: i.e. the schools' approaches mirror their inherited ethos. Their roots in elite British education tradition are a matter of great pride in the traditional schools of South Africa founded in the 19th century, and even the two 20th-century schools in this study have associated strongly with aspects of this historical ethos. History and origin thus remain dominant forces in shaping ethos and tone in the sample schools.

There are, however, also influences from their more recent pasts (Jansen and Kriger, 2020). These various stimuli have manifested in a unique and evolving ethos in each school. Such developing ethos includes aspects of a liberal, Anglo-centric outlook which can be traced back to another era in another country, but also to its current demographic characteristics. Hunter (2019) suggests that out of these aspects has evolved a unique 'white tone' in the desegregating elite schools of South Africa.

6.2.2 The evolution of ethos in the sample schools

Research sub-question 2: How have the responses to desegregation impacted the ethos in the schools during the study period?

The research undertaken during this study suggests that the principals serving in the sample schools post-segregation form something of a trichotomy:

- Those in service at the time of desegregation in 1991;
- Those who were 'second-in-line' (i.e. the 'second-generation' principals), succeeding the principals who had been in service in 1991; and
- Members of a 'third generation' who followed later, in all instances subsequent to the beginning of the current millennium.

It follows that the data collected will also reflect three developmental threads in the school histories and three identifiable variables in respect of their ethos.

6.2.2.1 *Ethos in the early years of desegregation*

The information gathered during the research phase of this study suggests that the group of principals in service at the time of desegregation in 1991 saw it as their most important task to usher in the incorporation of the right to enrol learners of colour in their schools, rather than to embark on a deep-seated transformation of their institutions or mindsets. According to the principal of School E at the time of its 'going open': "We just wanted, in the early stages, to open ... to break the legal prohibition" on the enrolment of learners of colour. (Interviewee 21) This view is corroborated by Interviewee 27: "What we were looking for was an opportunity to open our schools racially, and we had no interest in the other ramifications". This single-minded purpose was reflected in a 'default position' wherein the schools continued with what they felt they did effectively and with which they were comfortable. There was little initial change to the inherited and associative forms of ethos, and the intake of new learners was expected to 'fit in' gratefully – a classic example of assimilation and a strong reflection of the ideas expounded by both Bell (1980) and Braddock (1980).

6.2.2.2 *The period of the 'second-generation principals'*

All but one of the initial group of principals moved on from their positions relatively soon after the opening of the schools. Having presided over the preparations for desegregation and achieved their initial goals, two of the incumbents retired in 1991 and 1992 respectively; one moved on in 1995; and two did so in 1997, the first year in which a full measure of responsibility over schooling was finally transferred de facto from the numerous pre-1994 education departments to the single, national Department of Education. Only one principal, that from School A, saw out the first decade of desegregation.

Interview responses from this study indicate that the principals who succeeded the initial group regarded themselves (or were widely regarded by others) as responsible for perpetuating the desegregation 'breakthrough' of 1991, and preserving the strongest of the traditional values, perceived strengths and inherited beliefs of the de-racialised schools, rather than taking transformation to another plane. Though it was in their time that the changes to the racial demographic of the learner population appears to have occurred most rapidly, there were relatively limited initiatives during their tenures to transform very much else. As one of the 'first-generation' principals put it: "[The head who succeeded me] just maintained it – I never got the feeling that there was ... a big change at that time" (Interviewee 21). This was confirmed by a governing body chair in one of the other sample schools who stated: "I suppose there was a bit of a feeling of 'Actually, we are okay: let's maintain the status quo'" (Interviewee 8).

6.2.2.3 *The 'third generation': a new generation of principals*

In the face of this complacency it was left mainly to the 'third generation' of principals to usher in transformation beyond mere numbers. These principals became acutely aware of the need for some fundamental moves towards integration, and it was under their tenure that the most telling efforts at transformation of more than simply learner demographics were made. These initiatives are addressed further in Chapter 8, and the remaining sections of this chapter consider how, originally under the initial group of principals and later under their immediate successors, ethos unfolded in the sample schools.

6.3 AN INHERITED GENERIC ETHOS COMMON TO ALL THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS

Despite the efforts of successive governments to develop a national ethos for South Africa's education system, the historical ethos extant in the country's traditional English-medium schools remained largely intact well beyond 1990. The sample schools in this study manifest strongly as products of their origins, and the ethos in the schools reflects to a considerable extent their histories. Consequently, there were significant similarities in respect of the historical ethos in the sample schools in the early years of this study, notwithstanding the differences in the unique ethos highlighted in Section 6.5. These similarities were exaggerated by the departmental policy of the time. In 1991, when the reality of opening the schools to a broader demographic emerged, the *Information Document* of the Department of Culture in the House of Assembly (Circular number 65/1990) which ushered in the limited desegregation of a small number of South Africa's public schools from January 1991, specified under the heading 'Retention of the Values and Ethos of a Specific School': "A change in the admission policy of a school may not detract from the traditional values and ethos of such school." Thus it was that a group of South African schools, indubitably western, colonialist and elitist in nature, found their prevailing ethos even more strongly entrenched as a result of the policies and approaches of the last 'white' government. Though political change was in the air, a largely traditional ethos remained discernible in all the sample schools far beyond 1990.

The early inherited traditional ethos in the sample schools manifested clearly in four identifiable sub-categories, namely an inherited architectural ethos; an ethos of history and tradition; one of established excellence and achievement; and one of selection, class and culture. These four played into the establishment of a fifth category, namely the individual 'social drawing power' of each individual school, which became entrenched as part of its ethos.

6.3.1 An inherited architectural ethos

The ethos of the sample schools is notably visible in their architecture – according to Hawthorne and Bristow (1993, 14) "one of the first things to strike a visitor [to these schools] ... is the architectural heritage".

Some may question the inclusion of land, buildings and architecture as elements of ethos. Jencks (1972) and others conclude that variances in learner attainment are attributable to family variables rather than to school variables, while a number of large-scale studies quoted by Rutter et al. (1983) claim that variations in resourcing do not account for differences in pupil outcomes.

On the other hand, Brookover et al. (1978) are more ambiguous. Though pointing out that even in disadvantaged areas with physical amenities of highly questionable quality there are some unusually effective schools, they concede that school buildings can indeed account for differences in measured pupil performance. Concurring, Rutter et al. found in their 1979 study of inner London secondary schools that “a pleasant and comfortable school environment is associated with better educational outcomes” (Rutter, 1983, 23). Historically there is thus at least some belief among researchers that site, situation and architecture impact the nature and performance and resulting ethos of schools.

Contrasting views have emerged in this regard during discussions in the course of this study, some which originate from outside of formal research. An academic architect suggests, albeit somewhat tentatively and implicitly, a link between school buildings and the development of learners’ character traits, describing the School A buildings as “all boldness and strength”, symbolising the “permanence, strength and durability of the institution” (Prof Wallace van Zyl in Veitch, 2003, 100). It may be stretching the perceived impact of the architecture somewhat to suggest that learners will develop ‘boldness and strength’ on the back of the style of their school buildings, or obtain a ‘better’ education on the basis of architectural indulgence. At most, perhaps, it can be argued that appropriately designed and adequately resourced facilities, by engendering pride in the school and developing a sense of aesthetics, can enhance the efficacy of both delivery and acceptance of the education that emerges from the institution.

A leading practising educationalist – as distinct from an education researcher – highlights the possibility that an imposing site and elegant buildings may impart a negative rather than positive influence. The head of a disadvantaged sector school noted for the excellence of the academic results produced by its examination candidates, indicated in an informal interview that some of the school’s alumni, while academically entirely competitive with learners from the advantaged sector, struggled to make their mark as students if they progressed to tertiary education in an elite environment, finding the setting and architecture overpowering, dominating and intimidating (Interviewee 41). Yet, if they changed universities and returned to an environment more closely aligned to their life experiences and circumstances, they were able to prove their ability and adjust entirely satisfactorily, flourishing both socially and academically.

From within the sample schools considered in this study, there is little unanimity on the impact of buildings on learning. No references were found from within the schools themselves to any direct influence of their siting or architecture on their academic or behavioural outcomes. The

architecture and siting of the sample schools are nevertheless utilised as positive attributes from the point of view of marketing and ethos. Facilities are viewed as imparting a measure of one-upmanship when it comes to attracting learners, and are presented as strong indicators of educational excellence, pointers to a caring environment, harbingers of quality and markers of a certain class.

The architectural similarities and commonalities among the buildings and facilities of the sample schools notwithstanding, there is enough 'uniqueness' about both sites and buildings to suggest the possibility of the emergence of an architecturally influenced uniqueness to the ethos in these schools, and detailed descriptions of their situation, site and architecture have been included in the discussion of their unique ethos – see Section 6.5.1.

6.3.2 An ethos of history and tradition

History in these institutions reaches far beyond the mere preservation of their original racial character. It is deeply tied to the enduring ethos and lasting traditions of the schools – the sets of values, outlooks, ambitions and conduct that have preserved the original way of doing things into the current era. In order to maintain their 'enduring ethos' and long-standing traditions, schools have made enrolment selections based on the values that a learner brings into the school – which in itself espouses a value system into which all the learners, regardless of race or class, are expected to fit.

6.3.3 An ethos of established excellence, achievement and merit

Hawthorne and Bristow's (1993) volume on the *Historic Schools of South Africa* is sub-titled *An Ethos of Excellence*, and such an ethos is apparent in the schools in the sample selected for this study. The pedagogues imported from Britain to establish and manage South Africa's education system instilled in their schools an "ethos of excellence ... born in Europe's halls of learning" (Hawthorne and Bristow, 1993, 12).

Over the years such schools have "produced the cornerstones of our society" (Hawthorne and Bristow, 1993, 15), and the "lion's share of [the country's] political and social leadership, [and] many of our outstanding sportsmen and scholars" (Sir Richard Luyt, in Hawthorne and Bristow, 1993, 7). Visitors to these schools are left in little doubt about the status and standing of the institution, projected by numerous prominently displayed artefacts, photographs and honours lists.

Celebrities from the ranks of the schools' alumni are regularly acknowledged and honoured in some way by their erstwhile schools, either with awards or by being invited as guest speakers

to address their alma mater at the major functions which are part of the ritualised recognition of merit by the institution. In this way the ethos of excellence that was inherited from history permeates the sample schools to the present day, and continues to be nurtured, exhibited and augmented.

Within this idiom, excellence manifests not only in performance, but also in physical and material symbols and the ideational and ritualistic characteristics of the institutions concerned. Honours boards drive home the expectations held of excellence and the acknowledgement accorded to achievement. Awards ceremonies recognise and reward the hegemonic view of merit, and functions, photographs, portraits and plaques eulogise the schools' histories and personages. Noticeboards and newsletters publicise successes in the exam room, on the sports fields and in the corridors of culture. These things were the norm in all the sample schools for much of the study period, though their prominence began to be questioned in the latter years covered by this study (see Chapter 8).

6.3.4 An ethos of selection, class and culture

For centuries, English society was divided along the lines of social class (Gillard, 2008) and from the beginnings of formal education in that country, such institutions as were in existence served almost exclusively the middle and upper strata of society. South Africa's expatriate society was little different, with the colonial masters not only bringing with them the idea of social selectivity, but also transplanting the model of the British school into the colonies. Social selection preceded racial selection, and was widely practised in elite schools, both black and white, long before the emergence of racial desegregation (Hunter, 2019). Class and status were thus entrenched in the very organisation of the country's elite schools (Jansen and Kriger, 2020), and this trait has endured right up to the present.

6.3.5 'Social drawing power'

The levels at which the previous four constituents of ethos became entrenched imbued the schools with varying strengths of 'social drawing power'. The 'social drawing power' of a school is a form of what Tatar (1995) identifies as "a special quality which endows schools with an aura of distinction" (Tatar, 1995, 93). This 'social drawing power' is an important part of the school's ethos as constructed over the years. While it draws on historical inheritances, it is also inclusive of elements of the present. It becomes extended through its association with particular groups, ideals and issues of language. These elements are moulded into a unique culture through the development of an own set of beliefs, aspirations, rituals and 'taken-for-granted' behaviours. The stronger the 'social drawing power', the greater the extent to which

the school is able to apply intake selectivity, and this in turn impacts its ethos, positioning it on the continuum of upper-class to working-class. Selection is thus not an after-effect of desegregation, but a continuation of practices built on the school's 'social drawing power'. When the schools opened their admissions to learners of all racial groups, they simply continued to select learners in a similar way to how they had done previously. Thus, whereas the racial demographics of 'open' schools changed post 1991, their middle-class nature and ethos of selectivity remained significantly intact, and the stronger the social drawing power, the more clearly this was the case.

Against this background, the more the desegregatory moves burgeoned during the transitional period in the first half of the 1990s, the more deeply embedded class became within the political deliberations about the future of schools in South Africa. By that time it had become a systemic question rather than a school issue. It came in the form of a governmental concern around retaining the middle classes within the public education system (Crouch, 2005). In the prevailing conditions at the onset of the democratic era, it was the schools of the middle classes that gave respectability to an otherwise dysfunctional state education system. A prominent element during the negotiations towards democracy and the establishment of a new education system was the concern that any policy decisions that capped private contributions through fees, or that set quotas for black student admissions, could easily see the middle classes withdraw from the state system and create their own independent schools or swell the ranks of existing non-state schools (Jansen and Kriger, 2020). Retaining the middle classes in the public school system came to be regarded as essential by an incoming government eager to establish its own legitimacy in building a strong public education system. Given the parlous state of black schooling inherited from apartheid, it was essential to provide the black middle classes – politicians, business people, academics, teachers, doctors, lawyers and other professionals – with a viable, quality educational alternative, and it was to the desegregated ex-Model-C schools that they turned, enrolling their children in proportionately large numbers in the small pool of formerly white elite schools which had 'gone open'.

Socio-economic standing, it could be argued, is the most obvious delineator of class. However, there is within the context of schooling much more to class than money. A middle-class status is built not only around the material symbols of the middle class, but also around abstract values, ways of speaking and participation in after-school social activities (Jansen and Kriger, 2020). The middle classes thus aspire to a sound academic education for their offspring and to the social values and linguistic styles that together signify middle-class status. Language, vocabulary and accents have emerged as important indicators of middle-class status. According to McKinney (2007), desegregated schools are strategic sites for the acquisition and

maintenance of a prestige version of South African English, sometimes referred to as 'Model-C' English. She also suggests that linguistic ideologies provide an important understanding of how black learners in desegregated schools orientate themselves to varieties of South African English. Makubalo (2007) notes the emergence of language as "one of the sites where the sense of self is constructed and contested" (Makubalo, 2007, 38). He argues that language constitutes an important part of the learners' identities. He echoes McKinney (2007) as he underlines the position of 'proper' English as "an important commodity which is in great demand" (Makubalo, 2007, 38).

Other markers of middle-class children are their reflections of 'whiteness', manifesting in an adherence to popular forms of casual dress, modish hairstyles and peer-acceptable grooming and slang. Chikane (2018, 19) admits to having experienced "a need for a level of proximity to whiteness": of seeking the appeasement of 'whiteness', and of speaking, acting and dancing "like the right kind of black person" in order to survive exclusion in an upper-middle-class school. These attributes are in their totality clear manifestations of a particular form of ethos styled by Hunter (2019) as 'white tone'.

While the middle-class attributes of speech, accent and use of leisure time are self-imposed, other middle-class indicators are inflicted either wholly or partially by schools and 'the system'. The rigid uniform structures alternate between winter and summer dress in all of the sample schools. The ties, blazers, flannels and gym slips worn compulsorily until recently come from an earlier history and are hardly well-suited to the practicalities of South African lifestyles or the country's climatic conditions. Yet they are treated with something verging on reverence; the way they are worn is strictly policed; and they are used to signal much more than mere expedience. Merit ties, academic girdles and first-team, colours and honours blazers are used to identify and reward high-flyers, while some of the sample schools hold elaborate "blazer ceremonies" at which the new learner intake is ceremonially accepted into the 'brotherhood' of the school family as they are 'awarded' a blazer and accorded the right to wear it.

It has further been suggested that preferred sporting codes offered by schools aspiring to greater standing are selected on the basis that they add to Hunter's 'white tone'. Cricket, for example, is highly visible in all of the sample schools other than School F. In the sampled boys' schools, while participation in rugby is not obligatory, there is strong institutional pressure on juniors to attend all home fixtures of the 1st XV, and considerable peer pressure on boys in the higher grades to do the same. Until relatively recently, other 'middle-class' sports such as hockey, swimming, squash, tennis and water polo enjoyed a far higher status in the sample schools than basketball, cross-country, netball or soccer. Schools were – and reportedly often

still are – judged by their successes on the sports fields more than on their educational standing (Randall, 1982; and Hunter, 2019).

Many of the indicators or constituents of the ethos of elite public schools are reflective of an assumption that the learners' parents and guardians are middle-class people. The South African Schools Act has an inbuilt presumption that these parents have the necessary inclination, time, access, finance, transport and skills to respond fully to the expectations of their chosen institution and to involve themselves adequately in the activities allied to parenthood in such schools. This includes participation in School Governing Bodies (SGBs) and the activities of Fundraising Committees and 'Mothers' Associations' or 'Women's Committees'; the timing of parent meetings; and a prevailing expectation of volunteerism. Though the expectations of parental involvement are largely fostered by the schools themselves, they are aided and abetted by the underlying tenets embodied in the South African Schools Act, predicated as they are on a conformist conception of who and what parents of learners in these schools are deemed to be and how they function (Soudien and Sayed, 2003).

6.4 A DEVELOPED ASSOCIATIVE ETHOS

An 'associative ethos', as discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3 reflects similarities within an associated group of institutions of a similar type or nature. It manifests in the norms, structures, rituals, traditions, common values and actions reflecting the characteristics of a particular grouping of schools with which other schools choose to associate. The various forms of associative ethos with which the sample schools have chosen to align themselves, are described below.

6.4.1 An English-medium ethos

The language medium of the sample schools in this study is a residue of the inherited regulations of the apartheid era which saw white schools being declared Afrikaans medium, English medium or double medium. In practice, the latter were generally (but not exclusively) smaller schools outside of the cities. Where numbers allowed, they pursued a parallel medium approach, with English-medium and Afrikaans-medium learners in separate classes. Only where this was impracticable did schools become dual-medium institutions, with both English and Afrikaans being used in the same classrooms.

The schools selected for this study are all single-medium schools where the language of teaching and learning is English. Practically and in terms of the ethos, though, language has emerged as more than simply the medium used by educators in the classroom. It is also the

medium of all communication in the school: the language in use in publicity material, the school yearbook, assemblies and staff meetings and in learner textbooks in all but language subjects. The same language is also used in all communication with parents – at public meetings, in individual interviews and in newsletters, reports and the like – and it is the *lingua franca* of the playground.

There is nothing in departmental regulations that requires the use of a single language anywhere other than in the classroom, of course, but the use of English in all facets of school life is an approach with which the sample schools strongly associate themselves. Even post desegregation, none of the sample schools has displayed any significant change in its approach to language, except that all eventually transformed their academic language offerings to the extent that they now offer isiXhosa as a subject (but not as a medium of instruction or communication). Even by the end of the study period, none had ventured to offer isiXhosa at Home Language level and all had dispensed with offering Afrikaans at Home Language level, though in five of the schools it had earlier been offered at that level. Some of the schools have dabbled with foreign languages such as French, Italian, German and even Mandarin Chinese as subjects, but all were either phased out before 2019, or are in decline, and have an uncertain future. This is touched on in more detail in Section 6.5, which analyses the schools' unique ethos.

Apart from the issue of its introduction as a school subject, the place of isiXhosa in several desegregating schools in South Africa became a particular bone of contention towards the latter end of the study period. In these schools (only one of them a sample school in this study) the use of isiXhosa had been barred even between Xhosa-speaking learners on the playground. This was regarded by many as an extreme form of racist behaviour, though the schools involved justified it on the basis that the English-only rule enhanced learner fluency in the language in which they were learning. It was also presented as being in keeping with parental preferences: one of the motivations of black African parents for sending their children to desegregated schools is reportedly in order to gain fluency in English – parents have become 'transfixed' by its image as the language of business, employment, economic progress, international achievement and liberation (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007; Christie and McKinney, 2017).

6.4.2 A classic liberal ethos

In the minds of many, very closely related to the English-medium ethos of the sample schools is a classical, liberal ethos. The concept of a liberal education has its roots deep in history. According to the American Association for the Advancement of Science (1990) a liberal

education is one which produces persons who are open-minded and free from provincialism, dogma, preoccupation and ideology, conscious of their opinions and judgements; reflective of their actions; and aware of their place in the social and natural worlds. It is a largely westernised approach to learning aimed at developing 'free' human beings. It is based on the mediaeval concept of the liberal arts and, more latterly, on the liberalism of the Age of Enlightenment (University of Berkeley, California, current orientational material for new students).

The concept of a liberal education was advocated in the 19th century by thinkers such as John Henry Newman, Thomas Huxley and F D Maurice. Sir Wilfred Griffin Eady, widely quoted principal of London's Working Men's College from 1949 to 1955, characterised a liberal education as being education for its own sake and personal enrichment, coupled with the teaching of values. According to proponent James Engel a liberal education provides a framework for an educated and thoughtful citizen and produces well-rounded citizens aware of their place in society.

Liberality also cultivates active citizenship through public service, civic engagement and the enhancement of values, ethics and morality. It is viewed as empowering individuals with transferable competencies and broad knowledge rather than with occupation-specific skills.

It is such an educational-philosophical perspective which the proponents of a liberal ethos would suggest permeates the sample schools in this study. It is an approach which they have consciously selected and generally espouse. It is characterised by a less authoritarian attitude than is to be found in many South African schools, together with a more open relationship between educators and learners and a more democratic leadership style. It is encapsulated in the sample schools in a number of features, some common, others individual. Among them are the decisions of all the sample schools to open their admissions to learners from all racial groupings in 1990; invitations in School B to officiants from religions other than that of the original dominant group to lead the religious component of school assemblies; the liberalisation of ceremonies such as Founders Day in School B and School C in particular; the flying of the Gay Pride flag at School D; the "modernisation" of the Uniform Code at School E; and the complete reformulation of the Code of Conduct (albeit under coercion from the provincial education department) in School F.

6.4.3 A genderised ethos

Although their classification as schools serving specific gender divisions was not a voluntary decision of the schools themselves, all the schools in the sample have consciously chosen to

emphasise their gender characteristics in particular ways. The girls' schools in the study both associate themselves with the South African Girls' Schools Association (SAGSA); the boys schools have taken membership of the Association of Public Boys' Schools of South Africa (APBSA) and the International Boys' Schools Coalition (IBSC); and the co-educational school in the group is a leading participant in various interactions aimed specifically at co-educational schools. It also stresses its 'co-education-ness' at every opportunity.

School B specifically markets itself as a school which understands boys; and all the boys' schools in this study place a premium on positive aspects of masculinity, participate strongly in what are traditionally boy-specific sports, and promote boy-specific behaviours.

Subject electives in the girls' schools include stereotypical girls' subjects – e.g. Consumer Studies, Dramatic Arts and Design; girl-specific behaviours are emphasised and somewhat gentler and more genteel attitudes and approaches are fostered. Specifics such as girl-focussed self-defence are offered to learners and there is a strong emphasis on developing and nurturing the equality of the sexes and not just the ability, but also the responsibility, of girls to play a full role in society.

6.4.4 A geographically-based ethos

Observation of the day-to-day behaviours of those populating the sample schools and their peer institutions elsewhere in South Africa suggests a strong consciousness of the fact that the schools in this study are Western Cape schools, in contrast to stereotypical Eastern Cape, Gauteng or KwaZulu-Natal schools; and, in a more localised context, that they are 'southern suburbs schools' in juxtaposition with 'inner-city schools', 'northern suburbs schools' or 'rural' or 'country-town' (rather than city) schools. This manifests in an emphasis on their liberal traditions discussed above; a lower emphasis on the dominant position of sport which is so apparent in many Eastern Cape and particularly in KwaZulu-Natal schools (Hunter 2019); an English rather than Afrikaner or Xhosa ethos; a greater understanding of and tolerance towards religions other than the Christian faiths which were dominant in earlier times; and a racial demography in all the sample schools which sees the people-of-colour component of both classrooms and staffrooms consisting of significantly greater numbers of coloured people than black Africans. The latter 'coloured influence' manifests in ways which go beyond the simple numbers – for example jazz is more popular in music departments and among learners than is marimba music; dramatic productions have a coloured rather than black African leaning; and menus at functions and in the school tuck shops and hostels are more likely to cater for coloured tastes and halaal strictures than for traditional African dietary preferences.

6.5 THE UNIQUE INSTITUTIONAL ETHOS IN THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS

6.5.1 Site, situation and architecture

It is contended that the site, situation and architecture of the schools in this study have impacted not only on their inherited ethos (see Section 6.3.1) but also on aspects of their unique ethos.

In considering the schools' commonalities, it is noted that all of the sample schools opened their doors at their founding with very small enrolments, and not in purpose-built facilities at all, but rather in converted residential spaces. All of them have, however, subsequently relocated to more upmarket and extensive campuses with custom-built facilities which are reflective of the elite status garnered by the schools, and which are in keeping with their upper-middle-class ethos and their suburban settings and learner intakes.

All the schools occupy at least double-storey edifices set amidst carefully maintained formal gardens and alongside well-manicured sports fields. Half of them are accessed through pillared entrance gates. Four of the buildings have relatively elaborate facades, with high columns topped by pediments housing more-ornate or less-ornate friezes or coats of arms.

Five of the six sample schools have traditional, central, grassed (and in some cases treed and fountained) quadrangles. These 'quads' are surrounded by colonnaded cloisters onto which classrooms and other facilities open. In all of them the classrooms are generally spacious, well-lit and traditionally furnished with wooden cupboards, individual learner desks and a large teacher's table. The classrooms are complemented in all instances by spacious school halls, fitted and well-stocked libraries, purpose-built subject laboratories, computer rooms, music venues and an impressive variety of sports facilities. Beyond their grassed fields for team sports, all the schools in the sample have a swimming pool while two of them have a second pool to allow simultaneous training and competitions for water polo and swimming; five have their own squash courts; and five have either an own astroturf facility for hockey, or access to such a facility on a shared basis. Five have sports pavilions and clubhouses.

Despite the numerous similarities listed above – all of which have impacted on the ethos of the schools – it is the differences which have been utilised to build a unique ethos. Unsurprisingly, "each [school] is passionate about its own corporate identity or 'brand' and is fierce in maintaining a clannish superiority over the others" (Veitch, 2016, 13).

While five of the schools in the sample were from their founding situated in the suburbs, School A was for its first 130 years an inner-city school. Not until well into its second century

did it relocate to a suburban site within the study area of this research. Its early inner-city siting brought with it a number of influential, differentiating characteristics (Interviewee 38), but its latest suburban location has also had an impact, as indicated in the paragraphs below.

Extended by means of the strategic purchase and 'requisitioning' of several other parcels of property adjacent to the suburban site referred to above, the new location provided for School A is "one of the loveliest locations of any school in the country" (Veitch, 2003, 89). The professional planning consultant quoted earlier (see Section 6.3.1), commenting on the buildings and grounds of School A, refers to "the unifying effect of the [site]", and suggests that there is "a mature feeling to the site which must be unique amongst school campuses" (Veitch, 2003, 96). The buildings are the most striking of any in the sample schools, with a mature, timeless, unified white-painted edifice "in the capital-city design style" (Van Zyl, in Veitch, 2003, 100) rising from a Table Mountain sandstone plinth. It is redolent of the country's parliament buildings and the South African library – both of which were near neighbours in the school's original setting – and architecturally "[School A] is aging the best of all" (Interviewee 38).

School B by contrast, while neat, practical and easy on the eye, has, apart from an old Victorian dwelling on its site – acquired some years after the erection of the main school building, and situated at some distance therefrom – no edifice of note anywhere on the campus. It, then, continuously stresses to its learners the beauty of its setting and regards its mountain backdrop as part of its educational repertoire. For a number of years, aspirant enrollees at the school and their parents were interviewed within the upmarket setting of this "Victorian double-storey in the grand manner" which houses the school's Heritage Centre and principal's residence (Veitch, 2016, 260).

Once enrolled, learners are constantly entreated to raise their eyes, both literally and figuratively, from their books and desks and to imbibe the beauty and magnificence of 'their mountain'. The Grade 8 group, on their first weekend at the school, are required to participate in a ritual challenge by 'conquering' the mountain as they embark on a formal hike to the summit (Interviewee 6, in a follow-up discussion post his structured interview).

Schools C and D, though not the oldest schools in the group, occupy the oldest buildings. Their sites do not quite match the geographical grandeur of those of Schools A and B, for example, and the schools tend to focus on strengths other than the physical or architectural in their marketing. This may in part be attributed to what the history of School D refers to as "inappropriate and unsympathetic additions/alterations ... both of a permanent and temporary nature" (Veitch 1996, 168). There has been little effort in these two schools to match the

existing architecture, even to the extent, in the case of School C, of extending the capacity of the facility by means of the placement of unprepossessing prefabricated classrooms alongside the original building. School E, which is continuously rated in the top 10 performing schools in South Africa despite its somewhat nondescript architectural style (its buildings are arguably the least imposing of all the schools in the study, with a notable lack of any buildings of particular architectural or aesthetic stature anywhere on its site) nevertheless refers in its marketing material to its enviable reputation based in part on its “stunning setting and beautiful campus”. At the time of this study it had arguably the most extensive and luxurious added indoor facilities, such as a multi-purpose extramural facility and a music centre with a raked auditorium. The latter is in tune with the ethos of the school as it has developed over the past 60 years, where cultural activity is generally accorded a higher profile than sport.

The site and buildings at School F, while upmarket within the broader South African context, are characterised by a relatively nondescript ‘sameness’ and an absence of outstanding characteristics, arguably the result of the school having less money to spend on facilities and extensions than any of the other sample schools.

6.5.2 Cultural, social and religious influences

Cultural and religious influences have played a role in the shape, form and nature of schools and schooling since the institution of formal, westernised education in South Africa. Three such factors of relevance to this study, apart from the initial Dutch-Calvinist worldview, are the English upper-class Arnoldian approach to schooling, the Scottish ethos, and the Jewish impact.

Early formalised South African education bears a strong Scottish imprint. The first heads of education in both the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State, James Rose Innes and John Brebner respectively, were Scotsmen. Unsurprisingly, as they set about acquiring teachers for the systems under their charge, they selected them from their native Scotland (Veitch, 2016, 26). Rose Innes, for example, unequivocally indicated that when it came to teacher selection “preference should be given to students from Scottish universities” (Malherbe, 1925, 84). Exemplifying this insistence, the first principals of both School A and School B were Scottish, and with two more Scottish heads during its early history, the ethos of School A in particular manifested in a strong Scottish culture (Interviewee 38). This aspect of the school’s heritage promoted a kind of egalitarianism –

“[with the Scots] there’s no class consciousness ... there is an acknowledgement of the virtues of hard work and this chimes so well with the Jewish stance [considered below]... and this strengthened ... a lack of hierarchy, a lack of class consciousness [in the school]” (Interviewee 38).

In School A, alongside the Scottish stimulus, the Jewish influence was “a powerful facet – perhaps a dominant one – in the early decades of the 20th century” (Veitch, 2003, 61). It came about as waves of Jewish immigrants from Russia and the Baltic provinces began arriving in the Cape Colony from the 1880s. Many of these migrants settled initially in the working-class suburbs of Woodstock and Salt River, immediately to the east of the upmarket city-bowl suburbs. As the socio-economic status of the new arrivals improved, they moved increasingly into the socially more desirable central suburbs and so into the catchment area of School A.

The education of their offspring was an important priority for the Jewish community. The reputedly high standards of tuition and the non-sectarian and established atmosphere of School A accorded closely with the Jewish worldview. With its proximity to both their dwelling places and their religious wellspring – the school was situated close to the synagogues, both old and new – the Jewish community soon demonstrated a preference towards School A for the education of their sons. While school records do not reflect the religious affiliation of learners, the Jewish component of the school is anecdotally reported as constituting anything between 30% and 50% of the total enrolment during the first half of the 20th century (Interviewee 38). With these Jewish learners came a ‘creative internal dynamic’ manifesting in an unusual ‘classlessness’ and an antipathy towards any form of pyramidal hierarchy; but also an ethic of ‘industriousness and enterprise’ which permeated the ethos of the institution (Sachs, in Veitch, 2003, 11 and 62).

While the influx of ‘different’ learners manifested in an absence of any archetypal or prototypical model of a School A boy, it helped infuse in the school a ‘jostling energy’ and provided the learners with a distinctive confidence. It also, from the early days, aided in imparting to the school a long-lasting ‘left-leaning slant’, an openness to change and a readiness to adapt which manifested strongly again in the 1980s run-up to desegregation (Interviewee 38).

Whereas the inner-city origins and the Scottish/Jewish influences emerge as strong determinants of the ethos of School A, School B was impacted by a very different set of influencers. While Schools A, C and D drew the bulk of their learners from relatively affluent, professional, upper-middle-class, largely white and English-speaking suburbs, School B was situated in, drew on and was impacted by a far more diverse sphere of influence.

The school is situated between the eastern and western segments of a notably heterogeneous suburb. From its early development some three centuries ago, the suburb has had a strong mix of working-class merchants and wealthier, upper-class clients, practitioners in the service professions. With the development of the country's racially based segregationist policies, the eastern portions of the area became a so-called coloured, working class sector, while the western areas were traditionally home to the white gentry (Interviewee 38).

In this suburb the contact between young people from the white and coloured racial groupings was much closer than that found in other parts of the study area. Historically, School B had enrolled learners of colour at least until the passing of the School Board Act of 1905, and those living in the suburb enjoyed a sense of community and a feeling of togetherness well before open schools emerged.

“The long-standing Community Carnival was an important focal point and a sphere where white and coloured came together very, very closely, co-operating, knowing each other, and engaging with each other. The young white boys in the area knew all about Islam long before [those in the other schools in this study] were even aware of the religion. Further, many white families, but not all, were of the working class ... [At the same time] the colour bar was less scrupulously observed in [this suburb] than elsewhere in the study area” (Interviewee 38).

In other words, School B had a far more heterogeneous learner body, both in terms of racial groupings and socio-economic class, than its traditional peers. This imparted to the school a learner body more “robust, streetwise and self-reliant” than that found in the other sample schools. Learners were “gritty, down-to-earth, even combative, and they could look after themselves” (Interviewee 38).

School D also displays a unique socio-cultural ethos. Though advantageously situated in a fashionable, well-to-do suburb, it lies within a kilometre of one of South Africa's most prestigious independent schools, to which a significant segment of the community – those wealthy enough to pay the superior fees – send their sons. The consequence is that the public School D lacks the ‘social cream’ and thus also enjoys less access to the levers of power and influence than that available to the independent school. Furthermore, while generally serving a relatively wealthy catchment area, there are a limited number of poorer families and even some working-class groups living in small pockets of lesser socio-economic standing in the suburb. Learners from these areas, as well as from the less well-to-do adjoining suburbs to both the east and north, have throughout its history been accommodated at School D, lending it a less elitist ethos.

A further significant factor in the generation of ethos in School D is that it has always had a stronger Afrikaner enrolment than any of the other sample schools – to the extent that it was referred to somewhat derogatorily in pre-desegregationist times as the ‘Boere-school’ [Afrikaner school] by some of those drawn from the more gentrified segment of the suburb. While buying wholeheartedly into the broadly English liberal tradition, the Afrikaner component helped impart the school with additional characteristics and aspects of ethos – for example it was long seen as a ‘rugger-bugger’ school with a much stronger sporting than cultural ethos (Interviewee 38).

School E, on the cultural/religious front displayed a strongly conservative-fundamentalist Christian ethos during its early history. While there was from early on a strong Students’ Christian Union, the founding principal refused to allow a Students’ Jewish Association, despite a significant Jewish contingent among its learners. Assemblies, functions, ceremonies and rituals had a strong Christian flavour, and both its reputed caring nature and behavioural expectations had their roots in Christian canons (Interviewee 26).

School F articulated a similarly intense religiosity. “There was a strong Christian ethos, although we never pushed Christianity as such, but the ethos was one of doing the right thing ... it was known that that was the basis on which we worked” (Interviewee 27).

6.5.3 A traditionalist vs. progressive ethos

Historically, schools which were from the time of their founding in the 19th century situated within the suburban milieu of the study area in this research (Schools B, C and D), presented a traditional ethos which, as indicated above, harked back to the Arnoldian model of education. They are among the oldest schools in the country, single-sex and proud of their historical roots, emphasising a formalism built around a hegemonic rigidity that values uniformity, conformity, traditionalism and ‘good manners’. Into this traditionalist environment were inserted in the 1950s and 1960s three new institutions of learning – the relocating boys’ school from the city centre (School A); a recently founded co-educational institution, School E, which was situated at its closest point within 200 m of School A; and a new girls’ school, School F, which was almost adjacent to School A.

The ‘new’ School A brought with it not only a measure of a traditional inherited culture and associative boys’ school ethos, but also a unique culture forged in the crucible of its early inner-city siting, its ‘jostling energy’ and ‘left-leaning slant’ manifesting in an openness to change (Interviewee 38).

The new girls' school, School F, quickly aligned itself with the traditional associative ethos of the other single-sex schools in the sample. The first head of the institution had been the Deputy Principal of School C immediately prior to taking up the principalship of School F and was a noted traditionalist herself. Her avowed goal was reputedly to establish a replica of her previous school in the new setting.

The third of the new schools, School E, pursued a very different path. It eschewed the traditional and refused to compete within the terrain already dominated by the traditional schools in the area. Following an opposing line, the principal advocated and promoted co-education as a notion whose time had come; targeted academic distinction rather than the veneration of sporting excellence as the school's strongest selling point; established a caring and nurturing quality in contrast to the harsher, hegemonic and authoritarian culture to be found in the traditional single-gender schools; focussed strongly on progressive approaches rather than the tried and tested; and pursued excellence relentlessly – cf. the original school motto, 'Nothing but the best'. The result was an ethos in School E which was in almost total contrast to that in the other sample schools, and this out-of-kilter, progressive, avant-garde ethos has endured to the present day.

6.5.4 The impact of the schools' catchment areas on their ethos

As indicated here and in Chapter 5, Section 5.5.2.1, none of the sample schools fell under the jurisdiction of an education department which had a policy that prescribed feeder zones for schools. All of them, however, applied an informal, self-delineated 'catchment area', albeit with relatively porous borders (Jansen and Kriger, 2020).

The 'spheres of influence' of individual schools have been impacted in the main by four factors: the absence of formal 'feeder zones'; the wide acceptance of extensive informal 'catchment areas'; the different historical eras during which the schools were founded; and the urban landscape into which the schools were planted. From very early on, Schools B, C and D were able to establish relatively uncontested catchment areas from which they drew their learners. School B was situated at some distance from the other two, and for the first century of its life had no significant competing school in close proximity. Schools C and D, though in close proximity to each other, were single-sex schools for different genders, and were thus complementary in addressing the education needs of their service areas, rather than in competition with one another. All three were thus able to establish themselves to a large extent as 'community schools' serving an uncontested suburban neighbourhood adjacent to themselves. These 'spheres of influence' were well established by the time the three intrusive 'new' schools arrived in the area in the 1950s and 1960s.

