

**DESEGREGATION IN A FORMER “WHITES ONLY” SCHOOL IN SOUTH
AFRICA**

by

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

K-12 EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

2012

ABSTRACT

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After decades of racially segregated education under apartheid in South Africa, the process of school desegregation commenced in 1990's with the view equalize education for all, and fostering better relationships and making available equal opportunities for all learners. The process of desegregation not has been without problems as it is apparent with race related incidents of racial conflicts and tension in certain desegregated schools. Despite the intentions of policy makers, educators, parents and the success of desegregated schooling needs to be seen through the experience of learners in such schools.

This study examines cross racial interaction of learners in a formerly “whites only” high school in South Africa and seeks to explore their day to day school life over a period of six months. Data were obtained from several sources including interviews with students, teachers, and administrators, focus group discussions, and observations. Key findings from the study revealed critical factors that impact the educational experiences of learners in this school, and how these can inform the process of educational change, as well as serve as useful indicators for planning and decision making. Lessons learned from this study provide an opportunity for further comparative studies with respect to the diverse aspects of the teaching-learning for diverse and monoculture learner in different settings of the new Post-Apartheid) South African school system.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my committee members who were more than generous with their expertise and precious time. A special thanks to Prof. Reitumetse Mabokela, my committee chairman for her countless hours of reflecting, reading, encouraging, and most of all patience throughout the entire process.

During my sad moments she encouraged and motivated me to finish. Her constant words of encouragement were “Fetsa Mmaetsho.” Thanks to you, Mogaetsho. Prof Dunbar, Prof Jack Schwille, Prof P. Cusick for believing in me and serving in my dissertation committee. I would also like to acknowledge and thank the Gauteng Education Department for allowing m to conduct research in the schools. I would also thank the financial assistance I received from a number of agencies and people. NRF and Compton, Oppenheimer Memorial Trust for your financial assistance.

To the Macedonia Baptist Church in Eatonville, Florida; Pastor Barnes and the Macedonia family for being there when I needed you, cheering all the way.

Finally, I would like to thank friends and Professors I met at MSU and other areas who assisted me with this project. I want to particularly mention Dr L. Hennessy and his wife Mary, for being my friends and helping me go through the difficult and challenging.

The excitement and willingness to provide feedback from my Chair and the committee made the completion of this research an enjoyable experience. It has been a long walk. Thank you all.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Historically, racial discrimination in South Africa manifested itself in many arenas, including economic and labor practices, housing and residential patterns, regulation of social structures, the criminal justice system and education. In particular, the educational arena was a focal point of political contestation and social conflict between the government of South Africa and a range of oppositional forces during the Apartheid¹ Era (Cross, 1988).

Prior to the introduction of the Bantu Education Act ²(1953), colonialism in South Africa's education system was rigidly enforced starting in 1948. This policy permeated the South African education system for 40 years and caused intense conflict under the Apartheid government, precipitated by educational inequalities. When the National Party³ came into power and formulated what came to be known as the Christian National Education Policy ⁴(CNE), the principles for CNE were very clear: "We want no mixing of languages, no

¹ **Apartheid** (Afrikaans pronunciation: [ə'pərthəit], *separateness*) was a system of legal racial segregation enforced by the National Party government in South Africa between 1948 and 1994, under which the rights of the majority non-white inhabitants of South Africa were curtailed and minority rule by white people was maintained.

² **The Bantu Education Act:** Was a South African law which codified several aspects of the apartheid system. Its major provision was enforced separation of races in all educational institutions.

³ The **National Party** (Afrikaans: *Nasionale Party*) was the governing party of South Africa from 4 June 1948 until 9 May 1994, and was disbanded in 2005. Its policies included apartheid, the establishment of a republic, and the promotion of Afrikaner culture. Since 1994 the party has been involved in conservative politics but was dissolved and reunited into the New National Party, which then merged with the African National Congress in 2005.

⁴ **Christian National Education (CNE):** Christian National Education supported the National Party's program of apartheid by calling on educators to reinforce cultural diversity and to rely on "mother-tongue" instruction in the first years of primary school. This philosophy also espoused the idea that a person's social responsibilities and political opportunities are defined, in large part, by that person's ethnic identity.

mixing of cultures, no mixing of religion and no mixing of races” (cited by Christie, 1985:160⁵).

One of CNE’s major political goals was the creation of a segregated educational system with separate schools for different cultural, ethnic, tribal, and linguistic groups (Ntshoe, 2002). Ideological differences caused conflicts (e.g., the conflicts of mission vs. state schools, Boer vs. British political power and Black vs. White) and these conflicts produced the dynamics that led to the particular distribution of resources and ideas. These resources and ideas have shaped the South African education system.

Ultimately, the government’s justification for separate schools was contained in CNE’s ten principles (Kallaway, 2002, Cross, 1988), each dealing with specific aspects of society. For example, the first three principles of this policy i) justified separate schools and curricula, ii) separate living areas, and iii) restrictions on employment for Blacks. While this policy is not the focus of this study, it did have long-term effects on the South African education system, elements of which still persist in the current post-apartheid era.

The 1960s and early 1970s were characterized by intense political repression with the banning of political parties and the imprisonment of leaders, including Nelson Mandela⁶ in 1963 (Dolby, 2001). In the 1980s, the apartheid system was challenged on multiple fronts, largely by mass movements, such as the United Democratic Front (UDF)⁷ and the Congress

⁶ **Nelson Mandela:** the first South African president to be elected in a fully representative democratic election. Before his presidency, Mandela was an anti-apartheid activist, and the leader of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC).

⁷ **United Democratic Front (UDF):** was one of the most important anti-apartheid organizations of the 1980s. The non-racial coalition of about 400 civic, church, students', workers' and other organizations (national, regional and local) was formed in 1983

of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)⁸. This widespread activism irretrievably altered the South African political climate. The National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) was formed during this period and it called for the establishment of “people’s education,” which was to be a new, non-race-based system. (Kruss, 1988; Levin, 1991; Mashamba, 1990; Sisulu, 1986; Wolpe, 1991).