There were, nonetheless, aspects other than mere contiguity which impacted on schools' feeder zones. One of these was the dual transport axis of the main suburban railway line and the congested main road running parallel and in close proximity to one another, from north to south down the study area. (Figure 6.1) These transport axes were widely viewed by the community and Schools C and D themselves as the western limit of their core catchment areas. As it turned out, all three of the 'new' schools were situated to the west of this boundary – i.e. outside of the existing schools' spheres of influence – and their service areas tended to run north- and southwards, parallel to the two transport axes, rather than crossing them.

Consequently, while in relatively close proximity to each other, the single-gender schools in the sample group were operating non-competitive feeder areas. The circumstances in the only co-educational institution in the sample group were different from both of the original schools in the area, and the other new schools. Its sphere of influence radiated in all directions and displayed significant overlap with those of the neighbouring boys' and girls' schools. There was consequently strong competition for learners between School E and the other sample schools, particularly the girls' schools in the study group.

Closely allied to the feeder area in influencing the demographic make-up of the sample schools was the presence or otherwise of an aligned primary school. All four long-standing single-gender schools in the study sample had an 'own' aligned feeder primary school which shared its name, uniform and to a significant extent even its ethos. To a large degree it was accepted practice in these schools that there was virtually automatic accession of learners from 'their' primary school into the aligned high school. Exceptions to this practice usually occurred only where there were telling, objective reasons for non-acceptance – most commonly in the form of a poor academic or behavioural record. As a consequence, there is a strong correlation between the levels of desegregation in the sample high schools and their aligned primary schools (see Table 6.1).

The relocated School A had existed in the inner city for 131 years before relocating to the suburbs making up the study area. Though originally outside the study area, the school was, even prior to its relocation, reportedly drawing a large number of learners from the suburb to which it subsequently migrated, and conversely, once established in the new setting it continued to draw a number of applications from the inner-city area where it was originally situated, and also from adjacent suburbs (which, at that time, were all-white).

Figure 6.1: A schematic representation of the inflow of learners from suburbs forming the secondary catchment areas to the primary catchment area

(Source: Data: City of Cape Town open data portal (<https://odp-cctegis.opendata.arcgis.com/>))

Cartographic assistance provided in respect of map creation: UCT Libraries GIS Lab

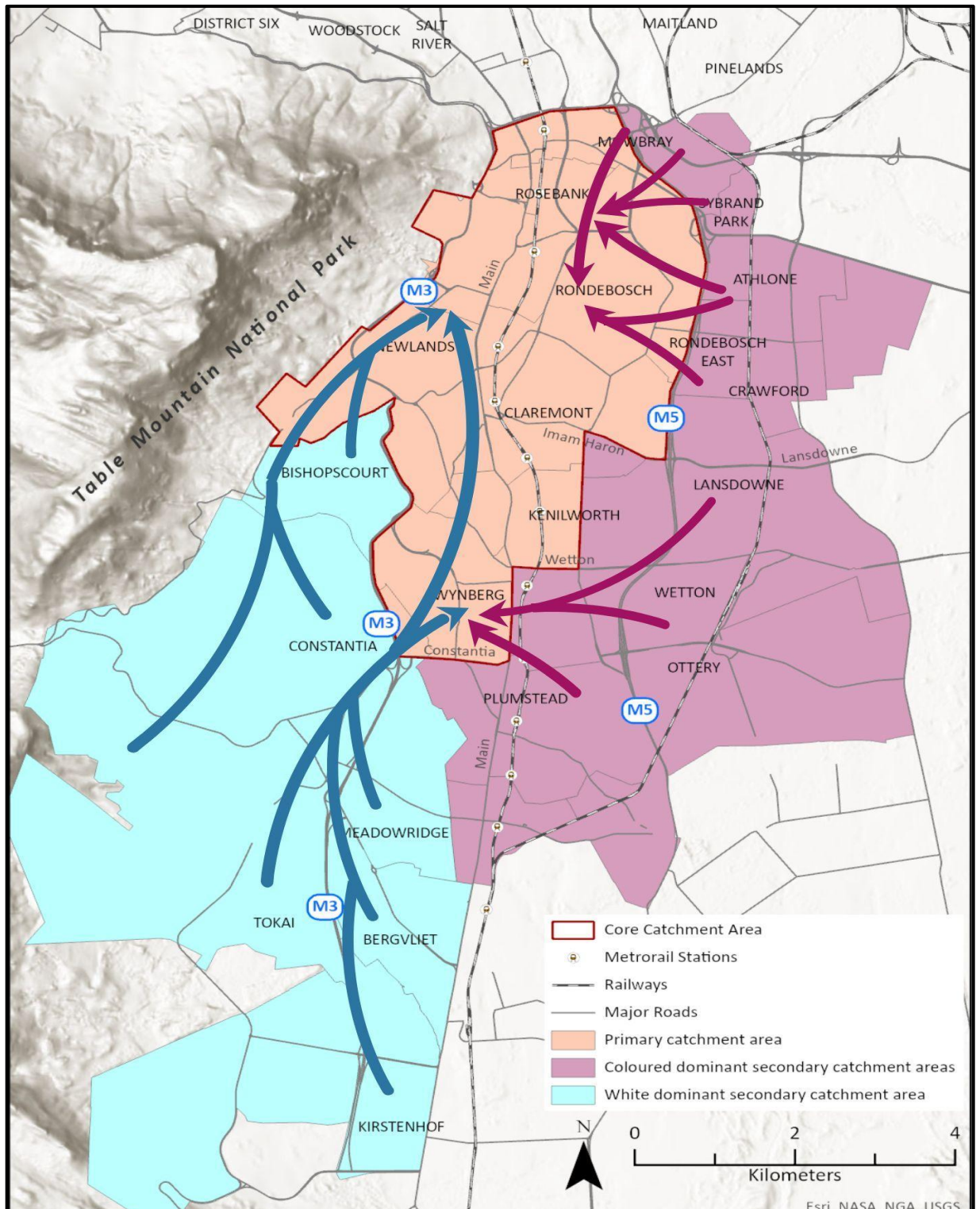


TABLE 6.1: Learners of colour in sample high schools and their aligned primary schools

(Source: Department of Basic Education, unpublished, own calculations)

School	Percentage learners of colour in primary school	Percentage learners of colour in high school
School A	32.4%	29.0%
School B	74.8%	55.8%
School C	40.3%	47.7%
School D	26.8%	36.1%
School E	These two schools have no aligned primary schools.	
School F		

It is suggested that the following three factors explain at least partly the continuing 'whiteness' of School A:

- The 'whiteness' of the aligned primary school from which most of its intake is drawn;
- The 'whiteness' of the suburb in which the school is located; and
- The separation of the school from demographically more integrated suburbs, both by the dual transport axes of the railway line and main road, and the established nature of the pre-existing feeder zones serving other schools.

School F, the newest of the sample schools, experienced the greatest difficulty in establishing a viable catchment area. The new co-educational school, School E, had already established an enviable reputation, having had its first matriculation class by the time the new girls' school was trying to attract its initial group of learners. This new girls' school was situated barely a stone's throw from the co-educational school, but was also within two other catchment areas – the spheres of influence of both an established public girls' school (School C) and an established, elite independent school for girls. These two competing schools were respectively a mere 1,2 and 2,1 km away from School F, and both had established catchment areas, established reputations and established, aligned primary schools. Furthermore, much of School F's contiguous catchment area consisted of a business district, not a residential area. Its localised potential feeder population was thus markedly limited. Breaking into the area was difficult for School F: its enrolment was always smaller than that of the other sample schools and its intake regarded as less 'elite'.

6.5.5 Neighbouring institutions as influencing factors

Four of the sample schools, School A, School D, School E and School F, have been influenced by significant neighbouring institutions. The other two, set in predominantly suburban residential settings, are without impactful close neighbours.

Among the early institutional neighbours of School A in its inner-city setting were the Jewish synagogues, the University of Cape Town and Zonnebloem College. The influence of the school's proximity to the synagogues has already been considered in Section 6.5.2. Zonnebloem was founded by Governor Sir George Grey with the stated purpose of educating the sons and daughters of the traditional leaders of the Nguni nations in the east of the country, and to draw them into the British sphere of influence. A number of black African learners from Zonnebloem reportedly attended School A on either a full-time or part-time basis as "visiting students" (Interviewee 38). This co-operative arrangement added to the early cosmopolitan nature of School A, and both it and the proximity of the schools to each other inserted a further unique feature to School A's nature and ethos.

Also influential in the School A ethos was its proximity to the University of Cape Town, both figuratively and literally. The school and the university shared common roots in the South African College. In the early days there was an "uneasy sharing" of facilities between students and scholars, and the school was "compressed into fairly confined spaces [where] crowding became acute", while all around the school buildings, extensions and additions to the University were taking place. The centrepiece of the university campus, Hiddingh Hall, was "for many years used by the school ... for special events" (Veitch, 2003, 46). On a philosophical level the author of the history of School A verbalised the impact of the university on its young neighbour:

[Given the school's] close association with [the university's] liberalising influence ... [School A] provided a natural climate for the fostering of liberal attitudes and initiatives ..." (Veitch, 2003, 11)

It was not coincidental that when the school was relocated to the suburbs, the new facilities were again situated in close proximity to the university. "The notion of the school somehow following the university [into the southern suburbs] was in people's minds from [as early as] 1918" (Veitch, 2003, 91). In 1950 negotiations with the provincial authorities around the re-siting of School A to the suburbs began in earnest. They eventually culminated in the exchange of some school-/old-boy-owned properties in the inner city with a site in the suburbs below the university. This served to cement existing ties between school and university. For example,

the university is formally represented in the governance structures of the school; many members of the university faculty have or have had children at School A; and School A has long been among the university's top 'feeder schools'. School alumni who have gone on to study at the university have continued to exercise a left-leaning influence on the school right up to the present day.

School E had as close neighbour a major financial institution. Sound relationships were cultivated between the two, particularly during the tenure of the school's second principal, and at that time the financial institution funded a major indoor sport and recreation centre on the school premises, with an understanding that its employees would have access to the facility when it was not in use by learners. The facility had both a real and a psychological impact on the school's aim of raising its sporting profile at the time. The school became an extremely effective competitor in respect of girls' sport in particular. There was also an impact on boys' sport, though less dramatic, which contributed to the standing of the school with respect to boys' sport within the context of the co-educational schooling segment.

In 1998 the financial institution concerned merged with a competitor and its head office was relocated 1500 km distant. The relationship between school and financial institution died a natural death, though the financier's legacy on both the fabric and ethos of its erstwhile neighbour remained.

6.5.6 Variations in sporting ethos

The perceived role of sport and its impact on the standing of the schools, their ethos and their market position were touched upon in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2, and also in this chapter (Section 6.3.5). Support for the view that schools such as those in this study set high store by their sporting prowess can be gauged from an extract of discussions with Interviewee 26 during the course of this research. In a telling assertion, the following was acknowledged:

[“The principal] recognised that in the Southern Suburbs [a school] couldn't hold its head high and maintain its standing if the boys' sports teams were being hammered: ... We had a real need to draw in a better quality of boy and we saw the route to achieving that as improving boys' sport. And when it did happen it paid marked dividends” (Interviewee 26).

The four older, traditional schools in the sample remain highly competitive on the sporting front. All take account of sporting ability and interest in their admissions processes, and all found ways and means of attracting promising sportspeople to their schools – using strong emphases at marketing time, granting or seeking sports bursaries and highlighting sporting successes.

Coaching capacity has seen the appointment of specialist coaches for top teams, as well as to enable the schools to introduce sporting activities not previously on offer. Gyms have been erected or extended, as have facilities, including indoor sports venues and the heating of swimming/water polo pools to allow year-round competition and preparation.

The sample schools all have a senior staffer styled Director of Sport or similar, and spend heavily on sport from their budgets. However, in contrast to the older, traditional schools, Schools E and F, the two youngest schools in the group, tend to downplay the competitive aspect of sport in favour of a focus on participation:

“What I enjoy is that ... the sports policy of the school is not cut-throat, like you would find at the boys’ schools where, if you’re not in the first team, it’s not so great – whereas here we accommodate everyone. And our kids buy into it ... we have only about 10 or 12 applications from right across the school for exemption from sport” (Interviewee 23).

There have nevertheless been periods during the time of this research that even those younger schools displayed a more competitive ethos: cf. the already quoted realisation of the principal of School E (see Section 6.5.6) that a lack of competitiveness at sport reflected in a reduced standing in the admissions stakes. The view of a long-time member of staff at School E, recently retired, gives an additional slant to this discussion:

“At one time [the school] introduced, controversially, sports bursaries in Grade 8 for boys only and, oh my word, that caused tears because there wasn’t a sports bursary for girls and there wasn’t a music bursary, there wasn’t a drama bursary. And it worked, but you know it’s a funny thing – as time developed people forgot that and then it became a bad thing to promote boys’ sport, because you had to go for equity. And so we appointed a woman as the sports administrator, and we treated everybody equally and then ... the girls’ sport flourished, but the boys’ sport, when it wasn’t being particularly looked after ... became quite weak and I don’t think [the school] recognises its weakness. But I think there are bigger issues now in terms of integration and [the] desire to integrate the staff with black Africans and to draw in black Africans into enrolling as pupils ... So priorities change, and the nature of what we do, the ethos of the school, changes too ...” (Interviewee 26).

As far as School F was concerned, sport and the sporting ethos were early casualties of the desegregation process. The extramural offering changed markedly in the decade between 1990 and 2000. Extramural activities virtually disappeared, according to Interviewee 29 – the perception was that the new intake of learners lived too far away, and could not stay on late for extramural activities. Consequently, standards began to fall and though the learners “played their hearts out, they weren’t very good and lost most of their games” (Interviewee

11). The driving ethos became one of enjoyment rather than performance. The feeling was that the learners were doing their best and still enjoying themselves, and that was all that was needed (Interviewee 11).

A change in principalship at School F engendered a reversal of that attitude. “We went for those applicants with a record of involvement in extramural activities. We were looking for pupils who were keen to develop an all-roundedness” (Interviewee 29). Tennis, hockey, netball, swimming, cross-country and athletics were reinstated at the school under the new principal. It soon emerged that swimming, cross-country and athletics held little attraction for the learners and they were later dropped once more. In their place ‘social sport’ was added – e.g. an own brand of physical activity dubbed ‘Joli-lympics’.

6.5.7 The ethos of cultural activity

There is a strong cultural ethos in all of the sample schools, though individual emphases vary.

Among the boys’ schools, School A is widely recognised by an amorphous ‘public view’ as having the finest balance between its academic, sporting and cultural ethos, though its competitors would be likely to dispute this. Its music tradition is particularly solid, with an 80-voice choir, a 60-strong marching band, a concert band of similar size, a big band, two jazz bands, two marimba bands and numerous smaller ensembles.

In School B, the principal at the time of the opening of the school to all race groups introduced the goal of developing the whole child through granting equal standing to what he referred to as the four pillars of education – academic, sport, culture and service (Veitch, 2016). The same awards as were presented to top academics and sportsmen were also available to top achievers in the cultural and service fields, which “came into [their] own” (Hawthorne and Bristow, 1993, 48). The school boasts four full bands, an 80-strong male voice choir and numerous ensembles and smaller singing groups. It has a strong dramatics tradition, a top-echelon chess team and a wide spread of other cultural activities. The musical activities reflect something of the transformation of the institution, both in terms of the type of bands – there are both a steel band and jazz band – and the musical genres on offer.

School C has historically clearly placed its academic ethos as paramount, but has demanded excellence from those involved in cultural activities and nurtured a culture of wide participation. It offers an impressive range of activities in this field, from drama to public speaking; culinary to service activities; and from a range of religious societies to a music department which is highly rated.

Interviewee 38 suggests that at School D cultural activities clearly constitute a substantial part of the school ethos, though it is seen as somewhat subservient to the sporting ethos in the school. There were times when the school ‘struggled’ in the cultural arena; it was able to mount only one play a year and the orchestra faded and died at one stage. There was, however, a revival during the period of the study and this renewal has included recognition of the changing demographics of the school. “Artwork, creative writing, dramatics productions and oratory are much more reflective of our own environment rather than of traditional European settings and approaches ...” (Interviewee 17).

Traditionally the perception is that School E grants higher status to cultural activities than to sport. Interviewee 23 maintains that the “cultural side of the school is massive ... We’ve got something like 50 or so different clubs and societies and they’re not even compulsory ... our clubs and societies are all run by student committees ... Some of them are sort of fluid, like you would have a particular club or society that’s popular for a couple of years and then the interest wanes. So we put it to sleep and a new one might materialise. And we say to the kids, if you want to start a new club or society, just get a motivation together and we’ll consider it.”

School F has historically “made a big thing of music” – during the course of the study it added to its repertoire a jazz band while it maintained its traditional musical evenings, musical drama and choirs. There is a strong focus on debating and a junior branch of the Toastmasters’ organisation is also in place. Learners continue to participate in eisteddfods and have introduced own activities such as ‘trash-in-on-fashion’ and FACETS (a Festival of Arts, Culture, Exhibitions, Technology and Science). Towards the end of the study period, while maintaining its repertoire, the school has shifted the emphasis, as indicated by Interviewee 30:

“It isn’t just the ABCs of education that are important. We have come around to teaching them the ABCs of life ... creating more awareness of things affecting young people. So, there are more little things ... We went for mental-health awareness, looked at the environment, looked at people with disabilities. We had special civvies days where we all wore pink in support of cancer awareness and had a cancer survivor talking to them. Then gender-based violence came – we got some people to do self-defence, show them some skills, had SAPS in here to talk to them about the legal aspect. So, it was ... not that everything must be built around maths and science ...”

While the school works hard at maintaining many of its traditional interests and strengths, the shift in emphasis highlighted above is an indication of the influence of desegregation. The ‘new’ activities reflect a different emphasis born out of the closer exposure of the learners to harsh societal realities from which the less diverse learner communities in other of the sample schools are somewhat shielded. School F was from the outset in many respects the most transformed of the sample schools, not just the most desegregated.

6.5.8 An imposed ethos of change

Change in respect of the desegregation and transformation of schools which occurred in 1991 and 1992 was a voluntary response to matters of conscience (Interviewee 16); a teacher-led reaction to the political zeitgeist fed by the De Klerk speech of 2 February 1990; the unbanning of the liberation movements; and the release from prison of Nelson Mandela (Folb, 1991a).

In 1991, 204 (Lemon 1994, 206) schools took the first faltering steps down the desegregatory path, selecting almost exclusively Model B from the Clase Model menu. This option entailed the smallest changes of all the models, providing in reality for little that was new or different beyond the right to enrol learners and appoint teachers from racial groupings other than the white group. It also held no negative financial implications. The number of learners of colour who were enrolled in these schools was initially small, but it was a start.

The first *coercive* change to the transformatory path was a financial-administrative one, not a race-responsive one. From May 1992 the schools of the Department of Education: House of Assembly were all-but-unilaterally required to become Model-C schools, ushering in a greater devolution of power to Management Boards which replaced the erstwhile School Committees, a significant cut in state subsidisation and the ushering in of compulsory school fees.

By the end of 1992 the number of schools having opted for one of the models had grown to 692 (Motala and Pampallis, 2002, 146), and coercion was emerging. To avoid being classified as Model C, white public schools were required to pass a 'rejection' vote by a two-thirds majority of registered parents. In the end, few bothered to vote and according to Lemon (1994) only 41 – a mere 2% of affected schools – retained their previous status.

The next steps towards 'coercive transformation' were embedded in the South African Schools Act and in the final form of the South African Constitution, both promulgated in 1996. In their preambles they voice the intent to "[consign] to history the past system of education which was based on racial inequality and segregation" (South African Schools Act) and to "lay the foundations for ... an open society" (the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa). These two pieces of legislation had relatively little impact on the sample schools, which had for six years already been applying large segments of the spirit of the Acts. In other schools, however, they unleashed a period of 'lawfare' between schools and government, during which a number of regulations were challenged in court. Eight cases in particular are regarded as critical in contributing towards developing and changing the governance ethos in South Africa's public schools, and are described in Addendum 23.

6.6 CONCLUDING COMMENT

The school character and ethos as it has emerged in the sample schools is a complex amalgam of history; choice around association; the impositions of new laws, regulations and geography; and the unique responses of the sample schools at different times and under ever-changing circumstances.

At the start of the study period, historical influences and imposed approaches tended to be dominant in impacting the nature of the schools, resulting in significant commonalities surrounding the ethos of the sample schools. In this regard School E chose to be an outlier, concentrating more on the future than the past, on a progressive rather than a traditional approach, and on its co-educational make-up in place of the single-gender status of all the other sample schools.

With the relative freedom of choice accompanying post-apartheid desegregation, unique features in individual schools, such as the inter-city, Jewish and Scottish influences on School A; the more integrated setting of School B; and the more limited 'social drawing power' of School F, to mention a few of the possible examples, led to a softening of commonalities and an accentuation of differences between schools, and a consequent divergence of ethos in the sample schools.

With the advent of #Fallism, however, the outside pressures faced by all the schools forced them, to a certain extent, to respond to the new pressures with an increasing similarity of approach. In this way the differences in ethos which had emerged over the preceding 25 years were modulated during the final four or five years of the study period, culminating in a return to much of the 'sameness' noted by Veitch (2016) in the sample schools – excluding the by-this-time very different School F – as the demographic patterns described in Chapter 7 and the 'transformation beyond numbers' of Chapter 8 will show.

CHAPTER 7: DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Research sub-question 4: How, why and to what extent did the schools' demographics change in the period of desegregation?

In 1990 all the institutions in this study were classified as white public schools. Collectively they had less than 1% learners of colour, all from high-profile families who had been admitted by special permit – see Chapter 1, Section 1.3.1.1.

On the first day of the 1991 academic year this racial status quo was changed in the 204 white schools across South Africa (Lemon, 1994, 206) which were authorised to embark on some initial, tentative steps towards integrated education. This group of 'open' public institutions included all the schools in this study. Their 'opening' was permitted in terms of the new set of regulations under the title *Additional Models for the Provision of Schooling*, elucidated in Chapter 1, Section 1.3.1.2 and Addenda 20 and 21.

Chapter 7 focusses on the dominant, most definable and most accurately measurable transformational action in the sample schools, namely the desegregation of the schools' racial demographics. This aspect of institutional transformation is considered in detail in this chapter, in respect of four areas of school life:

- Learner demographics;
- Staff demographics;
- The demographics of management; and
- The demographics of governance.

The secondary issue, that of socio-emotional transformation and the changing of mindsets which accompanied the racial desegregation of the schools, is considered in Chapter 8.

7.2 MOVING THE RACIAL DEMOGRAPHICS FORWARD

7.2.1 Setting the scene

The number of learners of colour in five of the six sample schools remained small in the initial years of desegregation. All the principals in office at the time indicated, either in reports or interviews, that the initial intakes of learners of colour were very limited. During the remainder of the decade of the 90s, however, it was clear that the demographics in the sample schools were changing. Schools had either voluntarily used the concessions around admissions to

move to a greater extent down the road to the desegregation of their learner bodies, or had been pressurised by circumstance into doing so. The coercive factors in this regard were the increasing financial demands on schools resulting from a changed funding regime for white institutions together with a desire to retain or expand teaching posts in order to maintain manageable class sizes and generous subject offerings.

7.2.2 Four ‘waves of change’ in the sample schools

Emerging from the patterns of change over time, four desegregatory ‘waves’ are identified in the sample schools. This loose periodisation sees three ‘waves’ spread roughly equally across the three decades over which the study stretches – wave 1 from 1990 to 1997; wave 2 from 1998 to 2006; and wave 3 from 2007 to 2015. Finally, there was a fourth, shorter ‘#Fallist wave’ from 2016 to 2019.

- The first wave of desegregation was characterised by a period of institutional and ideological preservation, a continuation of those processes and procedures perceived to have served the schools well in the past; of learner assimilation; and of significant growth in enrolments in all the sample schools.
- The second wave was perceived as a period of consolidation, marked by administrative maintenance and a perpetuation of the pioneering desegregatory philosophies of the first wave, and accompanied by a further growth of learner numbers and increased ‘colourisation’ of the racial demography in the sample schools.
- The ‘third wave’ ushered in a more meaningful move to institutional transformation and the development of a more integrationist ethos, rather than a simple change to racial demographics.
- During the last four years of the study period, transformational initiatives were significantly impacted by the emergence of various #Fallist and related movements (#RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall, #BlackLivesMatter, etc.). During this period there emerged a different brand of critics. They were looking past ‘the numbers in the room’ and beyond claims that the schools had moved sufficiently far down the desegregatory road for some to suggest that they had ‘made the target of desegregated spaces’ i.e. proven their bona fides and gone far enough. The critics were demanding – and schools were more accepting of their demands – that the time had come to create a climate wherein “everybody feels they can be who they need to be” (Davids, 2018).

7.2.3 Difficulties concerning data

The precise extent of the early demographic changes is difficult to quantify. In 1997, for example, only School F among the sample schools was providing figures which reflected the degree of learner de-racialisation. As a result of the other schools' refusal to identify learners using any racial epithets when reporting to their respective education departments, no formal data on the demographic changes related to learner enrolments in the sample schools pre 1997 are available to confirm the recollections captured in interviews. Most of the figures from the 1990s which are quoted in this study have thus perforce been based on sources other than official departmental statistics. They have mainly been calculated by cross-referencing class and team photographs against awards lists or learners identified as performance leaders in order to establish the racial grouping of individual learners. Such an approach is not, however, able to determine with any level of accuracy the demography of the school's learner body as a whole, and much of the information on which this early period of desegregation is based is thus perspectival.

What emerges unequivocally from the available data is that all the sample schools increased their enrolments in the early years of desegregation (see Table 5.2, Chapter 5, Section 5.6.1), and demographically explicit data which emerged later suggest that many of these 'new' places were filled by learners of colour. By 1997 School A, with the smallest increase in numbers, was the least diverse of the sample schools, while School F, with the biggest percentage increase, had become the most diverse.

7.3 CHANGES TO LEARNER DEMOGRAPHICS IN THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS

7.3.1 Early demographic changes – “breaking the legal prohibition ...”

Increasing overall enrolments notwithstanding, such data as are available indicate that demographic changes in the sample schools were slow during the pre-democracy years (i.e. 1991 to 1994), other than in the case of School F. In the first year of desegregation, 1991, this can be ascribed to the prevailing practice in all the sample schools of accepting applications for admission from the first day of the academic year preceding admission. These applications were processed during the second quarter of the year and applicants were informed of the outcome of their applications by the end of July. In respect of the academic year 1991, permission to accept learners from racial groupings other than white was granted only in November or December of 1990. Apart from a few vacancies created by late withdrawals, the schools were therefore already filled to their targeted capacities by the time permission was granted to accept such applicants, and very few 'others' were enrolled.

Desegregation in the sample schools was therefore very limited in 1991, though just how limited remains unclear. As explained, formal data on the racial make-up of learners in the schools are not available for this period, and even such non-formal data which have been accessed are unhelpful. Newspaper reports of the day indicate that schools generally refused to say how many children of colour they had admitted, claiming that they were now 'colour-blind' (*Cape Argus*, 22 January 1991). Only four principals approached by the newspaper's reporters were prepared to quantify their enrolments of learners of colour. The principal of Rondebosch Boys' Preparatory School indicated that his school had enrolled 33 boys of colour (in a total enrolment of 624: i.e. 5.3%). Ellerton Primary School's principal commented that "from a teaching point of view, all our pupils are the same colour but technically about 25% of our pupils are black" (*Cape Argus*, 22 January 1991). Hoërskool Groote Schuur, one of only three Afrikaans-medium schools in the country to open its doors to all races at the start of 1991, divulged that it had enrolled 15 pupils of colour in Grade 8, but that only 11 had arrived on the first day of term. At The Settlers High School, 57 learners of colour (but apparently no black African children) were admitted (*Cape Argus*, 22 January 1991).

None of the sample schools in this study divulged the numbers of people of colour they had enrolled, but a scrutiny of records suggests that among them only School F admitted as many as 20 learners of colour in the first year of desegregation. The principal in School D confirmed that the initial intake of learners of colour in his school "was necessarily small numerically" given that, even prior to the opening, the school had been "under pressure to admit more [learners] than [it] could comfortably take" (Principal's Message, School D, 1991).

It was also accepted from the outset that desegregation was not simply an event, but rather a journey, and that demographic change would initially be slow and deliberate. The principal of School A reported to the parent body in the school's end-of-year report in 1991 that it had been "easier to enrol only pupils at Standard 6 [*now known as Grade 8*] level and avoid any problems" (Principal's Prize-giving Report, School A, 1991). The head of School C was likewise reportedly "guided by the principle that the change should be measured and incremental" (reported by Interviewee 10), and wrote that there was an understanding that "the influx of newcomers would be gradual" (McIntyre, 1994, 95). The principal of School E made the point that the powers that be in his school had "accepted that it was going to be a slow process" (Interviewee 21).

The limited enrolment of learners of colour was not simply a matter of logistics. There were also other issues at play, including practical, ethical and moral components – for example, according to the principal of School E:

“[it was recognised] that we should make any efforts we could to get some black kids [into the school]. However, there was a concern which had run through all of our deliberations, that just to get black kids into the school because they were black was inappropriate, both for the children’s sake and for the cause’s sake ... if the new learners couldn’t cope and there were disasters, failures, and so on, it certainly wasn’t going to do the multiracial concept any good, or provide much that was positive or would be of benefit” (Interviewee 21).

In addition to the above, there was the issue of the *intent* of the schools when it came to desegregation. Reports from or interviews with principals of the time indicate that the initial generation of school heads saw it as their most important task to usher in the incorporation of the right to enrol learners of colour in their schools. This viewpoint was validated by the principal of School E at the time. He clarified the approach adopted in the school in 1991 as follows:

“We didn’t even talk about [the options] as it were, we just wanted, in the early stages, to open ... Because it was so early [in the desegregation process] one was perhaps a little naïve in terms of thinking ... we hadn’t yet anticipated the issues that black, new kids would face and that some white kids and some families were against it” (Interviewee 21).

7.3.2 The second wave – “a period of conservation and consolidation ...”

By 1997, at about the time of the end of the first wave of desegregation, all the principals who had been in office at the opening of the schools in 1990, bar that in School A, had vacated their positions, and a second generation of desegregation-era school leaders was emerging. Interview responses and analysis of school documents suggest that, on the transformation front, this period was to a significant degree a phase of conservation and consolidation in the sample schools – possibly with a hint of comfort and complacency. The barriers to the admission of learners of colour had been selectively lowered in 1991. They were subsequently swept aside by the Interim Constitution of 1993 and the full-franchise elections of 27 April 1994. The resultant changes were entrenched through the adoption of the South African Constitution (Act 106 of 1996) on 8 May 1996 and the implementation of the South African Schools Act (Act 84 of 1996), assented to on 6 November 1996 for commencement on 1 January 1997. While the new legislative prescripts were applicable to all schools and obviously affected broad educational conditions countrywide, they did not bring about any really significant changes in procedures or processes in the sample schools who were still leading the desegregatory pack.

The euphoria of having averted the oft-forecast bloodbath in South Africa and the relative success of the pre-democracy desegregation processes and the democratic election provided a foundation of positivity across the country, affording desegregating schools a base from which

they were able to proceed on their transformational trajectories. Among the socio-political and educational factors driving this general positivity were the following:

- A positive aura surrounding the person of erstwhile President Nelson Mandela permeated much of South African life;
- The sample schools, together with their peers who were following the same path, were gifted a share of the moral high ground consequent upon their decision to open their schools voluntarily;
- The learners of colour in the early intakes, having been carefully selected, were largely able to hold their own despite the very different environment into which they had moved; and
- The initial desegregatory actions had elicited no reports of adverse inter-racial incidents, while the schools' testimonies suggest that they considered the open schools project as having been positive.

Perpetuation of past practices, while initially 'benign', could not continue indefinitely. Hunter (2019, 4) suggests that "from the late 1990s and 2000s competition among schools and among parents intensified ... [resulting in a] 'racialised market'" in schools. According to his research, cultural signals of continuing 'whiteness' – victories in the 'right' sports, success in imparting a 'whitist' Model C accent and a de facto denial of attributes symbolic of Africanist attitudes, approaches, culture, dress or grooming – became key grounds on which the desegregating elite schools displayed their preservation of what was regarded by the dominant racial group as "good" in these institutions. This included the perpetuation of existing prestige, standards, traditions and behaviours. The schools had won time for themselves and how this played out in the sample schools is addressed in the following paragraphs.

By 2006, regarded in this study as marking the closing year of the second wave, the sample schools were for the first time since desegregation all recording demographic data using the apartheid-era labels for racial groups as required by the education authorities. The figures in Table 7.1 demonstrate the progress made in increasing the demographic representation of all racial groups other than whites in four of the six sample schools. Learners of colour exceeded 40% of the total enrolment in these four schools – School B, School C, School E and School F – at this stage of their transition. In Schools A and D learners of colour were still in only the second quintile, at 30.9% and 28.0% respectively.

The data indicating progress with the enrolment of learners of colour in the sample schools disguise the extent of under-representation of black African learners. The overall population distribution by racial groupings is, of course, significantly distorted by the prevailing racial demographics of the Western Cape. Provincially there is an under-representation of black

Africans and a similar over-representation of coloured people. This naturally manifests in a similarly atypical demographic spread among learners in schools in the province. In line with this anomalous reality, in all the sample schools coloured learners in 1997 reportedly exceeded the number of black African learners at the time. In the only sample school in respect of which formal, race-based data were available (School F) there were almost exactly three times as many coloured learners as black African learners (228 as against 75, or 50.7% vs. 16.7% of the total learner enrolment). By 2006 the proportion of coloured learners to black African learners in School F remained similar to the 1997 figures, though both components had grown: to 62.8% versus 20.6%. This occurred concurrently with a reduction in white, Indian/Asian and other learners, who, at 10.2%, 4.7% and 1.7% respectively, made up only 16.6% of the total enrolment in School F in 2006, compared with 32.6% in 1997. School B, with the second highest representation of black African learners, was at only 11.5% in 2006. The other four schools were at 5.5% (School A), 8.8% (School C); 4.6% (School E); and 3.0% (School D) at the same time.

Anecdotally, there was a widespread belief in and around these schools that 18% of learners of colour represented a tipping point beyond which white flight would begin to occur. The only sample school with an excess of 18% of learners of colour at the time, School F, was clearly experiencing white flight (only 10.2% of learners were white in 2006), which added grist to the mill of those cautioning against too rapid a demographic transformation of school enrolments.

A comparison of the figures from the sample schools with national figures underlines several features which emerged during terms of office of the second generation principals in the sample schools:

- With the exception of School F, the schools in this sample on average desegregated at a slower pace than the national average for white schools generally;
- The sample schools accepted a larger proportion of Indian/Asian learners than this grouping constitutes in the overall school population across the country or in 'white' schools as a group;
- 'Other' learners – most commonly, it appears, foreigners from the Pacific Rim countries – are also comparatively over-represented in the sample schools.

These figures are reflected in Table 7.1.

Learner numbers in the sample schools displayed only limited increases during the second decade of desegregation (see Table 7.1). In the main the big movements took place prior to 1997, when staff 'right-sizing' precipitated increased enrolments in order to retain posts. In the years which followed, three of the sample schools actually decreased their enrolments, as

indicated in Table 7.3. This notwithstanding, four of the six sample schools had progressed reasonably far down the road to numeric equality (or more) between learners of colour and white learners. The ratio in the sample schools in 2006 was roughly 45% learners of colour to 55% white learners, and it appears that there was little pressure from parents or the schools' communities to desegregate further, though small groups of activist parents and people of particular political persuasions in broader society held an opposing view.

TABLE 7.1: Demographic breakdown of learner populations in the sample schools in 2006, by percentages

(Source: Department of Basic Education, unpublished, own calculations)

2006	% Black African learners	% Coloured learners	% Indian/Asian learners	% Other learners	% White learners	Learners of colour
School A	5.5%	18.0%	7.4%	0%	69.1%	30.9%
School B	11.5%	26.4%	4.2%	5.7%	52.1%	47.9%
School C	8.8%	26.4%	8.3%	3.0%	53.4%	46.6%
School D	3.0%	17.6%	7.4%	0%	72.0%	28.0%
School E	4.6%	27.3%	8.9%	4.4%	54.8%	45.2%
School F	20.6%	62.8%	4.7%	1.7%	10.2%	89.8%
Total in sample schools	7.9%	26.8%	6.8%	3.3%	55.3%	44.8%
Total in ex-white schools nationally	39%	14%	3%	0%	44%	56%
Total in all schools nationally	85%	8%	2%	0%	6%	94%

TABLE 7.2: Increasing enrolments in the sample schools in the period 1997-2006

(Source: Individual school records, unpublished, own calculations)

School	Enrolment 1997	Enrolment 2006	Percentage increase
School A	716	735	2.7%
School B	857	816	-4.8%
School C	748	756	1.1%
School D	778	808	4.6%
School E	919	884	-3.8%
School F	447	421	-5.8%

7.3.3 The third wave – “from desegregation to transformation”?

The foregoing section suggests that the third desegregatory wave began around 2007. By that time, both on a macro level across society and on a micro level in respect of schools,

socio-political conditions had demonstrated significant fluctuations. Changes such as those catalogued in Table 7.3 were either conducive to or instrumental in engendering a more open, progressive and transformative school milieu. They reflected a greater openness towards change emerging in the third decade of desegregation and led to a more tangible transformation in the sample schools.

These demographic developments are presented in Table 7.3.

TABLE 7.3: Demographic breakdown of learner populations in the sample schools in 2015, by percentages

(Source: Western Cape Education Department, unpublished, own calculations)

2015	% Black African learners	% Coloured learners	% Indian/Asian learners	% Other learners	% White learners	Learners of colour
School A	5.3%	17.5%	1.1%	1.9%	74.2%	25.8%
School B	7.4%	31.3%	3.9%	7.2%	50.2%	49.8%
School C	5.0%	23.9%	6.5%	7.6%	57.0%	43.0%
School D	4.9%	16.0%	11.2%	0.0%	67.9%	32.1%
School E	5.9%	28.3%	5.6%	4.4%	55.8%	44.2%
School F	52.9%	43.3%	0.0%	0.3%	3.5%	96.5%
Total	9.8%	25.3%	5.2%	3.9%	55.8%	44.2%

	Year	Black African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	Others	White	Pupils of colour
Total in sample schools	2006	7.9%	26.8%	6.8%	3.3%	55.3%	44.8%
Total in sample schools	2015	9.8%	25.3%	5.2%	3.9%	55.8%	44.2%
Total in ex-white schools nationally	2006	38.6%	13.5%	3.5%	0%	44.4%	55.6%
Total in ex-white schools nationally³	2014	47%	16%	3%	0%	33%	67%
Total in all schools nationally	2006	84.5%	8.1%	1.8%	0%	5.6%	94.4%
Total in all schools nationally³	2014	85.4%	8.3%	1.6%	0%	4.7%	95.3%
Total in all schools nationally³	2014	85%	8%	2%	0%	5%	95%

³ Because of the reported 'corruption' of Department of Basic Education data for 2015 and subsequent years, (see Chapter 4 Section 4.4.1) data for 2015, the sample year in terms of this study, could not be used. Data for 2014 are utilised instead.