The Bantu education system was designed by the architects of apartheid to control the aspirations of Black South Africans and school them for subservience. The Bantu education system and its initiative failed. South Africa became increasingly ungovernable and needed systematic change (Dolby, 2001).

The 1990s ushered in a new political era characterized by the unbanning of political parties, such as the African National Congress (ANC); the release of political prisoners, notably Nelson Mandela; the shift of political power from the minority National party to a democratically-elected government lead by the ANC. Since the change in government, there has been a concerted effort to transform the education system from the one marred by racial, gender and class inequities to a more equitable one (Mabokela, 2000). Since the first democratic elections in 1994, a process of racial desegregation began in South African schools. Given the historical experience of South Africa and other countries attempting similar transformations, the expectation was that simply mixing students from different racial groups in one school would result in racial conflict and violence unless the structures and processes of schooling were changed at the same time (Harber, 2004). The potential for racial conflict always exists in multicultural societies such as South Africa’s, where widespread and serious race-based incidents periodically occur (Vally, 1999).

⁸ **Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)** was established in 1985 following unity talks between competing unions and federations. At its launch it represented less than half a million workers organized in 33 unions, but saw rapid growth in its early years.

Although various social institutions have attempted to respond to racial prejudice and conflict, effective interventions have not been designed to eliminate outbreaks of racial conflict or obliterate the causes of racism (Vernay, 1990). Schools are particularly vulnerable to this kind of conflict. Naidoo's study (1996) of 26 schools in Kwa-Zulu Natal suggests that South African schools have done very little to respond to the changes required by desegregation. There is a general attitude of 'business as usual' and a failure to rethink the basic purpose and structure of schools (Naidoo, 1996).

Definition of the Problem

There is a need to understand and respond to issues created by desegregation and racial conflict at school level. One of the few studies available, entitled "*Racism, racial integration and desegregation in South African public secondary schools*" was conducted by the Human Rights Commission (Vally and Dalamba, 1999). This major national study, which predominantly focused on the macro level, was a groundbreaking project on racism in South African schools.

In post-apartheid South Africa, the government introduced legislation and policies that aim at ensuring that the education system is open and accessible to all its citizens irrespective of race. Statutory de-racialization in education has not guaranteed a smooth passage towards the realization of successful desegregation processes and has left schools, educators, parents, learners and communities to face many challenges. It will take much more than a constitution and its legal stipulations on how desegregation should occur for the process of desegregation to be successful.

Teachers in desegregated schools of South Africa have not received training on how to handle diverse student populations. Black and White students have limited experience co-existing in the school system because of the history of segregation in South Africa. Given the

sporadic prejudice and consistent reports of racial conflict, complaints of a pervasive and insidious racism are still evident (Naidoo, 1996).

The central legislative framework governing education in South Africa in the post-apartheid era, the South African Schools Act (SASA) (1996), is transformative legislation that has been seen as the beginning of a new chapter in school governance, organization and funding (cited in Kgobe, 1996). The act established universal and free access to any school by any South African child and specifically outlawed the practice of discrimination in any (private or public) school. This act emphasized funding and governance of education (Kallaway, 1997). Rather than looking at the legal framework established by the South African School's Act (SASA), this study focuses on cross-racial interaction of learners in newly desegregated schools.

Schools in South Africa are both sites of memory as well as sites for change. This is because, as with many other facets of life during apartheid, South Africa's schools were designed to express the entrenched exclusionary ideology, which informed school policies and practices (Christie, 1985, cited in Dawson, 2003). In the present milieu of social transformation in South Africa, schools have again become sites of social construction, this time with the goal to systematize the process of desegregation. Despite numerous studies on school desegregation in the United States, few conclusions have been drawn on beneficial practices (Bennett, 1981: 161). This study will contribute significantly to our understanding of opportunities and barriers in creating non-exclusionary and peaceful schools.

Research Question

The question central to this study is "what are the cross-racial interactions among Black and White learners" in a desegregated school in South Africa and how do these learners engage and interact with each other and with their teachers within their schools? Response patterns that emerged from these interactions demonstrated how schools inculcate

or achieve anti-racist education, and inform the development of policies and strategies that address transformation in South African schools. Further, this study seeks to understand how schools, teachers, and administrators engage and interact with diverse learners.

Theoretical Framework

This study is informed by Critical Race Theory (CRT)⁹, which emphasizes the socially constructed nature of race, and opposes the continuation of all forms of subordination (Degaldoa and Stefancic, 2001). This line of inquiry emerges from a branch of critical legal studies concerned with issues of racism, racial subordination and discrimination. The notions of the social construction of race and discrimination are present in the writings of such established critical race theorists as Derrick Bell (1980), Mari Matsuda (1980), Richard Delgado (1995, 2001), Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (1995), Gloria Ladson-Billings (1994, 2005), Neil Gotanda (1995), and William Tate (1997). Newly emerging CRT scholars include Adrienne Dixson (2006), Celia Rousseau (2006), and Tameka Chapman (2002). Other pioneers in sociology, include W.E.B. Dubois (1903) and Max Weber (in Tate, 1997). CRT seeks to transform the relationships among race, racism and power (Delgado, 2001). It is a framework that can be used to theorize, examine and challenge the ways in which race and racism implicitly impact social structures, practices and discourses. CRT analyzes racial injustices and seeks to understand them.

According to Glesne (2006), race is socially constructed, complex and ever changing. For example, in South Africa and the United States, Black children are constructed as inferior so as not to threaten the balance of power and privilege in society. Certainly, South Africa has experienced a horrendous history of racism and other forms of subordination. In this

⁹**Critical race theory** (CRT) is an academic discipline focused upon the application of critical theory, a critical examination of society and culture, to the intersection of race, law, and power.

study, CRT can be used as a lens through which to understand the experiences of students in the South African education system.