At this time, on various micro levels of relevance to the schools involved in this study, the educational environment was changing:

- Residential areas surrounding elite public schools were reportedly ‘shifting demographically’, and were increasingly characterised by a growing influx of middle-class families of colour (Jansen and Kriger, 2020), though this phenomenon is not reflected in the learner intake in sample schools, and no formal census has taken place since 2011 to confirm or refute the perceived trends;
- The National Curriculum Statement, originating in 1998 as the latest iteration of Outcomes Based Education (OBE), was reviewed, simplified and subsequently re-introduced as the Revised National Curriculum Statement. It had reached full implementation by 2008. The approaches encouraged by the new curriculum stimulated critical thinking among learners, enhancing both their ability and their wish to speak out against that which they experienced as hurtful, unfair or discriminatory. This was initially tolerated in the traditional schools, but over time came to be accepted and was eventually fostered and developed, as described in detail in Chapter 8;
- Simultaneously, non-official parental activist groups and recognised progressive organisations such as ‘Parents for Change’ emerged in some of the sample schools (Jansen and Kriger, 2020); and
- By 2010, in all but one of the sample schools, the third principal since desegregation had taken office – the exception was in School A identified in Section 7.3.2 as the only one still having its pre-desegregation principal in office at the turn of the century. The new principals were not of the same generation as their predecessors. They had grown up under a more open system, both socially and educationally; and many had experienced desegregated schools and schooling in the earlier years of their careers. Having previously enjoyed more or less sustained exposure to desegregated settings, these principals were less susceptible to ‘sustaining and reproducing segregatory approaches’, as hypothesised by Braddock (1980) in his Perpetuation Hypothesis (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3). This is illustrated by a general trend in the sample schools towards greater integration. While there was not a smooth, linear or common level of desegregation across schools, whether in the sample group or not, or across racial groupings within schools, there was certainly change taking place, as illustrated by the figures from the end of the ‘third wave’ in 2015 as encapsulated in Table 7.3.

Additionally, data indicate that the institutions were in the main more racially integrated than the communities in which they were situated and that four of the six sample schools were leading residential desegregation rather than following it. This is something which was earlier

identified by Battersby (2004) who suggested that the ‘open’ schools represented “a powerful tool for the desegregation of public spaces and long-term desegregation of residential spaces” (Battersby, 2004, 285). A later study reiterated that school desegregation was “occurring more rapidly than residential desegregation” (Lemon and Battersby-Lennard, 2009, 525), a perception supported by the data reflected in Table 7.4.

By 2015 – the end of the third desegregatory wave – School F could be regarded as ‘reseggregated’. In that school the white component had shrunk to 3.5% of enrolled learners, while almost all Indian/Asian learners avoided the school, and learners classified as ‘other’ were represented by a negligible number – only 0.3% of the total. The black African and coloured components were of fairly similar sizes at 52.9% and 43.3% respectively.

TABLE 7.4: Comparison between learners of colour in sample schools vs. people of colour in immediately contiguous suburb and the broader assessed catchment area.

(Source: School data, 2011 Census figures and own assessment of catchment areas)

	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F
% of learners of colour in the school in 2011	27%	52%	46%	32%	47%	99%
% people of colour in the immediate suburbs in 2011	23%	76%	44%	44%	40%	33%
% people of colour in the assessed catchment area in 2011	39%	76%	40%	40%	39%	?? ⁴

At the opposite extremity were Schools A and D where learners of colour constituted less than a third of the overall enrolment – 25.8% and 32.1% respectively. In the three schools in the middle of the range, Schools B, C and E, learners of colour constituted 50%, 44%, and 43% respectively, while the component of learners of colour across all the sample schools in 2015 stood at 44.2%. This was almost identical with the proportion in 2006, which had stood at 44.8%. The data thus confirm that the major moves in respect of learner numbers by racial group had been reached by the end of the ‘second decade’ of desegregation, after which the proportions stabilised.

The approximately even division between white learners and learners of colour in the three schools alluded to above was not reproduced, either in those schools or in the other sample schools, in the divisions within the full group of learners of colour. The relative paucity of black

⁴ School F, with arguably the lowest social drawing power of the sample schools, and situated adjacent to a suburban business district covering much of what would normally form its core catchment area, does not in practice have an identifiable sphere of influence, drawing its learners from a wider, non-definable catchment area, up to 20 km distant.

African learners noted earlier was still in evidence. Learners classified as 'other' were over-represented, and by 2015 in School C exceeded the number of black African learners. Other than in School F, which had 'resegregated', the black African component was below 10% in all the sample schools. By contrast, the black African segment in historically white schools across the country stood at about 40%. The data strongly suggest that the sample schools viewed their desegregationist (as distinct from transformationist) task as realised, though the current principals in Schools A, C, D and E would not have agreed.

While a superficial evaluation of the data suggests that these figures are indicative of racial bias, the principals in the schools concerned all laid the disparities between school desegregation and national racial breakdowns at the door of provincial demographics, financial inequalities or related differentials rather than racism. Comments made during interviews included references to the fact that among black African families "financial constraints are a huge problem" (Interviewee 2); this refers not only to school fees, but especially the additional costs of schooling which include the expense of daily travel, the purchase of kit and equipment for extra-curricular activities; and the intense need of young people to match the access to leisure activities, dress, footwear, pocket money and mobile telephones of their peers.

Though recognising the problem, the fee-paying schools intimate that they are constrained in their capacity to carry significant numbers of non-fee-payers. According to a latter-day principal from School D, in a quintile 5 school, notwithstanding the minimal subsidy, the expectations of the parents, and the requirements of the authorities and the SA Schools Act have to be met. Alongside the legal requirements, schools are expected to respond effectively to all the following: desegregatory demands; the anticipations of families; the expectations of teenage consumers, and everyone's capacity to meet the costs of schooling (Interviewee 17). It is an almost impossible juggling act.

In respect of the suggestion that the demographics of the Western Cape, in which the sample schools are sited, also play an important role, a novel perception was voiced during discussions by a perceptive observer with a broad background in public and independent education. He suggests that the paucity of black African learners in the sample schools is exacerbated by the fact that many black African families living in the immediate catchment area of the sample schools are not at all financially constrained: indeed, many are sufficiently wealthy to place their children at one of the proximate independent schools rather than in the public schools featured in this study, and a number of them do so.

While none of the third-decade principals was comfortable with the small number of black African learners in their schools, the data in Table 7.3 illustrate what appears to be a general

satisfaction at school level in respect of the overall desegregatory trajectory. There is very little difference between the demographic breakdown in the sample schools in 2006 and that of 2015. In fact, numbers of learners of colour in the collective of the sample schools decreased by 0.6% in that decade. Only in half the sample, namely School B (1.9%) School D (4.1%) and School F (6.7%), was there any increase.

A question bubbling just beneath the surface inevitably centred on how much desegregation overall would be 'enough'. Some in the broader political arena have indicated that school demographics should be reflective of national racial breakdowns, but none of the sample school principals are in accord with such a view, and nor are Gruijters et al. (2022). For example, the principal of the 'reseggregated' school in the sample expressed significant discomfort at the virtual disappearance of 'white', 'Indian' and 'other' learners from the school roll. The view of a chair of the SGB in School B, the sample school with the most even racial split between learners of colour and white learners, is insightful in this regard:

"Demographically, the school had already reached a natural equilibrium point by the time I joined the governing body ... This was maintained by means of an approximate equality of intake ... [and] it was something which was occurring quite naturally. I was certainly not aware of any statement from the SGB that the proportions needed to change. We interviewed applicants from a mix of schools, and those schools were giving us a mix of learners. It is possible that the principal may have had this equilibrium in his mind, but I wasn't aware of a policy in this regard" (Interviewee 8).

At that stage (i.e. around 2010) there was thus no enormous across-the-board pressure to desegregate further. Such a view was, however, not universally acceptable. An activist parent from a non-sample school in the same area pointed out that "in spite of a residential area which was shifting demographically, the school somehow found reason to have a lower intake of black learners ... the school wasn't shifting in line with the society or the community in which it found itself" (Davids, 2018).

7.3.4 The final years – "and then there were the #Fallists"

Though the protest activities of the #Fallists occurred largely outside of the terrain of secondary education, in the final four years of the study period the effects of the #Fallist movement manifested themselves strongly in the sample institutions. According to five of the end-of-study-period principals, the #Fallists and their actions impacted heavily on the sample schools, sensitising them to a number of critical educational and socio-political issues in their communities. They intimate that they were brought to a deeper understanding of the

transformational issues at stake and spurred into accelerating transformation in their institutions, rather than playing a demographic numbers game.

The downplaying of demographics notwithstanding, the #Fallist era is characterised by a small but consistent increase in black African learners, coloured learners and the collective of learners of colour. The numbers and proportions of black African learners and learners of colour grew in every sample school during the #Fallist period. Though not dramatic, this progress was more consistent than in the previous 'wave', despite extending over less than half the length of time, namely the nine years against four.

This study suggests that in this period the ethos in the schools was also changing. It postulates that the changes in ethos were propelled by a new zeitgeist, spawned in social trends with roots in the #Fallist movements and bolstered by a growing disillusionment, especially among the youth, with the negotiated political settlement of 1994.

The figures pertaining to demographic change are to be found in Table 7.5, and the approaches to the transformation of approaches are considered in detail in Chapter 8.

TABLE 7.5: Demographic breakdown of learner populations in the sample schools in 2019, by percentages

(Source: Department of Basic Education, unpublished, own calculations)

2015 vs. 2019	Year	% Black African learners	% Coloured learners	% Indian/Asian learners	% Other learners	% White learners	Learners of colour
School A	2015	5.3%	17.5%	1.1%	1.9%	74.2%	25.8%
	2019	8.8%	16.6%	2.3%	1.3%	71.0%	29.0%
School B	2015	7.4%	31.3%	3.9%	7.2%	50.2%	49.8%
	2019	8.7%	40.8%	5.0%	1.3%	44.2%	55.8%
School C	2015	5.0%	23.9%	6.5%	7.6%	57.0%	43.0%
	2019	6.7%	27.9%	8.5%	4.6%	52.3%	47.7%
School D	2015	4.9%	16.0%	11.2%	0.0%	67.9%	32.1%
	2019	7.9%	18.1%	9.5%	0.6%	63.9%	36.1%
School E	2015	5.9%	28.3%	5.6%	4.4%	55.8%	44.2%
	2019	13.9%	21.7%	5.0%	3.8%	55.5%	44.5%
School F	2015	52.9%	43.3%	0.0%	0.3%	3.5%	96.5%
	2019	60.9%	37.9%	0.5%	0.2%	0.5%	99.5%
Total	2015	9.8%	25.3%	5.2%	3.9%	55.8%	44.2%
	2019	13.5%	26.4%	5.6%	2.2%	52.4%	47.6%

7.4 SOCIETAL REACTION TO THE OPENING OF WHITE PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO LEARNERS OF ALL RACE GROUPS

At the time of the opening of white public schools to learners of divergent racial groups, members of the popular English-language media and political parties across the board in the white parliament (with the exception of the Conservative Party) reacted in generally positive fashion to the changes. The emergent black middle class and activist politicians chose in surprising numbers to enrol their offspring in the open schools, and the newly unbanned ANC “cautiously welcomed open schools as a move in the right direction” (*Cape Times*, 23 January 1991). The liberation movement was not fully supportive of the additional models, however. It was ‘uncomfortable’ with the fact that “the education system was still based on racial grouping” and continued to demand a single, non-racial education department (*Cape Times*, 23 January 1991).

For those in them, the opening of the schools had gone easily and the sample schools and their parents generally regarded the initial transformational moves as “successful”. A year into the initiative, the principal of School A stated that the majority of the new intake had “fitted in easily and well ... In fact, as many have said and are still saying, it is the biggest non-event of the year” (Principal’s report, School A, 1991). School B’s principal reported that the impact of the opening of the schools had been “negligible” while the head of School C reported as follows:

“We had been working towards it informally for many years and knew that it was going to happen, and that it was the right thing. It tended to normalise our schools and bring them up to date with what was happening in society as a whole. I’m not sure exactly what was achieved, because marked changes came just a few years later, but it perhaps helped to show that ... the schools really had nothing to fear from implementing the changes. When the reality of compulsory integration arose, when the pressures became a reality, it certainly helped that we had already ‘been there’. The school community was already used to it, children of different groups already knew each other, and this led to a much easier transition” (Interviewee 10).

Also in 1991, the principal of School D, under the heading *Open School – A Non-Event?* commented on the “successful” realisation of the task set for itself by the school in May 1986, namely the opening of the school to allow the admission of any applicant, regardless of race (Principal’s Message, School D, 1991).

The sheer volume of applications from aspiring enrollees and the efforts families are prepared to make in order to be part of these schools is a strong indication that society at large – albeit not everyone – has bought into the sort of schools they have become.

7.5 DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES TO STAFF, MANAGEMENT TEAMS AND GOVERNING BODIES IN THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS

The transformational goal in the sample schools was initially strongly focussed on overcoming the legal prohibition on the enrolment of learners of colour in 'white' schools. Demographic changes at educator, management and governance level were consequently not recognised by desegregating schools as an early priority. Only one of the first-wave principals or governing body chairs raised the issue of staff transformation in their schools, and Departmental records did not even register the race-group of school staff until 2013.

Though five of the sample schools had experienced a change of principal by 1997, none of the new incumbents was a person of colour. Indeed, by the end of the first decade of desegregation, none of the schools had appointed a person of colour to their senior management team (SMT).

Within the same period, there was virtually no change in the demographic at governance level either – the highest number of governors of colour in office in any of the sample schools was two. The limited number of members of colour either elected or appointed onto the SGBs during the initial stage of desegregation predictably takes on the veneer of tokenism rather than indicating any real effort towards the transformation of the governance demographic. Upper-echelon transformation among the leader corps in the sample schools had to wait some time before it became a reality.

7.5.1 The racial demographics of educators

The avoidance of the subject of the appointment of teachers of colour by interviewees from the early stage of school desegregation between 1991 and 1997 lends credence to the view that in the first wave of desegregation, the transformation of the staff component was not a priority in the sample schools. The single 'first-wave' principal to broach the subject of staff of colour reported as follows: "Prior to 1995 already we had tried very hard to find teachers to change the staff demographic: ... To start with I tried to find for Xhosa, which was a recognised subject, a black teacher, but we had the world of difficulty" (Interviewee 21). The consequence of such 'difficulty' was that by the start of 1995 none of the schools had formally appointed a person of colour to the teaching staff.

By 1997 moves towards staff desegregation had at least begun, and five of the six schools in this study had appointed teachers of colour (i.e. all but School A). Numbers nevertheless remained very low and in only two of the schools, School E and School F, did the percentage exceed 10%. Table 7.6 indicates that by 1997, seven years post desegregation, School A still

had no teachers of colour, only School F had breached the 20% level, and in aggregate across the sample only 8.5% of teaching staff were people of colour.⁵

Post 1997 there emerged a realisation of the need to desegregate the staffing body, and every one of newly-appointed ‘second-wave’ principals interviewed during the course of the study displayed some disquiet around the lack of progress on this front. This could in part be ascribed to added pressures from progressive sections of society and activist parent bodies.

TABLE 7.6: Desegregation of teaching staff in sample schools – 1997

(Source: Own research, school sources and cross-referencing of schedules and photographs)

1997	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	Total in sample schools
Total staff complement	42	44	63	36	58	27	270
No of staff members of colour	0	4	3	2	8	6	23
% of staff members of colour	0%	9.1%	4.8%	5.6%	13.8%	22.2%	8.5%

For example, a parent from a feeder school to one of the sample schools, in the highly publicised radio interview already referred to twice in this study, complained that “the kind of teachers which the schools were employing pretty much all looked the same and did not reflect the diverse society in which we actually find ourselves ...” (Davids, 2018).

Hunter (2019, 131) suggests that the reason for the staff component in previously white schools remaining untransformed is that the schools tend to “employ teachers who are familiar with the culture of the institution”. Jansen and Kriger (2020) are less accommodating and point rather to an environment “alien to black teachers” (2020, 197) – a point confirmed in an interview with Interviewee 17:

“The matter of the transformation of the staff body is an enormous complexity in itself. While the school recognises the need to move forward in this regard, there are issues which provide significant obstacles ... there are minimal numbers of quality applications from black teachers. There is a definite fear of white schools, and particularly traditional white schools, as an alien environment for black African teachers. Moving into such a school is a frightening experience. It is particularly difficult to find black African educators willing to move into such an environment who are good teachers, well-qualified, cope easily with white and coloured learners and who are prepared to take the chance” (Interviewee 17).

⁵ As explained earlier, no official data are available to support the postulations in this section and figures quoted are based on own interpretations of school photographs, lists and interviewee recollections and explanations.

Despite their ‘disquiet’, none of the sample school principals accepted culpability in this regard. The stock responses repeated regularly by principals revolve around ‘slow staff turnover’; the fact that few staff members in these schools resign voluntarily, given that for many white teachers an elite school with quality learners is a comfortable place to be; and that labour laws prevented staff retrenchments with a view to increasing staff diversity.

The ‘right-sizing’ processes of 1996/97 negated somewhat the expressed reasons for the slow transformation, and, in addition, increasing enrolments during this period allowed for the employment of additional staff. The result was that post 1997 there was some movement towards desegregation on the staffing front. This movement is illustrated by the numbers in Table 7.7 which compares the staffing breakdown in the sample schools between 1997 and 2019. During the decade 1997 to 2006 the number of teachers of colour in the sample schools virtually doubled, albeit from a low base. School A appointed its first educators of colour (five in total) and Schools B, D and F either doubled or almost doubled their numbers of staff of colour. School C was the main outlier in this movement, and the reason can possibly be found in the following response from the principal in office during the 1997 to 2006 period.

“One of the criticisms, I suppose, that they levelled at our schools was that we were quite happy to change the demographic of the pupils, but the staff stayed very white ... Well, I think that was a problem, but though we made a conscious effort to get staff who would fit the demographics of the learners, it wasn’t that easy. Firstly, they just didn’t apply – they simply don’t want to come to these sorts of schools ... and the few that we had, from time to time, I can’t say they were terribly successful ...” (Interviewee 11).

There was also no increase in the number of educators of colour in School E during this time, though the reasoning is different. It already had the most transformed staff among the sample schools in 1997, moving earlier than the other schools towards staff representivity, and was the only school in the sample where the total staffing complement hardly grew at all during this decade – increasing only from 58 to 59.

Table 7.7 indicates that while desegregatory moves among staff did not, even by the end of the study, present a positive picture, there were some ongoing responses by the schools to the criticisms levelled at them in this regard. The sample schools all display advances in the appointment of staff members of colour post 2006, and increasingly so post 2015. The number of educators of colour in the least representative staff rooms doubled or almost doubled between 2006 and 2015. School A (increasing from five educators of colour in 2006 to nine in 2015); School C (5 to 10); School D (4 to 9) and School E (8 to 16) all achieved this, and School B, which had displayed one of the two most transformed staff rooms in 2006, increased its

staff of colour by about one third. School F again proved to be an outlier: despite being far and away the most desegregated of the sample schools in respect of learners, its staff members of colour decreased by three during this period.

TABLE 7.7: Desegregation of educator component in the sample schools – 1997 to 2019

(Source: Own research, school sources and cross-referencing of schedules and photographs)

1997 – 2019		Year		School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	
Educators of colour	1997	No		0	4	3	2	8	6	
		%		0%	9%	5%	6%	14%	18%	
	2006	No		5	10	5	4	8	11	
		%		9%	17%	10%	8%	14%	37%	
	2015	No		3	13	10	9	16	5	
		%		15%	26%	20%	14%	19%	19%	
	2019	No		13	24	16	26	18	14	
		%		21%	31%	30%	31%	26%	61%	
	White educators	1997	No		42	40	60	34	50	27
			%		100%	91%	95%	94%	86%	82%
		2006	No		51	50	47	49	51	19
			%		91%	83%	80%	92%	86%	63%
2015		No		52	37	41	55	68	22	
		%		85%	74%	80%	86%	81%	81%	
2019		No		49	53	38	59	52	9	
		%		79%	69%	70%	69%	74%	39%	

	Year		Educators of Colour		White Educators		Total	
			Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total number of educators in the sample schools	1997	No	23	8%	253	92%	276	100%
	2006	No	43	14%	267	86%	310	100%
	2015	No	62	18%	275	82%	337	100%
	2019	No	111	30%	260	70%	371	100%

Interesting views on the listless movement towards staff representivity during the ‘second wave’ of the study were enunciated by a (white) principal and a governing body chair of colour. Placing the ‘blame’ on officials in the District Offices, the principal stated:

“[Part of the problem was that] officially there were quotas [in respect of staffing demographics] but unofficially [officialdom was] asking us not to denude the township schools of quality teachers” (Interviewee 6).

The Chair of the SGB placed the blame elsewhere:

“Of course, there was always the question around why the teaching staff was so white. We could have done better on this, but I think there was an aversion to risk which was too strong ... This could have had something to do with the fact that the principal was nearing the end of his term of office and perhaps at that stage of one’s career the desire to avoid risks, to maintain status and the status quo is uppermost. Not only the will, but also the legacy of the principal was at stake. He wanted to hand over something stable and as a going concern and then leave it to the newcomer to take things to the next level. That said, transformation is governed by all the stakeholders, not just one person, and there was certainly a sense in which the overriding approach [by all concerned] was an avoidance of risk rather than a courageous management of risk. There were also historical interests that needed to be protected – alumni, the original group in the school, the fact that in the main the parents were pretty satisfied with how things were going and the learners were certainly not uncomfortable in any way” (Interviewee 8).

7.5.2 The racial demographics of management teams

As illustrated above, there was, in the sample schools post 1997, a small degree of movement in respect of teacher demographics. At best, however, transformation at management and governance levels in the sample schools remained lethargic, trailing behind most other fields in terms of transformational efforts, initiatives and progress alike.

7.5.2.1 Principalships

The principals in the sample schools throughout the study period were, with only one exception (in a total population of 23 incumbents), all white. The governing body chair in School B expressed the opinion that, at management level, the school had probably “missed an opportunity of moving to the next level [of transformation] when the principal was replaced, and we stayed with the racial status quo. It would have been possible to appoint a principal of colour at that stage, but we didn’t do it” (Interviewee 8). And nor did Schools A, C, D or E. School A experienced significant pressure from alumni in particular to appoint a principal of colour in 2017. As part of this pressure,

the school's past learners presented a petition to the school, accompanied by an open letter to the governors, "calling on the school's governing body to, for the first time in its history, employ a person of colour as the institution's principal" (*Cape Times*, 14 September 2016). Despite the pressure, the appointment of a person of colour did not materialise. Among the sample schools, the pattern was broken only in School F, which has emerged as an outlier in so many respects. In 2017 it appointed its first principal of colour. It is the only sample school to have done so.

7.5.2.2 Senior and middle management

The definition and identification of middle management in elite schools, and the terminology in use in the following paragraphs, require some elucidation. Historically, provision was made by the white provincial education departments for 'promotion posts' in schools under the titles of principal, deputy principal, vice principal and special grade assistant. Over the years, the term 'special grade assistant' was progressively changed to 'senior assistant', 'senior teacher' and eventually 'head of department', and in 1977 the position and title 'vice principal' fell away.

Whatever the nomenclature, the intention was that the incumbents in the above positions would assume a middle-management role in the school alongside the principal, with specific responsibility among the senior teachers/heads of department for the management of a subject or an aligned group of subjects – e.g. history and geography as social sciences, accounting, economics and business economics as economic sciences or physics, chemistry, biology and agricultural science as natural sciences. It was always the case, however, that there were (and still are) insufficient promotion posts to allow for the appointment of a departmentally sanctioned head of subject in all of the subjects or subject groupings offered by schools. Almost all the elite schools under the provincial education departments therefore made unofficial 'internal appointments' into additional, self-created promotion posts, including at deputy-principal level. The consequence was that in the sample schools the middle-management team had no fixed number, and the extent to which the staff members in the internally created promotion posts were deemed to be formally part of the SMT varied from school to school. The figures in Table 7.8 reflect the number of staff members regarded internally as senior managers in the sample schools, gathered on a case-by-case basis in each school and on the strength of interview responses and available school records.

Considering the data available in this study, it appears that by 1997, only School B among the sample schools had appointed any educators of colour into their management teams, and even in that school only 11% (i.e. two teachers) deemed to be part of management were teachers of colour. By 2006, when most of the schools had appointed, or were about to appoint, their third principal since desegregation, there were still two of the sample schools, School A and School C, without a person of colour in a senior management position, and only one (School B) had more than one person of colour in such a post. It was also still so that none of the schools had appointed either a principal or deputy principal of colour.

As late as 2015 School C still had no senior managers of colour, and the highest proportion of middle managers of colour in any of the sample schools stood at 29% (in School B). While the desegregationist change at management level was still far from equal to that at learner level, this 29% was some small advance when compared with the overall staff demographics in the same school at that time, where the proportion of teachers of colour then stood at 26%, or in comparison with any other schools in the sample.

The situation in the sample schools as it developed over the study period, is reflected in Table 7.8.

TABLE 7.8: Desegregation of Senior Management in the sample schools – 1997 to 2019
(Source: individual school and Department of Education records, unpublished, own calculations)

	Year		School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F
Members of colour	1997	No	0	2	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	2006	No	0	3	0	1	0	0
		%	0%	27%	0%	14%	0%	0%
	2015	No	1	5	0	1	0	0
		%	8%	29%	0%	17%	0%	0%
	2019	No	2	1	1	2	1	4
		%	22%	11%	14%	20%	25%	67%

White members	1997	No	11	16	6	7	4	6	
		%	100%	89%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
	2006	No	12	8	8	6	4	6	
		%	100%	73%	100%	86%	100%	100%	
	2015	No	12	12	5	5	4	6	
		%	92%	71%	100%	83%	100%	100%	
	2019	No	7	8	6	8	3	2	
		%	78%	89%	86%	80%	75%	33%	
	Total membership	1997	No	11	18	6	7	4	6
		2006	No	12	11	8	7	4	6
2015		No	13	17	5	6	4	6	
2019		No	9	9	7	10	5	6	

Total number of members of senior management in the sample schools			Managers of Colour		White Managers		Total	
			Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
			1997	No	2	4%	50	96%
2006	No	4	8%	44	92%	48	100%	
2015	No	7	14%	44	86%	51	100%	
2019	No	11	19%	46	81%	57	100%	

7.5.3 The racial demographics of governing bodies

The transformational situation with regard to the school governance structures shows no advance on the situation in respect of management structures. In the instance of the governance structures, as occurred in the case of management positions, there were several changes in nomenclature over the years – from ‘school committee’ to ‘management council’ to ‘school governing body’. The latter is the term used in the South African Schools Act and is the official terminology currently in use. The body is very widely referred to by means of the acronym ‘SGB’. Some of the sample schools have at times used, or currently use, an own name for such structures, referring to them variously as the ‘Council’, ‘Board’ or ‘Governing Board’. Whatever the title of the governance structure, in essence there has been little significant variation in their position, standing or role in the sample schools during the study period.

Also as is the case in respect of management, the number of members of the SGB in the different schools is not the same. Despite being an official structure brought into being by the

South African Schools Act, provincial education departments varied the number of members serving on the SGB in different schools, usually based on the learner enrolment of the school, and also with differences between high and primary schools. Regulations further make provision for co-opted members of an SGB, which can inflate the numbers, while the records in some schools reflect only adult members, or only elected members of the SGB, thus diminishing reported numbers. (The principal, for example, is an ex officio member, not an elected member, and is counted in some schools but not in others.) Learner members inflate membership numbers in high schools. In many schools the deputy principal is co-opted onto the governing body if not elected by the educators as their representative on the SGB, while a number of SGBs co-opt experts from the community where there is no elected member with the requisite skills to manage a particular portfolio or fill a particular need. Any of these can increase the reflected numbers said to constitute the governing body. Figures gleaned from school records, albeit not necessarily directly comparable, are found in Table 7.9.

At governing-body level members of colour increased in the period 2006 to 2015 from 11% to 17% in the sample group as a whole, and four of the sample schools had appointed at least one person of colour as SGB chair. Though this indicates some progress, parents of colour were still significantly under-represented vis-à-vis the proportion of learners of colour in the sample schools. As late as 2006 none of the sample schools had more than two SGB members of colour, and numbers of members of colour remained small in all the schools throughout the study period, though there were signs of movement with the passage of time. For example, by 2015 School B had six governors of colour on a large SGB. Even as late as 2015, though, none of the schools had reached 25% of members of colour. Table 7.9 indicates the extent of governance component transformation in the sample schools across the study period.

TABLE 7.9: Desegregation of the governance component (i.e. elected, appointed and/or co-opted members) in the sample schools – 1997 to 2019

(Source: Individual school and Department of Education records, unpublished, own calculations)

	Year		School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F
Members of colour	1997	No	0	1	2	2	0	0
		%	0%	7%	17%	13%	0%	0%
	2006	No	1	2	2	0	2	6
		%	6%	14%	18%	0%	14%	46%
	2015	No	1	6	3	1	3	8
		%	8%	24%	17%	9%	20%	62%
	2019	No	3	5	8	5	5	9
		%	20%	41%	47%	24%	38%	82%

White members	1997	No	10	14	10	14	11	11	
		%	100%	93%	83%	87%	100%	100%	
	2006	No	15	12	9	11	12	7	
		%	94%	86%	82%	100%	86%	54%	
	2015	No	12	19	15	11	12	5	
		%	92%	76%	83%	100%	80%	38%	
	2019	No	12	13	9	16	8	2	
		%	80%	59%	53%	76%	62%	18%	
	Total membership	1997	No	10	15	12	16	11	11
		2006	No	16	14	11	11	17	13
2015		No	13	25	18	12	15	13	
2019		No	15	18	17	21	13	11	

In the radio interview referred to previously, Davids (2018) expresses the difficulties around SGB representivity as follows:

“[Despite people of colour being nominated to fill vacancies on the SGB, the reality is that] if you don’t have a critical mass of parents to support you, you will not get elected ... we have nominated key people who we felt needed to be on the Governing Body, who would be seen as serious about transformation, and those people simply didn’t get the vote, so you basically ended up with an all-white Governing Body”.

This under-representation of parents of colour on the governing bodies can in part be attributed to the design of the governing body electoral system. According to the South African Schools Act, the parental segment of the governing body is constituted on a straightforward count of votes brought out by enfranchised parents who choose to vote in an election. In some cases co-option is used to effect a degree of balance, but as long as the current ‘first-past-the-post’ and ‘winner-takes-all’ election design features remain in place, equitable representation of the various racial groupings in the school and meaningful transformation of the SGB are likely to be persistently problematic.

7.6 CONCLUDING COMMENT

The sample schools have emerged over the period of the study with significantly differing demographic profiles:

- In Schools A and D the enrolment of learners of colour remains rooted in the second quintile. However, despite this relatively meagre proportion of the total enrolment, and while white learners constitute a significant majority in these two schools, all four apartheid-era racial groups have nevertheless been represented on the roll in both of them for the full duration of the three decades since their opening;

- In Schools B, C and E the schools have moved close to parity between learners of colour and white learners, while also having representation from all four racial groupings; and
- Forming a strong contrast with the other schools, in School F learners of colour are strongly dominant: however, while coloured and black learners form a large majority, Indian/Asian learners, 'others' and white learners are almost entirely absent from the roll, collectively reaching less than 5%.

As emerges in the preceding section, transformation which went beyond mere desegregation of the learner intake of the sample schools was minimal in the period of the first decade post desegregation. Simultaneously, while learner demographics had apparently shown some progress towards meaningful desegregation, there was negligible evolution in respect of staffing, managerial and governance positions. Initial signs of transformation in the activities of the learner body were emerging, with learners of colour taking their rightful place among the echelons of achievers in the school, and a modicum of understanding that colour-blindness was in itself discriminatory, was beginning to manifest itself. This emerges as a much stronger trend in the #Fallist era, and is elucidated in detail in Chapter 8. However, the question remains as to whether these manifestations are indeed promising signs of a permanent change in approach, or can be attributed to effective marketing of the brand and virtue signalling.

CHAPTER 8: TRANSFORMATION BEYOND DEMOGRAPHICS

Research sub-question 4: How did the schools respond to the changes wrought by their opening, including their responses to issues of assimilation, demographics, academic results, school fees, school marketisation and #Fallism?

8.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENT

In 2018 a progressive parent in a school similar to those in the sample – and who later became a strong activist for change in one of the sample schools – in a radio interview already referred to four times in this study, suggested that schools were “insufficiently serious about inclusivity and transformation” (Davids, 2018). She indicated that the institutions appeared to regard acceptable transformation as having been achieved as soon as they “have the numbers in the room: [when] we have x number of black kids and x number of pinkies and green kids, then we somehow think, ‘Right! We’ve now made the target of desegregated spaces.’” But, she holds, in reality it is only then that the hard work starts: a climate still has to be created where among the ‘others’ nobody feels they are expected to make excuses for ‘who I am’; needs permission to be oneself at school; must comply with a particular concept of hairstyles, the ‘right’ way to speak, or the ‘acceptable’ way to dress (Davids, 2018).

Whereas a number of the early principals and governors interviewed for this study admitted with hindsight that the censure was warranted, the later generation of school leaders believes explicitly that they have moved beyond such approaches:

“One cannot be blind to creed, colour or differences – one has to see them, recognise them and value them, and then recognise all of humanity together. [Colour-blindness] is exactly what our schools are criticised for – for being performative or assimilationist. But we have moved far past that level. That said, it is equally unreasonable to [enjoin us to promote] a monocultural school. One wonders whether there is in fact yet an authentic South African culture to promote. These are things that we need to talk about as we attempt to move towards multiculturalism. [In this regard we have worked] at replacing some of our explicitly Eurocentric approaches ... some of the school’s white historical roots have been downplayed, though others are admittedly still very evident. We have deformed uniforms to an extent and have certainly broadened religious practices ... but at the same time one cannot deny our history – we were born in and out of a Eurocentric period, and this question goes to the essence of the intense struggle that we have – claiming new ground at the same time as reclaiming old ground. It results in real tension and insecurity, and we get very little help in responding to it.” (Interviewee 17).

This research suggests that the other sample schools in this study would agree that they are moving to claim new ground without negating cherished inherited symbols and values. Simultaneously, they claim that they are creating 'a climate whereby everybody feels they can be who they need to be' as demanded by Davids (2018). The drivers of this type of change and the approaches harnessed by the schools in their attempts at doing so are examined below.

8.2 THE INFLUENCE OF #FALLISM

One cannot reflect on the issues of school desegregation in South Africa without considering the effect of the #Fallist activities of the last four years of the study period on the collective consciousness of South Africans, and on the schools in which the next generation is being taught.

Education occupies a paradoxical position for previously marginalised people. It is concomitantly enabling and debasing, providing the prospect of the acquisition of knowledge which may operate as a liberatory instrument from socio-economic marginality. At the same time, however, the physical and epistemic architecture of the school can create a repressive, alienating space for those who grew up beyond the confines of the middle classes traditionally served by the institution in which they are learning. #Fallism, though, has foregrounded a greater clarity of thought among school leaders around the construction of inclusivity and the provision of an appropriate education outside of a 'whitist' and colonialist hegemony.

According to Chikane (2018), desegregated schools are among the few places in South African society where black and white engage every day with those of different racial groups, without the possibility of retreating into racial comfort zones. This provides a space for some of the country's unresolved tensions to play out in relative safety and orderliness (Chikane, 2018). As the study drew to its conclusion, the sample schools were attempting to grasp such opportunities, each in their own way, but also based on a number of commonalities.

Through the various iterations of #Fallism, end-of-study-period principals have been brought to a recognition that they need to alter their mindsets and the mindsets of their institutions. A single-minded focus on what has been, since their founding, the sole domain of the white middle class is not acceptable in current society. Parents and communities are demanding that schools become inclusive towards diverse racial groupings, religions and classes. This requires of them much more than a celebration of different cultures on Heritage Day, the granting of fee exemptions, the awarding of bursaries or the totting up of the number of learners of a particular hue.

#Fallism has focussed the transformational initiatives of the five white-dominant sample schools. As a result, the differences in ethos which emerged during the 'third wave' of desegregation have diminished to a degree, while the schools' similar responses to #Fallism create the impression of a growing 'sameness' of ethos across the sample schools – much as had been the case in 1990.

8.3 THE TRANSFORMATION OF ETHOS

By 2015, as displayed in Tables 7.1 and 7.3, numerical desegregation in the sample schools was hovering – and remaining – fairly close to parity in three of the sample schools (Schools B, C and E). For over a decade the percentages of the different racial groupings in the sample schools had remained largely static, with little focus on further changes to their demographic proportionality. Learners of colour constituted approximately 44% of enrolled learners in these schools, while just under 56% were white.

The schools were not, however, according to principals and governors, merely treading water. Evidence emerging during this study suggests that a combination of new principals, strong, dynamic and progressive governors, more involved learners, vociferous alumni and committed, activist parents have spawned some changes of mindset in the largely tradition-based schools of this study. Though “there are those diehards who are uncomfortable with what is happening” (Interviewee 13), they form a small minority, and transformation beyond numbers currently appears to be progressing more obviously in these schools than at any stage since desegregation in 1991.

The principal of School D, in describing the 'low-hanging fruits' of desegregation, explains:

“We have opened up the conversations on further transformation and worked out a plan for the future. This includes informal and unpublished racial quotas, particularly at the admissions level. We moved reasonably well in the early stages, working on the numbers, recognising different cultures, addressing matters of religion – for example, taking specific religious practices out of assemblies, creating a prayer room for Muslims, and so on – and also working at employing teachers of colour ... Now we need to move on” (Interviewee 17).

A governing body chair from School B takes the 'new' approaches further, confirming that in responding to the changed demographic, the school has begun addressing deeper-lying issues than mere numbers. Touching on an issue of profound emblematic importance, he indicates that the traditional form of the school's most important ritual and a foundation stone of its ethos, its Founders' Day ceremony, has been changed in such a way as to “recognise the history of the new intake, [while acknowledging at the same time that events such as Founders' Day and Prize-giving] were important in the school – they were profoundly emotional with enormous symbolism which we didn't want to lose. What we did try to do was to enhance the symbolism by embracing the symbols

of the newer arrivals. So it was consolidation and growth ...” (Interviewee 8). School D has in similar vein moved to ensure greater current relevance of its rituals, and ceremonies such as their Remembrance Day Services have been ‘broadened’ and made ‘more inclusive’ (Interviewee 17).

The specifics of transformation beyond demographics have, however, been most notable and noticeable since the advent of #Fallism, and they are illustrated in the sections below.

8.3.1 The creation of a ‘transformation structure’

In the sample schools the management teams and/or SGBs for many years regarded themselves as responsible for transformation. There are, however, now formally created and recognised ‘transformation structures’ in four of the sample schools (notably not in the two most diverse schools), albeit with slightly different names, forms and standing in the different schools. They vary between virtual independence and existing as a formal substructure of the SGB, commonly with advisory rather than executive powers.