Initially, CRT focused on the slow pace and unrealized promise of civil rights legislation in the United States. As a result, many of the critiques launched were articulated in Black and White racial terms only. Other scholars challenged the tendency towards the Black and White binary of CRT (Yosso, 2005). As a result of these critiques, CRT expanded to become the voice of these various groups and move beyond the Black and White binary.

Cross and Chisholm (1990) observed that the “racist attitude and differential schooling for Black and White have been an integral part of South African history since the beginning occupation and domination of the territory” (p. 44). Thus, the attitude towards race and differential schooling in South Africa requires attention. CRT offers a useful framework through which to understand school desegregation efforts in South Africa as well as in the United States.

The voice component of CRT provides a way to communicate the experience and realities of the oppressed--a first step in understanding the complexities of racism and in beginning the process of judicial redress. The voices of South African learners must be heard for a deeper understanding of the desegregated environment. CRT acknowledges racism in its history and social context and assists us to listen to the voices of both Black and White learners. Cross-racial interactions among South African learners in a desegregated school environment can be measured through the CRT lens providing understanding of the complexities of race and racism in the changes that occur in a desegregating school.

This study examines racism, racial integration, and desegregation in South African public secondary schools. It makes observations at the individual learner level to report on cross-racial interactions among South African learners. It has as its foundation the concept of desegregation, where proponents' arguments are based on CRT the idea that many

interactions based on language, identity, gender, and race can be a form of marginalization. Marginalized individuals rarely have voice and are lost at the margins. To hear those voices (speaking in Afrikaans, English, and many native South African tongues, from Black, White and Colored children and teachers, from boys, girls, men and women) is to give witness to the South African experience today.

This study applies CRT to a new context and uses qualitative methods to inform policy and practice and help the government to improve planning, organization, and control of desegregation in accordance with policies and the guidelines lay down by the South African Constitution, the Human Rights Commission, and the South African Schools Act (1996).

Dissertation Overview

Chapter two provides a review of prior research and related literature on desegregation in a former White school in the South African context. It provides a theoretical framework for looking at cross-racial interaction in a desegregated environment through the lens of CRT.

Chapter three outlines the methodological procedures, design and data analysis carried out in the study. This method emphasizes interviews, careful study of documents and observation that help to illuminate the phenomenon being studied.

Chapter four presents the results of the study, where voices of learners and the teachers are presented to answer the research questions.

Chapter five summarizes the results of the study, draws conclusions, and provides recommendations for promoting cross racial interaction in the school to promote and create a peaceful reconciliatory school.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter offers an historical overview of the Apartheid¹⁰ education system and the policies, trends and practices in transitional South African schools and key events that affected education in South Africa from the 1950s to the present. This overview provides a contextual understanding.

The Bantu Education Act (1953) and the Implementation of Apartheid Education

Upon assuming leadership in 1948, the National Party (NP) government of South Africa's White minority played a decisive role in the development of the education system in South Africa. With its doctrine of Apartheid, the NP introduced a plethora of laws that systematically entrenched racial segregation at all levels of society (Kallaway, 2002; Naidoo, 1996; Mabokela, 2000). The Bantu Education Department was a governmental department created to be responsible for the education of Blacks during the Apartheid years.

The approach towards education was that Blacks had a different culture, separate from that of the Whites, and that they had to be educated accordingly. Black education initially had a strong missionary presence, especially in the rural areas, and there was much good-will among inspectors and teachers of different races. However, the rigid way in which the policy was applied eventually led to much discontent and hardship. The Apartheid system created educational inequalities through overt racist policies (Christie, 1985). Earlier, in the nineteenth century, there was explicit differentiation through color lines. The first official racial categories emerged in the 1904 census when a distinction was made between "Whites, Bantus and Coloreds." The category Colored identified an intermediate group of people who acted as a buffer between the Whites and the Africans (Mabokela, 2000).

¹⁰ Apartheid: Meaning 'apartness' in Afrikaans. A term adopted by the National Party in its successful 1948 elections bid to rule South Africa.

A formal policy regarding education of Blacks was introduced by the National Party called the *Bantu Education Act* (1953). The *Bantu Education Act* ensured that Blacks received an education that would limit their educational potential and keep them in the working class (Cross, 1988; Naidoo, 1996). This policy directly affected the content of education by preventing access to courses (subjects¹¹) that required high cognitive learning that could lead to college-level entry, particularly for Blacks¹². The *Bantu Education Act*¹³ made it possible for schools in the Apartheid era to perpetuate inequality that affected the educational potential of Black students. School attendance was compulsory for Whites from ages seven to sixteen: for Asians and Coloreds from seven to fifteen, and for Blacks from ages seven to thirteen.

The less education students received, the fewer choices they had in the world of work and in their access to higher education. Tracking or streamlining Black students into manual labor-oriented learning was a deeply entrenched practice in the South African education system. This practice was to ensure the relegation of Black students to the lower ends of education and the social structure. The goal of Bantu Education was to prepare Black South Africans who received it to occupy positions of the working class exclusively (Hyslop, 1988).

¹¹ **Subjects:** Learning areas (classes) in South African schools.

¹² **Blacks:** The term black, used as a racial identifier, refers to people of African ancestry in both South Africa and the United States.