Hunter (2019) and Jansen and Kriger (2020) suggest that current transformation structures in desegregating white schools are often largely ‘aggressively’ or ‘offensively’ progressive in nature and approach. “Tussles between members of the school governing authorities ... and progressive parents pushing for change” have been “conflictual and robust” (Jansen and Kriger, 2020, 194 and 195). In the sample schools, however, transformational efforts during the study period were generally more benign than that, with some recognition granted for concerns around possible white flight, and the fears of the original dominant group of being overwhelmed. As the chair of the transformation structure in School D indicates, the attitude of his Committee has been to emphasise that “nobody is being invaded by Martians and that the newcomers into the environment want to improve and adapt values, not overturn values” (Interviewee 19). He describes the station and standing of his ‘benign’ transformation structure as follows:

“Clearly with the school being in a new era, new issues have emerged, and these gave rise to a new entity which had not been present in the school previously, namely a *Diversity and Transformation Committee*. It was created in order to provide support and advice [on transformation] to governors and management. [Though] it has no executive powers ... it has done so with some success ...” (Interviewee 19).

‘Benign’ should not be seen to imply insipid. The same interviewee explained his Committee’s approach:

“Learning is about helping people to live into opportunities which challenge the present. It is important for all to learn to live in community in the very best sense of that concept and to create a new community in a different way. In this, the principal is always present at all the meetings of the Committee, but is viewed not as the head master, but as the head learner” (Interviewee 19).

The activists in the more aggressive (often non-formal) transformation structures reportedly encounter more resistance to their transformational efforts from black parents than from white parents. This manifests especially in respect of changes to the staffing component. Activists are confronted with comments such as “I brought my kids here so that they could talk like [white] kids ... and they would be taught like white people [by white teachers] ... and now you want to change things?” (Jansen and Kriger, 2020, 187). Clearly in some instances a bond of common interest develops between members of different race groups of the same socio-economic class, aimed at maintaining the schools as highly selective institutions. In this way the black middle class admitted to these schools often forms a bulwark against further desegregation (Jansen and Kriger, 2020) in a living manifestation of Tilly’s Durable Inequalities Thesis and ‘opportunity hoarding’.

It remains unresolved as to which of the two approaches – benign or activist – is likely to be more successful in charting a path to a deeper transformation. Jansen and Kriger (2020, 202) suggest that “street-level activism is unlikely to change the admissions policies of former white schools” and that change is more likely to come from co-operative actions within the institutions. This will, however, be dependent upon “more white parents understanding that the opening up of schools to more black students and teachers is in the best interests of all children” (Jansen and Kriger, 2020, 202) – note the shades of Bell’s ‘interest convergence’.

8.3.2 The transformation of learner attitudes

Three principals interviewed during the course of this study intimate that learner attitudes require far less transformation than those of their parents. During a preparatory session for the opening of the school to all races in 1990, a senior white learner in School E school asked: “*Why is everyone so worried ... we go to church with black kids; we’re friends with black kids; we do this, we do that; it’s no problem*” (quoted by Interviewee 21). At the time the principal of another school (a feeder school to a sample school) was reported in the media as saying, “It is the adults who see this as such a [big thing]: for the boys race is less important than playing games and making new friends. Boys will be boys, whatever race they are” (*Cape Times*, 23 January 1991). Confirming the trend, a latter-day principal from School D indicated that

while some staff members experienced certain obstacles with their mindsets around transformation, learners “take [change] completely in their stride” (Interviewee 17).

A significant attitudinal change occurring in the strongly tradition-based School B in the second half of the study period saw the older learners in school led from “an enjoyment of ‘power’ by senior learners to one of building relationships across vertical stratifications⁶ in the school” (Interviewee 6). The sample schools are increasingly creating such vertical groupings in place of the traditional horizontal structures.

A second major change has been the granting of ‘a student voice’ to learners, i.e. a freedom to talk about issues that matter. The chair of the transformation structure in School D explained the situation:

“It is important for everybody in the school to be able to talk, debate and to modify what emerges as thought processes. [The school] allows the talking and the debating to take place not just amongst adults but very strongly by the learners as well” (Interviewee 19).

Despite the general air of positivity around the learner attitudes in the sample schools, all have experienced situations in recent years which paint a contrasting picture. None of the cases consisted of specific discrimination against an individual and most can be attributed to careless use of derogatory terminology. In all instances the incidents were unexpected – not part of a pattern – and the schools responded expeditiously. Several principals suggested that the incidents were to some extent “a reflection of the suburbs and homes from which those involved were drawn”, but indicated at the same time that the occurrences were “really painful experiences which had ‘struck hard’” and did not “sit well with the school or the governing body” (Interviewee 17).

8.3.3 The place of history and symbols

There is a manifest tension in place in the sample schools when it comes to history and symbols – clear and uncomfortable conflict between claiming ‘new ground’ at the same time as retaining and not totally negating ‘old ground’.

Interviewees acknowledge an acceptance by governors, including governors of colour, of the symbolic importance of certain aspects of the past. At the same time, virtually all members of

⁶ Schools have traditionally placed learners into age- and stage-related groupings for pastoral, mentoring and administrative activities – e.g. into grade, class or year groups. An alternate approach, gaining popularity, sees learners grouped ‘vertically’ into ‘tutor’ or ‘mentor’ groups made up of a mix of learners of different ages from across all the year groups in the school. In-school shorthand for these two approaches sees them referred to as a ‘vertical’ stratification or system versus a ‘horizontal’ one. Horizontal groupings tend to reinforce hierarchy, authority and seniority, while vertical stratifications are said to reinforce mentorship, leadership and community.

the governing bodies under consideration are displaying a greater willingness to “take the next step” on a transformational journey. While still displaying a profound propensity towards the perpetuation of what are regarded as important historical symbols, there is a greater willingness in the sample schools to include and strengthen portrayals of what is important to the currently more diverse learner and parent bodies.

In this there appears to be a growing acceptance from all parties that while history should not be “inordinately in the face”, it should also not simply be expunged (Interviewee 24). In line with this approach, history in the sample schools is not as visible as it was, and there are moves towards placing signs of a segregated past further into the background. Under consideration within the current context are matters such as the retention of photographs or portraits of past principals and the positioning of honours boards. The changes in the historical public face of School E exemplify these approaches. For example, honours boards and the positions and achievements which they record have been de-genderised and the prominent display of historical (and thus uni-racial) staff photographs in well-used corridors has been discontinued. In similar vein, School C is reconsidering the placement of photographs or portraits of past principals, and in School D the relevance of the historical friezes on the buildings’ pediments is under discussion.

Current learner artwork is conspicuously displayed in all the sample schools, and works which are strongly reflective of current times and today’s issues, such as gender-based violence, BLM and LGBTQI+, are very visible. In the words of one observer, and couched in the language of today, it is very much “out-there” art which is “speaking the right message” (Interviewee 24).

A comment by the principal of School D appears to be an accurate summation of feelings in the sample schools in this regard: “The belief is that with the transformational developments in place, the school will arrive at a position where it is able to retain aspects of its history – ‘history cannot be cancelled’ – while building up symbols of the new” (Interviewee 17). Despite the very different levels of racial demographics in the sample, this summation is reflective of the ethos in all six schools.

8.3.4 The transformation of legacy and ritual

A collage of the responses from school leaders of colour presents an interesting portrayal of schools in transition. Jansen and Kriger (2020, 187) make a point around the aspirations of parents of colour for their offspring “to gain not only an academic education but also the social values and linguistic styles that together signify middle-class status” – i.e. Hunter’s (2019) ‘white tone’. Jansen and Kriger (2020) report that activist parents regularly encounter criticism

and anger from other parents, including parents of colour, around instigating reputational damage towards the school or attempting to force change in fields where change is not seen as necessary or even desirable. An SGB chair of colour in School B contextualised the stance of the school community (learners, parents, staff and many alumni alike) on legacy and ritual in his school:

“The parents and pupils know what they are coming to and are comfortable with it. They had consciously chosen it ... [and] embraced the legacy of what was seen as a great school. There was no need to change something like the school motto. It had universal appeal and no negative connotations. There was talk at one stage about changing the names of the school houses but generally they were part of the history of the school and were not offensive, so the discussion died a natural death ... The symbolic aspects of the rituals and functions were always looked at. There were diverse speakers at Founders’ Day and ... prayers in all three languages used in this province. The ‘new’ national anthem is sung with great gusto ... there is no issue around entrenched ethos, symbols or rituals. Decisions around acceptance were made before parents applied – if they didn’t like what the school offered, they weren’t excluded – they just didn’t come” (Interviewee 8).

The foregoing does not indicate an uncritical embracing of the existing ethos and ritual by all role players and under all circumstances. The same interviewee suggested that “we should have looked at the school badge – added something symbolic about the fact that the school had gone open ... and we were never quite sure why we should introduce a pipe band in the 21st century – it harked back to the very earliest days rather than taking the opportunity to move forward” (Interviewee 8).

On rituals and ceremonies, the principal of School D indicates that in common with most other desegregated schools his school has broadened its religious practices by including, for example, a ‘moment of silence’ in place of the traditional prayers linked to the religions of the dominant groups; and the exclusion of Christian hymns, except where they are specifically relevant to an event such as Remembrance Day. Fridays have become ‘Muslim friendly’, with an early close of school and a late start to sport to accommodate Muslim religious practices.

In all six of the sample schools, music constitutes an important part of the ethos and ritual. During interviews the question was asked: ***“Did the themes characterising the creative work produced by the learners ... (e.g. the type of music presented by individuals or groups) change in a way that suggests a change of ethos ...?”*** While all schools confirmed the addition of features such as marimba and/or jazz bands and an expansion of those music genres more aligned to the tastes and interests of the previously excluded learners, a contributory response

from another SGB chair, this one from School E and a person of colour, presents the issues at play through an unusual lens:

“I made a conscious decision: I’m not going to fight these white people to force them to include some rituals that make sense to people of colour. I have a deep appreciation for history, for rituals. But when I looked at what was going on when I first arrived at [the school], you know, it felt like I was in Europe. It certainly wasn’t Africa, that’s for sure, but what hooked me, two things: one, the level of, let’s call it organisational discipline ... and the other was the realness of the school when it came to those kinds of rituals and events. There was no pretence to try and be African – you know, the other end of the liberal spectrum is ‘Let’s try and pretend’. In [this school] it was ‘Let’s be real, man, just be real’. So the European dominant music remained: I loved it ... that was not my site of struggle” (Interviewee 25).

In the same school, nevertheless, the school song has been rewritten to be more reflective of an African environment, “and that’s the other side of the rituals at [the school]” (Interviewee 25).

The following summarises an overarching view which could be applicable to any of the sample schools towards the end of the study period – with a somewhat tongue-in-cheek closing sentence:

“This is an ‘evolving school’, not only in terms of race, but in terms of general considerations such as teaching experiences. The only thing that hasn’t changed is the focus on rugby!” (Interviewee 8).

While there are significant commonalities in the approaches of the sample schools, what is presented above is less reflective of what is happening in the two outlier schools. School A, the least demographically diverse among the sample schools, has grappled hardest to effect the required transformation. Conversely, School F, the most desegregated sample school, has in many ways consciously striven to retain the trappings of its past traditions in an apparent effort to emphasise its membership of the collective of elite schools and de-emphasise what some see as its having progressed too far down the desegregatory road.

8.3.5 Change related to languages

The languages that are spoken in schools, the languages that are taught and the use of language for learning and instruction are all more than simple matters of pedagogical effectiveness. The consequence is that the language policies and regimes of schools have emerged as important attributes of the established ethos of desegregating schools across the board. Indeed, the “hierarchies of language and culture are crucial aspects of the colonial

matrix of power” (Christie and McKinney, 2017, 7) and the definition and use of language and language education in schools have become integral to the broader cultural and political discourse around how a nation is defined and about the structure of power relations among its different ethnic, racial, economic and linguistic groups. The transformative initiatives around language usage and policies in schools are thus highly significant, and it is not coincidental that language issues were core features of protests at schools wrestling with transformation in the #Fallist period. The responses of the sample schools are insightful in this regard.

All the sample schools now offer a previously marginalised indigenous African language at First Additional Language level in Grade 12. In School C where such language was available only in the further education and training band, it is currently being introduced in Grade 8 and 9 as well. School E initially offered isiXhosa at First Additional Language level only, and as an elective. It was selected mainly by black African learners, but, as part of the school’s transformation agenda, conversational isiXhosa has been introduced as a prelude to its introduction as a Second Language. It is hoped this will attract learners from other racial groupings to select it as a subject and to use it socially. Also in School E the “issue of accents is specifically being downplayed” (Interviewee 24). The school has discontinued Afrikaans Home Language and Italian, which were both part of the curricular offering, and has made isiXhosa compulsory for all learners in Grade 8. Latin has been discontinued in all the sample schools and German is likely to follow the same path – French, on the other hand, as the second language of Africa, appears likely to be retained in several of the sample schools.

Changes to the standing and status of languages as subjects in a sample school are explained by an SGB chair at School E as follows:

“One of the big changes was at the level of language. So, during my tenure we introduced Mandarin. And what this did, ideologically, was to shift the axis of influence from European language predominance ... Of course, the next discussion had to do with ‘What are we doing about our Xhosa, our African languages component?’ ... What the language discussion did ... was to create a high level of value for an African language ... [and placed it] on par with the other languages ... [while] the fact that we’re doing Mandarin as opposed to German, means the school is taking a long-term view as to how to position students for the future world” (Interviewee 25).

This school has subsequently phased out both Mandarin and Italian, contending that “non-indigenous languages should not be in a position to ‘overpower’ our own” (Interviewee 24).

8.3.6 The approach to scholarships

Hunter (2019, 136) states that “the racialised market in which desegregated schools – especially boys’ schools – operate has led to a lot of schools promoting themselves and underscoring their standing, especially with first-team rugby [results]”. Consequently, these schools are said to “invest huge sums of money in scholarships, most aimed at sportsmen” (Hunter, 2019, 136).

The situation as described by Hunter is convincingly argued, but appears to have been most widespread within the geographical area of his study. Whether consequent upon time, geography or conviction, the ‘buying’ of learners appears to be less prevalent in the schools in this study. There is general reportage in the sample schools of a downscaling of the awarding of bursaries – partly linked to a deterioration in fee collections. On a philosophical level, Hunter (2019) reports that one of the principals interviewed during his study reported the first signs of a changing view on scholarships.

“The governing body made a conscious decision that scholarships are immoral ... if you’ve got a talented youngster and you go touting him around... and your school still costs you X amount to run, you’ve got to divide [the cost of the bursary] amongst the other children... For me it’s amoral, it’s a values issue” (Hunter, 2019, 142).

In all the schools in this study there are scholarships for learners, but in every case they are awarded very predominantly to learners of colour and are seen as much a tool to enhance diversity as to attract top sportsmen. The principals interviewed reported as follows:

- School A: “Scholarships were awarded to 92 learners of colour in 2015 – almost 12% of the year’s total enrolment. Scholarships were sourced from alumni, a trust fund and corporates – [not school fees]” (Interviewee 2).
- School B: Most scholarships are sourced from donor organisations specialising in the field, but also from individuals and alumni who are well-disposed towards the school and the concept of scholarships per se. Candidates benefitting from these sources are virtually without exception learners of colour (Interviewee 7).
- School C: “Scholarships have been discontinued, with the exception of three endowed music scholarships: at the same time, however, every black child offered a place has an additional line inserted in the acceptance letter which states that means-tested bursaries are available for black candidates” (Interviewee 13).
- School D: “Most of the bursaries on offer come from outside institutions, [though there] is a small number of scholarships from own funds. These include academic and sporting bursaries and bursaries for the offspring of alumni” (Interviewee 18).

- School E: “We don’t offer any bursaries at all: no sport bursaries or music bursaries, and we don’t advertise scholarships or anything like that. Not at all. However, we have some NGOs that work with us in funding [black] children ... They do all the research; they do all the testing, and then they ... present us with about ten names, and we can choose five of them, and they fund them, but we [ourselves] don’t offer any bursaries at all” (Interviewee 23).
- School F: “It was simply not affordable to offer bursaries from the school’s own funds. However, sponsors were sought and found, and they cascaded the concept to other companies/organisations of which they were aware” (Interviewee 29).

Given the utilisation of scholarships and bursaries to enable diversification and the consequent enrolment of significant numbers of learners of colour who would not otherwise have been able to access elite schools, there is an irony in the fact that attempts were made by at least one provincial education department to outlaw the awarding of bursaries by schools, and there was also a suggestion that a prohibition on bursaries should be written into proposed amendments to the South Africans Schools Act: in practice, though, neither injunction has been enforced.

8.3.7 Selecting and excluding learners

At a superficial level, little changed in respect of the selection of learners over the years encompassed by this study. The principals “generally have an over-dominant role in admissions decisions” (Jansen and Kriger, 2020, 194), and continue to use many of the same practices and criteria around admissions as previously, though they argue that the process is aimed at selection rather than exclusion in the oversubscribed environment prevailing in all six of the sample schools. The schools have all removed ‘heritage’ as a preferential criterion for admission, and the children of alumni are no longer advantaged during selection for admission. A broad review of the application of criteria is also emerging across the sample schools, as indicated in the following quote from School B:

“There was a delicate balance at intake level around when an applicant ‘cuts it’: if he was good in something, even if he didn’t ‘cut it’ academically, he would be given a chance and would be valued differently. This was a ‘potential’ issue and not a ‘racial’ matter” (Interviewee 8).

In School E the considerations are being addressed at a very fundamental level:

“We needed to have a discussion around standards, what kind of compromises we were prepared to make, given the skills deficiencies and the gaps and so forth, so as to avoid discussions about being white elitists, classists, all of those things ... I was a champion of

competency-based employment rather than racial-quota employment and the same [principle was applied to school admissions]. The discussion then goes around, so, is this school a producer of let's call it below-the-line, middle-class workers, or is it the producer of your top two, three, four, five percent of thought leaders and leaders in the country? Admissions practices need to react to the answers" (Interviewee 25).

Even at School F, arguably the sample school with the lowest 'social drawing power', there was, right up to the end of the study period, an oversubscription of applicants and a selective admissions process was applied. Learner exclusion most commonly occurred when it became clear that the family would be unable to fund the daily travel to school or the purchase of essential equipment such as a laptop or tablet – essential in a school focussing increasingly on electronic teaching approaches.

Then there was also the paucity of enrolment of black African learners to be resolved. At the time of this study, all the sample schools other than School F were putting measures in place to address the issue. The means-tested support for black African learners at School C has already been mentioned. School D has introduced an objective 'selection rubric' on which applicants are scored, and which has a weighted score in favour of black African learners in order to address the difficulty of disadvantage which are directly related to the learner's previous school rather than to personal shortcomings in the abilities of learner

In School E the decision around the admission of black African learners was direct, if not straightforward:

"We decided that we would go out and attract black African candidates. The mechanism to be used was the Allan Gray network [which] has a very structured scholarship programme and which itself has a recruitment strategy attached to it ... and we would then create the space for the candidates who met the criteria ... [we would enrol] as many as we could find" (Interviewee 25).

Jansen and Kriger (2020) raise the issue of what has become known as the 'tipping point' in enrolments. The term is ascribed to Schelling (1969) and was developed further by Caetano and Maheshri (2017). It refers to the intake levels of learners of colour beyond which 'white flight' sets in. It is widely accepted that it is a floating level and can vary both at different times and in different locations. In the initial desegregating public school milieu in South Africa in the early 1990s, the tipping point, as indicated in Section 7.3.2, was anecdotally regarded as being around 18%; the principal of School D suggests that it is currently at around 40%; Jansen and

Kruger (2020) quote a primary school principal in Cape Town as experiencing 'tipping' at around 50%; and the principal of School C indicated his understanding that tipping would set in at around 60%. Whatever the figure, it seems that principals are generally both aware and wary of 'tipping' and attempt to balance their intakes accordingly. They view 're-segregation', whether in favour of the same or a different dominant racial group, as negating the intentions of desegregation, to the detriment of all concerned, and work hard to prevent it.

Linked to the tipping-point debate there remains the desire and perceived need, prominent at the time of the democratic negotiations and during the drafting of Education White Paper 2 and the South African Schools Act, to retain the children of the middle classes in the public education system. This is in response to a fear of driving the middle classes into founding their own independent schools or "being driven into the arms of the wealthy entrepreneurs of Sandton" (Interviewee 19) – a not-very-veiled reference to the for-profit independent school chains.

8.3.8 The transformation of learner leadership

Learner leadership in the sample schools is no longer a somewhat pale extension of the disciplinary responsibilities of the teaching body. In a very real sense the learners in the sample schools are given the opportunity to lead, and their schools reportedly take learner leadership seriously.

The learner leader groups (both in traditional leadership positions such as prefects, sports captains and cultural society chairs, as well as and in respect of the learner academic hierarchy) by the end of the study period reflected a more transformational slant within the learner group. This is reflected not only in demographic changes among the leader groups, but particularly in new approaches to leadership.

In all the sample schools, learner leaders are currently elected through a process that is learner-driven and democratic. Learners vote in pupil-leadership elections, and in several schools the prefect body was, by the end of the study period, in the process of being discontinued, Where this has not yet happened there is the likelihood of its occurring in the near future. The idea is not simply to replace prefects with some form of councillor, but to spread leadership opportunities more broadly.

All the sample schools had a Representative Council of Learners (RCL) by the end of the study period. Where prefectship still exists, it operates in parallel with the RCL and its traditional attributes have taken on a different alignment. In the process of change, more opportunities

have been provided for learner leadership and the profile and standing of the RCL – fully learner elected – is being raised.

In School C the traditional prefect body was in its last term as the study period ended, about to be replaced by a much more broadly based body appropriate to the vertical stratification being introduced into the pastoral system of the school.

In School D the prefect body has been reincarnated as the Pupil Executive, which works in close liaison with the RCL.

The RCL system is credited with having seeded some of these developments. Whereas that body was often seen as – and in some instances even expected to be – a strident, activist group, the RCLs in all the sample schools are more and more being led into a position of co-operation and collaboration with other leadership structures to make for a better school. Partly as a result of the RCL experience, but also as a result of conscious development by the school systems and hierarchies, learners are currently reported to be far more comfortable with confronting issues than previously.

Schools A and B have the most traditional balance between prefectship and the RCL.

Developments in School C are addressed in the preceding paragraphs, while in School D “pupil-driven transformation messages are widely respected and opportunities are provided for pupils to drive many of the programmes. Consequently, numerous concerns raised around diversity and transformation are student-led” (Interviewee 19).

In School E significant leadership opportunities are provided through the cultural activities which are run by learners. “We’ve got something like, in a school of 900, 350 to 400 kids that serve on committees. And they obviously get leadership experience and knowledge of how committees work because they manage them – with a teacher-in-charge, of course, but the teacher’s there just in an advisory capacity” (Interviewee 23).

School F has consciously drawn its learner leaders into the design and organisation of school activities – “we ask the learners to come up with ideas and themes so you know, so it is like getting their input. ...” (Interviewee 30). They organise relevant activities or events, and learners also nominate school ‘stars’ for special recognition in respect of particular achievements or services rendered.

8.3.9 The transformation of conduct, dress and grooming

The most heavily publicised disagreements which have occurred in South Africa's desegregating schools in recent years have had their roots in matters related to codes of conduct, dress and grooming – for example the 2016 issues around hair management at Pretoria Girls' High School and the code of conduct and use of isiXhosa at Sans Souci Girls' High School, amongst others. The protests which erupted served as a strong incentive for schools to revisit their codes of conduct and their expectations concerning the behaviour and grooming of staff and learners alike, either of their own volition or at the behest of their provincial education departments.

Subsequently all the sample schools have embarked on extensive revisions of their codes of conduct. The extent of the 'liberalisation' of the codes has varied from school to school, but none has retained its initial requirements in their original form. Changes to the manner in which these revisions have been approached are underlined in three interviewee responses:

- An early principal from School F indicated that “the codes of conduct and expectations around dress, grooming, the use of languages other than English outside of the classroom and educator/learner attitudes which were in place when I arrived continued to be applied in much the same way as they were” (Interviewee 11). These codes and rules were all revamped, however, after major learner protests in 2016.
- A senior staff member from School D, referring to the issue of terminology around hair, indicates that the code of conduct has been revamped in such a way that it no longer refers to 'Afro' and 'Caucasian' hair. There is also a significantly changed attitude to uniform, which is less formal while on campus – for example, learners are no longer required to wear ties until they leave the school grounds. In the same school the staff dress code has also reflected some casualisation for non-formal conditions. On the other hand, activities such as formal assemblies still require adherence by staff and learners alike to the original uniform and dress norms (Interviewee 18).
- The end-of-study-period principal in School C reports that “redrafting the code of conduct was initially carried out in collaboration with the learners, and later with other stakeholders. The first step was to eliminate all 'silly' relics of the past and emotive words – e.g. exotic. This is an ongoing process, not a once-off consideration” (Interviewee 13). In this school it is intended in due course to replace the school rules and code of conduct with a “respect code”.

Following the seminal court case *MEC for Education in KwaZulu-Natal v. Pillay in 2007 – CCT 51/06*, nationally applicable uniform regulations from the Department of Basic Education ruled that provision be made for learners who wish to utilise alternatives to the school uniform to apply for permission to 'deviate' from the standard attire as regulated by the SGB. In this

regard, School C has moved away from any idea of a 'concession' being a 'deviation' from any norm. In that school, wherever feasible and relevant, alternatives to standard items are allowed as a right, not a deviation, and not only on application. Such items – e.g. headscarves and girls' pants – are now stocked as a matter of course in the school uniform shop.

8.3.10 Creating 'safe spaces' where learners can hold an opinion and support a cause

Seeds of a very different approach to debate and protest have been germinating slowly in several of the sample schools during the latter period of this study, and all are currently more accepting or encouraging of dialogue and debate. In identified expressions of greater openness in the sample schools, the following emerge:

- Several of the sample schools are increasingly manifesting as 'safe spaces' where expressing opinions and supporting previously unpopular causes are not simply tolerated, but taught.
- Schools A and D have allowed the display of the 'rainbow flag' on particular occasions in a sign of inclusivity which has nothing to do with race, but much to do with transformation.
- In School C in particular learners are being guided towards an understanding and acceptance that everybody has the right to hold an opinion – though "that includes also the right not to hold an opinion" (Interviewee 13). A corollary of such an approach is that differences of opinion emerge among those in the school. This is translating into an acceptance that space must be made for a variety of opinions and that the right of learners to hold their opinions must be respected. The school has also introduced formal 'dialogue days' in which current issues are discussed openly and in some depth. Learners are encouraged to debate their difficulties and hurts, both during dialogues with each other and with school management. The principal speaks with pride of "a true open-door policy" which encourages learners to bring their concerns to the fore on the basis that they "can have the conversations in here before they get out there" (Interviewee 13). Furthermore, whereas the school previously strictly applied a section of the dress code which stipulated that no outside badges or symbols were to be displayed, learners are now allowed to wear a badge on their school blazers in support of an external 'cause'.
- On issues such as #RhodesMustFall and the BlackLivesMatter movement, a 'student voice' has been created in Schools C, D and E, where learners of colour and white learners alike have felt comfortable about being particularly vocal in reflecting different points of view and representing even extremes of opinion.
- In School D the Chair of the Transformation and Diversity Committee stressed that learners have received guidance – and have responded positively – on talking freely about big issues and important matters, and have mastered the art of expressing their thoughts

frankly and openly, while remaining respectful of opponents and opposing views in their interactions.

8.3.11 The transformation of the academic curriculum, sport and cultural activities

The curriculum – both the academic programme and sport – has been an area of limited transformatory action. All the sample schools have made some allowances for their changed demographics, but the concessions have been more limited than may have been expected. Only one or two ‘new’ subjects have been added to the more or less standard offering of 16 to 18 curricular options and a small number of sporting codes has been added to the extramural programmes. Superficially at least, then, in this area the general impression is one of maintenance rather than change.

Slightly more extensive changes have taken place in respect of cultural activities: changes to music have already been alluded to; all the schools have religious societies reflective of more than the original dominant religion; and culturally based offerings are commonplace. Developments in the academic, sporting and cultural fields are considered in more detail below.

8.3.11.1 *The curriculum*

The overall curricular offering in all the schools remains academically demanding with few, if any, concessions to those who may be seeking some ‘softer’ options, despite the widely accepted possibility that some of the non-traditional intake may have come through primary schools with notable academic shortcomings. Penny et al. (1993, 419) report that there was “a central tension between curriculum maintenance and curriculum change”. With only one exception, the principals interviewed during that study “saw the academic values they were espousing unproblematically, and indeed, as a model for the future” (Penny et al., 1993, 431). Not only was there very little recognisable intent concerning curriculum revision, but there was a strong understanding that curriculum changes were problematic, especially “given the highly centralised nature of the examination system” (Penny et al., 1993, 417). A similar understanding pervades the thinking in the sample schools in this study and the curriculum offering (available subjects) has changed little, either since or because of desegregation. This, according to a ‘third-wave’ principal from School D, is because “the curriculum is largely in the hands of the education department rather than the school” (Interviewee 17). There has, however, been a

greater measure of curricular transformation in individual sample schools than implied by the foregoing.

- In all of them the dominant previously marginalised indigenous language of the region has been added to the subject offering, and at the same time in all of them Afrikaans Home Language has been discontinued – even in School D, with its stronger interactions with Afrikaans families.
- Both Information Technology and Engineering Graphics and Design have been introduced in Schools B and D as ‘gateway subjects’ to many of the careers which members of the current generation of learners may intend to follow.
- In all the sample schools the subject Life Orientation has been “entirely revamped” and is widely used as the vehicle for discussions around topics of relevance to transformational matters.
- All the schools have discontinued Latin, and with the exception of French (which is widely used in Africa) other European languages are in decline.

There has been one attempt at curricular transformation in the sample schools post desegregation which has dwarfed curricular initiatives in the other schools. In 2006 technical subjects were discontinued in School B. Its learners had traditionally performed well in Woodwork and Metalwork, but these subjects were withdrawn in a departmentally imposed curricular change. In an effort to accommodate the general and career interests of the changing demographic, the SGB opted in 2006 to introduce the subject Engineering Graphics and Design (EGD). More than a decade later, in 2018, when it became possible for so-called ‘academic’ schools to offer a limited number of technical subjects, the decision was taken to introduce a vocational course and permission was obtained to offer, alongside EGD, also Light Electronics, Digital Electronics and Civil Construction. Interviewee 38 suggests that it is “significant that that this happened at [School B] and not at any of the other sample schools”: and also that such a move sits well within the ethos of School B, the sample school best equipped for the change, signalling a critical expansion of its academic ethos.

8.3.11.2 Sport

Like academic arrangements, sporting offerings have shown little fundamental change since 1991. One or two new activities have been tacked on to the long lists of sports available to learners, but traditional games remain firmly entrenched at the top of the sporting hierarchy. Hunter (2015 and 2019) gives some insights into why this may be. Part of his reasoning is founded on his contention that one of the ways in which

schools, particularly boys' schools, publicise their apparently sought-after 'white tone' is by escalating the promotion of 'white' sports – both by seeking out applicants with the requisite talent in these activities and “throwing huge amounts of money at them” (Hunter 2019, 136). He repeats the assertion of Barrett (1969), quoted by Randall (1982, 121) that “the school's sporting prowess [is] taken as a more or less accurate indication of the tone of the school”; and that “If the sports results are poor ... then the examination results will also be poor, and that the two together are significant indicators” of the 'tone' of the school and its standing. He backs this by reference to Durban's Berea High School (not its real name) a 'soccerite' school with little standing until it raised its status through a “bold decision to prioritise the development of its rugby team” (Hunter, 2015, 2/34).

The upshot is that a number of South African boys' schools in particular invest heavily in sports resources, both human and other, in the recognised 'white' sports such as rugby, cricket, water polo and rowing. To these traditional sports, all the schools in this study that enrol boys bar one, have added soccer. School A, the one that had not yet done so was at the conclusion of the study considering how the sport could be accommodated. Basketball, another sport which is popular in communities of colour, has been added to the offerings in all the boys' schools. However, yet again a governing body chair from School B places a slightly different slant on matters:

“... there was always a feeling that more was made of the top sportsmen. This is not a racial thing but an excellence thing. Excellence in sport was celebrated and recognised more than [the excellence of] stars in other areas. This included recognition through the allocation of resources, both time and money” (Interviewee 8).

There is no equivalent expansion of sports offerings in schools in the study which enrol girls. This is arguably owing in the first instance to the perception that there is a far less clear divide among girls between sports which are viewed as 'white' sports and those that could be viewed as 'black' sports. Hunter (2019) also suggests that girls' schools are not worried about sport to the same extent as boys' schools. There is, however, a different dimension to be considered in respect of sport in schools which enrol girls. Two of the three such schools in this study, Schools E and F, report that in the desegregation period they have gone to significant lengths to de-emphasise competitiveness, with a foregrounding of broad participation and the replacement of high-profile competitions such as inter-house sports days by mass activities. The principal of School E explained the school's sports policy as follows:

“Sport is one of the things I’m very proud of ... sport is compulsory and this compulsion is implemented – I think a lot of schools maintain that sport is compulsory, but they don’t ... apply it ... For those that don’t make teams, we’ve got what we call social sport where they ... just organise ... something different each time, and have a session twice a week. But the important thing is that they take part” (Interviewee 23).

In School F, a home-grown sporting activity styled ‘Joli-lympics’ was introduced, and a number of the most obviously ‘white’ sports – e.g. swimming – were discontinued in the face of dwindling interest from the changing learner body. However, the principal in office at the end of the study period fostered the return of a more aggressive sporting programme and ethos, and interest has been focussed on sports in which the traditional highflyer sporting schools do not compete seriously – e.g. girls’ athletics. The result is that the school has recently achieved a greater degree of success than previously in the sporting codes in which it has chosen to compete.

8.3.11.3 Cultural activities

Contrary to perceptions, the field of cultural activities does not present as an arena in which racial desegregation occurred any more speedily or in any greater numbers than in other areas. The schools themselves suggest, however, that in terms of approaches rather than simply the numbers, the cultural activities scene has experienced significant transformation. In Schools A, B and C it is reportedly the tone and context that has changed rather than specific offerings. The principal of School D indicates that “service activities have been significantly broadened and are strongly pupil-driven. The activities have changed in nature from the old concept of raising funds for deserving charities to getting involved hands-on – for example, by physically making sandwiches and packing food for deserving recipients”. In the same school the dramatic presentations are “no longer set in England” and local music, art and stories are far more manifest. The principal of School F drew attention to the extent to which music was a focus point in the school: “we make a big thing of music, adding to our existing repertoire a jazz band, musical evenings, relevant musical drama and choirs” (Interviewee 29). Also in School F debating was boosted, with the school calling on university students to coach budding orators; local eisteddfods became a focal point; and entrepreneurial enterprise around fashion items was identified and developed. The school also founded and hosted an annual festival of arts, culture and technology.

In School E a different approach to the management of the cultural activities in the school has emerged:

“[The school’s cultural activities] are all run by student committees ... From their second year learners are entitled to make application to serve on a cultural committee. The application is subject to a democratic process and these committees, which consist of some six to ten learners, manage the cultural affairs of the school and are responsible for the organisation of events” (Interviewee 23).

8.4 TRANSFORMATION AT THE LEVEL OF STAFFING, MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNANCE

The complexities accompanying the practicalities of staff recruitment and appointments in desegregated schools have been aired in Section 7.5.1. This section considers, in addition, philosophical questions around the transformation of the body of staff, and the responses of the sample schools to enhancing integration while addressing idealistic issues.

School D initiated a ‘staff forum’ for grounds and cleaning staff to allow them to raise questions, at a no-holds-barred level, as straightforward as “What is worrying you?” It caused some surprise among members of the school’s leader group that matters raised by staff only once introduced any race-based problematics whatsoever: in the particular case at issue, this took the form of “murmurings” (Interviewee 17) from the grounds staff about the race of the caretaker.

Principals and SGB Chairs alike report that, in the classroom, older members of staff in many instances have highly entrenched pedagogic and relational styles, and find it difficult to change. However, a new breed of younger, progressive teachers has initiated new styles of teaching and interacting, and changing conditions have forced older teachers to confront different pedagogic approaches.

On staff appointments, an SGB chair at School E reverted to the matter of demographics with a different perspective:

“I would have liked to see more teachers of colour. But it’s a sensitive matter for me because of the balance between competence and racial quotas ... Having said that, you know [the principal] was quite determined that if and when a vacancy emerged, there would be a bias towards finding a teacher of colour. But [we could] not sacrifice competence and that’s always the balance: ... the thought leadership cannot be dominated by one racial group” (Interviewee 25).

In all the sample schools there are ongoing discussions around transformation and special modules on offer during staff development sessions. Initiatives such as transformation workshops, professional reflections and focussed sensitisation seminars are regularly implemented. In this regard, Schools A, B, C and D have contracted outside professional transformation practitioners to assist them. In School C, where the current deputy principal will be retiring relatively shortly after the end of the study period, it has been decided that the new incumbent will take particular

responsibility for the transformational trajectory of the school. The incumbent will be a person of colour. In School D a senior member of staff has already been appointed specifically to oversee bridging and transformational activities: his job is to make sure that people of colour are “comfortable in this environment – have a belief that ‘I can do this’” (Interviewee 17).

The chair of the *Transformation and Diversity Committee* at School D describes “a different perspective” being promoted in the school. It focusses specifically not on the traditional questions around staffing, such as ‘What are the qualifications?’ or ‘Which subjects and extra murals does this teacher offer?’ Rather, the point of departure has become ‘What kind of values need to be dominant in the school, and does this candidate manifest them?’

While there remains something of an overriding philosophy illustrative of an avoidance of risk rather than a courageous management of opportunities – this was specifically highlighted by Interviewee 8, an SGB Chair at School B – many issues on the staffing front are being confronted much more directly and transformatively than before, both in terms of demographics and approaches.

8.5 CONCLUDING COMMENT

Davids (2018), who is quoted in the opening paragraph of this chapter, holds that desegregating ‘white’ public schools in South Africa are ‘insufficiently serious about inclusivity and transformation’ and that they are satisfied with a numerical desegregation, with little realisation of any need to ‘create a climate whereby everybody feels they can be who they need to be’. While that may have been true during the early years after desegregation, there are strong indications in this chapter that the latest group of principals, parents, governors, teachers and learners are growing into the concept of transformation beyond numbers. It is particularly in spheres reflective of mindsets that important changes are emerging and that a foundation is being laid for a far more acceptable level of broad integration in the sample schools.

The manner in which this may play out in the future is addressed in the concluding chapter of this study.

CHAPTER 9: OVERVIEW, LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

9.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENT

9.1.1 Background

The primary aim of this study has been to describe and analyse the desegregation process and resultant changes in the transformational trajectory followed during the period 1990 to 2019 by a sample of six elite, English-medium public schools situated in the Western Cape; to identify the contextual factors which have enabled or impeded change in these schools; and to examine the impact of desegregation on their functioning, their activities and their ethos over three decades.

In order to provide form and structure to the study, a main research question and four research sub-questions were devised. These questions, précised below, were formulated to address the study's goals and elicit relevant responses.

9.1.2 The research questions

The focus of the main research question was on how and why six representative public schools serving communities with notable commonalities, and which followed identical desegregatory procedures and actions in 1990, emerged over time with contrasting demographic patterns and school ethos.

The research sub-questions considered the following aspects of this enquiry:

- The triggers and drivers which led white, upper-middle-class, oversubscribed, prosperous public schools to endorse the fundamental shifts in school policy which were required in order to desegregate, at a time when there was no legal compulsion to do so;
- How their responses to desegregation impacted on the ethos of each of the schools;
- How, why and to what extent the schools' demographics changed over the period of desegregation; and
- How the schools responded to the changes wrought by their opening and concomitant socio-political developments, including their responses to issues of demographics, marketisation and #Fallism.

9.1.3 Data sources

Data for this research were gathered from numerous and varied sources as listed in Section 4.4.3, page 69, and through personal, on-site observations in the sample schools. The data, together with the analysis and interpretation thereof, gave shape to the arguments expounded in this thesis and which are to be found in Chapters 5 to 8.

9.2 AN OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

It is a conventional historical presumption that traditional elite, white, English-medium schools in South Africa displayed very significant commonalities in their inherited ethos and school character prior to 1990. At the time the sample schools reflected a three-tiered ethos built on:

- An early Arnoldian inheritance;
- The influences of the organisations and thought patterns with which they chose to associate; and
- Their exposure to a unique set of circumstances and contexts which had impacted them over their educational lifespans.

Their 'inherited ethos' is seated in the 19th-century model of British public and grammar schools. They generally venerate a configuration of excellence and merit rooted in the western hegemonic idiom and all display manifestations of class consciousness and assumptions around the 'middle-class-ness' of the learners and parents in their schools. These manifestations represent the schools' own philosophies, but they are underpinned and accentuated by conditions imposed upon their desegregatory trajectories by post-1994 legislation, particularly in the form of the South African Schools Act.

Their commonalities at the onset of the study period included the style and nature of their ceremonies and rituals, as well as a similar selection of academic subjects, sporting codes, cultural activities and the characteristics of a traditional, Eurocentric ethos. The schools have not, however, developed in a vacuum. At the inception of the study the sample schools were all English-medium, white, suburban institutions under the aegis of the Department of National Education and the control of the Cape Education Department. This imposed upon them an associative ethos which was not designed to serve other races or other language groups. This common associative ethos is, however, tempered by individualities of geographic location, suburban demographies and differences in gender base, catchment area and 'social drawing power'. These variations provide the schools with characteristics which manifest in very dissimilar, unique ethoses alongside the common inherited and associative ethoses.

Data drawn on for this study confirm that the sample schools, other than School F, have retained a greater predominance of white learners than most white schools in South Africa. It is postulated, however, that the relatively limited levels and slow pace of racial integration in the sample schools ought not to be ascribed solely to an anti-black bias or to recalcitrance on the part of governors and/or school management to desegregate their schools. While accepting that there are racial and racist undertones to some of the criteria used when admitting learners (e.g. the so-called heritage clauses, preferential catchment areas, favoured sibling admission and social selection), the evidence indicates that there are also other prognosticators of admission to desegregating elite public schools. These predictors are not definitive, certainly not on their own. Rather, there are various unique factors, identified and expounded earlier in this study, which come into play in different schools and these should not be negated when considering trajectories of change or perpetuation. The numbers recorded in Chapters 5 and 7 illustrate that, despite their siting in a virtually “untransformable” socio-geographical area (Jansen and Kriger, 2020, 2) the sample schools in this study, with the exception the outliers at either end (i.e. Schools A and F), have succeeded in transforming their learner demographics to the extent that there is close to numeric equilibrium between white learners and learners of colour. There has also been some forward movement at staff and governor levels towards the end of the study period. By the end of the study 47.6% of those enrolled in the sample schools were learners of colour. In only one school was two thirds of the learner body white, and all had at least 20% educators of colour. Half the sample schools had more than 40% governors of colour, and in one 82% of governors were people of colour. Furthermore, the schools are making progress in changing what Bernstein (1975, 62) refers to as their “rituals, signs, lineaments, heraldic imagery and totems” and their ethos.

The study concludes that, on the basis of the collected data, the critical predictors of the rate of desegregation in the sample schools are the demography of the catchment area from which each school draws its learners (see Chapter 7, Table 7.4); the demographic of their aligned primary schools (see Chapter 6, Table 6.1); the geography of the catchment area (in particular, the built urban landscape , but also the natural topography); and the individual school’s ‘social drawing power’.

9.3 ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

9.3.1 Whence the contrasting demographic patterns?

Main research question: How and why did public schools serving communities with significant cultural, societal and feder area commonalities, and which followed identical laid-down desegregatory procedures and actions in 1990, emerge over time with apparently contrasting demographic patterns and modified school ethos in the post-segregation period?

An analysis of the data confirms that the sample schools in this study indeed display significant commonalities in respect of their historical and cultural make up, the societies they serve, and very broadly the catchment areas from which they draw their learners.

Alongside these commonalities, however, are particular contrasts in respect of both demography and ethos. Four of the sample schools emerge as important outliers in different ways, evolving from their common underpinnings with clear differences in respect of their demographics and ethos alike. Clearly, specifics of their geographical location varied from school to school, and were significant features of the contexts within which they operated. School F, the most notable 'outlier' among the sample schools, with its very close proximity to a suburban railway station and with a non-residential business district rather than a residential suburb situated on its southern boundary, for example, clearly reflects the influence of its particular setting. More broadly, the siting of the sample schools in arguably South Africa's most strongly opposition-sympathetic voting area is also important. This and the relative 'whitening' of Cape Town's southern suburbs, in contrast to the 'blackening' of cities such as Durban and Johannesburg resulting from so-called semi-gration, are significantly causative of the demographic make-up of the sample schools in this study.

These contrasting demographics are described in Section 9.3.1.2 and the variations of ethos are explained in Section 9.3.4.

9.3.1.1 *Predictors of the contrasting demographic patterns*

A recurrent reaction by progressive writers, media reporters and activist parent groupings to the emerging demographic patterns in the sample schools is that desegregation has been unacceptably slow and that its pace has been retarded by recalcitrant, conservative leadership echelons and governance structures. The sample schools, sometimes individually, but more commonly as part of the collective group of ex-Model-C schools, stand accused of utilising loopholes in the legislation during admissions processes to retain the historically dominant (white) group in an ascendant position. The data in this study, however, suggest rather that change in these elite, white public schools has followed a much more nuanced desegregatory and transformational trajectory. It is contended that the predictive factors do not impact on school enrolments in isolation. Aspects of the natural and built urban landscape impact significantly on the schools. By influencing commuting convenience they create practical boundaries for schools' spheres of influence. Some act as barriers to learner movement, resulting in the exclusion of learners from particular schools. Conversely, they can also be conduits feeding in learners – commonly representing a different demographic and coming from a non-contiguous catchment

area. This is presented in detail in Section 6.5.4, page 128. Where it happens, the racial demographic of the school can become very different from that of the suburb in which it is situated. Illustrating how this plays out, every historically white school in the 'Wynberg-Mowbray education corridor' which is situated a kilometre or less by public road from a suburban railway station has become dominant-black in the post-1994 era as a result of its drawing learners from outside of its immediate catchment area.

Also not to be discounted is a school's ethos in its various forms – inherited, associative and unique. These forms of ethos combine to create for each school its unique aura, prestige and 'social drawing power' which impacts firstly on the number and nature of applications received, and secondly the extent of selectivity which can be applied during the admissions process, and therefore on the application outcomes and the school's demographics.

9.3.1.2 *The emergence of different demographic patterns in the sample schools*

At the close of the study period, three of the sample schools – Schools B, C, and E – were approaching a fairly even spread between white learners and learners of colour – what Interviewee 8 repeatedly referred to as “demographic equilibrium”. According to their close-of-research-period demographic profiles, the proportion of learners of colour in these schools were 55.8%, 47.7% and 44.5% respectively.

By contrast, Schools A and F emerge as marked 'outliers' in respect of their demographics, one close to each extremity in respect of the racial make-up of the school. School A remained strongly segregated, with only 29% learners of colour in 2019, while School F had reverted to a strong level of racial homogeneity, albeit with a different dominant group from that which existed pre 1990. In 2019 learners of colour in School F constituted 98.8% of its learner body, with black African learners comprising 60.9% and coloured learners 37.9%.

It is postulated that there are identifiable reasons for these variations:

- **School A**, while purporting to have pioneered the concept of voluntary desegregation in South Africa's white public schools, is the least transformed of the sample institutions. It appears that a number of factors have contributed to this enigma. Two-thirds of the learners in its aligned feeder school are white. In addition, the school is situated in the most strongly segregated residential suburb in the 'Wynberg-Mowbray education corridor'. In the 2011 Census (the most

recent population count), 77% of the suburb's residents were identified as white, and it is detached from the nearest suburbs peopled predominantly by residents of colour by a divisive railway reserve, an urban expressway, and a congested Main Road. It is also the furthest of the sample schools from a major public transport hub. A breakdown of applications for admission for 2019 (the only year in the study period for which such figures are available) shows that the school received more applications from white learners and fewer from black African, coloured Indian/Asian or 'others' than any of the sample schools. For much of the study period it displayed a much lower inclination than the other sample schools to increase its learner intake significantly, and by 2019 the three schools which were approaching parity between learners of colour and white learners had 105, 57 and 87 more learners than School A. These other schools had used such 'new' places to enrol learners of colour.

These practicalities aside, there are also important psycho-social factors to be considered. While the initial desegregatory purpose was stronger in School A than that in any other sample school, in practice it was most reluctantly implemented. The early intent is ascribed by Veitch (2005) as originating in the school's liberal, left-leaning ethos, while the lack of practical carry-through is ascribable to several other factors. The drivers of desegregation in School A were teachers rather than the principal or governors, and the former almost certainly lacked the agency to effect the transformation they desired. There were also parents who voiced reservations about desegregation (Folb, 1991a) expressing anxieties around an anticipated deterioration in race relations, the Africanisation of their children's accents, and concerns that desegregation would be interpreted as mere tokenism (Folb, 1991a).

There was also disillusionment on the part of the 'drivers' of the desegregation initiative that parents and the principal were not more supportive of the idea, and that the Minister's compromise proposals were ultimately adopted, despite being regarded as unreasonable and race-based. The unpublished document *Struggling to open our doors* highlights this perceived 'capitulation' to government.

"It was, for some of us, a disappointing end to a campaign honourably conducted over a period of five years. Expediency won the day ahead of principle, and the [school's] parents, either because they did not understand the issue, or possibly for materialistic reasons, overruled the Committee" (UCT Library Special Collections BC 1023).

At that stage, the resolve appears to have abandoned the campaign. Of the three prime movers for the desegregation of School A, one announced his retirement within months of the parental decision; the second resigned his post at the school and emigrated; and the third, a one-time political prisoner on Robben Island and a “remarkable man who played a key part of the struggle to open [the school]” (*Struggling to open our doors*, unpublished paper, UCT Library Special Collections BC 1023), was killed in an ambush near his home. It is unsurprising that the implementation of the desegregatory vision at School A never quite took off.

- **School B** emerges from this study as an outlier in a different way. The second most integrated of the sample schools, it has an ethos founded on the demographic character of a suburb notably different from those in which the other sample schools are situated. The colour bar was reportedly less scrupulously observed in their part of the city than in most other suburbs (Interviewee 38) and the same interviewee suggests that contact between white School B learners and their neighbours of colour was ‘close’. He characterises the residents of its catchment area as a united community, palpably so even before the school voted to ‘go open’. He ascribes the emergence of a more multiracial clientele in the school to the demography of the catchment area.
- **School C** for much of the study period displayed a greater devotion to its inherited and historical English ethos (as in ‘from England’) than noted in the other sample schools. It manifested in a genteel Englishness and olde-worlde traditionalism which was promoted, supported and encouraged by successive school leaders (Interviewee 40). Though achieving close to racial parity among its learners by the end of the study period, it focussed to a greater extent than most of the other sample schools on assimilation and the maintenance of its inherited ethos. This was sufficiently tangible for a new principal who took office during the study period to typify the school as “stuck in a pre-democracy time warp” (Interviewee 13) – not demographically, but certainly in terms of other aspects of its ethos. It worked very hard in the final years of the study to reverse this characterisation.
- **School D** is the second most segregated of the sample schools. This is unexpected, in that it shares with Schools C and E a very similar catchment area. There are, however, features both historical and geographical, which differentiate School D from its peers. Arguably, more strongly than any other of the sample schools bar

School B, it has traditionally engaged with its immediate community. One past principal (Interviewee 16) stressed his preferential enrolment of applicants who lived sufficiently close to walk or cycle to school. The school also appears to have a stronger 'retention power' in respect of learners from its aligned primary feeder school than any of the other sample schools. There is also a competing independent school serving the same gender group in the same suburb. This competitor school lies only 750 m from School D and has reportedly always attracted the 'socio-economic cream' of the suburb's learners, diminishing to an extent School D's 'social drawing power' (Interviewee 38). This drawing power is reportedly further diminished by the fact that the boarding establishments have traditionally drawn a strong representation from the Afrikaner community, especially those from rural areas in Cape Town's hinterland, and even from as far afield as the Great Karoo and Namibia. Interviewee 38 suggests that the 'genteel classes' of its own suburb sometimes referred to School D somewhat derogatorily as the 'Boere' school (the Afrikaner school).

- **School E** from its founding consciously adopted a strong fundamentalist Christian ethos and a non-traditionalist approach. Throughout its existence it has displayed a notably more progressive public face than any of the other sample schools, and stresses at every opportunity its co-educational ethos as a differentiating feature. From the time of 'going open' it appeared to lead the sample schools, other than School F, in terms of desegregation. Its 'progressive ethos' resonated with people of colour and its co-educational nature was in tune with the experience of the new intake. Post 1991 it grew its numbers quickly (e.g. by 170 learners or 22.9% from 1990 to 1995 – by contrast School A grew by 28 learners or 4.1%) and many of the new school places appear to have been filled by learners of colour. By 2006, when the first across-the-board race-group breakdown of learner numbers became available, it led all schools in the sample group significantly in terms of Asian/Indian and 'other' learners.

By the end of the study period Schools B and F had surpassed School E in terms of the proportion of learners of colour. Since 2006, however, School E has remained in the middle group of sample schools vis-à-vis desegregation, consistently displaying a close-to-equal distribution of white learners and learners of colour.

- **School F** traversed a very different trajectory from the other sample schools. From its founding it struggled to establish either an identifiable catchment area or a 'social drawing power' which could match that of the other sample schools.

Despite this lack it has increased its roll by a greater proportion than any of the sample schools. This was facilitated by its ‘first-generation’ principal actively seeking additional learners in order to retain staff numbers at the time of the personnel right-sizing which accompanied democratisation in South Africa, but also by its siting on public transport routes and its proximity to a suburban railway station – it lies closer to a Metrorail station than any other sample school. Furthermore, it has the lowest school fees among the sample schools. All these factors are identified by Jansen and Kriger (2020) as facilitating race-based desegregation and all manifest in School F.

These factors have all played a part in the development of each school’s ethos, their drawing power and their learner demographics. It is postulated that while the commonalities between the sample schools are rooted in each school’s inherited ethos and the imposed structures of the pre-desegregation period, their most significant variations have emerged in response to individual social, demographic and geographical features, as well as a changing unique ethos. This is strongly influenced by factors emerging during the period of desegregation. The unique ethos which manifests in each school is described in Section 9.3.4.

9.3.2 The triggers and drivers of school desegregation

Research sub-question 1: What were the triggers and drivers which led white, upper-middle-class, oversubscribed, prosperous public schools to endorse the fundamental shifts in school policy which were required in order to desegregate, and to embrace such desegregation at a time when there was no governmental pressure or legal compulsion on them to do so?

This study has found the integration of South Africa’s elite public schools to have evolved differently from that experienced internationally, and to have been uniquely triggered. It concludes that their initial desegregation in 1991 was a manifestation of the zeitgeist prevailing in white, predominantly English-speaking, middle- and upper-middle-class suburbs at the time, driven in the sample schools largely by the principals – except in School A, where teachers took the lead.

Three dominant convictions emerge as desegregatory triggers in the schools and the communities they served:

- ***The matter of conscience*** – a belief that the opening of the schools was ‘the right thing to do’ (numerous interviewees in this study, and also Penny et al., 1993);
- ***An acceptance of the inevitability of forthcoming change*** – a recognition, fuelled by the unbanning of the liberation movements and the release of political prisoners that “South Africa simply wasn’t going to go on in the same way ... there would be mixed-race schools in the future, and [schools] should prepare [for such change]” (Interviewee 16); and
- ***A desire to manage the desegregation process*** and a need to control its progression – it would be “expedient for our schools, we thought, to do it in a well-ordered and rational manner and not have change forced on them in a way which could never have been controlled” (Interviewee 16).

There was also a (possibly naïve and unrealistic) secondary belief in some schools and professional organisations that they would be making a contribution to the country as a whole if they could successfully traverse the desegregation process before it became obligatory for all schools. In that way they would contribute to subsequent desegregation proceeding more peacefully and effectually than would have been the case in the absence of such examples and experience (Interviewee 16).

A counter view held in South Africa’s civil rights community was that desegregation was a self-serving attempt to “ensure that white communities could ... [prevent their schools falling] into the hands of a democratically-elected government” (Motala and Pampallis, 2002, 147). Further scepticism emerged when four sample schools (Schools A, C, D and E) initially refused to participate in the voluntary desegregation exercise of 1990. The scepticism persisted, even though the schools were denouncing the conditions as unreasonable, unrealistic and based on racial criteria, and that, their concerns notwithstanding, principals and governors confirmed their ‘unremitting determination’ to open their doors to all racial groupings at the earliest opportunity (Governing Body Chair of School A). All later retracted their refusal to participate and allowed a parental vote on the issue.

The interpretation of the civil rights community is understandable. However, as postulated by Driver (2011), such an interpretation denies critical decision-makers any agency in enhancing the politico-social advancement of black people and negates the possible influence of idealised intentions and altruistic motives. It also ignores the insistence of the sample schools that they opted for Model B on the grounds that they were intent on ‘moving towards an integrated learner body’, not trying to ‘prevent’ one – a claim that draws some credibility from a series of small anti-racist actions in the sample schools during their early histories (see Chapter 5,

Section 5.3.1) which suggest that their decision to 'go open' was not an act which went "against the grain of their own racial biographies" (after Vandeyar and Jansen, 2008, vii).

In the first phase of the desegregatory process, qualifying schools across the country voluntarily took control of their admissions policies. However, such 'voluntariness' does not exclude the possibility of a subliminal racism consciously or unconsciously hiding behind innocuous-sounding concepts such as 'the maintenance of standards' and 'the right kind of pupil' and assimilationist concepts like 'we don't see race or colour around here'. Such approaches impacted not only on the schools' actions and methodologies, but also on the ethos of each school.

9.3.3 The impact of desegregation on school ethos

Research sub-question 2: How have the responses to desegregation impacted the ethos in the schools during this period?

The study concludes that ethos in schools is not an uncomplicated, single-feature characteristic, but a complex amalgam of inheritance, association and the unique, distinct development of taken-for-granted behaviours which are a concretisation of "the way things are done around here" (Deal and Kennedy, 1983, quoted in Prosser, 1999, 33).

9.3.3.1 The early years – retaining the original ethos

The dominant aspect of culture in all of the schools at the outset of the study was an inherited ethos in the Arnoldian vein, modified by an associative ethos under the aegis of the South African education system, the Cape Education Department, the liberal traditions of English-speaking Cape Town suburbia, and, in five of the sample schools, their single-gender status. Despite the commonalities, there were differences which came into play. In the pre-desegregation period, the heritage enjoyed by the sample schools was predominant. In all of them their early responses to desegregation were characterised by the retention of existing administrative processes; the perpetuation of a traditional, pre-desegregation, western-style hegemony; and a sizeable measure of 'opportunity hoarding'. At that time, all the sample schools exuded an enduring conviction concerning their inherited ethos, lasting traditions and hereditary ritual. These historical conventions and rituals were dominant in shaping school ethos. They affirmed a prestigious meritocracy built on excellence and achievement as acknowledged and accepted in a western worldview which is reflective of the schools' historical roots. The developing ethos in all of the

sample schools thus included aspects of a liberal, Anglo-centric culture which could be traced back to another era in another country. Even in the most transformed of the sample schools, this inherited ethos remained much in evidence well into the study period.

9.3.3.2 *Change of century, change of ethos*

During the latter part of the study period, however, some substantive adaptations to the early approaches to desegregation emerged, with resultant changes to school ethos. These changes coincided with the appointment of school principals and the election of governors of colour into leadership positions in some schools (most extensively in Schools B, C, E and F) who had themselves previously experienced desegregated environments.

While the commonality of their inherited ethos was not jettisoned in any of the schools, it was modified in different ways in all of them. Apart from the aspects identified above, different interviewees, highlighting the variances in ethos, chose to comment on the opposing emphases of ‘rigger-buggers’ and ‘culture vultures’; the supremacy of academics vs. sport and vice versa; traditionalism versus progressiveness; images of snobbishness versus a ‘poor-cousin syndrome’; and the liberal tradition owed in part to the number of “champions of human rights produced by a school and famous names held up to generations of learners as ‘illustrious luminaries’ schooled there” (unpublished paper, UCT Library special collections, BC1023).

The differences notwithstanding, the research for this study suggests that in 1990 it was the commonalities that were manifest. The author of the histories of three of the schools comments on the “similarities of experience ... similar rituals and practices ...” and astonishing ‘sameness’ of the schools he researched (Veitch 2016, 13).

In the latter part of the study, marketing, marketisation and commodification emerged as much stronger factors in the determination of school ethos than they had been historically. Particular aspects of their offerings were accentuated differently by the different schools. For example, the collective of the boys’ schools in the sample stressed camaraderie and brotherhood with taglines such as “brothers in an endless chain” or “our blood is blue”. School A stressed its balanced offering, while School B marketed itself strongly as an institution which “understands boys”. School C, with little subtlety, annexed the words of a popular hit song to position

itself as “simply the best”. School D, while continuing to accentuate its ethos as a ‘community school’, undertook to spread its influences ‘higher and wider’ – i.e. to new communities. School E stressed its progressiveness by penning new codes of conduct, grooming and uniform and by embracing the LGBTQI+ community and religious inclusivity. School F, as a ‘reseggregated’ school with diminishing ‘social drawing power’, clung more doggedly to much of its inherited ethos to emphasise its ‘belonging’, though it was forced by circumstances to modify many aspects of its ethos over time.

With new circumstances coming into play, and the impact of desegregation mounting, the ethos in the sample schools became more divergent as the study period progressed. The schools were transformed into enterprises whose primary mission had become the mustering and mobilisation of income (Hunter, 2019) and the lower the ‘social drawing power’ of a school, the more difficult it was to generate the finances needed to maintain the symbols of Hawthorne and Bristow’s (1993) ‘ethos of excellence’. In keeping with Hunter’s (2019) ‘business ethos’, Schools B, C and D appointed high-powered school business managers who were over time slotted in at very senior levels on the schools’ hierarchies. A ‘facilities warfare’ emerged as the institutions sought advantage in the increasingly competitive schools’ environment (Interviewee 5); parents began touting high-performing learners to competing schools, and the schools ‘bought’ such learners by offering attractive bursaries. And, according to a past business manager at School B in private conversation, after initially competing to undercut each other’s school fees at budget time, having the highest fees suddenly became a status symbol rather than a disadvantage.

Fundamental change was in the air. The jury is still out on whether such change reflects a true and lasting alteration to ethos, or is simply a manifestation of and response to marketisation and commodification.

9.3.3.3 *And then came #Fallism*

Alongside attacks by the #Fallist movements on the status quo in South Africa in general, individual schools also came under intense transformational pressures from their own alumni during #Fallism. Social media carried accounts of the hurt wrought by ‘colonialist’ and ‘whitist’ institutional attitudes, and the hegemonic and performative ethos in desegregating elite schools came in for heavy criticism. This resulted in the sample schools embarking on the initiatives enumerated in Chapter 8,

Section 8.3. While still adhering to their common and unique historical inheritances, schools also drew on their different and more recent approaches, achievements and developments (Jansen and Kriger, 2020) as a new ethos manifested itself.

As the changes played out, the cornerstones of tradition and ritual such as the structure of school assemblies and the formats of major rituals and ceremonies were critically assessed and increasingly transformed. School songs were rewritten – but not in the two most desegregated schools, B and F; religiosity as it relates to specific denominations or faiths was either jettisoned or extended to be inclusive of all major faiths represented in the schools, and events such as Founders’ Days and Prize-givings were modified to include the histories, beliefs, attitudes and values of the changing demographic. Concepts which had been used to promote the schools as flagbearers for past splendours were extended by new taglines endorsing them as beacons of the future. They extol attributes such as ‘ubuntu’ and compassion alongside glory and fame, and they pursue acceptance of individuality ‘in a school where all belong’ (after Wray, Hellenberg and Jansen, 2018; and Davids, 2018). Heroes of the struggle are recognised alongside those of the great wars, and learner leadership has become more about service than power. Workshops on inclusivity, sexuality and anti-racism are replacing the earlier courses on sports coaching, and the concept of ‘a tolerance of differences’ is being replaced with ‘an acceptance of differences’ and ‘a welcoming of diversities’.

Transformation committees have been put in place; ‘suitable’ staff members of colour are being sought; learner leadership is being broadened, and there is an increased acceptance of ‘the student voice’ and more liberalised codes of conduct, dress and grooming. Protest is not simply tolerated, but on occasion encouraged and taught, while Critical Race Theory is presented in seminars or discussions and in class or to teachers.

Under pressure from #Fallism generally and #Fallist adherents aligned to their own schools in particular, in the final four years of this study the sample schools enjoyed their strongest wave of transformation beyond mere numbers.

9.4 DEVELOPING A UNIQUE ETHOS IN EACH OF THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS

All past differences have not been subsumed in the noted ‘sameness’, and the following descriptions illustrate how a characteristic uniqueness of ethos has developed over time in the sample schools:

- **School A** displays clear signs of its inner-city roots. Identifiable indicators are a Jewish heritage among parents and learners and a Scottish influence on the staffing front, especially in the case of early appointees to the senior staff cohort. As indicated in Section 9.3.1.2, it has a strongly segregated catchment area and primary feeder school, and in the early 1990s demonstrated a lesser intent than its peers to grow its enrolment – growth from 1990 to 1995 was only 28 learners or 4.1%, whereas the sample schools as a group averaged increases of 90 learners or 14.5% in the same period. The school thus created fewer spaces for the diversification of its intake, remaining ‘whiter’ than its peers. At leadership level, it had only two principals in the 27 years from 1990 to 2017. These leaders presented as more traditionalist than those in any of the other sample schools, and also more fixated on selecting learners with demonstrable scholastic acumen. Both the school’s history and its desegregation-era development secured for it a durable, consistent, left-leaning, upper-middle-class image. It subsequently (or perhaps consequently?) faced hefty criticism for its lack of transformation during the #Fallist period. At this critical time there was a change of leadership at both principal and governance levels. The new incumbents have committed the school to a stronger transformatory focus, based on the work of an Inclusivity, Diversity and Transformation Task Team. There has been a relatively significant increase in the number of people of colour in the senior management team, and the school is looking at the creative introduction of favoured ‘black’ sports and wider exposure to isiXhosa as a subject/language. The ‘rainbow flag’ was displayed on Gay Pride Day, signalling transformation beyond race, and by the end of the study period the school was moving towards a more integrationist ethos.
- **School B** has a greater percentage of learners from working-class families than any of the sample schools other than School F (Interviewee 38). Alongside its working-class intake, it points to historical evidence of the enrolment of learners of colour in its early years. It is one of the top two sample schools in respect of the number of both learners and teachers of colour. It is reputed to pursue racial equilibrium and integration more vigorously than representivity. Without negating its inherited legacy, it has attempted to transform its rituals, its curriculum and its power relationships in order to foster a new ethos in tune with its new demographics.
- **School C’s** devotion to and promotion of an inherited and historical English ethos and traditionalism has not interrupted its desegregatory trajectory. By the end of the study period it was responding more strongly than any of the sample schools, with the possible exception of School E, to in-school demands for change. Its proportion of learners of colour, at 47%, has reached close to parity with its white group and exceeds that found in Schools A, D and E. Prefectship is on its way out and it has reformulated its rituals and de-religionised the school. It actively downplays gender and has accepted self-identification of personal pronouns. It has

supported the identification by its learners with causes outside the school and offered guidance on the management of public protest. A senior post has been specifically reserved for a person of colour and all employment interviews will include at least an equivalence between people of colour and white candidates. While not everyone in its community approves of all these transformational initiatives, the school has pursued its chosen trajectory with vigour in the closing years of the study, and has energetically addressed the ‘time-warp’ criticism levelled at it.

- **School D**, more than any other sample school, fostered from its founding a strong relationship with its surrounding community, including residents from pockets of lesser social standing. Its ‘social drawing power’ has, however, been affected by its close proximity to a highly competitive neighbouring independent school, and also by its Afrikaner leanings and its ready acceptance of lower-middle-class families (Interviewee 38). Like School A, it was led for much of the study period by a strongly traditionalist principal, but has in the final decade of the study period pursued a more transformational agenda. In this regard it has specifically pursued the cultivation of a ‘student voice’, hands-on community service actions and a tolerance of different gender identities.
- **School E** has, from its founding, consciously identified itself as avant-garde, progressive and non-traditionalist, displaying a notably more progressive public persona than any of the other sample schools. It pursued a co-educational ethos in a pro-single-gender area, and downplayed sport in a sport-focussed society. Despite (or consequent upon) its progressiveness, however, when many expected a greater egalitarianism, it positioned itself at both learner enrolment and staff appointment decision time as unapologetically favouring “merit and competence above racial quotas” and located itself as a producer of the “top two, three, four, five percent of the country’s leader echelon”, rather than below-the-line middle-class workers (Interviewee 25).
- **School F** openly modelled itself on a nearby traditional school with the same gender base, but 60 years its senior. It was no simple task for this, the ‘newest kid on the block’, to carve out a niche for itself in the highly competitive and arguably over-serviced ‘Wynberg-Mowbray education corridor’. Though it emulated many of the approaches of the school on which it modelled itself, and displayed many similarities in approach, it was unable to generate a ‘social drawing power’ or reputation to match the other sample schools, and has emerged in all respects as an outlier among the institutions researched in this study. It is the most strongly desegregated in terms of learners, teachers and governors; it is the only sample school with no white, Indian or ‘other’ learners; and it has traversed the desegregatory path further and more rapidly than any other sample school. Yet, ironically, this factor has led it to retain many aspects of its historical ethos more rigidly than would be expected, given its ‘reseggregated’ learner demographic.

9.5 CHANGING LEARNER DEMOGRAPHICS

Research sub-question 3: How, why and to what extent did the schools' demographics change over the period of desegregation?

In its simplest construct, the demographic in all the sample schools moved during the period of this study from one of singularity to one of multiplicity, though to markedly different degrees. All transformed from presenting a uni-racial face with learners drawn from a relatively homogeneous racial and socio-economic catchment area, to one including all four of the racial groups identified in the country's apartheid legislation, drawn from different socio-economic groupings.

The integrational trajectory in the sample schools in the early years of desegregation confirms the reality of an early post-desegregation perpetuation exigence within the original (white) racial grouping in the schools. It is argued that anxieties concerning a much-focussed-upon 'lowering of standards' which many in segregated white school communities feared might accompany desegregation, was an important element in all the sample schools' foregrounding of acculturation and assimilation as their preferred integration mode during the early stages of desegregation, and in the cases of Schools A and D in particular, their limited early intakes of learners of colour.

Even shortly into the integrationist period, the learner bodies in the other four sample schools were not just racially diverse, but intakes were being drawn from a much wider socio-economic zone than previously – albeit never equally so. From the onset of desegregation, the informal, self-imposed boundaries demarcating secondary 'catchment areas' beyond the enforced 'closest school' prescription were ignored in respect of 'desirable' applicants of colour – i.e. those who could easily be assimilated (Penny et al., 1993; and Hunter, 2019). The learner bodies in these four schools thus came to be representative of a broader array of residential suburbs, socio-economic classes, political persuasions, income groups and educational and employment backgrounds than had been the case prior to 1990, even while they retained ties with traditionally aligned feeder schools, their primary catchment areas, and strong remnants of their inherited ethos.

By the conclusion of the study period Schools A and D remained white dominant, with 71% and 68% white learners respectively; Schools B, C and E were close to racial equilibrium (with learners of colour constituting 56%, 48% and 44% of the total enrolment); and School F had 'resegregated', with, by the close of the study period, only two population groups meaningfully represented in the school – black African at 61% and coloured at 38%.

Geographic location emerged as a strong determinant during the desegregatory developments in South Africa's elite suburban schools. Physical locality, proximity to public transport routes and the presence of commercial instead of residential surrounding spaces, presented as among the strongest determinants of the manner in which transformation unfolded in South Africa's desegregating suburban schools. The schools' individual catchment areas, aligned feeder schools and unique social drawing powers were also influential, manifesting in both the schools' widely differing demographic patterns and own unique ethos. Much of the 'sameness' had dissipated.

Quantitatively, the study has tracked the demographic changes mainly on a racially-based level. In particular, though, given the emergence of the contrasting demographics in the outlier schools and the similarities of the racial demography of the remaining schools, the study has not simply indulged in a counting of heads representing the different racial groups, but also describes their transformational trajectories and accounts for the differences in both desegregation and transformation.

Notwithstanding the "complete absence of any level of awareness" of or response to the conditions, circumstances and backgrounds manifesting in the new intake in the 1990s (Interviewee 5), the learners and parents of the time demonstrated little aversion to the prevalent assimilationist approach. Jansen and Kriger (2020) report that once admitted, black learners and parents alike tend to accept the status quo in the school and generally avoid direct confrontation with school authorities. This has helped maintain the desegregating institutions as selective, high-performing standard-bearers in South Africa's largely under-performing public school sector. Notwithstanding some strongly dissenting progressive parent voices, these schools are widely accepted and embraced by the middle classes of all racial groupings, as illustrated by oversubscription in all the sample schools at learner application time.

By 2006, when figures denoting racially based demographics became available from all the sample schools for the first time, there was already a progression towards numeric equality between learners of colour and white learners in four of the sample schools. The overall proportionality midway into the study period was already at roughly 45% learners of colour to 55% white learners, a figure which is marginally less 'white' than that of 2015, while the measure of #Fallist-inspired change is revealed by an increase of 3.4% in learners of colour between 2015 and 2019.

In the latter stages of the study period, the #Fallist movements manifested themselves. Though the protest activities of the #Fallists occurred largely outside of the terrain of schools, five of the current principals indicated that the #Fallist movements and their actions awakened the schools to a number of emerging educational and socio-political trends and demands in society. Through these actions the

schools were brought to a deeper understanding of the transformational issues at stake and initiated direct action aimed at accelerating transformation in their institutions (see Chapter 8).

Analyses emerging from the study suggest that there has been a shift away from desegregatory pressures within sample school parent bodies and communities, though small groups of activist parents and 'progressive' commentators from broader society and in the schools themselves continue to hold a strongly opposing view.

Extremes of demographic non-representivity are, however, hidden in the quoted average figures. In three of the sample schools – B, C and E – the proportions of learners of colour in 2019 were, for example, 55.8%, 47.7% and 44.5% respectively, though the percentages of black African learners in the same schools stood at only 7.4%, 5.0% and 9.8%. The average percentage of learners of colour in 2019 across all the sample schools was 47.6% (up from 44.2% in 2015) with black African learners constituting 13.5%, an even more marked change over the 2015 equivalence of 9.8%.

The issue of desegregation in the sample schools vis-à-vis that in their 'home suburbs' emerged during the collection and collation of data (see Chapter 7, Table 7.4). Battersby (2004) and Lemon and Battersby-Lennard (2009), indicate that within their own suburbs and catchment areas the sample schools lead residential desegregation rather than follow it. The learners' Model-C accents and their wearing of the 'right' clothes, their display of 'cultural competence', keeping company with schoolmates from the dominant original group and a Model-C 'authenticity' all play a role in removing the primacy of race in these previously segregated spaces, albeit in an assimilationist mode.

As with other characteristics of these schools, there are outliers in this regard as well. For example, there is no correlation between the demographics of School F and those of its 'home suburb'. This is attributable to the fact that it has no identifiable surrounding catchment area and draws virtually its entire enrolment from a non-contiguous sphere of influence. Also an outlier regarding school desegregation leading residential integration is School B. Though it has a close to even spread of racial groupings, in terms of demographics it trails its 'home suburb' to a significant extent. This is arguably attributable thereto that it, more than any other sample school, emerged as a champion of 'equilibrium' between white learners and learners of colour. In the middle period of the study it also actively disassociated itself at admissions time from its strongly desegregated – almost 'reseggregated' – aligned primary school.

While unanimously professing ongoing support for integration, the schools in this study have remained conscious of the need to avoid reaching or passing a 'tipping point' which would in all likelihood result in white flight and the 'resegregation' of the schools. All the schools deny having, or

having had at any time, any racial quotas. It emerges through interviews and writings, however, that they view the tipping point as important, though a differentiating factor emerges with regard to where the tipping point is situated. For example, the view expressed in School D is that it lies at around 40% learners of colour, while in School C the understanding appears to be that it lies closer to 60%. Interviewees point to the fact that the only sample school to cross the 60% threshold almost immediately 'reseggregated' to a position where 99% of those enrolled are now learners of colour.

9.6 CHANGING ADULT DEMOGRAPHICS

While learner demographics in the sample schools displayed progress towards desegregation from the beginning of the study period, there was relatively little evolution in respect of staffing, governance and managerial positions. This situation was decried by all the 'third-generation' principals of sample schools, including strongly so by the new principal of School A, appointed in the final two years of the study. Towards the end of the study period, racial integration at management and governance levels in half the sample schools showed some movement. School A, while the least desegregated sample school at learner, staff and governor levels, moved into the top half of the sample group in respect of numbers of senior management team members of colour, while Schools B and C were approaching racial equilibrium on their SGBs (School B with 46.2% and School C with 47.1% governors of colour). School F had 81.8% governors of colour (all white governors were members of staff). Schools A and D remained the major outliers in this regard and movement in these categories is summarised in Table 9.1.

TABLE 9.1: Desegregation of Educators, Senior Management Teams and School Governing Bodies, 2019

(Source: Own research, school sources and cross-referencing of schedules and photographs)

2019	Group	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F
Educators	Educators of colour	21.0%	31.2%	29.6%	30.6%	25.7%	60.9%
	White educators	79.0%	68.8%	70.4%	69.4%	74.3%	39.1%
Managers	Managers of colour	22.2%	11.1%	14.3%	20.0%	25.0%	66.7%
	White managers	77.8%	88.9%	85.7%	80.0%	75.0%	33.3%
Governors	Governors of colour	20.0%	46.2%	47.1%	23.8%	38.5%	81.8%
	White governors	80.0%	53.8%	52.9%	76.2%	61.5%	18.2%

9.7 RESPONDING TO CHANGE

Research sub-question 4: How did the schools respond to the changes wrought by their opening, including their responses to issues of demographics, assimilation, finance and school marketisation?

9.7.1 Initial response

Initially, the sample schools, with the exception of School F, responded to the changes in a very similar manner – with very little response at all. The early period of desegregation was marked by the preservation of ethos and perpetuation of the schools' long-familiar approaches and administrative and educational procedures. This was at least in part the consequence of a lack of true comprehension around what the changes really meant, and a simultaneous lack of guidance from the authorities on how to approach either desegregation or transformation.