¹³ ***Bantu Education Act of 1953 (No. 47)*** was a South African law which codified several aspects of the apartheid system. Its major provision was enforced separation of races in all educational institutions. Even universities were made 'tribal', and all but three Missionary schools chose to close down when the government no longer would subsidize their schools. Only Roman Catholics, the Seventh-Day Adventists, the Congregationalists (The American Board) & the United Jewish Reform Congregation continued using their own finances to support education for native Africans. In 1959 this type of education was extended to "non white" Universities and Colleges with the Extension of University Education Act, and the internationally prestigious University College of Fort Hare was taken over by the government and degraded to being part of the Bantu education system

The *Bantu Education Act* created separate departments of education by race. It allocated less money to Black schools while giving most to Whites (Cross 1988; Christie, 1985; Naidoo, 1996). Since funding determines the amount and quality of learning materials, facilities, and teachers, this disproportionate funding clearly created disparities in learning environments (Cross, 1988). For instance, apartheid funding resulted in a teacher pupil ratio of 1:18 in White schools, 1:24 in Asian schools, 1:27 in Colored schools, and 1:39 in Black schools (US Library of Congress, 2004). Of the teachers in White schools, 96% had teaching certificates, while only 15% of the teachers in Black schools held certificates (Garson, 2004; Dolby, 2001).

As part of the overall fabric of politics and power, the policies of Apartheid education initially attempted to build upon foundations that had been laid in the context of the nineteenth-century Boer¹⁴ republic and resistance to British attempts to anglicize the country after the Anglo-Boer war. During this time period, the system of Christian National Education¹⁵, an early form of separatist education, was established. The *Bantu Education Act* ultimately resulted in the closure of many learning institutions since it withdrew funding from religious-affiliated schools that had been established during the Christian National Education era. Since many church schools provided education for a large number of Blacks, Black students were most negatively affected when these funds were withdrawn (US Library of Congress, 2004). Although the government explained its actions under the premise of separation of church and state, the elimination of funding for schools that served Blacks was the ultimate form of educational injustice.

¹⁴ Boer: A farmer: A name given to a group of people of Dutch origin in South Africa.

¹⁵ Christian National Education: An education that promoted Afrikaner's culture, tradition and language.

The *Bantu Education Act* functioned primarily to protect Whites from the threat of competition from Blacks for skilled jobs. This action emerged because of the economic expansion coupled with rural–urban migration during the Second World War. Secondly, it was implemented to provide cheap, unskilled labor for White farmers (Cross, 1988). The purpose of the Act was to implement Apartheid leader, Dr. Verwoerd's¹⁶ ideology in the sphere of African education, as conveyed in his words:

There is no space for him (the Native) in the European Community above certain forms of labor. For this reason, it is of no avail for him to receive training which has its aim in the absorption of the European Community, where he cannot be absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his community and misled him by showing him the greener pastures of European Society where he is not allowed to graze (Soudien, Kallaway & Breier, 1999: 494)

Dr. Verwoerd's view was that the Afrikaner was a pure race that needed to maintain its purity through racial segregation. In his address to Parliament, Dr. Verwoerd argued that, through the *Bantu Education Act*, Blacks should never be given White privileges; rather, they should always be kept apart. The role of the Apartheid education department was to compile a curriculum that suited the "nature and requirements of the Black people."¹⁷ Black people

¹⁶ Verwoerd, HF (**Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd** (8 September 1901 – 6 September 1966) was Prime Minister of South Africa from 1958 until his assassination in 1966. Verwoerd was born in the Netherlands and immigrated at age two with his parents to South Africa. He served as Prime Minister of South Africa from 1958 until he was stabbed to death by an assassin in 1966.

were not to receive education that would lead them to aspire to positions that they would not be allowed to hold in society. Instead, they were to receive education designed to provide them with skills to serve their own people in the homelands or to work as laborers under Whites.

Resistance by students was subdued throughout most of the 1960s by severe government action against student leaders and political movements, only to resurface with vehemence throughout the 1970s. The economic recession of the 1970s, the burgeoning township populations, and the massive expansion of Black secondary school enrollments under inadequate conditions contributed to the volatile atmosphere in the 1970s. This era saw the emergence of active student opposition to Apartheid policies (Mabokela, 2000).

In 1975, South Africa entered a period of economic depression. Schools were starved of funds. The government spent R644 (\$107) a year on a White child's education but only R42 (\$6) on a Black child. The Department of Bantu Education lowered academic standards on Black schools removing the final two years from primary schools. Previously, in order to progress to secondary school, a pupil had to receive a first or second-class pass in Standard 6 (equivalent of Grade 8). The majority of pupils would proceed to secondary school, after they completed this requirement.

In 1976, 257,505 pupils enrolled in Form 1, but there was space for only 38,000. Therefore, for many Black students, their education ended effectively after primary school because they could not access secondary school. Chaos ensued. When the Department of Education issued a decree that Afrikaans was to become the language of instruction at school, it implemented this policy into an already volatile situation. Black students objected to being taught in what they perceived to be the language of the oppressor. Many Black teachers themselves could not speak Afrikaans, yet they were now required to teach their subjects in this language.

Resistance to the *Bantu Education Act* emerged most intensely in the 1970s. The act gave way to a school boycott campaign coupled with the attempt to establish alternative schools. Another crucial point of resistance to Bantu education came with the Soweto uprising in 1976. Students objected to the introduction of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction for all subjects taught at school level. In 1978, the government responded by changing the Department of Bantu Education to the Department of Education and Training. There followed a period of educational reform that culminated in the *Education and Training Act of 1979* that replaced the *Bantu Education Act* of 1953 (Kallaway, 2002).

The policies and funding disparities in basic education included higher education as well. Afrikaans¹⁸ language-based universities and English language-based universities admitted only White students, while the other universities were divided along racial and linguistic lines (US Library of Congress, 2004, Mabokela, 1997). Additionally, there was no financial aid or banks to provide loans to Blacks or Coloreds (Knipe-Solomon, 2004). Thus, even if students could break through working class education with under-qualified teachers in overcrowded classrooms, they still faced financial barriers to achieving their academic goals. Bantu education generally succeeded by limiting the educational advancement of Blacks and giving them basic numeric and literacy skills.