This initial lethargy was exaggerated by the insistence of the Cluse Model regulations that there should be no change of ethos of desegregating schools, and by governance structures that regarded the 'maintenance of standards' – class, societal, academic and extramural – as all-important. The research shows that the result was a markedly assimilationist approach to the new intake of learners.

9.7.2 Responses to reduced government financing and staff right-sizing

Learner-body desegregation was followed very shortly after its initial implementation by a reduction in government subsidies and staffing cuts, what was euphemistically referred to as 'right-sizing'. At the stroke of a pen the schools were transformed into businesses whose prime role was the collection of school fees (Hunter, 2019). These two factors, financial stringency and staff right-sizing, gave rise to an increase in learner numbers and school fees, but critically also the most marked differentiation in managerial approaches in the sample schools. Diverse strategies were embarked upon in order to retain staff numbers and to increase the fee base. This was a necessary precondition to hiring staff additional to the parsimonious departmental post provisioning scales. In the admissions process, those responsible for learner selections were seeking candidates who would be able to 'pay their way' in their new environment. In this, the greater the 'social drawing power' of the individual school, the more room it had in which to manoeuvre. The higher the drawing power, the higher the fee that could be charged and the more selective the admissions process became.

9.7.3 Responses to marketisation in desegregating schools

It emerges from this study that within the ex-Model-C context, marketisation has triggered a significant shift in the ethos of South Africa's middle-class public schooling. From previously striving to meet the expectation of delivering a basic education as a public entitlement to learners residing in reasonable proximity to the facility, the marketised schools have moved to the commodification of education, selling their product (a perceived high-quality education) to those who can afford to buy it. This has ensured that notwithstanding their desegregation vis-à-vis enrolled racial groupings, the schools remain manifestly middle-class in their nature, approaches and individual ethos. Instead of the earlier underlying aim of providing what is normally demanded by the recipients of education, with learners and parents choosing their schools, marketisation and commodification have allowed those desegregated South African schools with the right aura to choose their learners rather than the other way around – echoing the situation pertaining in marketised UK schools (Ball, 1993).

9.8 THE ALIGNMENT OF SCHOOL CHANGE IN THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS WITH THE IDENTIFIED THEORETICAL ANTECEDENTS

It is in the response to desegregation and the resultant transformation – or lack thereof – that the theoretical models referred to in Chapter 3 emerge with greatest relevance in this study. The evidence supports the view that the conduct of the sample schools is strongly reflective of the hypotheses of Bell (*Interest Convergence Thesis*, 1980); Braddock (*Perpetuation Hypothesis*, 1980); and Tilly (*Concept of Opportunity Hoarding*, 1998). Equally influential in driving the re-visioning of approaches in the sample schools, #Fallism emerges as a prominent element in propelling transformation beyond demographics. The evidence suggests that Hunter's (2010, 2015 and 2019) view of the marketisation of schools and the commodification of education, which he identifies as such an influential factor in schools in KwaZulu-Natal, has played itself out slightly differently in the sample schools in the Western Cape, with a lesser focus on one or two specific sports and a stronger emphasis on more broad-based ability.

The alignment of the reality identified in the data and the congruence between reality and the theory expounded in the theoretical models explicated in Chapter 3 is described below.

9.8.1 Interest Convergence Thesis

It is posited that the very decision to 'open' the schools in 1991 was in accord with Bell's (1980) *Interest Convergence Thesis*. This concept holds that any relief from the disadvantaging of black people can be accounted for on the basis that such relief also serves white self-interest. While the said relief in this instance – the desegregation of exclusive schools – was

seen as being of both educational and social interest to black families, it was simultaneously in the interests of the white group in these schools to experience a trouble-free transition from segregation to integration. This alignment of interests triggered the opening of the sample schools. It was, after all, within the interests of all groups hoping to be part of the schools, whether in terms of educating one's children, the claiming of the moral high ground, the retention of control over schooling, or the diminution of the likelihood of violent outbursts or forceful occupation of schools by the dispossessed, that the schools be opened to all and that the transition proceed smoothly.

9.8.2 Perpetuation Hypothesis

If Bell's *Interest Convergence Thesis* explicates the decision around the initial opening of the sample schools to learners of colour, the slow pace of change can at least partly be ascribed to Braddock's *Perpetuation Hypothesis* (1980). This model hypothesises that in social environments populated by those who have not had sustained experiences of desegregated settings during the earlier phases of their lives, segregation inclines towards sustaining and reproducing rather than changing or transforming itself. Neither the staff nor the learners in the desegregating schools had any sustained experiences of desegregated educational environments prior to 1991, and particularly in the earlier days of transformation they clung to the known, the tried and the tested which had served them well in the past (Penny et al., 1993). Preservation and perpetuation were clearly identifiable features of desegregation in the sample schools, as hypothesised by Braddock (1980).

9.8.3 The Concept of Opportunity Hoarding

Evidence can be found in all of the sample schools of Tilly's (1998) *Concept of Opportunity Hoarding*. This concept maintains that privileged social groups (within this study, initially the dominant white population of the sample schools, but subsequently also the parents of the newly-enrolled black middle classes) appropriate for themselves control of access to desirable resources which are regarded as valuable, are in short supply, and are subject to monopolisation in such a way as to prevent them from being accessed by individuals from outside of the advantaged group. In this way, the majority of members of groups other than the dominant privileged group are negatively impacted and excluded from the most advantageous educational, social and economic opportunities. This development is substantiated by Jansen and Kriger (2020) who indicate that, in their quest to protect their interests and the prospects of their children, "the black middle class is intent not only on defending their newly found privileges, but also on preventing less fortunate black families

from accessing the schools” (Jansen and Kriger, 2020, 187), aiding, abetting and extending existing ‘opportunity hoarding’ by the original dominant group.

9.9 QUO VADIS?

In the light of the collected data, it is concluded that changes to admissions regulations or the implementation of extended feeder zones by the authorities are unlikely to bring an end to the effects of suburban demography or urban geography on school demographics. This study proposes that such an outcome is unlikely for various reasons:

- *Bell’s Interest Convergence Thesis* holds that the loosening of segregatory approaches will only occur when it is in the interests of black and white learners, parents and school communities alike. The reality of the current situation is that schools reflective of Hunter’s (2019) ‘white tone’ indeed serve the interests of the original white group, but critically, also the interests of large parts of the new group of learners and parents of colour. There has thus to date on a wide scale been “no inclination among those in power in politics, business, education or the broader public service” to implement any action resembling US-style court-ordered desegregation, or to overturn the ethos and performance of the limited number of effectively-functioning elite public schools such as those which make up the sample in this study (Jansen and Kriger, 2020, 200). Instead, there has emerged “a bond of common interest ... between the white and black middle-class parents – to maintain these former white institutions as highly selective schools” (Jansen and Kriger, 2020, 186). There is amongst the majority of their parents, drawn from across the racial divides in the country, a powerful aspirational intent to retain the advantages of an enhanced academic education together with social values and linguistic styles and accents that together encapsulate a strongly sought-after middle-class status (Jansen and Kriger, 2020).
- There is little widespread political or community pressure to desegregate further (Jansen and Kriger go so far as to use the word ‘ruin’) those schools which offer the black middle classes, together with small numbers of bursary-holding black working-class families, a realistic opportunity of accessing the most sought-after schools in the country. Even in the resegregated School F the black governing body and the principal, a person of colour, have not jettisoned the traditional ‘white tone’ and inherited ethos of the school.

“We’re very proud of our traditions and ethos, of the uniform ... we still talk about these things. We always refer back to the Honours Boards and you know, putting people’s names up there and updating them regularly ... we’ve got our hall with all our photos ... all those other things, the traditional things, the school song and the awards and the blazers, the badge, the rituals, the customs and house names and that type of thing. It’s still being done, it’s still there (Interviewee 30).”

In the South African context, “when it comes to desegregation, schools face a trade-off between representivity and racial diversity: a school that is exactly representative of the national population would [display little diversity]” (Gruijters et al., 2022, 2). Given the country’s racial demographics, a ‘representative’ school would in accordance with Gruijters et al.’s definition, consist of 96.2% learners of colour (87% black African) and only 3.8% white learners. (Gruijters et al., 2022, 2). It is difficult to suggest that this would be a healthy socio-educational situation in which to place all schools, given that enabling children from different racial backgrounds to learn together is “seen as an important factor in promoting mutual understanding” (Gruijters et al., 2022, 2) and a sought-after goal embraced during the democratic transition (Nkomo, McKinney and Chisholm, 2004).

In the light of the research undertaken for this study, the conclusion is that until feeder primary schools and residential areas in South Africa’s cities become significantly more desegregated, there is little prospect of suburban white-dominant high schools becoming substantially more integrated than they already are – a view tacitly supported by Gruijters et al. (2022). They indicate that “residential segregation, especially at the municipal level, is a major contributor to school segregation” (Gruijters et al., 2022, 17). It is a view of many in these schools that the future focus therefore needs to be on the transformation of minds rather than significant drives towards further numerical desegregation.

Even if residential and primary school desegregation are enhanced, this study suggests that the established arrangements of the white-dominant nature of the elite public schools are likely to endure at least into the mid-term future, largely because white-dominant schools serve not only the racial interests of many white parents (after Braddock, 1980), but also because their educational interests converge with the class interests of middle-class black parents (after Bell, 1998). That is the essence of perpetuation and interest convergence and consequently, the likely reality in South Africa’s elite, desegregated schools for the foreseeable future.

9.10 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study has focussed predominantly on managerial and governance aspects of school desegregation in a small segment of the South African education landscape. Unlike Christie’s studies undertaken in the Catholic independent schools, it has not included learner opinions regarding the desegregation of their schools, focussing its examination rather on administrative and governance actions, attitudes and reports. Furthermore, the research has concentrated on features which have been changed rather than retained, and actions undertaken by the schools, rather than those omitted.

The study draws attention to the fact that even in schools where significant desegregation has occurred in the learner body, there has been limited desegregation of the teaching corps or leadership echelon. It does not explore this issue in depth, instead highlighting the explanations provided by interviewees concerning reasons for the paucity of desegregatory movement at managerial levels. Crucially, the study is strongly dependent on the views of principals and other school leaders in whose interests it was to present a positive view of the school and the desegregatory processes.

By the close of the study only one school had an identifiable formal grouping challenging the official narrative. It was therefore not possible to identify general views, discourses or trends around alternative approaches to transformation in the sample schools as a whole, and such views are therefore under-represented in this study.

There are also valid questions around whether the sample schools' actions and reactions reflect real change in the internal ethos of the sample schools or reflect simply an the external ethos (i.e. branding, virtue signalling and marketisation), and whether the influence of #Fallism will have any long-term impact on the nature and ethos of segregated schools.

These limitations open avenues for further research.

9.11 THE OPENING OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ELITE PUBLIC SCHOOLS – A PANDORA'S BOX?

Was the opening of South Africa's elite public schools to learners from all the country's recognised racial groupings in January 1991 the educational-social equivalent of opening a Pandora's Box?

Indeed, yes. No-one, least of all the educators in the desegregating schools, had any meaningful knowledge or practical experience of what awaited them (Interviewee 34). They were ignorant of the cultural norms and educational needs of the new intake (Shaw, 2019). They received little guidance from the education authorities of the time; were abandoned to their own devices; and found themselves "just sort of fumbling in the dark" (Penny et al., 1993).

While the schools currently believe that they exemplify a positive transformation and embody a healthy culture of integration, their early approaches were characterised almost entirely by assimilation. It took a new generation of educational leaders as well as the socio-political pressures of the #Fallist movements and in-house activism from small groups of progressive parents to push the schools towards transformation beyond demographics. Yet some of their critics suggest that the outward appearance of transformation is in reality a manifestation of powerful marketisation and polished branding, and that, even by the end of the study period, the schools continued operating in ways "which reward those who already possess what [the system] looks to provide" (Shaw, 2019, 231).

While this study accepts a measure of validity in some of the above criticisms, it portrays also a greater in-school complexity than that embodied therein. The decisions leading to the current states of being in the sample schools embodied more than simplistic individual choices based on a single parental vote 33 years ago or the enactment of SASA a quarter of a century back. Desegregation was not a finite event, and nor can transformation ever be. Rather, the integrational trajectories in the sample schools have been impacted by competing influences over time. Among the influences and influencers are variations of urban and physical geography, demography, group interests, the legislatively facilitated commodification of quality education and the interplay of institutional power and school ethos. On-site observation and research during this study suggests that alongside the impacting elements, end-of-study-period school management in the sample schools was increasingly moving away from self-serving assimilation towards a genuine intent to meet the aspirations of all learners.

The shifts have not been easily accomplished and the processes have not been without contestation. The schools and groupings in them have not dismantled the hegemonic norms of history nor undone the endemic opportunity-hoarding which has characterised elite schools over the years. There appear, nonetheless, to be increasing numbers of school leaders and teachers recognising the need for change, even while the schools continue to grapple with the attainment of a balance between the retention of what they view as their best inheritances and providing space for an emergent 'new'.

Whether the schools will have the lasting power to retain the gains and the energy to progress further with their transformational intentions lies in the realm of the future.

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ADDENDA

Addendum 1



SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Dr. Joanne Hardman

University of Cape Town, Private Bag X3, Rondebosch, 7701
Physical address: Humanities Graduate School Building, University Ave South, Upper Campus
Tel: +27 (0) 21 650 3920 Fax: +27 (0) 21 650 3489
E-mail: Joanne.Hardman@uct.ac.za Internet: www.uct.ac.za/depts/educate

EDNREC20200501

5 May 2020

T. Gordon
GRDTIM002
University of Cape Town

RE: Ethical Clearance for Research project

I am pleased to inform you that ethical clearance has been granted by the School of Education Ethics Review Committee of the Faculty of Humanities for your academic Opening Pandora's Box: Desegregation and Change in Six Elite South African Public Schools. We wish you all the best with your research.

Regards

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Joanne Hardman'.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR JOANNE HARDMAN

ETHICS CHAIR

"Our Mission is to be an outstanding teaching and research university, educating for life and addressing the challenges facing our society."



T J (Tim) Gordon
74 the Orchards
University Drive
PINELANDS
Cape Town
7405

17 July 2019

The Principal

<Name of school>

<Address of school>

Dear <Name of Principal>

REQUEST TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH AT HIGH SCHOOL

I write to invite you and your school to be a part of my PhD study being undertaken at the University of Cape Town, which is concerned with desegregation and transformation in six public schools (all of which desegregated voluntarily in January 1991) in the Rondebosch-Wynberg “educational corridor”.

Purpose of the proposed research

The purpose of the research is fourfold:

- To identify and catalogue the transformational initiatives of a small group of schools that voluntarily undertook the path to desegregation during the period 1996 to 2018.
- To document those changes which occurred in the period 1983 to 1995 from a vantage point which has been largely ignored in previous research;
- To consider the role of management and governors in the enablement and the limitation of change in these schools; and
- To depict the manner in which the desegregation and transformation in these schools evolved over time.

In undertaking this school-based research, I request the following:

- Access to original documents which throw light on the ideas, decisions and movement towards desegregation and integration in the schools. Such documentation would include:
 - annual yearbooks and, where available and relevant, published histories of the schools;
 - relevant extracts from the minutes of management, staff, governing body and subcommittee meetings;
 - school policies on admissions, language and religion;
 - schedules of subjects and extra-curricular offerings;
 - statistical data on enrolments and staffing, including information on numbers and demographic classifications of learners and staff; and
 - information on integration initiatives such as sensitisation workshops; staff and learner guidance and support around desegregation and transformation; and equity and equality measures embarked upon by the school.
- Personal interviews with major role players in the desegregation initiatives: specifically with you as principal, but also with past principals, a current or past member of the governing body, and possibly, where relevant, some members of staff who enter voluntarily into focused discussion.
- Some assistance from the relevant members of staff (e.g. your librarian or archivist, admissions secretary and minuting secretary) in tracing relevant documents and data.

It is my hope that you will agree to the school being identified in the writing up of the research findings. At the same time, the research undertakes to reveal no personal information or details of any member of the staff, learner or parent body that will render them identifiable in the writing.

Intended area and relevance of the research

The research will consist of comparative case studies in the six selected schools which have commonalities of origin. They service strongly overlapping feeder areas and draw largely on the same communities for their learner and educator intakes. Historically, these schools and their parent bodies voluntarily desegregated their intakes in January 1991. The research aims to consider differences in the trajectories of change in the different schools from opening up onwards.

The case studies will be considered together to identify general shifts in time in discourses around school transformation and the policy, governance and management implications.

Administrative actions to be undertaken by the researcher before embarking on any on-site study

- Obtaining informed consent from any persons at the school participating in the research;
- Obtaining permission from the Western Cape Education Department to conduct research at Rustenburg.
- Establishing an agreement with the governing body concerning access to documents, access to staff, and reputational risk management.

With reference to the proposed research, the study aims in some ways to address broader educational questions around improved practices in the transformation and social cohesion of South Africa's schools.

Response

Should you be agreeable in principle to the participation of Rustenburg in the study, the next step would be to discuss a Memorandum of Understanding which will safeguard the integrity and anonymity of the information provided and the legitimate interests of those participating in the study.

Should you require any further information, please contact me personally (Tim Gordon at timgordon@global.co.za) and/or my supervisors in this study, namely Associate Professor Ursula Hoadley (uk.hoadley@uct.ac.za) or Emeritus Professor Johan Muller (johan.muller@uct.ac.za) at the University of Cape Town.

Many thanks for considering my request. I look forward to further contact with you.

Yours sincerely

Tim Gordon

Tim Gordon



School of Education

Dr Ursula Hoadley

Associate Professor: School of Education

University of Cape Town, Private Bag X3, Rondebosch 7701

The Principal

<Name of principal>

<Address of School>

Dear <Name of principal>

Re: Tim Gordon's request regarding research in your school

Tim Gordon is currently registered for the PhD degree in the School of Education at UCT. His research is focused on desegregation and transformation in selected public schools in the Rondebosch – Wynberg educational corridor.

The attached letter from him details his research aims and needs as well as the access to people and documents which will be required for the successful completion of his research.

We support his request for access to Rustenburg, and also his intention that the identity of the schools involved in the research should not be withheld. The main reason is that anonymity would be difficult to ensure given broad, public knowledge of the schools concerned. Further, the interest of the research is less in individual characteristics of schools and more in the general shifts in discourses and practices around desegregation and transformation over time, with geographically similarly situated schools differently positioned in responding to change.

Should you agree to the school being identified in the research, Tim Gordon under the University's auspices undertakes to grant you sight of the conclusions the study draws about your school prior to submission of the thesis.

The University would be most grateful if you were able to allow Tim Gordon access to the school and the relevant documents for the purposes of undertaking this research. If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to contact either of us.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ursula'.

Ursula Hoadley (supervisor)

Associate Professor

and

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Johan'.

Johan Muller (co-supervisor)

Professor



T J (Tim) Gordon
74 the Orchards
University Drive
PINELANDS
Cape Town
7405

PARTICIPANTS' INFORMATION SHEET

12 September 2020

<Name of principal>

<Address of school>

Dear <Name of principal>

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH INTERVIEW ON THE TOPIC: *OPENING PANDORA'S BOX? DESEGREGATION AND CHANGE IN SIX ELITE SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS*

I write to confirm my invitation to you, as one who was intimately involved with and instrumental in enhancing change in our school system's demographic characteristics and ethos at some time over the past 25 years, to participate in my PhD study being undertaken at the University of Cape Town. The study is concerned with desegregation and change in six elite public schools in South Africa (all of which desegregated voluntarily in January 1991), and I am very keen to have you complete a questionnaire with regard to your involvement in the processes.

Purpose of the proposed research

The purpose of the research is fivefold:

- To identify and catalogue the transformational initiatives of a small group of schools that voluntarily undertook the path to desegregation during the period 1983 to 1990;
- To document those changes which occurred in the period 1991 to 1995 from a vantage point which has been largely ignored in previous research;
- To depict the manner in which the desegregation and change in these schools evolved over the period 1996, when the South African Schools Act was promulgated, to 2015;
- To consider the role of management and governors in the enablement and the limitation of change in these schools during the foregoing periods.

- To distinguish lessons that can be drawn from the experiences of these schools which can be more widely applied to enhance racial, social and educational integration and inclusivity across a broader spectrum of schools.

Participation is voluntary and the confidentiality of the school, as well as the participants, is guaranteed. The schools involved will simply be referred to by a letter of the alphabet (A to F) and either pseudonyms or official designations (e.g. school principal in office in 1991; education department official responsible for drafting relevant regulations; senior employee of a professional association of the time) will be used for all participants in the writing up of the research.

Your personal details will not be included in the research or available to any reader thereof, and you may withdraw from the research at any time.

You may rest assured that I am fully conversant with the expectations and sensitivities of schools, unions and education departments around research of this nature, and will attempt throughout the project to fulfil such expectancies. I have had over 50 years of experience in and involvement with education, including as principal of five schools, an appointed official in two education departments and have experienced wide-ranging interaction at all levels with schools, education departments and professional associations as past National Chief Executive Officer of the Governing Body Foundation.

You are welcome to ask any questions regarding this research by telephone or email to either me personally (Tim Gordon at timgordon@global.co.za) and/or my supervisors in this study, namely Associate Professor Ursula Hoadley (uk.hoadley@uct.ac.za) or Emeritus Professor Johan Muller (johan.muller@uct.ac.za) at the University of Cape Town.

Many thanks for considering my request. I look forward to further contact with you.

Yours sincerely

Tim Gordon

Tim Gordon

University of Cape Town



Faculty of Humanities

School of Education

CONSENT FORM TO BE SIGNED BY PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH

1. Title of the research project

Opening Pandora's Box? Desegregation and Change in Six Elite South African Public Schools

2. Nature of the research

The aim of the study is to describe and analyse the racial desegregation process, consequent upon the promulgation of the so called 'Clase Models' of 1990, and the subsequent change trajectory followed by six elite South African public schools in the period 1991 to 2015. In doing so, the study also aims to identify the contextual factors that either enabled or blocked change in these schools, and to examine the impact of desegregation on the ethos of the schools.

3. Details of the researcher

Name: Tim Gordon
Contact details: timgordon@global.co.za
(+27) 072 98 55 456
74 The Orchards, University Drive, Pinelands, 7405

4. Details of the University

Department: Education
Neville Alexander Building, Upper Campus, University of Cape Town
Supervisors: Associate Prof U. K. Hoadley: uk.hoadley@uct.ac.za
Emeritus professor J. Muller: joan.muller@uct.ac.za

5. Participant

Name: <Name of Principal>
Contact: <Name of school>
<Address of school>

6. Participant's involvement

- Activities: Completing a questionnaire: this is likely to require approximately an hour of your time, and there may be some telephonic, written or face-to-face follow up should clarification of responses prove to be necessary.
- Risks: There are no foreseen risks involved beyond those which would accompany normal contact between two people.
- Costs: The participant will accrue no costs through participating in the activity, and will not be remunerated other than being reimbursed for direct costs which are incurred.

7. Participant's undertaking

- I have read this consent form and information it contains, and had the opportunity to ask questions about it.
- I understand that I am under no obligation to participate in this project.
- I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this project at any stage.
- I understand that the outcomes of the research may be published in a dissertation, research journal or book. In the case of the dissertation, the document will be available to readers in the university library in printed and electronic form.
- I agree to my responses being used for education and research on condition that my privacy is respected, subject to the following:
 - My personal details will not be included in the research or available to any reader thereof.
 - I will not be personally identifiable other than through reference to my professional position (e.g. school principal in office in 1991; education department official responsible for drafting relevant regulations; senior employee of a professional association of the time).

8. Confirmation

Name and signature of participant:

Name Signature

Name and signature of researcher:

Name Signature

Date

DISTRIBUTION AND TYPES OF INTERVIEWS UNDERTAKEN

The following 45 interviews were held in the course of gathering data for the study:

- 4 informal and unstructured personal discussions with academics, researchers and others involved with school desegregation.
- 41 formal, structured interviews as follows:
 - 21 with principals or past principals from the sample schools;
 - 8 with governors or past governors from the sample schools;
 - 4 with education officials of the time - two from the Department of National Education responsible for drafting the regulations to allow for the opening of public schools, and two others who were senior employees of the South African Teachers Association and the Open Schools Association at the time;
 - 4 with senior staff members of long standing in the sample schools who identified as having played a pivotal role in the desegregation trajectory: their input was of particular relevance where a principal in a sample school was deceased or was unable to participate in the research for any other reason;
 - 1 with a writer of the official histories of three of the sample schools;
 - 2 with senior educationalists with particular insights into the transformational initiatives in schools around 1991; and
 - 1 with the Director of the Western Cape Education Department's Centre for Conservation Education.

Summary of interview schedules and description of information elicited

<i>Description of data content sought/elicited</i>	<i>Source of data</i>	<i>Participants in data generation (where relevant)</i>	<i>Method utilised for data generation</i>	<i>Mode of recording of data</i>	<i>Accessing of instrument (if relevant)</i>
Brief historical review of the implementation, development and segregation of formal schooling in the Cape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews • Archives • Precedent literature • Regulations 	Director, Centre for Education Conservation	<p>Interview</p> <p>Reading, selection and analysis</p>	<p>Interview notes</p> <p>Study notes</p>	
Moves towards desegregation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews • Archives • Precedent literature 	Principals and staff of the time; Education Association leaders; Education Dept officials;	Face to face and Zoom interviews, written questionnaires	Transcribed audio recordings	Addenda A to H
Early desegregationist intent between 1983 and 1990		Principals and staff of the time; Education Association leaders; Education Dept officials;	Face to face and Zoom interviews; written questionnaires	Transcribed audio recordings	
Regulatory changes allowing for the voluntary desegregation of public schools in 1990: the 'Clase Models' and their early ramifications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Original regulations • Interviews 	Office bearers and officials Principals	Zoom interviews	Transcribed audio recordings and interview notes	Addendum I
Case studies in the six sample schools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Questions around school desegregation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Statistical data. • Scrutiny of policy documents • Interviews with principals and SGB chairs of the time. • Year books and school histories. • SGB minutes; • Original school and Education Department document - tation. 	Principals of the time; SGB chairs/members;	Face to face and Zoom interviews; written questionnaires	Interview notes; Study notes; Transcribed audio recordings	
The development of a new school ethos: changing interventions in response to desegregation which emerged in the post-apartheid era (1996 to 2015), and influenced school ethos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Schedules of academic and extra-mural offerings; • minutes; • year books and newsletters; • Interviews; • Matrixes 	Principals and senior staff of the time; SGB chairs/members.	Face to face and Zoom interviews; Written questionnaires; Personal observation.	Interview notes; Study notes; Transcribed audio recordings; Interview notes; Matrixes.	
Change <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demographic change • Policy changes • Changed learner outcomes • Staffing issues • Administrative changes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Statistical data; • Policy docs; • Principal and SGB chair interviews; • Newsletters; • Year books; • School histories; • Original school and Education Department document - tation; • Prizegiving programmes; • School photographs; • Honours boards. 	Principals and senior staff of the time; SGB chairs/members.	Face to face and Zoom interviews, written questionnaires.	Interview notes; Study notes; Transcribed audio recordings.	

PRINCIPALS’ SCHEDULES – TYPES, EXAMPLES AND CATEGORIES OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

TYPE OF QUESTION		Structured, closed questions in which respondents were required to make a selection from two or more possible options. Such questions were often followed by open ended questions and commonly made provision for an alternative which could go beyond the options provided	Partially open ended questions in which respondents were required to provide a more or less factual response to the question	Open ended questions in which respondents were required to give a personal opinion
EXAMPLES OF QUESTIONS				
Examples		<p>Do you have any measures in place specifically to prepare learners coming from the previously excluded communities for inclusion in your school? For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Special orientation sessions, seminars or workshops <input type="checkbox"/> Special notes, circulars or guidelines <input type="checkbox"/> Bridging classes <input type="checkbox"/> Other (if so, please elaborate): _____ 	<p>Please describe any incidents of which you are aware, whether positive or negative, which have occurred at the school and which can be placed at the door of changes in societal expectations over the past three years?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>	<p>Do you feel that the themes characterising the creative work produced by the learners (e.g. original art, creative writing, models) changed in a way that suggests a change of ethos during your tenure as principal? (Please answer YES or NO, and if YES, please give examples:</p> <p>_____</p>
% OF QUESTIONS PER CATEGORY		Structured	Partially structured	Open-ended
CATEGORIES OF QUESTIONS				
1.	General factors which influenced the decision to open the school to learners from all racial groups OR General factors exerting pressures for change	Approx. 58% of questions	Approx. 14% of questions	Approx. 28% of questions
2.	Issues around the admission of learners			
3.	Dynamics impacting on change and diversification			
4.	Stakeholder dynamics			
5.	The changing ethos of the school			
6.	In summary			
7.	Looking specifically at the post-2015 period (for interviewees in office around 2015 only)			

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE P (i)

Semi-structured interview with principals who were in service at the time of the voluntary desegregation of the school in 1990/1991

During the latter half of 1990 <Name of School>, at the time a school which enrolled only white learners, took the decision to enrol also learners from other race groups. The resolution to do so was a conscious decision of the school to opt for change. (At the time it was not required of schools to select one of the "change models" on the table: schools wishing to change had to apply to do so, but they were equally entitled to simply do nothing, in which case the status quo would remain.) <Name of School> was one of those which decided to "go open".

Against this background, please indicate:

The name of your school: _____

Your tenure at the school: From _____ to _____.

And then, to the 'going open' of the school:

INITIAL PROCESSES AND PROCEDURES PUT IN PLACE TO 'OPEN' THE SCHOOL

1. Your school enjoyed a very good reputation and was already over-subscribed. What motivated your school to "open", rather than maintaining the status quo?
2. Faced with a choice between the three models on the table, A, B and C, your school opted for Model B. What motivated the adoption of Model B, rather than Model A or C?
3. What significant challenges did the school perceive at the time of opening?
4. Can you identify a particular person, group or dynamic that was the prime mover or the source of the most significant pressure in the school around the decision to embark on the process leading to the opening the school to all races?
5. How was this pressure brought to bear?
6. With the parents identified by the regulations as the ultimate arbiters on whether to "open" the school or not, how did the governing body interact with them around their role?

THE DYNAMICS OF EFFECTING CHANGE AND DIVERSIFICATION

7. What was the general mood within the governing body of towards the proposed changes – was the SGB strongly pro, generally supportive, neutral, strongly anti ...?:
 - Strongly pro
 - Generally supportive
 - Neutral
 - Strongly anti
 - Something else? (If something else, please elucidate)

8. What was the general attitude in the parent body towards such changes?

- Strongly pro
- Generally supportive
- Neutral
- Strongly anti
- Something else? (If something else, please elucidate)

9. And the staff?

- Strongly pro
- Generally supportive
- Neutral
- Strongly anti
- Something else? (If something else, please elucidate)

10. And what about the learners?

- Strongly pro
- Generally supportive
- Neutral
- Strongly anti
- Something else? (If something else, please elucidate)

11. What role did the education department play in the transformation of the school during your tenure?

12. Were your views on the opening of the school influenced at all by the experiences of the already-open independent schools in the area?

13. Did the universities, who had moved towards open enrolments much earlier than public schools, serve (either directly or indirectly) as a pressure point, a guiding light or beacon, or an exemplar in your school's change processes?

ISSUES AROUND ADMISSIONS OF LEARNERS

14. The school was suddenly in a position to draw its intake from a very much wider pool of applicants than before. How did you accommodate the greater pressure for places in the school?

15. In the face of the changed rules on admissions, did you change the school's so-called "feeder area" to any extent?

16. What about your preferred feeder primary schools – was the list altered in any way?

17. Did the school or SGB set specific any formal, written admissions criteria?
18. If so can you give some idea of what they were?
19. Did you or your school ever consider, formally or informally, any form of "quotas" or numeric goals to be achieved in respect of the enrolment of learners of colour?
20. If there were such quotas or intake aims, were there any further goals, either formal or informal, with respect to the representation of different groups – Indian, coloured and black African?
21. How did you decide which applicants to accept?
22. Once the decision had been taken to “open” the school, did you actively recruit learners from the black communities (YES or No?)
23. If so, how did you do this?
24. In 1991, the first year in which you could enrol black children, what did your new intake look like racially?

GENERAL FACTORS PLAYING IN ON CHANGE AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE SCHOOL

25. Did you do anything to prepare the learners in the school at the time for changes in the racial composition of the school? (YES or NO)
26. If YES, which measures did the school use?
27. Did you put any measures in place specifically to prepare the new intake of learners coming from the previously excluded communities for inclusion in your school? (YES or NO)
28. If YES, can you name and explain them.

THE ETHOS OF THE SCHOOL DURING YOUR TENURE

29. Here are three statements from writings of the times, describing different approaches to the opening of the schools:
 - “You don't see the creed, the colour or the differences in the school... We are all the same here. I would like to think the young black people come here to be made into good Westside High learners ”
 - “Our aim was to be monocultural school where an authentic South African culture was promoted”
 - “We aimed at replacing the explicitly Eurocentric approaches of the school with a more Africanist style, including a deformalisation of uniforms, a broadening of religious practices, a casualization of relationships and a downplaying of the school’s white historical roots in favour of an inclusive, all-embracing view of the past”

Which one of these most closely and accurately describes your school in 1991?

30. In what ways was the school similar when you moved on, compared with 1990?
31. In what ways was it different?
32. Did the school experience “white flight” at the time, as a result of opening the school to other races?
33. Did any of the learners of colour feel that they had made a mistake in enrolling at a ‘white’ school and withdraw from the school as a result?
34. Are you aware of any incidents, positive or negative, which the occurred at the school and which can be placed at the door of the opening of the school?

SUMMARY

35. What do you think were the most important changes and developments which took place during your time as principal at the school?
36. Looking back at your tenure as principal of the school, to what extent and in which ways do you believe that your school did, or did not, successfully become "open", integrated and transformed?
37. Please add any comments on the matter which you would like to bring to my attention.
38. Are you able to nominate any other key role-players from your time at <Name of School>, or people who may have important views or information in respect of the transformation of the school to impart?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE P (ii)

Semi-structured interview with <Name of Principal>, principal of <Name of School> High School, whose tenure fell within the period 1997 - 2015 (i.e. after the forced desegregation of schools took place in line with the prescripts of the South African Schools Act, but prior to the #Fallist period post 2015)

During the latter half of 1990 <Name of School>, at the time a school which enrolled only white learners, took the decision to enrol also learners from other race groups. The resolution to do so was a conscious decision of the school to opt for change. (At the time it was not required of schools to select one of the "change models" on the table: schools wishing to change had to apply to do so, but they were equally entitled to simply do nothing, in which case the status quo would remain.) <Name of School> was one of those which decided to "go open". Some years later you became the principal at <Name of School>, and throughout your tenure it was an "open" or "integrated" or "desegregated" or "transformed" school.

Against this background, please indicate:

The name of your school: _____

Your tenure at the school: From _____ to _____.

GENERAL FACTORS INFLUENCING CHANGE AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE SCHOOL:

1. Do you believe that <Name of School> was, by the end of 2015:

- Largely similar
 Somewhat different
 Markedly different

from the school in which you took up your tenure?

2. In what ways was the school similar in 2015, compared with when you took up your tenure?

3. In what ways was it different?

4. Who or what force (individual, group or dynamic) was/has been the source of the most significant pressure influencing change in the school during your tenure?

5. How was this "force" brought to bear?

6. What role did the education department play in the transformation of the school during your tenure?

7. Were your views on the opening of the school influenced at all by the experiences of the already-open independent schools in the area?

8. Did the universities, who had moved towards open enrolments much earlier than public schools, serve (either directly or indirectly) as a pressure point, a guiding light or beacon, or an exemplar in your school's change processes?

9. **To what extent were you influenced by legal expectations – e.g. in the South African Schools Act and the Constitution – in your decisions around school transformation?**

10. **Here are three statements from writings of the times, describing different approaches to the opening of the schools:**

“You don't see the creed, the colour or the differences in the school... We are all the same here. I would like to think the young black people come here to be made into good members of the community with good values just like all our other Eastside High learners.”

“Our aim was to be monocultural school where an authentic South African culture was promoted.”

“We aimed at replacing the explicitly Eurocentric approaches of the school with a more Africanist style, including a deformalisation of uniforms, a broadening of religious practices, a casualization of relationships and a downplaying of the school’s white historical roots in favour of an inclusive, all-embracing view of the past.”

Which one of these most closely and accurately describes your school in 2015?

11. **As changes took place in the school during your tenure, what was the general mood within the governing body towards the proposed changes – was the SGB strongly pro, generally supportive, neutral, strongly anti?:**

Strongly pro

Generally supportive

Neutral

Strongly anti

Something else? (If something else, please elucidate)

12. **What was the general attitude in the parent body towards such changes (Please use similar descriptors to those suggested above)?**

Strongly pro

Generally supportive

Neutral

Strongly anti

Something else? (If something else, please elucidate)

13. **And the staff?**

Strongly pro

Generally supportive

Neutral

Strongly anti

Something else? (If something else, please elucidate)

14. And what about the learners?

- Strongly pro
- Generally supportive
- Neutral
- Strongly anti
- Something else? (If something else, please elucidate)

THE ETHOS OF THE SCHOOL BY THE END OF YOUR TENURE

15. The ethos of a school is often illustrated by the presence of absence of visible symbols (things such as the school badge, pictures, honours boards, banners and the like); or invisible rituals, actions or customs that can be experienced, seen or felt (for example, the tone and content of morning assemblies, major functions and orientation sessions; house names, names of buildings or facilities; or the treatment of juniors by seniors and staff).

15.1 Which do you regard as the most visible or noticeable symbols or rituals that illustrate the ethos that would be seen, experienced or felt by a visitor, a prospective parent, or a new pupil arriving at the school for the first time?

15.2 Did you consciously change or remove any of the existing symbols or rituals on the strengths of their being regarded as being illustrative of a previous ethos? (Please answer YES or NO, and if YES, please give examples)

15.3 Did you consciously add any symbols or rituals in order to illustrate a more inclusive ethos? (Please answer YES or NO, and if YES, please give examples)

15.4 Did the themes characterising the creative work produced by the learners (e.g. original art, creative writing, models), or the content of the dramatic and creative arts presented by learners in the school (e.g. type of music presented by individuals or groups; themes, style or content of drama productions; style or content of public oratory)) change in a way that suggests a change of ethos during your tenure as principal? (Please answer YES or NO, and if YES, please give examples)

ISSUES AROUND ADMISSIONS OF LEARNERS

16. The school was drawing its intake from a very much wider pool of applicants than before the opening to all races. How did you accommodate the greater pressure for places in the school, particularly from the children of families that had previously been denied admission to the school as a result of race-based laws?

17. Did the school or SGB set any specific written admissions criteria?

18. If so, what were they?

19. In the face of the changed rules on admissions, did you change the school's so-called "feeder area" to any extent?

20. Was the list of preferred feeder primary schools altered in any way as a consequence of the “open” status of the school?
21. Did you or your school ever consider, formally or informally, any form of "quotas" or numeric goals to be achieved in respect of the enrolment of learners of colour?
22. If there were such quotas or intake aims, were there any further goals, either formal or informal, with respect to the representation of different groups – Indian, coloured and black African?
23. With the school being an “open” school, did you actively recruit learners from the black communities
- No
- Yes
24. Did you offer bursaries or any other financial assistance or incentives to learners from any of the communities the school served, in order to persuade them to enrol at the school? Please elaborate.
25. If so, please explain how you recruited or incentivised learners into enrolling at the school.
26. How did you decide which applicants to accept?

THE DYNAMICS OF EFFECTING CHANGE AND DIVERSIFICATION

27. Either prior to the decision to make changes to how the school did things, or subsequent to such changes being made, were there any particular measures that you put in place to prepare the learners for the changes that were due to occur? For example: do/did you have any measures in place specifically to ensure that the original dominant group (whites) in the school was aware of a possible need for transformation in respect of their thoughts, approaches and attitudes?
28. Do or did you have any measures in place specifically to prepare the new intake of learners coming from the previously excluded communities for inclusion in your school?
29. Did you do anything to prepare the staff in the school at the time for changes in the racial composition of the school?
- Yes
- No
30. If YES, which measures did the school use?
31. During your tenure, did the school make any systemic changes in order to accommodate the needs of the changed intake?
32. What do you think are the most important changes and developments with respect to race and desegregation which took place during your time as principal at the school?

33. Are you aware of any incidents, positive or negative, which the occurred at the school and which can be placed at the door of the opening of the school?
34. Did the school experience "white flight" during this period, as a result of opening the school to other races?
35. Was there any "black flight among the new intake? If so, do you know what caused it?

SUMMARY

36. Looking back at your tenure as principal of the school, to what extent and in which ways do you believe that your school did, or did not, successfully become "open", integrated and transformed?
37. Please add any comments on the matter which you would like to bring to my attention.
38. Are you able to nominate any other key role-players from your time at <Name of School>, or people who may have important views or information in respect of the transformation of the school to impart?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE P (iii)

Semi-structured interview with principals whose tenure fell within the period 2015 - 2019 (i.e. during the #Fallist period of 2015 - 2019)

During the latter half of 1990 <Name of School>, at the time a school which enrolled only white learners, took the decision to enrol also learners from other race groups. The resolution to do so was a conscious decision of the school to opt for change. (At the time it was not required of schools to select one of the "change models" on the table: schools wishing to change had to apply to do so, but they were equally entitled to simply do nothing, in which case the status quo would remain.) <Name of School> was one of those which decided to "go open". Some years later you became the principal at <Name of School>, and throughout your tenure it was an "open" or "integrated" or "desegregated" or "transformed" school. There were, however, some momentous occurrences in the educational arena in 2015 and the years which followed, mainly in the field of tertiary education, which affected attitudes in society at large, and to some extent spilled over into schools, driven by what has become known to many as the #Fallist movement. These occurrences manifested themselves in schools as dissatisfaction with aspects of school governance and management such as Codes of Conduct, rules around the use of indigenous languages, both in the classrooms and in playgrounds, on public transport and during off-campus school activities; menus at school tuckshops and on school tours, camps or excursions; staff demographics and supposedly discriminatory staff appraisals and expectations and support actions and promotions, causing a number of schools to re-think some of their approaches.

Against this background, please indicate:

The name of your school: _____

Your tenure at the school: From _____ to _____.

GENERAL FACTORS EXERTING PRESSURES FOR CHANGE

1. To what extent did the outside pressures referred to in the introductory remarks translate into significant internal pressures for change in your school:

- There was little pressure to change things – we were satisfied with how we were functioning
- There was significant pressure on us, either from outside or from within our own structures, to respond to the events highlighted by the #Fallist activities

2. Who or what was the source of the most significant pressures for change in the post 2015 period?

3. How was this pressure brought to bear?

4. Do you believe that <Name of School> is now:

- Largely similar
- Somewhat different
- Markedly different

from how it was in the pre-2015 period?

5. In what ways is it similar?

6. In what ways is it different?
7. To what extent have you been influenced by legal expectations – e.g. in the South African Schools Act and the Constitution – or politicians’ approaches, in your decisions around school desegregation and transformation?
- Hardly at all – it is more a morally and politically driven decision of the school community
 - Not much – our approaches are more a response to a need to remain in step with what other schools are doing and the situation in the “open” universities to which many of our learners aspire
 - Significantly – the law, various court cases and the pronouncements of politicians have a clear transformational purpose or bias and we try to toe the line
8. Did the universities, who had moved towards open enrolments much earlier than public schools, and moves and developments in them, serve (either directly or indirectly) as a pressure point, a guiding light or beacon, or an exemplar in your school is change processes?
9. What role did the education department play in change and transformation in the school during this period?

ISSUES AROUND THE ADMISSION OF LEARNERS TO THE SCHOOL

10. On a general level, and not necessarily as a result of the events of 2015 and subsequent years, with the school being “open” does it actively recruit learners from the black communities?
11. If so, how do you do this?
12. Does the school or SGB have any specific written admissions criteria? If so can you give some idea of what they are? (Elaborate if you so wish, and explain nuances, but I will be getting a copy of the actual Policy from the school.)
13. Do you or your school ever consider, consciously or subconsciously, any form of "quotas" or numeric goals to be achieved in respect of the enrolment of learners of colour?
14. If there are such goals, are there any further goals, either formal or informal, with respect to the representation of different groups – Indian, coloured and black African?
15. How do you decide which applicants to accept into the school?
16. Your school is demographically clearly not the same as what it was 25 years ago. Within your experience, has the accommodation of the new learners come about through:
- Increasing the enrolment
 - Filling places freed up by "white flight"
 - A "colourblind" selection policy at admission which automatically increased the number of learners of colour and reduced the number of white learners

- Specific measures aimed at increasing diversity (such as): _____

- Some other means? (please elaborate) : _____

DYNAMICS IMPACTING ON CHANGE AND DIVERSIFICATION

17. Here are three statements describing different approaches to the transformation of desegregated schools:

- “We don't see the creed, the colour or the differences in the school ... We are all the same here. I would like to think the young black people come here to be made into good members of the community with good values just like all our other Eastside High learners”
- “Our aim is to be a monocultural school where an authentic South African culture is promoted”
- “We have aimed at replacing the explicitly Eurocentric approaches of the school with a more Africanist style, including one or more of the following: a deformalisation of uniforms, a broadening of religious practices, a casualization of relationships and a downplaying of the school's white historical roots in favour of an inclusive, all-embracing view of the past”

Which one of these most closely and accurately describes your school as at the end of 2016?

- 18. Either prior to the decision to make changes to how the school does things, or subsequent to such changes being made, are there any particular measures that you have put in place to prepare the learners for the changes? If so, please provide examples.**
- 19. Do you have any measures in place specifically to prepare learners coming from the previously excluded communities for inclusion in your school?**
- 20. Do you do anything specific to prepare the staff in the school for the diversity which exists in the racial composition of the school?**
- 21. If YES, which measures does the school use?**
- 22. Where such change has occurred, what has been the general mood within the governing body of towards the proposed changes?**
- Strongly pro
- Generally supportive
- Neutral
- Strongly anti
- Something else? (If something else, please elucidate)

23. Where changes have occurred, what has been the general attitude in the parent body towards such changes?

- Strongly pro
- Generally supportive
- Neutral
- Strongly anti
- Something else? (If something else, please elucidate)

24. And the staff?

- Strongly pro
- Generally supportive
- Neutral
- Strongly anti
- Something else? (If something else, please elucidate)

25. And what about the learners?

- Strongly pro
- Generally supportive
- Neutral
- Strongly anti
- Something else? (If something else, please elucidate)

26. Has the school experienced any "white flight" during this period, as a result of changes to the school ethos in order to accommodate the new pressures being brought to bear? (YES or NO)

27. Was there any "black flight" among learners from "other" communities? (YES or NO) If so, do you know what caused it?

28. Are you aware of any incidents, positive or negative, which have occurred at the school and which can be placed at the door of changes in societal expectations over the past three years?

THE CURRENT ETHOS OF THE SCHOOL

29. The ethos of a school is often illustrated by the presence of absence of visible symbols (things such as the school badge, pictures, honours boards, banners and the like); or invisible rituals, actions or customs that can be experienced, seen or felt (for example, the tone and content of morning assemblies, major functions and orientation sessions; house names, names of buildings or facilities; or the treatment of juniors by seniors and pupils by the staff).

29.1 Which do you regard as the most visible or noticeable symbols or rituals that illustrate the ethos that would be seen, experienced or felt by a visitor, a prospective parent, or a new pupil arriving at the school for the first time? You may select as many as you like, and may also add your own:

- 29.2 Are you aware that any past symbols or previous rituals such as those listed above have been removed as they were regarded as being illustrative of a previous ethos? (Please answer YES or NO, and if YES, please give examples.)**
- 29.3 Are you aware of any symbols or rituals such as those listed above that have been added in the past 25 years, in order to illustrate a more inclusive ethos? (Please answer YES or NO, and if YES, please give examples.)**
- 29.4 Did the themes characterising the creative work produced by the learners (e.g. original art, creative writing, models), or the content of the dramatic and creative arts presented by learners in the school (e.g. type of music presented by individuals or groups; themes, style or content of drama productions; style or content of public oratory)) change in a way that suggests a change of ethos during your tenure as principal? (Please answer YES or NO, and if YES, please give examples.)**

LOOKING SPECIFICALLY AT THE POST-2015 PERIOD

- 30. Have there been changes and developments in the approaches taken by the school which you believe can be attributed to the events of the post-2015 period?**
- 31. In responding to the issues of 2015 and thereafter, how else (if at all) has the school gone about changing itself in order to address the needs of “other” learners?**

IN SUMMARY

- 32. What do you think were the most important changes and developments with respect to race and desegregation which have taken place during the past six years?**
- 33. Looking back at your tenure as principal of the school, to what extent and in which ways do you believe that your school has, or has not, successfully become integrated/transformed?**
- 34. Please add any comments on the matter which you would like to bring to my attention.**
- 35. Please nominate any other key role-players in the transformation activities of the time under review, or people from this period who may have important views or information in respect of the transformation of the school to impart.**

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE G (i)

Semi-structured interview with Governing Body Members in office in the period of change related to developments around and the implementation of voluntary desegregation of the school between 1986 and 1997

<Name of School> *in which you filled a governance role in the late 1980s and or early 1990s enrolled only white learners. During the latter half of 1990* [Name of school] *took the decision to enrol also learners from other racial groups. The resolution to do so was a conscious decision of the school to opt for change. (At the time it was not required of schools to select one of the "change models" on the table: schools wishing to change had to apply to do so, but they were equally entitled to simply do nothing, in which case the status quo would remain.)* [Name of School] *was one of those which decided to "go open".*

Against this background, please indicate:

The name of the school where you served on the SGB: _____

Your period of service on the SGB of <Name of School>: From _____ to _____.

GENERAL FACTORS INFORMING CHANGE AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE SCHOOL

1. Your school enjoyed an outstanding reputation and was already significantly over-subscribed. What motivated the school to "open", rather than to maintain the status quo?
2. Faced with a choice between the three models on the table, A, B and C, <Name of School> opted for Model B. What motivated the adoption of Model B, rather than Model A or C?
3. Did the school perceive any significant challenges which were likely to occur as a consequence of the school opening to all racial groupings?
4. Who or what was the prime moving force (individual, group or dynamic) in the decision to open [Name of school] to all racial groupings?
5. Did the universities, which had moved towards open enrolments much earlier than public schools, serve (either directly or indirectly) as a pressure point, a guiding light or beacon, or an exemplar in your school's change processes?
6. Were your views on the opening of the school influenced at all by the experiences of the already-open independent schools in the area?
7. With the parents identified by the regulations as the ultimate arbiters on whether to "open" the school or not, how did the governing body interact with them around their role?

8. What was the general mood within the governing body of towards the proposed changes – was the SGB strongly pro, generally supportive, neutral, strongly anti ...?:

Strongly pro

Generally supportive

Neutral

Strongly anti

Something else?

9. What was the general attitude in the parent body towards such changes?

Strongly pro

Generally supportive

Neutral

Strongly anti

Something else?

10. Did you do anything to prepare the governing body and parents at the time for changes in the racial composition of the school?

Yes

No

11. If YES, what measures did the school use?

ISSUES AROUND THE ADMISSION OF LEARNERS

12. Did you or your school ever consider, formally or informally, any form of "quotas" or numeric goals to be achieved in respect of the enrolment of learners of colour?

13. If there were such quotas or intake aims, were there any further goals, either formal or informal, with respect to the representation of different groups – Indian, coloured and black African?

14. In what ways was the school similar by the time your tenure on the SGB ended, compared with how it had been when you arrived at the school as a parent?

15. In what ways, if any, had it transformed?

16. What changes do you believe ought to have taken place in that time, but which did not occur?

17. Who or what do you believe were the obstacles to change and transformation which prevented these changes from happening?

18. Are you aware of any incidents, positive or negative, which occurred at <Name of School> and which can be placed at the door of the opening of the school?

19. Did the school experience “white flight” during this period, as a result of opening the school to other races?
20. Was there any "black flight" among the new intake? If so, do you know what caused it?

THE ETHOS OF THE SCHOOL

21. The ethos of a school is often illustrated by the presence of absence of visible symbols (things such as the school badge, pictures, honours boards, banners and the like); or invisible rituals, actions or customs that can be experienced, seen or felt (for example, the tone and content of morning assemblies, major functions and orientation sessions; house names, names of buildings or facilities; or the treatment of juniors by seniors and staff).

21.1 Are you aware of any past symbols or previous rituals that were consciously removed or adapted as a consequence of their being regarded as being illustrative of a previous ethos? (Please answer YES or NO, and if YES, please give examples.)

21.2 Are you aware of any symbols or rituals that were consciously added during your tenure in order to create a more inclusive ethos? (Please answer YES or NO, and if YES, please give examples.)

SUMMARY

22. Would you like to add any comments on the matter which you would like to bring to my attention, or to summarise what you see as the most salient points around the desegregation of the school in the period around 1986 to 1996?
23. Are there any other key role-players in the transformation activities of the time, or people who may have important views or information in respect of the transformation of the school to impart, and who you believe I should interview?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE G (ii)

Semi-structured interview with Governing Body Members in office at the time of the voluntary desegregation of the school at some time in the period in 1998 to 2015

<Name of School> *in which you filled a governance role in the late period between 2005 and 2015 had until 1990 enrolled only white learners. During the latter half of 1990 <Name of School> took the decision to enrol also learners from other race groups. The resolution to do so was a conscious decision of the school to opt for change. (At the time it was not required of schools to select one of the "change models" on the table: schools wishing to change had to apply to do so, but they were equally entitled to simply do nothing, in which case the status quo would remain.) <Name of School> was one of those which decided to "go open". Your tenure on the governing body fell within the period 2005 - 2015, and throughout your tenure the school was an "open" or "integrated" or "desegregated" or "transformed" school, and had become, in some ways, a very different school to the one that moved to become 'open' in the 1990s, while in other ways it had striven to maintain large parts of the perceived standards, tone and ethos of its history.*

Against that background, the following:

1. What was your period of tenure at <Name of School>?
2. Is it your perception that the school had 'done transformation' by the time of your tenure, or were there ongoing efforts at further transformation?
3. What significant challenges did the school perceive during the time you were on the governing body?
4. Who or what was the prime moving force (individual, group or dynamic) in any decisions to further transform the school during this time, or to consciously avoid doing so?
5. Here are three statements from principals of desegregated schools similar schools to yours, and which describe some different approaches to the transformation of schools:

"We don't see the creed, the colour or the differences in the school... We are all the same here ... once they [children other than white] come through the gates of Yellowwood School (not its real name) they are Yellowwoodians ..."

"[In addressing transformation it hasn't been] quite a case of 'you have got to be like us', but undoubtedly we have at times said 'You are coming into this milieu and you know what rules and so on we have. Certainly, the day you get here, these rules and way of doing things are not going to change, you've got to meet those expectations'."

"Our aim [is to be] a monocultural school where an authentic South African culture is promoted ... We aim at replacing what were historically explicitly Eurocentric approaches in the school with a more Africanist style, including matters such as deformalization of uniforms, a broadening of religious practices, a casualization of relationships and a downplaying of the school's white historical roots in favour of an inclusive, all-embracing view of the past"

Which one of these most closely and accurately describes your school in about 2015, or at the time you ended your tenure?

6. With the parents identified by the regulations as the ultimate arbiters on how things are done in the school, how did the school or governing body interact with them around their role?

7. What was the general mood within the governing body of towards the proposed changes – was the SGB strongly pro, generally supportive, neutral, strongly anti?

Strongly pro

Generally supportive

Neutral

Strongly anti

Something else?

8. What was the general attitude in the parent body towards such changes?

Strongly pro

Generally supportive

Neutral

Strongly anti

Something else?

9. Did the school or SGB have any specific written admissions criteria during your tenure?

10. If so, what were they?

11. In the face of the changed rules on admissions, did you change the school's so-called "feeder area" to any extent?

12. Did you or your school ever consider, formerly or informally, any form of "quotas" or numeric goals to be achieved in respect of the enrolment of learners of colour?

13. If there were such quotas or intake aims, were there any further goals, either formal or informal, with respect to the representation of different groups – Indian, coloured and black African?

14. Did the school experience "white flight" during this period, as a result of opening the school to other races?

15. Was there any "black flight" among the new intake? If so, do you know what caused it?

16. Did you do anything to prepare the governing body and parents at the time for changes in the ethos of the school – its common 'way of doing things'? (YES or NO)

17. If YES, what measures did the school use?

18. What actions, if any, had the school taken by the end of your time in office to address the changed conditions in the school?
19. In what ways was the school similar when you left to what it had been when you started there?
20. In what ways was it different?
21. What do you think were the most important changes and developments with respect to racial desegregation, integration or transformation, which took place during your time on the governing body of the school?
22. The ethos of a school is often illustrated by the presence of absence of visible symbols (things such as the school badge, pictures, honours boards, banners and the like); or invisible rituals, actions or customs that can be experienced, seen or felt (for example, the tone and content of morning assemblies, major functions and orientation sessions; house names, names of buildings or facilities; or the treatment of juniors by seniors and staff).
 - 22.1 Which do you regard as the most visible or noticeable symbols or rituals that illustrate the ethos that would be seen, experienced or felt by a visitor, a prospective parent, or a new pupil arriving at the school for the first time? You may select as many as you like, and may also add your own:
 - 22.2 Are you aware that any past symbols or previous rituals such as those mentioned in your previous response have been removed as they were regarded as being illustrative of a previous ethos? (Please answer YES or NO, and if YES, please give examples.)
 - 22.3 Are you aware of any symbols or rituals such as those mentioned in your previous response that were added during your tenure and which illustrate a more inclusive ethos? (Please answer YES or NO, and if YES, please give examples.)
23. Are you aware of any incidents, positive or negative, which occurred at [name of school] and which can be placed at the door of the opening of the school?
24. Would you like to add any comments on the matter which you would like to bring to my attention, or to summarise what you see as the most salient points around the desegregation of the school in the period you were involved?
25. Are there any other key role-players in the transformation activities of the time, or people who may have important views or information in respect of the transformation of the school to impart, and who you believe I should interview?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE G (iii)

Semi-structured interview with Governing Body or Transformation Committee Members (formal or informal) in office during the latter period of the study period (i.e. 2016 – 2019)

<Name of School>, *in which you filled a governance role in the period more than a decade after the democratisation of the education system from 1995, had previously enrolled only white learners. During the latter half of 1990 <Name of School> took the decision to enrol also learners from other race groups. The resolution to do so was a conscious decision of the school to opt for change. (At the time it was not required of schools to select one of the "change models" on the table: schools wishing to change had to apply to do so, but they were equally entitled to simply do nothing, in which case the status quo would remain.) [Name of School] was one of those which decided to "go open".*

Against this background, please indicate:

The name of the school where you served on the SGB:

Your period of service on the SGB of <Name of School>: From _____ to _____.

GENERAL FACTORS INFORMING CHANGE AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE SCHOOL

1. Did you and your peers on the SGB perceive any significant challenges which needed to be addressed as a consequence of the school being open to all racial groupings, and possible changes that this would entail?

YES

NO

Please elaborate on your answer.

2. Was there any significant feeling from the SGB during your tenure or parents in the school at the time that the school needed to change significantly its approaches, activities, offerings or ethos?

YES

NO

3. Please elaborate on your answer.

4. If YES, who or what was the prime moving force (individual, group or dynamic) in the decision to consider such changes?

ISSUES AROUND THE ADMISSION OF LEARNERS

5. Did you or the school ever consider, formally or informally, any form of "quotas" or numeric goals to be achieved in respect of the enrolment of learners of colour?

6. If there were such quotas or intake aims, were there any further goals, either formal or informal, with respect to the representation of different groups – Indian, coloured and black African?

YES

NO

Please elaborate on your answer.

DYNAMICS IMPACTING ON CHANGE AND DIVERSIFICATION

7. In what ways was the school similar by the time your tenure on the SGB ended, compared with how it had been when you arrived at the school as a parent?

8. In what ways, if any, had it transformed?

9. Are there any changes that you believe ought to have taken place in that time, but which did not occur?

YES

NO

Please elaborate on your answer.

10. Who or what do you believe were obstacles to change and transformation, if any, which prevented change from happening?

Please elaborate on your answer.

11. Are you aware of any incidents, positive or negative, which occurred at <Name of school> and which can be placed at the door of the opening of the school?

YES

NO

Please elaborate on your answer.

12. Did the school experience any "white flight" during this period, as a result of opening the school to other races?

13. Was there any "black flight" among the new intake? If so, do you know what caused it?

STAKEHOLDER DYNAMICS

14. What was the general mood within the governing body of towards changes that may have been proposed– was the SGB strongly pro, generally supportive, neutral, strongly anti?

Strongly pro

Generally supportive

Neutral

Strongly anti

Something else?

15. What was the general attitude in the parent body towards such changes?

- Strongly pro
- Generally supportive
- Neutral
- Strongly anti
- Something else?

16. Did you do anything to move the SGB towards deeper transformation or prepare the parents of the time for possible changes in the activities or approaches of the school – Yes or No?

- YES
- NO

17. If YES, what measures did the SGB (or the school, through the SGB) use?

THE CHANGING ETHOS OF THE SCHOOL

18. The ethos of a school is often illustrated by the presence of absence of visible symbols (things such as the school badge, pictures, honours boards, banners and the like); or invisible rituals, actions or customs that can be experienced, seen or felt (for example, the tone and content of morning assemblies, major functions and orientation sessions; house names, names of buildings or facilities; or the treatment of juniors by seniors and staff).

17.1 Are you aware of any past symbols or previous rituals that were consciously removed or adapted as a consequence of their being regarded as being illustrative of a previous ethos? (Please answer YES or NO, and if YES, please give examples.)

17.2 Are you aware of any symbols or rituals that were consciously added during your tenure in order to create a more inclusive ethos? (Please answer YES or NO, and if YES, please give examples.)

IN SUMMARY

18 Would you like to add any comments on the matter which you would like to bring to my attention, or to summarise what you see as the most salient points around the desegregation of the school in the period of your tenure?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE O (i)

Unstructured interview with critical national education leaders who were in office or in service at the time of the drawing up of the Clase models for the desegregation of public schools in South Africa which took place in 1991, and who were intimately involved in designing and overseeing the implementation of the process going forward.

1. For the record, please confirm your name, and the two critical positions you held in the run-up to the desegregation of public schools in South Africa in 1991.
2. From your vantage point, what was the perceived trigger which led to the desegregation of public schools in South Africa by way of the so-called Clase models?
3. What do you believe were the aims of the senior politicians and departmental officials in having new regulations promulgated?
4. What role did you play in drawing up the regulations for desegregation?
5. Where did the governance model that you decided on originate, and how did you develop its style and content?
6. What were, to your mind, its most critically important features?
7. It is well-nigh impossible for a researcher looking in from the outside to set specific questions to which you can respond: would you therefore share your experiences, from both a schools' perspective and Association point of view, of the pre-1991 run-up to the implementation of the desegregation process?
8. How did the process evolve from that point, from the vantage point of the Department to which you moved in the middle of the process?
9. With hindsight, how do you respond to how the process unfolded in the 1991 to 1994 period? Do you believe it succeeded in the aims you, your Association and ultimately your Department held with regard to the process?
10. Do you believe that the promulgation and implementation of the 1990 regulations had any effect, positive or negative, on the way in which the desegregation of public schools eventually evolved in the post-1994 period?
11. What were, in your opinion, the key success factors in the process, for which you would be comfortable to take some credit, and what do you believe could and should have been done differently?
12. Could you suggest any other key role-players or people who may have important views or information in respect of the transformation of these schools to impart?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE O (ii)

Unstructured interview with senior officials in a professional teachers' association who were in service at the time of the publication and implementation of the Clase models for the desegregation of public schools in South Africa which took place in 1991.

1. For the record, please confirm your name, and the position you held in the run-up to the desegregation of public schools in South Africa in 1991.
2. From your vantage point in a professional teachers Association, what was the perceived trigger which led to the desegregation of public schools in South Africa by way of the so-called Clase models?
3. Why did your organization support the proposals in the form in which they were promulgated at a time when many in the schools, but also many outsiders, such as the political parties of the time, the media and the democratic movement, were critical of them?
4. Were the political parties of the time involved in pressurising you in any way?
5. What role did you play in studying multiculturalism, motivating schools and guiding those concerned in the application of the regulations for desegregation?
6. It is difficult for a researcher looking in from the outside to set more specific questions to which you can respond: would you therefore share your experience, from a professional association point of view, of the pre-1991 run-up to the implementation of the desegregation process?
7. With hindsight, how do you respond to how the process unfolded in the post-1991 period?
8. Could you nominate any other key role-players or people who may have important views or information in respect of the transformation of these schools to impart?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE O (iii)

Unstructured interview with a senior official in a professional association providing guidance on school transformation who was in service at the time of the publication and implementation of the Clase models for the desegregation of public schools in South Africa which took place in 1991.

1. For the record, please confirm your name, and the position you held in the run-up to the desegregation of public schools in South Africa in 1991.
2. From your vantage point in a professional teachers Association, what was the perceived trigger which led to the desegregation of public schools in South Africa by way of the so-called Clase models?
3. Why did your organization support the proposals in the form in which they were promulgated at a time when many in the schools, but also many outsiders, such as the political parties of the time, the media and the democratic movement, were critical of them?
4. Were the political parties of the time involved in pressurising you in any way?
5. What role did you play in studying multiculturalism, motivating schools and guiding those concerned in the application of the regulations for desegregation?
6. It is difficult for a researcher looking in from the outside to set more specific questions to which you can respond: would you therefore share your experience, from a professional association point of view, of the pre-1991 run-up to the implementation of the desegregation process?
7. With hindsight, how do you respond to how the process unfolded in the post-1991 period?
8. Could you nominate any other key role-players or people who may have important views or information in respect of the transformation of these schools to impart?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: MISCELLANEOUS, UNATTACHED OBSERVERS

Unstructured interview with interested, knowledgeable observers from outside of the direct ambit of the sample schools, but who were nevertheless involved in some way in developments around the desegregatory process in the country's elite public schools.

1. For the record, please confirm your name, and the position you held during the desegregatory process in respect of public schools in South Africa post 1991.
2. Please indicate your particular advantage point these of the desegregated the trajectory as it is in unfolded in South Africa's elite public schools
3. It is difficult for a researcher looking in from the outside to set specific questions to which you can respond: would you therefore share your experience of an insight into, from a professional the desegregatory process as you observe that in South Africa's elite public schools. Please, insofar as you were involved in developments, comment on matters such as the lead up to public school desegregation; the triggers which instigated the integratory initiatives; the effect of desegregation on school's structures and ethos and particular developments in and around the schools which you believe were important in the entire matter of school desegregation in South Africa over the past 30 years.
4. With hindsight, how do you respond to how the process unfolded in the post-1991 period?

SOUTH AFRICAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION MOTIONS WITH RACIAL CONNOTATIONS PRESENTED TO ITS ANNUAL CONFERENCES, 1977 to 1990

In the period 1977 to 1990 (i.e. the first year after the opening of certain independent white schools in South Africa to all races, to the last year before the opening of the first white public schools to black learners) the (almost exclusively white) South African Teachers' Association (SATA) adopted 62 motions relevant to the de-racialization of schools education in the country. The 18 motions listed below exclude those related to broader philosophical issues or the conditions of service of teachers (e.g. the equalisation of salaries for educators of all races) and identify those with specific relevance to the racial desegregation of schools.

Political-structural issues

- 5 of 1983: Recognising that the present dispensation presents insuperable obstacles in working towards equal opportunities for all the children of our land, the SATA condemns apartheid as detrimental to education in South Africa.
- 19 of 1985: Believing that educational policy in South Africa is a factor leading to an increasing polarisation between white and black South Africans, the SATA requests that the relevant authorities and the General Committee immediately investigate the viability of proclaiming state schools open to all children.
- 1 of 1984: Believing that apartheid is detrimental to education in South Africa, the SATA be-affirms its strong support for a single Ministry of Education and consequently rejects the designation 'own affair' as used with regard to education in the new constitutional dispensation.
- 10 of 1989: The SATA supports the principle and implementation of a Bill of Rights which will protect the individual rights of all South African citizens.

Motions endorsing interracial contact

- 3 of 1978: Conference endorses the decision of the Standing Committee to send a representative to the unstructured "contact" meeting held on 10 June 1978, and urges the General Committee to continue to seek contact with other teacher associations along this avenue.
- 54 of 1980: Conference recommends the General Committee in particular, and all SATA members in general, to take a lead in fostering good race relations by taking active steps to promote contact and interaction between teachers, schools and pupils of all races in South Africa.
- 35 of 1986: Conference resolves to call on all members of the SATA to make every effort for their schools to make contact with schools and associations of other race groups.

Motions specifically endorsing the opening of schools to learners of all races

39 of 1986: Conference requests the General Committee to campaign for and promote the right of school committees to open their schools to all races if the school committees so desire it.

40 of 1986: While accepting

1. that the primary responsibility of the school is to cater for the education of the children in the local area, and that it
2. should apply suitable educational criteria for the admission of children to the school,

Conference calls on the government to permit the school to admit pupils irrespective of race, creed or language in areas where the local community has chosen to do so.

7 of 1987: Conference requests that the government allow the enrolment of any pupil, regardless of race, at any school on the approval of the school committee of that school. (The following motions adopted over the years are substantially and substantively similar to 7 of 1987: 5 of 1987, 13 of 1987, 23 of 1987, 33a of 1989, 46 of 1990 and 47 of 1990, and they are not reproduced here in full.)

Motions concerning the promotion of relevant pedagogic approaches in desegregated schools

15 of 1987: Conference requests the General Committee to research the possibility of providing an in-service training course for those SATA members who are currently involved in orientating members of other population groups into our present school system, with the aim of (a) sharing experiences, expertise and awareness, (b) diagnosing and identifying relevant areas for further scientific investigation, and (c) formulating a model for implementation when our schools are eventually opened.

52 of 1989: Conference accepts with thanks the working document "*Educating for a Democratic Non-racial Society.*" Conference furthermore endorses the broad principles outlined in the document regarding democracy and non-racialism and urges its members to use the ideas in the document to prepare ourselves and our children for the South Africa of the future.

Schools in the 'Wynberg - Mowbray education corridor'

	School name	Type	High or Primary	Predominant race group when founded	Quintile
1	Abbots College	Independent	High	White	Independent
2	Auburn House School	Independent	Primary	White	Independent
3	Cedar House	Independent	High	White	Independent
4	Claremont High School	Public	High	White	4
5	Claremont Primary School	Public	Primary	White	4
6	Diocesan College	Independent	High	White	Independent
7	Diocesan College Preparatory	Independent	Primary	White	Independent
8	Forres Preparatory	Independent	Primary	White	Independent
9	Greenfields Primary School	Public	Primary	White	5
10	Groote Schuur High	Public	High	White	5
11	Groote Schuur Primary	Public	Primary	White	5
12	Herschel Girls' High School	Independent	High	White	Independent
13	Herschel Girls' Preparatory School	Independent	Primary	White	Independent
14	Hillcrest Primary School	Public	Primary	White	4
15	Livingstone High School	Public	High	Coloured	4
16	Marist Junior School	Public	Primary	White	5
17	Michael Oak	Independent	Primary	White	Independent
18	Micklefield	Independent	Primary	White	Independent
19	Oakhurst	Public	Primary	White	5
20	Observatory Primary School	Public	Primary	White	4
21	Pro-Ed House	Independent	Primary	White	Independent
22	Rhodes High School	Public	High	White	5
23	Rondebosch Boys' High School	Public	High	White	5
24	Rondebosch Boys' Preparatory School	Public	Primary	White	5
25	Rosebank Primary School	Public	Primary	White	5
26	Rosmead Central Primary School	Public	Primary	Coloured	4
27	Rustenburg Girls' High School	Public	High	White	5
28	Rustenburg Girls' Junior School	Public	Primary	White	5
29	SA College Schools High School	Public	High	White	5
30	SA College Schools Junior School	Public	Primary	White	5
31	Sans Souci	Public	High	White	5
32	Simon van der Stel Primary	Public	Primary	White	5
33	Springfield Convent	Independent	High	White	Independent
34	St George's Grammar School	Independent	High	White	Independent
35	St George's Primary School	Independent	Primary	White	Independent
36	St Joseph's College	Public	High	White	5
37	Thandokulu	Public	High	Black	4
38	The Grove Primary School	Public	Primary	White	5
39	Voortrekker High School	Public	High	White	4

40	Westerford High School	Public	High	White	5
41	Western Province Preparatory School	Independent	Primary	White	Independent
42	Wynberg Boys' High School	Public	High	White	5
43	Wynberg Boys' Junior School	Public	Primary	White	5
44	Wynberg Girls' High School	Public	High	White	5
45	Wynberg Girls' Junior School	Public	Primary	White	5

Summary

Public schools	29
Independent schools	16
High Schools	20
Primary Schools	25
Originally for white learners	42
Originally for coloured learners	2
Originally for black learners	1
TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	45

KAAPLANDSE
ONDERWYSDEPARTEMENT



CAPE
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Circular No. 65/1990
File: L.1/0/25/25/1

P.O. Box 13
CAPE TOWN
8000

10 September 1990

TO PRINCIPALS OF DEPARTMENTAL PRIMARY
AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MANAGEMENT
COUNCILS (SCHOOL COMMITTEES)

(FOR THE INFORMATION OF MINISTERIAL
REPRESENTATIVES, MEMBERS OF THE
PROVINCIAL EDUCATION COUNCIL,
CHAIRMAN OF FEDERATIONS OF SCHOOL
COMMITTEES, CHIEF SUPERINTENDENTS AND
SUPERINTENDENTS OF EDUCATION (EDUCATIONAL
GUIDANCE) AND SCHOOL BOARDS)

ADDITIONAL MODELS FOR THE PROVISION OF SCHOOLING: INFORMATION DOCUMENT

1. Attached hereto is an information document relating to the additional models for the provision of schooling announced by the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr P.J. Clase.
2. At the request of the Minister special arrangements have been made to distribute this information document as quickly as possible to schools, management councils (school committees) and parents. To achieve this, principals are requested to implement the following steps immediately and precisely:
 - 2.1 One copy of the circular, together with the information document, must be handed to the chairman of the school's management council (school committee) for the information of the management council.
 - 2.2 The other copy is for the information of the school and of the staff, and serves also as a master copy for the preparation of the copies to be sent to the parents. The arrangements set out in paragraph 3 below will apply in this regard.
3. Distribution to parents
 - 3.1 Schools with facilities for copying documents must make copies of the information document locally and distribute these in official envelopes to the parents and legal guardians (one per family). These copies need be provided only in the language of the parent/guardian concerned.

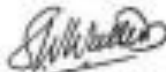
Depending on local circumstances, the distribution may be undertaken either by means of the pupils or by post. Should you decide to use the pupils for the purpose, it is strongly recommended that an acknowledgement of receipt be completed by the parents and returned to the school.

- 3.2 Schools without copying facilities must make arrangements with the responsible Superintendent of Education for the printing of the necessary number of copies at the nearest school board office, or other institution, as determined by the Superintendent of Education.

The further distribution will proceed as set out in paragraph 3 above.

- 3.3 Should school/school board offices not have adequate supplies of paper, the principal/secretary of the school board may authorise local purchases, and the certified invoices paid by the school board under the relevant subheading for stationery of the institution concerned.
4. There is an embargo on these documents to the effect that these documents may not be distributed before 11 September 1990. PRINCIPALS MUST ENSURE THAT THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE DOCUMENT IS MAINTAINED UNTIL THIS DATE.
5. It is the wish of the Minister that this information document should, if at all possible, reach the parents/guardians before or on 14 September 1990. You are accordingly earnestly requested to do everything in your power to ensure that this is done.
6. Thank you for your cooperation.
7. HANDBOOK FOR PRINCIPALS: This circular must be added to
- (1) Chapter 8. Write below paragraph 3.5: See Appendix H - ADDITIONS.
 - (2) APPENDIX H, under ADDITIONS:

PARAGRAPH	SUBJECT	SOURCE OF REFERENCE
3.5	Additional models for the provision of schooling: Information document	Circular 65/90



S.W. WALTERS
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: EDUCATION
/JC

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
ADMINISTRATION : HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

ADDITIONAL MODELS FOR THE PROVISION OF SCHOOLING

INFORMATION DOCUMENT

In this document information is provided about the additional models for the provision of education which were announced by Mr P J Clase, Minister of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Assembly.

1. INTRODUCTION

The present school system will continue to exist within the provisions of the present Constitution. Therefore each school community which is satisfied with the existing provision of schooling made for that community does not have to exercise an alternative choice or to vote on the matter. It is also not necessary that a school community should take a decision about an additional model immediately, as a request with regard to an additional model could be made at any later stage.

In concurrence with the need of certain school communities to have a greater degree of authority in the admission policy of their schools it has been decided that any school community which so chooses may request the Minister to change its existing ordinary public school to one of the following additional models:

- * a private school which after the closure of the public ordinary school operates in the same buildings (later Model A)
- * a public ordinary school which determines its own admissions policy within the provisions of the Constitution (later Model B)
- * a public ordinary school which has been declared to be a state aided school (later Model C)

(A description of each of these types of school appears at paragraph 7)

Each community which decides on an additional model is required to consider the consequences of such a decision most thoroughly, as such a decision cannot lightly be reversed.

2. THE PERCENTAGE VOTE IN FAVOUR OF CHANGE

A community considering a change is required to conduct an opinion poll in accordance with fixed prescribed procedures, and to state its preference to the Minister in terms of a convincing majority vote. A minimum percentage of 72% of those entitled to vote must vote in favour of the change, on condition that at least 80% of all such enfranchised parents/legal guardians must participate in the poll. The percentage poll in favour of change will, although important, not necessarily be the determining factor. Obviously the Minister will also take other factors into consideration (see paragraph 5).

3. FACTORS TO BE BORNE IN MIND

The following general principles are to be borne in mind prior to considering an alternative model for schooling :

3.1 THE MISSION OF THE DEPARTMENT

All the schools under the jurisdiction of this Department strive to accomplish the following mission:

The provision of excellent and relevant education originating in the cultural milieu of a local community; that is, schooling which has a Christian and broad national character and which is provided to its target group through the medium of the mother tongue. Parental involvement is acknowledged, as is the religious freedom of the individual. Where possible, the Department renders a service to other groups in terms of Item 14 of Schedule 1 of the Constitution.