¹⁸ The term ***Afrikaans*** describes people who speak Afrikaans, irrespective of ethnic origin, instead of "Afrikaners", which refers to an ethnic group, or "Afrikaans precedes" (lit. people that speak Afrikaans). Linguistic identity has not yet established that one term is favored above another and all three tend to be used in common parlance. Geographically, the Afrikaans language is the majority language of the western one-third of South Africa (Northern and Western Cape, spoken at home by 69% and 58% of the residents of those two provinces, respectively).

The African National Congress (ANC)¹⁹ had already recognized the importance of the character and quality of post-Apartheid education for the development of the disenfranchised millions of Black people. During this period, Nelson Mandela led a team of thirty-five ANC delegates to negotiate with the state regarding the education crisis (Chisholm, 1992:279).

Post-Apartheid Education

Since the apartheid era, many policy changes have occurred within the educational system in an attempt to address educational inequalities. The *Bantu Education Act* legislation had ensured that the amount and quality of education perpetuated social inequalities. Changing those policies in a post-apartheid era was a logical step towards social equality. Desegregation and integration has been mandated within the school system. Nine years of formal education is compulsory for students of all races. Although the Bantu education ideology was officially abandoned, schools remain organized under de facto segregation.²⁰

Whites have moved to private schools, and suburban schools educate the majority of Colored students. Township schools are overwhelmingly Black, and rural schools tend to teach Black and Colored students (Knipe-Solomon, 2004).

There is a special emphasis on redressing educational inequalities among the historically disadvantaged sectors of society, particularly the youth, the disabled, adults, women, the unemployed, rural communities and Black people in general. Education is supposed to be based upon the principles of cooperation, critical thinking, and civic

¹⁹ The **African National Congress** (ANC) is a social-democratic political party, and has been South Africa's governing party supported by a tripartite alliance between itself, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) since the establishment of majority rule in May 1994. Originally called the South African Native National Congress until 1923, it was founded to increase the rights of all Africans.

²⁰ **de facto** is a Latin expression that means "by [the] fact". In law, it is meant to mean "in practice but not necessarily ordained by law" or "in practice or actuality, but without being officially established"

responsibility: its goal is to empower individuals for participation in all aspects of society.

Nelson Mandela explained,

As we prepare for a democratic South Africa, education will remain a central concern for us. It is therefore essential that we recognize this centrality and develop both short- and long-term objectives to realize this goal. In the short term we need to ensure that the immediate consequences of apartheid education are urgently addressed (Mandela, 1992).

Mandela explained that eliminating overt racism in educational policies would be the first step in challenging past practices. Moreover, he asserted that other social inequalities needed to be addressed to minimize racial inequalities within education in the future. Cross and Chisholm (1990, 44) state that the “racist attitude and differential schooling for Black and White have been an integral part of South African history since the beginning occupation and domination of the territory”. Thus, the attitude towards race and differential schooling are deeply ingrained.

At the end of the 1980s, the old regime had begun to maneuver to prepare the country's White public schools for the possibility of transition to a new democratic government. As part of that process, the government asked parents to choose from three alternative models of integration and school funding (i.e., Models A, B and C).²¹ South African schools during this period were run by management boards. The Minister of

²¹ **Models A, B and C:** Model A- Private Schools, which were established after the closure of state schools. Model B:-Private schools that wished to change their admissions policy to accommodate Black Student. Model C - State-Aided schools that were formerly white-only which now accommodate White, Black and Colored students.

Education, Piet Clase (Carrim, 1998:7) indicated that the choice of models would have financial implications. Effectively, the new South African school model legislation placed reforms and progress in White schools in the hands of White parents and White management boards. In its most benign and egalitarian expression, the models could result in the reconstitution of the school population along non-racial lines, which, according to government, was the desired intention of the legislative change.

A vote for Model A schools would have made state schools completely private. Model A schools, would have received a 45% subsidy, phased in over three years. Model B schools would have remained state schools, but could admit Black students up to 50% of the school's maximum enrollment. Most notably, a vote for Model C schools would have created so-called "state-aided schools." These schools would have received 75% of their budgets via state funding and would have been responsible for supplying the remaining 25% of their operating budgets through user fees from parents and private voluntary donations. Model C schools, like Model B schools, could also admit Black students capped at 50% of enrollment. This was an attempt to keep schools in the same status that they had in the Apartheid era.

In her study of racial and cultural diversity in newly integrated public schools in South Africa, Zafar (1998) argued that "the term 'Black' inaccurately homogenizes the Indian, Colored and African race groups and conceals the ethnic differences that are crucial to desegregation in schools. Yet this is problematic since 'Colored', 'Africans', 'Indians' and Whites, for that matter, are culturally or economically homogenous. Furthermore, as Naidoo (1996a) points out, 'African' learners in private or Model C schools may identify themselves as 'Africans', but their economic interests may be closer to those of their 'White' and 'Indian' peers than to poorer 'Africans.'

School fees are currently a factor of concern in the newly "desegregated" part of the public school system. Charging school fees was another mechanism for excluding those from

low socio-economic backgrounds. This mechanism of school fees created inequalities that are yet to be addressed in the new system. Most schools do not collect much in the way of fees²². Indeed, 55% of schools are not able to raise more than R10, 000²³ per year in total from fees. In contrast, public schools in the wealthiest communities are able to charge as much as R10, 000 per learner. Many good township schools charge as much as R6, 700 per year, and good suburban schools as much as R15, 480 per year. Historically, the practice of user fees can be traced in part to discriminatory practices adopted at the end of apartheid in an effort to retain White privilege in education.

In 1992, however, the government required that all Model B and status quo schools convert to the Model C form. Karlsson (1992) argued that the Apartheid government undertook such unilateral restructuring and adopted the mechanism of school fees, in part to shift control of schools to local White communities and out of the hands of a soon-to-be-elected democratic government, the Black majority. As a result, by the time the new democratic government took over the reins of power in 1994, most historically White schools were now Model C schools and charged school fees. Predictably, the practice of charging fees disproportionately excluded Black learners, whose parents were often too poor to afford the significant expense.

Transformational Initiatives in Post Apartheid South Africa

Shortly after this transition, the Department of Education considered three alternative models with regard to financing education (Naidoo, 1996). Option One would allow schools to retain the status quo levels of funding with minimal fees charged. Option Two would allow schools to pursue immediate equalization of expenditures per learner across the board. Option Three would emphasize parent fees, ostensibly as a way of freeing up state funds in order to

²² School Fees : Fees paid at a school for the purposes of tuition

²³ R- Rand is the South African Currency

redistribute them towards needy schools. The majority of White schools in South Africa opted for “state-aided” funding under Option Three as their preferred alternative to the existing status-quo.

In an attempt to reform schools after the democratic elections of 1994, the government introduced policies that looked into discriminatory practices, including the Constitution of South Africa, the White Paper on Education, followed by the South African Schools Act (SASA). The Constitution stipulated that citizens have the right to basic education, regardless of the availability of resources (BuaNEWS, 2006). The Bill of Rights delineated within the South African Constitution (1996)²⁴ is compatible with international human rights laws, conventions, covenants and declarations.

The Bill of Rights²⁵ – sets forth a number of fundamental social and human rights. Section 29 of the Bill of Rights, deals with specific issues such as the right to education, redressing past discriminatory practices and language in education.

Further (1) everyone has the right

(a) To basic education, including adult basic education; and

²⁴ The **Constitution of South Africa** is the supreme law of the country of South Africa. It provides the legal foundation for the existence of the Republic of South Africa, sets out the rights and duties of the citizens of South Africa, and defines the structure of the Government of South Africa. The current Constitution of South Africa was adopted by the Constitutional Assembly on 11 October 1996, certified by the Constitutional Court on 4 December, signed by President Nelson Mandela on 10 December, and came into effect on 4 February 1997, replacing and repealing the Interim Constitution of 1993. Since its adoption, the Constitution has been amended sixteen times

²⁵ **The Bill of Rights:** This Bill of Rights is a cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom.

(b) To further education; the state must take reasonable measures to make education available and accessible to all. (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996: Chapter 2 ... South Africa's first bill of rights)

Since 1994, the South African Government has made it clear that schools should change in democratic directions. The White Paper on Education and Training published in 1995 espouses the Government's basic education philosophy:

It should be the goal of education and training to enable a democratic, free, equal, just and peaceful society to take proper root in our land. This requires active encouragement of mutual respect of our people's diverse religious, cultural traditions and the education system must counter the legacy of violence by promoting values underlying the democratic processes and the charter of fundamental rights, the process due to law and civic responsibility and by teaching values and skills of conflict resolution and the importance of mediation and the benefits of tolerance and cooperation (Department of Education, 1995: 22).

The new South African Government was aware that it could not compromise on the quality of education. Thus, the White Paper on Education states: "Implementing the free and compulsory phase of education implies not merely securing formal attendance at school but also ensuring that the material and human resources available in schools are sufficient to allow an acceptable quality of learning to proceed" (The White Paper on Education, 1995: 53). Essentially, the White Paper on Education mandated democratic principles for the troubled education system.

South Africa received many calls from people requesting implementation of parental participation in schools (Sayed, 1995). As a result, the *South African Schools Act* (SASA,

1996) was initiated in 1996. It is a policy designed to be implemented at the school level and its aim was to decentralize educational control and decision-making.

One of the most important educational reform policies in post-Apartheid South Africa was the desegregation of public schools. However, despite the fact that these policies were put in place to implement change, the Black schools continue to remain homogeneous. While Black schools did not desegregate for various reasons, large numbers of Black students from the urban townships and rural South Africa began enrolling in formerly White public schools (Ndimande, 2006). The emerging pattern of this policy change appears to be one sided with Black learners being bussed into White schools.

Various trends emerged during the 1980s and 1990s, as vehicles for dismantling the Bantu Education System. Even though these trends focused on change, some were controversial. Education was designed to allocate roles, constraints and aspirations. One such conceptualization was “People’s Education.”²⁶ People’s Education was conceived as an educational strategy for mobilization against discrimination and oppression. It was defined variously as a movement, a vehicle of political mobilization, an alternative philosophy of education, or as a combination of the three. It was introduced to maximize resistance to apartheid education, but not to map out a specific policy agenda (Kallaway, 2000). Wolpe (1988) suggested that People’s Education had a three-fold mission.

- 1) It defined elements of the future education system;
- 2) it projected the new ideas in terms of objectives that could be struggled for and realized in the present;
- 3) and aimed to put in place structures and practices that constituted the foundation for the future education system (Kallaway, 2000).

²⁶ People’s Education: An educational strategy for mobilization against discrimination and oppression in the 1980s.

When the practices of the government were no longer tolerable, the primary goal became to dismantle Apartheid at the start of the 1990s. The same was to be said of the education system with an introduction of the new system of non-discrimination by desegregation of schools.

Although unrestricted formal desegregation by decree came into being in 1990, by 1993, there were only 60,000 Black students at Model C schools and only about 40,000 'African' and 'Colored' students at 'Indian' schools. By the end of 1995, the number of 'African' students at 'Colored', 'White' and 'Indian' schools did not exceed 15% (or approximately 200,000) of the total student enrollment at these schools (see Race Relations Survey, 1994/1995; Naidoo, 1996a).