The Minister will approve the conversion of a state school to one of the additional models only if it will still be possible under the changed circumstances to achieve the stated mission of the Department in practice.

3.2 THE RENDERING OF SERVICE

In terms of the provisions of the Constitution (Item 14 - Schedule 1 read together with Article 14) an Education Department may render service to members of another population group. When a school community decides in terms of one of the additional models to request that pupils of other population groups be admitted to the school, such admission shall take place within the provisions of the Constitution. The majority of the pupils must therefore be Whites who in the nature of things are the primary responsibility of the Department of Education and Culture, Administration : House of Assembly. Within this provision a management council may, under certain conditions - as for example the requirement of mother tongue instruction (compare 3.3) - lay down its own additional criteria for admission.

3.3 MOTHER TONGUE INSTRUCTION

In terms of the National Education Policy Act, 1967 (Act 39 of 1967), and the policy announced in terms thereof in Government Notice R809 of the 16th May 1969 as amended, the mother tongue of the pupil shall be the official medium of instruction, that is Afrikaans or English. If the school renders service to others, the language medium of the school will remain unchanged.

3.4 CULTURALLY DETERMINED EDUCATION

The Christian and National character of education is specified in the National Education Policy Act, 1967 (Act 39 of 1967) and is defined in Government Notice R2029 (para 274) of 12 November 1971.

Any pupil enrolled at a school under the jurisdiction of the Administration : House of Assembly shall receive instruction in accordance with the approved curriculum which has as its point of departure the culture of the target group; but which at the same time includes contact with and an introduction to a wider cultural world.

3.5 DIFFERENTIATED EDUCATION

In terms of the National Education Policy Act, 1967 (Act 39 of 1967) and the policy announced in terms thereof in Government Notice R2029 of 12 November 1971 (para 8 and following) a system of differentiated education is operated in the schools of the Department. This means that a pupil shall receive instruction which takes account of his/her ability, aptitude and interests.

3.6 PROVISION OF SCHOOLING FOR PUPILS DRAWN FROM THE NATURAL FEEDER AREA OF A SPECIFIC SCHOOL

When pupils are admitted to any school under the control of the Department of Education and Culture, Administration : House of Assembly, White pupils from the feeder area of the school who are the primary target group of the Administration : House of Assembly shall receive preference.

3.7 RETENTION OF THE VALUES AND ETHOS OF A SPECIFIC SCHOOL

A change in the admission policy of a school may not detract from the traditional values and ethos of such school.

3.8 HOSTELS

Should a community consider one of the alternative models this also includes the de facto facilities of the school in their entirety. As school hostels form an integral part of the educational programme at some schools, any change in the policy of admission to the school would also imply admission to school hostels.

4. ALTERNATIVE PROVISION OF SCHOOLING FOR PUPILS WHO WISH TO LEAVE THE SCHOOL AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE ACCEPTANCE OF ANOTHER MODEL FOR THE PROVISION OF SCHOOLING

The Provincial Education Department will make arrangements for alternative provision of schooling for those pupils who wish to leave the school because there has been a majority vote in favour of an alternative model. This alternative provision will have the least possible disruption for the pupil and his parents as a con-

sequence, but will imply attendance at another school which may necessitate residence in a hostel.

5. **FACTORS WHICH THE MINISTER WILL TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION WHEN ASSESSING A REQUEST FROM A MANAGEMENT COUNCIL TO ACCEPT AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL**

Among others the following factors will be taken into consideration:

- 5.1 The percentage majority vote which has been cast by enfranchised parents/legal guardians.
- 5.2 The number of pupils who will leave the school as a consequence of the change, and the feasibility of making alternative educational provision for them.
- 5.3 Alternative school facilities which are available
- 5.4 Demographic data
- 5.5 The wishes of other schools in the natural feeder area of the school. For example, should a primary school decide to alter its admissions policy and should the local high school vote against this, this could create problems with regard to the flow of pupils from the one school to the other.

6. **WHO MAY VOTE**

Each parent or legal guardian of a pupil is enfranchised and each is entitled to one vote. This implies that single parents shall have a single vote irrespective of the number of children they have in the school, while both parents in a family shall each have one vote irrespective of the number of children they have in the school concerned. In the case of Childrens' Homes the Managing Body of such Childrens' Home shall, on behalf of the parents of children in an Childrens' Home cast one vote per five pupils in the school, on the understanding that such votes shall not constitute more than 20% of the total percentage of votes cast at the school.

7. THREE ADDITIONAL MODELS FOR SCHOOLING

Only those schools which are considering a change and which are not satisfied with the status quo will exercise a choice with regard to one of the following models. Schools which are not considering a change will not take a poll on the matter. A decision in this regard will be initiated by the Management Council.

The specific circumstances will differ from school to school. In this document only broad guidelines are given. Should a Management Council consider holding an opinion poll by means of a vote with regard to one of the models, the Provincial Education Department will have to be approached for particulars which are applicable to that specific school: such as, for example, the actual running costs of that specific school, possibilities with regard to the hire or purchase of the property, and so forth. A Management Council also has the right, within the given guidelines, to lay down additional criteria of its own - such as the number of pupils from other groups which may be permitted to enter the school and the admission requirements - and to make these particulars known to the parent community.

7.1 PRIVATE SCHOOLS WHICH ARE ESTABLISHED AFTER THE CLOSURE OF STATE SCHOOLS (MODEL A)

7.1.1 Should a school community wish a state school to become a private school, the school will be closed as a state school. Thereafter, in accordance with the provisions of the Private Schools Act (Assembly) 1986, (Act 104 of 1986) application can be made to register the school as a private school.

The Management Council will be dissolved and replaced with an "owner", which may be a person or body.

7.1.2 The acceptance of this model will have greater financial implications than those which currently apply to the parents of a community involved in ordinary public schools. Financial implications will vary from school to school and only broad guidelines are given in this document.

Should a school community be interested in the privatisation model, enquiries can be addressed to the relevant Provincial Education Department about the particular financial implications for a specific school.

7.1.3 Financial implications

7.1.3.1 A subsidy of 45% of operating expenses will be granted in accordance with a formula, as is the case at existing private schools.

7.1.3.2 The 45% subsidy will be phased in over a period of 3 years, with 85% in the first year, 70% in the second year, 55% in the third year and 45% in the fourth year.

7.1.3.3 The operating expenses include the salaries of all the personnel as well as stock and services, maintenance of buildings and equipment, where applicable.

7.1.3.4 Should the parent/school community be desirous of maintaining the current standard and services of the state school at the current level of funding for state schools, the parent/school community will have to contribute approximately an estimated R2520 per pupil per annum. This amount could vary from school to school.

7.1.4 Buildings and equipment

All the buildings and equipment will be hired in toto either at a nominal amount, or sold - either at full market value or sold at less than market value with a reversionary clause. The management body of the school will assume full responsibility for maintenance, insurance, possible damage, loss and replacements.

7.1.5 Contractual agreement

A contractual agreement will be entered into with the managing body.

7.1.6 Date of implementation

This model could be implemented during the course of 1991 on a date to be determined.

7.2 STATE SCHOOLS WHICH WISH TO CHANGE THEIR ADMISSIONS POLICY (MODEL B)

7.2.1 Should a community which has the required majority prefer that the Management Council of the school should itself decide on the admission of pupils, it would be possible for the Minister after considering all the relevant factors to grant permission to the Management Council of the state school to determine its own admissions policy and its own criteria for admission within the provisions of the Constitution.

7.2.2 Provision will not be made for additional facilities, accommodation or transport schemes, and where parental choice leads to the admission of pupils from other groups the status quo will be maintained with regard to physical facilities other than in cases where provision has to be made for those pupils whose parents do not wish them to remain in schools of this type.

If other suitable public ordinary schools are not available within walking distance in the vicinity of the parental home such pupils may be placed in hostels or may make use of transport schemes where these facilities exist. Bursaries will be available in accordance with approved sliding scales.

7.2.3 Date of implementation

If the Minister grants permission, this model could be implemented as from 1 January 1991 or on a later date.

7.2.4 Financial implications

This model has no further financial implications for the parent/school community.

7.3. STATE AIDED SCHOOL (MODEL C)

A state aided ordinary school which is established after the public ordinary school has been closed, is comparable with present state aided institutions such as pre-primary schools and schools for specialised education as described in Act 70 of 1988 as well as Technical Colleges which are described in Act 104 of 1981 and Act 70 of 1988.

The following principles apply:

- 7.3.1 Control and operation of the school
- 7.3.1.1 The Management Council is dissolved and the school is operated by a managing body.
- 7.3.1.2 As executive officer, the principal is a member of the management body and he is an accountable officer.
- 7.3.1.3 A sponsoring body can be appointed.
- 7.3.1.4 The managing body of a state aided school
- * is a juristic person
 - * manages the school's funds independently subject to independent audit
 - * controls and manages the school in accordance with legislation
 - * is constituted as prescribed by the Minister
 - * consists of representatives of the [parent] community and other members who have been designated by the Minister
 - * appoints teaching staff on postlevel 1
 - * appoints administrative personnel
 - * determines tuition fees
 - * generates further funds and receives donations
 - * is responsible for the maintenance of physical facilities as well as specific functions related to capital expenditure.
- 7.3.2 Financial implications
- 7.3.2.1 A subsidy is paid which covers the full salaries only of staff appointed within the prescribed norms. This represents approximately 75% of the operating expenses. The remaining funds have to be found by the management council itself.
- 7.3.2.2 Apart from funds received from the State the managing body acquires funds from a sponsoring body and/or the school funds as prescribed by it.
- 7.3.2.3 The contribution of the parent/community/sponsoring body will currently be on average about R900 per pupil per year, but could vary from school to school.

7.3.3 Personnel matters

7.3.3.1 Personnel attached to a state aided education institution are on the establishment of the department and therefore share in the conditions of service which applied to personnel in the state education sector.

7.3.3.2 The power to appoint, promote or discharge any person at a state aided school shall vest in the governing body, subject to the prior approval of the Minister.

7.3.4 Physical facilities

7.3.4.1 Existing buildings and grounds are transferred to the managing body free of charge, with a reversionary clause should the institution cease to exist. The managing body is responsible for maintenance services as well as expenditure related to capital works, insurance and so on.

7.3.5 Admission of Pupils

The managing body admits pupils in terms of criteria which it sets itself within the provisions of the Constitution and other conditions, such as mother tongue instruction.

7.3.6 Date of implementation

As implementation of this model requires amendment to the law it cannot be implemented at the beginning of 1991, but will be implemented as soon as possible thereafter.

8. PERSONNEL IMPLICATIONS OF ALL THE MODELS

Personnel who do not wish to remain in service at the school concerned in the event of the acceptance of an alternative model will be treated sympathetically, within attainable limits and existing regulations.

The position of each teacher will be handled individually and further enquiries can be directed to the relevant Executive Department. The legal position with regard to the three models is as follows:

8.1 MODEL A

In the case of a private school which comes into existence after a state school has been closed, the regulations and guidelines applicable to schools which close will apply to personnel.

8.2 MODEL B

Teachers in service at State schools which admit pupils from other groups cannot according to law insist on being placed elsewhere.

8.3 MODEL C

The position of these teachers will be determined by the nature of the legal provisions which are instituted. It is possible to ensure by means of legislation that teachers who were in service at a State school which becomes a State aided school will have to be employed by the Managing Body of the school in question.

9. VOTING PROCEDURES

9.1 Should the Management Council wish to conduct an opinion poll on one of the models, voting must be arranged in accordance with fixed procedures. Particulars of these procedures will be provided to Management Councils on request.

9.2 In doing their planning, Management Councils are advised to allow a minimum period of three weeks for the opinion poll, so as to make provision, for example, for the arrangement of postal votes.

9.3 It is necessary to ensure that the prescribed three weeks which precede the date of the opinion poll do not fall within a school holiday.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE REGULATORY CHANGES ALLOWING FOR THE VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN 1990

1. BACKGROUND

On 23 March 1990 the Minister of Education and Culture in South Africa's (white) House of Assembly (i.e. that Chamber in South Africa's then tri-cameral parliament responsible for overseeing "white" affairs and activities, and funding them) presented a draft offering two new options for the delivery of schooling in public institutions. The options made provision for individual school communities to decide on their admissions policies, on a school-by-school basis (Media release from the Minister of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Assembly, 23 March 1990).

The two new models would permit those communities that were not comfortable with the structures for the provisioning of schooling in their own institution at the time, to opt instead for a different governance and management structure. Such choice would make provision for either:

- The privatisation of the school; or
- Ceding to the school community the right to set their own admissions criteria, and, among other possibilities, to allow for the enrolment of learners from racial groupings other than the then current dominant demographic.

After debate, the models were referred to the appropriate advisors for consideration and the provision of an opinion, after which a decision regarding their enactment would be taken.

2. THE 'CLASE MODELS'

Those tasked with responding took close on six months to produce and table the requested opinion. Eventually, however, on 10 September 1990 the Minister disclosed the details of the models which had emerged from the process. The new alternatives made provision for three options, rather than the original two, any one of which would, among other things, allow historically white schools to enrol learners of colour for the first time. They came to be widely referred to as the 'Clase Models', in deference to the identity of the minister responsible for their introduction.

Up to that time the only other-than-white pupils that the 'white' public schools had enrolled comprised of a very small smattering of learners of colour who were the children of foreign consular staff or high-profile foreign business or professional practitioners. During the 1980s the children of accredited foreign diplomats were accorded automatic entree to 'white' schools, regardless of their racial origins. From the time of the granting of nominal 'independence' to the first of the four

'bantustans' to follow this route, such permission was also extended to the children of diplomats from the nominally independent ethnic states created under the grand apartheid provisions of the South African government. High-profile foreign business leaders and professionals could apply for temporary, individual permission to enrol their offspring at a 'white' public school while they were resident in South Africa. This was then allowed (or not) on the strength of the individual motivations. However, actual admissions of such learners of colour made up less than 1% of the overall enrolment in the sample schools.

Later extended to include a fourth possibility (discussed in 2.2 below) these *Additional Models for the Provision of Schooling* would allow for the admission of black learners to previously white public schools in South Africa from January 1991.

2.1 Criteria conditional upon which change could proceed

The introduction to the education department's *Information Document* on the new dispensation provided to schools at that time indicates that a school community "satisfied with the existing provision of schooling ... does not have to exercise an alternative choice or to vote on the matter" (Cape Education Department, 1990, 1). Should no vote be taken, the status quo would remain. However, "in concurrence with the need of certain communities to have a greater degree of authority in the admission policy of the schools ... any school community which so chooses may request the Minister to change its existing public ordinary school status" to one of three additional models (Cape Education Department, 1990, 1). In following this course of action, schools would be required to meet a number of criteria:

- The majority of the pupils in the school would have to be white;
- The official medium of instruction would remain unchanged as English or Afrikaans;
- The approved curriculum and its Christian and national character would remain unchanged;
- White pupils from the primary feeder area of the school would receive preference with regard to admission to the school;
- A change in the admission policy could not detract from the traditional values and ethos of the school.

It is clear from the text that the term 'community' in the documentation referred to the parents and legal guardians of the enrolled learners at the school.

2.2 The options

Logistically, it was required of the governance structures in state schools under the Education Department of the House of Assembly to debate, evaluate and then recommend to their parents a preferred option from the following alternatives:

- **Retention of the status quo:** no school would be required to undertake the relevant parental poll or to opt for one of the three models described above. Rather, it was entirely permissible to retain the racially-based dispensation in those schools that were satisfied with the system in place at the time. Those that decided not to poll their parents would simply continue with the status quo, and over time became known as Model Q schools. This was, of course, not one of the three alternative models on the table. The three new models are described below.
- **Model A:** this entailed the privatisation of the school, with the existing physical plant and equipment being handed over lock, stock and barrel, by the state to the newly-formed independent school at no initial cost to the latter. From handover on, though, the state would be responsible for no further costs at all, beyond the provision of a limited subsidy paid according to a sliding scale, as paid to all registered independent schools. (At the time, this subsidy amounted to a per learner contribution of 45% of what it would have cost the State to educate the learner in a state school, but the subsidy level was later reduced to 0% in the wealthier independent schools.) A school opting for Model A would thus in every sense become a fully-fledged independent school alongside the small number of existing independent schools (generally called private schools in the everyday language of the times).
- **Model B:** these schools would remain state schools, but would be free to set their own admissions criteria. The fact was thus that, for the first time in South Africa, white state schools were to be given the right to include pupils from other races among their learner body, with the proviso that a majority of the learners would continue to be drawn from the white population group.
- **Model C:** these schools would be, in effect, state-aided institutions. They would receive a state subsidy, to be utilized for the payment of staff salaries at a laid-down rate, and in accordance with a prescribed teacher to pupil ratio. They would be expected to raise their further running costs by levying fees, soliciting donations and raising funds in other ways. Like their Model B counterparts, Model C schools would be entitled to admit learners of population groups other than white, again with the proviso that the white segment should constitute at least half the learners. The *Information Document* provided by the Department of Education states that a "subsidy

is paid which covers the full salaries only of staff appointed within the prescribed norms". It indicates further that this amount represents "approximately 75%" of the total operating expenses of the school, and that the remaining funds would "have to be found by the management council itself" (Cape Education Department, 1990, 9). In reality, the Education Department continued to pay the salaries of the staff in question directly to the employees, and there was no payment of a subsidy in this regard to the schools themselves.

- **Model D:** a year on, a fourth option was added. A number of state schools, notably, but not solely those in inner-city areas which had been stripped of their natural source of enrolments by population flight to the suburbs, were not limited in the number of learners of races other than whites that they could admit. Despite no longer serving white communities, they would continue to belong to and be serviced, including financially, by the House of Assembly at the same rate and in the same way as the Model Q schools.

2.3 The logistics

The new policies, while decreeing that the schools would remain "predominantly" white, set this particular bar at a relaxed height – "predominantly" would mean simply a majority of one. But in other respects, the criteria for change were very demanding. To adopt one of the new "Models", parents would have to be fully informed by the school of all the possibilities and ramifications of the proposed changes. Passing a motion requesting a change to one of the new models would require at least 72% of the total number of eligible voters (parents) to vote for change in a poll in which not less than 80% of parents voted.

Despite the almost insurmountable odds – both the 80% quorum and the 72% affirmative vote – no fewer than 692 schools (Motala and Pampallis, 2002, 146) after vigorous campaigning, voted, by choosing Model B, to adopt a new and untried model of school governance which gave them no material advantage, and no additional rights other than the right to enrol black learners alongside their white peers. To persuade white South Africans to vote for mixed race schools "was never going to be easy ..." and it demanded of its proponents "enormous energy and commitment" (Lemon, 1994, 207) to garner the requisite support, especially in the more conservative towns and smaller cities of a pre-Mandela South Africa. There was considerable behind-the-scenes work, structured interaction, a measure of research, much lobbying and some careful groundwork around the "opening" of schools, and the number of schools which managed it, gave a clear

indication that certain segments of the education sector were not comfortable with the political status quo.

At the same time, far from being in a position where they would be reluctantly filling with black applicants only vacant spaces in schools with shrinking enrolments, all of the schools sampled in this study were highly-sought-after, over-subscribed schools which had to turn away white children in order to create places for the new clientele. The first steps were small, hesitant and unsure, but when schools opened for the new academic year in January 1991, South Africa had entered a new educational dispensation which, according to some, eventually helped change the country and its education system.

3 RESPONSES TO THE OPTIONS ON OFFER

The moves to open some of South Africa's white public schools to learners of other races were derided by many journalists and writers as a transparent effort to balance the books of the increasingly hard-pressed South African fiscus, and a desperate attempt (cheap ploy?), foisted on South African society by a recalcitrant government forced to its knees in the death throes of the apartheid era, in order to entrench white privilege and retain 'whiteness' in the most privileged schools across the country.

Principals of the time in the sample schools of both this study and the research of Penny et al. (1993) propounded a different view. They pointed to the efforts expended over the years on bringing society and government to a conceptual acceptance of open schools and 'multicultural education'.

In the end, what prompted the decision to allow the mixing of races in 'white' schools will probably never be indisputably known or agreed upon. However, a senior official in the National Education Department of the time described the final trigger that unleashed the new policy approaches as follows:

"The whole issue came to a head when Rhenish Primary School in the town of Stellenbosch wanted to admit the child of a Shell executive who was an Afro-American. The brief to us was to develop a model which would allow those who wanted to "open" their schools, to do so. Almost at the same time came the directive from on high that the a-values [i.e. the formula for the funding of the education of learners in the various racially-distinct education departments across the country] were to be rationalised and pulled closer together, which meant that the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly had to cut funding [to white schools] very dramatically. The decision was taken to use the existing model for State-subsidised special schools [i.e. schools for the education of learners with serious disabilities] and to see what could be done with that. In due course, the governance model as we now know it came about."

4 TAKE-UP OF THE OPTIONS ON OFFER

4.1 The Model A option

While a lack of trust in the *bona fides* of government motivated some schools to consider Model A, the actual uptake was miniscule. The major factor in the low uptake of the Model A option was almost certainly financial. It was generally felt by governors and management in schools that there was insufficient room for additional independent establishments in South African society at that time, and especially that parents would be either unwilling or unable to pay the fees required to make the Model A schools viable or sustainable.

There was also the issue of the existing staff of the schools. Upon the privatization of the schools, the entire personnel corps would cease to be state employees, with obvious implications for them when it came to the most important perks enjoyed by the staff in state schools, namely pensions, financial assistance with medical aid membership and housing subsidies covering a significant portion of bond repayments.

Eventually, it seems that only two schools successfully opted for Model A, though information in this regard is sketchy. Motala and Pampallis (2002) state categorically that only one school opted for Model A status, while other reports of the time put the number at four. It appears that the latter figure may, however, have included some previously state-aided rather than state schools. Further reports suggest that some schools applied too late, and were denied Model A status. This is refuted by Lemon (1994), however, who states that "Ministerial permission to schools achieving the required majorities [at the polls] became a formality; in not one single case throughout the country [was permission] refused (Lemon, 1994, 207). The number of two – Hoër Seunskool Helpmekaar and Laerskool Jan Celliers, both in Johannesburg – is probably the most accurate call on the number of public ordinary schools that actually 'went Model A', both of them from January 1993.

The fact that the two schools opting for Model A were exclusively Afrikaans-medium schools lent some credence to a widely-floated argument which suggested that the decision by a certain group of schools to opt for one of the models was a move to retain exclusivity rather than an altruistic effort to spread both financial and educational largesse a little more widely. The governors, parents and staff of the time deny this vehemently, however, (personal discussion with governing body members of the time), and an option exercised by two schools out of over 2000 can hardly be seen as a trend or evidence of intent. However, the perception held and has remained difficult to negate.

4.2 Going Model B

While Model A barely got off the ground, Model B was very different. Despite the stringent conditions attached to the poll, a considerable number of schools successfully opted to take on Model B status. According to Motala and Pampallis (2002) the number of successful applications was as high as a third of all House of Assembly schools, and the most credible reports put the actual figure at 692 (this out of a possible 2130 – 32.5%)¹.

This group did not receive any additional rights, get title to their property, earn expanded grants or gain additional privileges. They opted for the change because it was ‘the right thing to do’, and they saw it as their duty; a way in which to contribute towards the politico-educational solutions of South Africa; and to allow for the redistribution of some funding from the white segment of society to the black one. The choice was not an easy one, though, and many in society opposed the changes quite vehemently.

4.3 The third and fourth options

Model C was initially only a little more popular as an option than Model A. Only 43 (Lemon, 1994) or 51 (Motala and Pampallis, 2002) schools in total went this route, the biggest concentration being a group of nine schools from Johannesburg’s eastern suburbs and the East Rand opting for Model C (Lemon, 1994, 209), while not a single school in Cape Town took this option (Lemon, 1994, 208). By the time the options had been made – or not made – some 65% of the white schools of the time remained as Model Q.

5 THE COMPULSORY ROUTE TO MODEL C

The very small uptake of Model A and Model C resulted in there being an insignificant saving to the state’s coffers and the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly (i.e. the ‘white’ department) was forced to change its approach barely a year into the new system. All Model B and Q schools in the House of Assembly’s education department would be required to become Model C schools during 1992, unless they successfully opted *out*, and once again this could only be done by meeting voting criteria which were almost as stringent as had been in place when voting to opt *in* a year or so previously – unless two thirds of the parents voted *against* changing to Model C, the move would take place.

¹ Motala and Pampallis (2002) and Lemon (1994) differ in respect of the numbers of schools opting for the different models. Model B = 692 (Motala and Pampallis) while Lemon gives no clearly-stated final figure; Model C = 51 (Motala and Pampallis) or 43 (Lemon); Model D = 6 (Motala and Pampallis), while Lemon again does not provide a figure.

Whereas a number of schools on the more liberal fringes of society had mobilised and worked hard to earn Model B status, there was very little appetite for a similar mobilisation around Model C, either pro or against. In May 1992 all schools under the House of Assembly, with the exception of 88 institutions, mainly from the Cape and Natal, who mustered the requisite votes to stall the move, were changed to Model C (Lemon, 1994, 215). So it was that by mid-1993, 95.8% of previously white public schools became Model Cs (Lemon, 1994), resulting in the semi-privatisation of the best resourced schools in the country (Motala and Pampallis, 2005).

6 THE EFFECTS OF MODEL C

With the change in status to Model C, the parent body in each school elected its own governing body from amongst its parents. Title to the fixed property and equipment of the school was handed over by the state to the governing body, and the schools became juristic persons.

It is suggested by some that they gained a high degree of autonomy, and in support of this contention they point to the right of Model C schools to charge compulsory school fees and to determine their own admissions policies. However, apart from the right to set a new admissions policy, which was used largely to *allow* racial transformation in the school, not to *prevent* it, these rights were in reality somewhat illusory. Parents who did not wish to pay school fees still tended to refuse to do so and the handing over of title deeds meant little other than that schools took on responsibility for maintenance of the physical plant. At the same time, the reduction in state subsidies which accompanied the change of status from Model B, D or Q to Model C compelled the schools concerned to increase very significantly their school fees, an imposition which was perhaps somewhat surprisingly, but generally very willingly, accepted by the parents.

A miniscule number of schools used their new rights to sell off un- or under-utilised sections of their grounds, but they were required to use the proceeds to improve the school's facilities – which were ultimately handed back to the state, anyway. A far larger majority of the schools showed much magnanimity rather than animosity towards sharing their advantaged positions and bearing the not insignificant pressures and costs in doing so.

7 OPPOSITION TO THE NEW MODELS

The entire 'move towards the models' was presented by the state as an exercise in decentralised community governance. It argued that it was 'workshopping' a way forward which could be applicable in the new South African education system. This was not accepted by its detractors, though, who saw the change in status of the former white schools in a very different light.

Opponents of the moves did not buy into the state's narratives, and regarded the changes as little other than a response to tight economic circumstances and the changing political climate. They were also viewed as a way of persuading white communities to contribute to the maintenance of an elite subsection of the education sector.

The sceptics also wrote off the entire exercise as a transparent attempt to ensure that white communities could continue to control their schools and to maintain white privilege. They saw in the Model C schools an exclusionary purpose, geared to excluding those who could not pay fees – despite the fact that exclusion on the grounds of an inability to pay school fees was illegal – and the use of community democracy as a shield behind which to protect the mainly white, previously privileged, sectors of society.

What is not in dispute is the fact that these schools became increasingly favoured by black parents with the financial capacity to meet the cost of placing their children at such schools (Pampallis, 2003) and for the first time in the modern history of South Africa, significant numbers of young people from different communities began to mix in classrooms, on the playing fields and after school.

8 ANOTHER VIEW

The 'model experiment' of the early 1990s provided both valuable lessons and painful memories.

Whatever the opponents of Model C may have thought of the models, there is significant evidence to suggest that those most closely affected, the governors, principals and parents of the time – not to mention the pupils, who barely turned a hair at the changes happening around them – displayed considerable goodwill and a positive disposition towards the changes. They saw themselves as contributing to an improvement in black education, not only by facilitating the admission of black learners to a number of well-resourced and highly functional schools, but also by freeing up funding for schools in the black segment of society.

The schools concerned almost certainly over-estimated the value to disadvantaged schools of this contribution in material terms. However, this should not negate the conviction that a considerable number of those involved were serious in their intentions and believed that their actions were unselfish and helpful rather than the opposite.

Certainly one of the positive spin-offs of the 'move to the models' was that the Model C system increased parental participation and involvement, in many cases unleashing the creative developmental and planning energies of school communities and mobilising additional funds for use by the schools (yet again Motala and Pampallis, 2003).

Of course, as already indicated, the additional inflow of funds had a somewhat limited effect on the state coffers. The extra money was, to a significant extent, used to pay for additional facilities and more staff members in the Model C schools. These funds largely, therefore, went towards the improvement of the conditions of the well-off schools and only to an extremely limited degree to replace expenditure which would have been undertaken by the State. On the other hand, the reduction in both staff allocations and levels of subsidisation in white schools, together with the savings which came from reduced maintenance costs and the lower subsidy, *did* accrue to the State and added impetus, even if relatively small in rand values, to early moves towards a more equitable subsidy for the education of black learners.

The state was in this way able to transfer some of its funding from the advantaged sector to the schools of the disadvantaged. An indication of the extent and impact of this reallocation of funds can be seen in the following example. In terms of non-staff-related expenditure (the funding of schools' day-to-day expenses), the ratio of expenditure on the poorest schools to that on the wealthiest, was totally reversed. At the time of writing it stood at R6.00 per learner in the most disadvantaged schools, for every R1.00 per learner spent at the wealthiest schools.

If one looks objectively at the success of the transition and transformation of the schooling system in the early 1990s, then, it is difficult to gainsay the claim by the participants in the experiment of the "models" that there were positives to be extracted, and that the successes achieved owed much to the principals and governors of the time, who demonstrated by their decision to accept the changes, a strong desire to be part of the solution to a vexed question, rather than one of the obstacles facing the country during a very sensitive period in its history.

Though the principals and governors were the drivers of the moves, their zeal was to a large extent matched by positive acceptance from the learners, parents and communities involved, and many would argue that the models held more advantages than disadvantages for the system as a whole.

9. CONCLUDING COMMENT

In the end, of course, it is a debate that neither side can win. In practical terms, it was in any case rendered moot by the fact that within two years South Africa had changed its form of government and in another two years it had adopted a new, unified system of education.

Of interest is that the new educational model selected by the democratic government of South Africa post 1994, on the advice of international experts in education, included very significant aspects previously trialled in the Model C schools. Furthermore, the mere existence of the models

ensured that, by 1995, many communities in South Africa, both black and white, had gained some experience of democratic school governance structures. They were receptive to the idea of elected governing bodies playing a central part in school governance post 1994, and this was surely a factor in the lack of opposition to the introduction in the South African Schools Act of 1996.

REFERENCES

The following sources are referred to in the above addendum:

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Pampallis, J. 2003. "Education reform and school choice in South Africa", in *Choosing Choice: School Choice in International Perspective*, 143-163.

Motala, E. and Pampallis, J. 2002. *The state, education and equity in post-apartheid South Africa: the impact of State policies*. Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing Company.

**COURT CASES CRITICAL IN CONTRIBUTING TOWARDS DEVELOPING AND CHANGING
THE GOVERNANCE ETHOS IN SOUTH AFRICA'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS**

1. *Grove Primary School vs Minister of Education and Others, 1997*

This case revolved around an application by Grove Primary School in the Western Cape for the review and setting aside of certain actions of the Minister of Education, the Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) and the Member of the Executive Council for Education in the Western Cape. These actions related to the appointment of teachers into state posts, after the Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) had passed a resolution (Resolution 3 of 1996) which laid down in broad terms how the phasing in of staffing equity in education was to be effected in accordance with government policy. The court set aside significant portions of the ELRC's Resolution; the actions of the MEC in seeking to apply the relevant parts of Resolutions 3 and 12 and of the 'Procedure Manual' to schools were struck down as unlawful; and the MEC was directed to advertise all vacant posts in schools within her jurisdiction in an 'open' vacancy list. It confirmed that considerable powers had been devolved to SGBs and set the tone for both current relationships and further stand-offs between schools, SGBs and the authorities.

2. *Minister of Education, Western Cape, and Others vs Governing Body, Mikro Primary School, and Another, 2006*

This case dealt with the determination of the school's language policy and an instruction to the school principal to admit to the school learners who wished to be taught through a medium of instruction which differed from the language of instruction determined by the school's governing body. The court ruled that the right of every child to be educated in the official language of his or her choice at a public educational institution was a right against *the state*, not against *all individual schools*. Consequently, learners were deemed not to have the right to be so instructed at every individual public educational institution. The ruling was instrumental in allowing Afrikaans medium schools in particular to retain their medium of instruction as decided by the governing body, and, through that, to preserve their particular Afrikaans associative ethos.

3. *Member of the Executive Council, Eastern Cape Province and Others vs Queenstown Girls' High School, 2007*

At issue in this case was the lawfulness of the disclosure of the conduct of a prospective learner at a previous school and the use of such information in admissions' decisions. The school argued that it had a right to exclude a learner whose conduct had the potential to cause physical or mental danger to others at the school to which the learner was applying for admission. Such action was permitted in

terms of the school's admissions policy, but was not accepted by the state authorities. The court ruled that the disputed terms of the admission policy were lawful and consistent with the Constitution, with general national legislation and with national admissions policy guidelines. The result was that for a number of years schools considered acceptable prior behaviour to be a valid criterion for the admission of a learner. Such an understanding impacted significantly on the ethos around admissions to schools while it was in place. It was, however, eventually struck down in the case *Federation of Governing Bodies for South African Schools v Member of the Executive Council for Education, Gauteng and Another (2016)* – see Section 8 below.

4. *MEC for Education, KwaZulu-Natal Province, and Others vs Pillay, 2008*

This case traversed the corridors of justice from the Equality Court in Durban to the Pietermaritzburg High Court before being set down for appeal at the Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA). Application was subsequently made, and granted, for the case not to be heard in the SCA, but to be transferred directly to the Constitutional Court. The Constitutional Court delivered a judgment affirming, promoting and celebrating diversity and obligating public schools to provide for exemption from certain aspects of their uniform and Codes of Conduct on religious and cultural grounds. This paved the way for a broader, more liberal approach to School Rules, Codes of Conduct and Uniform Codes. The ruling has impacted significantly on the management of discipline, culture, and religion in South Africa's public schools, and therefore on their ethos.

5. *Fish Hoek Primary School vs GW, 2010*

This case amplifies the definition of a parent of a learner within the school context, and the obligation of a non-custodial parent to be held liable (jointly and severally with the custodial parent) for the payment of school fees. This allows schools to demand fee payments from non-custodial or absent parents, and releases them from an obligation to shoulder the loss should the custodial parent be exempted from the payment of school fees, or to burden other parents with this cost. The effect in some schools on their finances was quite considerable, enhancing a less accommodating ethos around the collection of school fees.

6. *Head of Department, Mpumalanga Department of Education and Another versus Ermelo High School and Another, 2010*

This case is another to have followed a course from the High Court (North Gauteng in this instance) through the Supreme Court of Appeal to the Constitutional Court. The final ruling set the following in place, significantly influencing the governance ethos in schools:

- An Education Head may revoke any governing body function, not only one allocated to governing bodies in terms of section 21 of the South African Schools Act, provided it is done "on reasonable grounds" and after due process;
- Governing bodies have been entrusted with a public resource which must be managed in the interests of all school learners and parents, but also in accordance with the interests of the broader community in which the school is situated: this principle applies not only to the policy matter at issue in this case, but equally to other policies set in place by a governing body.

7. *MEC for Education, Gauteng Province, and Others vs Governing Body, Rivonia Primary School and Others, 2013*

This case likewise went to the Constitutional Court before finality could be reached. The Court ruled that public schools are governed through a three-tiered partnership made up of the national government, provincial government, and parents of learners as well as members of the community in which the school is situated. The judgment rules that:

- The provincial education department has ultimate control over the implementation of admissions policies and that such policies must be applied in a flexible manner;
- Where the SGB has determined policy on a particular matter, neither the Head of Department nor any other state official may simply ignore or violate the policy;
- In any action following a dispute between government and school, the actions of officials must be reasonable and procedurally fair;
- Where a provincial authority requires a school to admit learners in a manner which is not compliant with its admissions policy, there must be proper interaction between all affected parties, and the parties have a duty to work together to find an amicable solution;
- One organ of state may not use its allocated functions to bully another; and
- All parties must work in partnership to find workable solutions.

8. *Federation of Governing Bodies for South African Schools v Member of the Executive Council for Education, Gauteng and Another [2016]*

The Deputy Chief Justice of the time, in penning a unanimous judgment in the Constitutional Court, stated that there have been "continuing contests on the governance of public schools and policies on admission of learners. This despite the number of precedents of our courts that were meant to clear the murky waters of the shared space between school governing bodies and provincial executives charged with the regulation of public schools" (Moseneke, 2016, para 4). The judgment found it "quite in order that a school seeks to be a centre of excellence and to produce glittering examination [results] and other good outcomes" (Moseneke, 2016, para 44). It goes on to affirm, however, that

"public schools are not rarefied spaces only for the bright, well-mannered and financially well-heeled learners" (Moseneke, 2016, para 44). They are public assets which must not only advance the best interests of their current learners, but may, by law, also be required to help achieve universal and non-discriminatory access to education. Critical rulings in the judgment (Moseneke, 2016) are that:

- Public schools cannot be governed in a manner that caters only for the interests of its current parents and learners;
- Schools need to "take into account the enduring disparities in the education system characterised by the legacy of apartheid" (Moseneke, 2016, para 15);
- It should be part and parcel of admissions policies to achieve "an even distribution of learners of various intellectual ability and behavioural dispositions amongst public schools" (Moseneke, 2016, para 15) – i.e. there can be no justification for one school to shift the burden of admission of a troublesome learner onto other schools;
- "... the power of the school governing body to formulate admission policy is clearly subject to limitations ..." (Moseneke, 2016, para 29);
- The power to "determine learner enrolment capacity and declare a school full or not ... falls on the HOD" (Moseneke, 2016, para 45);
- A school may not obtain a confidential report on an applicant before making an admissions decision (see 8.5.8.3 above). The premise is that there can be no justification for one school to 'cherry-pick' only the top-performing and best-behaved children, and to consign a mass of poorer-performing and troublesome ones to less-well-resourced schools: it does, however, allow for the gathering of relevant confidential information *after* the learner has been admitted to the school, in order to allow for the effective planning of the placement and education of such learner once he or she arrives in the school.

It is a judgment which altered significantly admissions policies and procedures in public schools, and also admissions practices and actual admissions. The consequence has been a change to the governance ethos and SGB/education department relationships and the learner make-up in schools – all important aspects of overall school ethos.

REFERENCE

Moseneke, DCJ. Case CCT 209/15 heard on 5 May 2016 and decided on 16 May 2016 in the CONSTITUTIONAL COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA in the matter between the *FEDERATION OF GOVERNING BODIES FOR SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS (Applicant)* and the *MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION, GAUTENG (First Respondent)* and the *HEAD OF DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, GAUTENG (Second Respondent)* with *EQUAL EDUCATION as Amicus Curiae*. (Judgment by Moseneke, DCJ [unanimous]).