In the 1990s, the new Model C White schools were introduced as an attempt to reform away from Apartheid education, but the approach actually reconstructed the White dominated school system under a new guise. Model C schools were formed on a basis of an admission policy previously introduced by Minister Piet Clase and gave White parents authority to maintain the status quo while adopting the three models. This gave them control over admissions, as well. This pattern made it highly likely that the Black middle class would be the immediate beneficiary of what limited deracialization was occurring (Carrim and Sayed in Badat, 1995; Zafar, 1998).

In 1991, the National Party Government began to allow a few Black (i.e., Africans, Indian, and Colored) learners to attend White state schools under certain stringent conditions (Naidoo, 1996). Simultaneously, Indian and Colored schools began accepting Black learners. However, the post-Apartheid government mandated formal desegregation by decree in 1994, which was not fully in practice until 1995 (Naidoo, 1996; Carrim, 1995 in SAHR, 1999).

Desegregation in former White schools aimed at redressing the legacy of the racially and ethnoracially fragmented, dysfunctional and unequal education system inherited from Apartheid. Under the system of Apartheid, there were separate schools for African, White, Indian and Colored (mixed race) children. The education provided was not only separate; it was unequal with spending heavily in a biased way towards White children. Black South African children received least of all (Christie, 1991).

Clearly, significant changes occurred after 1994; particularly, the once monolithic centralized public system was broken down, i.e., Black and White schools. As the top-down system began to be dismantled, the government created opportunities for individuals and schools to enact change at the grassroots level. The South African Schools Act, provided bottom-up leadership. As the works of Tihanyi (2003), Soudien (1996), Naidoo (1996), Vally and Dalamba (1999) and Soudien and Sayed (2003) suggest, there was a deep resentment in many schools toward the so-called newcomers (Black children in formerly White schools). These students were treated like visitors at school. The pedagogical practice amounts to what Soudien calls ‘aggressive assimilation’ which he predicts may ultimately result in intolerance and violence.

School Desegregation as Transformation

One of the visible transformational initiatives in South African schools was school desegregation when former White schools admitted Black learners, thus adopting Constitutional stipulations and SASA (1996). Desegregation as a transformational initiative essentially followed the dictates of the freedom charter to “open doors to all learners and cultures” (The Freedom Charter, 1955).

Dismantling apartheid through the constitution and the SASA were necessary but there were insufficient responses to embedded patterns of segregation that existed in public schools. School desegregation requires more than a well-formulated policy (Zafar, 1996). The

most current changes as articulated by the Constitution of accepting Black learners in formerly White schools affect the formerly White schools and private schools. Because of adequate funding, there remains a significant deficit in both urban and rural Black schools. To many people in South Africa, school desegregation is seen as synonymous with the end of Apartheid Education. What happens in desegregated schools is the focus of this study.

Fundamentally, Jansen (1990) acknowledges that integration is not merely about changing the racial demographics of the learner and educator bodies. Desegregation, compared to integration means transforming the educational landscape by attending to a range of discriminatory practices: sexism, racism, xenophobia, and ethnicity. It means seeking to construct curricula and texts that are informed by demographic ethos. It requires teachers, school managers and communities to provide a democratic environment (Dolby, 2001).

Desegregation is an attractive transformational vehicle; however, there are shortcomings. For example, in her study *Towards Inclusion in South Africa*, Brook (1995) reveals that South Africa faces a particularly difficult task in educational democratization owing to the idiosyncratic, arbitrary legacy of Apartheid. She points out that, first, in considering inclusion, the geographic location is a crucial factor as places like South Africa's rural and township areas are isolated. Financial resources are the second factor in that budgetary concerns are ubiquitous at all levels. Given the magnitude of the reform objectives, school fees are a barrier. Third, another limiting factor is language. For many learners, English is a third or fourth language and many of the teachers have not been trained to instruct such students, as they were not equipped to teach English as a second/third language. The fourth factor is resistance to change within institutional structures and processes.

Further evidence of the shortcomings of desegregation stems from the institutional vestiges of inequality. The legacy of institutional fragmentation and inequity dates back to

1953, when the Bantu Education Act was introduced and it has not yet been eradicated (Brook, 1995, Naidoo, 1996, Dolby, 2001). The African schools still use Department of Education and Training materials from the Apartheid education system. The question of including Blacks in former White schools is far from reaching its objective, as observed by Naidoo (1996). Former White schools go on with “business as usual.” Yet much of the debate today seems to assume that once schools have been desegregated, they will be organized and function as they have in the past (Nkomo, 1990). Desegregation is yet another of South Africa’s contested transitions. What are the competing agendas in the schools? Whose agendas are they? What are the experiences of learners in desegregated school settings?

The education of Black children is a major concern in urban and rural South Africa. As a result of the abolition of Apartheid education, a number of schools “opened their doors to all learners” as stipulated in the ANC’s freedom charter, unconditionally and in line with the national education policy as laid down by the Constitution (Section 32(a)) and the White Paper on Education (1995 and 1996). Limited desegregation of White state schools only began in 1990, following passage of the educational reforms. Colored and Indian schools, though, began to admit African students in 1985, although up to 1990 this practice was deemed illegal by the state.

Comparisons to the American South

In an appraisal of American schools, Rist (1979) observed that while learners may have been desegregated, they may not necessarily have been integrated. Desegregation is a mechanical process, which merely involves establishing the physical proximity of members of different groups in the same school. It implies nothing about the quality of the interracial contact.

In the South African context, desegregation involves the “opening” of racially exclusive schools to members of all racial and ethnic groups. Integration is achieved only

when positive ‘interlope’ (Rist, 1979, 158) contact has been fostered. Integration is not just proximity among the members of different groups. It involves interactions of learners in a multiracial learning environment, both in and outside the classroom, where learners are provided with equal status and equal opportunities.

There are reasons that desegregation is important, including the provision of improved and social learning environments for all. South African Apartheid schools promoted inequality by deliberately giving more money to White schools because the school authorities had the power to provide socio-economic resources. Today, school segregation may be seen as part of the centuries old system of racism and segregation. Gillborn’s (1995) conviction is that, particularly in South Africa, the school system could offer an ideal setting in which to challenge racism in ways that might positively impact both students and the community at large. At the heart of discriminatory practices are actions that generally deny other people the dignity, opportunities and privileges made available to Whites collectively and individually (Feagin & Barnett, 2000).

Desegregation is not unique to South African schools. Public schools in the Southern United States were racially segregated until the landmark Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). The actual implementation of school integration was not without contestation and controversy. The Supreme Court's 1954 decision reminds us that desegregation, "was not about raising scores" for children of minorities "but about giving Black children access to majority culture, so they could negotiate it more confidently” (Feagin & Barnett, 2000). For African-Americans to have equal opportunity, higher test scores will not suffice, there have to be programs designed to eradicate past inequalities.

The process of desegregation in South African schools up to now constitutes only a few steps towards the transformation of a segregated system inherited from the Apartheid era (Pampallis, 1991; Naidoo, 1996). Only a few Blacks have gained admission to the formerly

White schools. In fact, commentators often remark on the ease of racial accommodation in schools but real stories from learners contrast these reports. The high-profile media cases of racial conflict such as in Vryburg (North West), Ladysmith (KwaZulu Natal), Potgietersrus (Northern Province), Cape Town High (Western Cape), and Bryanston High (Gauteng) show tension raised by efforts to desegregate (Vally, 1999). The above cases provide evidence of violence in the newly desegregated schools. For example the Babeile case²⁷. Through these incidents, one sees cases of violence as factors that prohibit equitable implementation of democratic reforms across the country (Vally, 1999).

In the above study there are almost weekly reports of racial incidents in schools, and there are countless unreported incidents of racism and intolerance, especially in well-shielded, "proper" middle-class White schools and in primary schools. In these schools where children are unable to articulate prejudicial experiences of language, religion, race, ethnicity, class and others, including xenophobia (Jansen, 1998). It is therefore necessary to look at the experience of Black and White learners in formerly White schools in order gain a better understanding of students' perceptions in desegregated schools.

Former White schools in South Africa express intolerance and prejudice toward anything that deviates from what was established in the Apartheid era (Naidoo, 1996). The problem of intolerance, prejudice and discrimination is experienced and continues among poor Black children, children with disabilities, children with special needs, immigrant children, who speak languages other than the former official languages English and Afrikaans, and children with HIV/AIDS (Naidoo, 1996, Vally, 1999, Jansen, 1999).

²⁷ Babeile Case: Babeile's case points to the need for an extensive campaign led by government and communities to eradicate racism in our education system.

In arguing for critical anti-racism, Carrim and Soudien (1999) saw the need for a de-essentialized conception of identity, one that could capture how people live their lives, the nature of the experiences they have, and the ways in which their identities are formed. They argued that, specifically within schools, being Black in an Indian or Colored school is decidedly different from being Black in a White school. Being Black, middle-class and proficient in English is very different from being Black, working class from a rural area and not having any knowledge of English at all. Being Indian, female and lesbian would have rather different implications in a White school environment as opposed to being Indian, male and heterosexual in the same school. The authors accept this argument. They however believe that the term 'Black' used in particular contexts needs not be construed in essentialist terms. Both in South Africa and post-war Britain; the term Black was employed as a reaction to the widely used, but undermining phrase 'non-White'. It was used to generate solidarity among diverse Black communities in order to promote collective action.

The word Black has different political and cultural meaning and context (Brah, 1992) its specific meaning in post-war Britain cannot be taken to have denied cultural differences between African, Caribbean and South Asian people. Cultural difference was not the organizing principle within this discourse or political practice. The concrete political struggles in which the new meaning was grounded acknowledge cultural differences but seek to accomplish political unity against racism. Brah also urges vigilance as the discourse of ethnic difference could be deployed by certain politicians, as a means to create their own power base rather than to empower those whose needs have not been met by manifesting advantage from the term Black.

The classification and controversies of who is Black in the South African policy of desegregation have not been addressed. Apartheid manifested itself anew after 1994;

Apartheid continues to cast the long shadow of ideology and continues to cast its “Stygian²⁸ gloom”. (Reference) Desegregation does not appear through “racially explicit” policies, but by proxy. There are high school fees, exclusionary language admission policies and other transparent maneuvers such as “crowding out” or “bussing” or “taxing-out²⁹ for Black learners in White schools from outside the feeder area; these symptoms indicate that the legacy of apartheid itself is taking on a new sophisticated form (Carrim, Mkwanazi and Nkomo, 1993).

Eliminating overt racism in educational policies is the first step in challenging past inequalities. In addition to desegregation in schools, challenging the past and moving beyond the legacy of Apartheid is how the South African Department of Education plans to work towards social justice and equity with the introduction of the new curriculum titled "Curriculum 2005" (Asmal, 1995). Educators need to address factors of social inequality to minimize racial disparities in education for the future. To the degree that segregated schools foster unwarranted fears, misconceptions, and negative stereotypes and provide unequal education opportunities, they are indeed inherently malicious (Bennett, 1981). However, it is false to assume that simply desegregating a school will eradicate the evils from Apartheid, as seen in Bennett’s (1981) claim that both research and casual observation document an existence of segregation within desegregated schools. However, it is false to assume that simply desegregating a school will eradicate the evils from apartheid, as seen in Bennett’s (1981) claim that both research and casual observation document an existence of segregation within desegregated schools.

²⁸ Sty·gi·an [usually before noun] literary unpleasantly dark, and making you feel nervous or afraid.

²⁹ “Bussing out”(“or taxing-out : this is a made-up term South African) it originates from “taxi” meaning the mode of transport used for Black learners from the township or rural parts of South Africa to bring them to former white schools.

Some of these formal practices include school fees, tracking, grouping and scheduling of extracurricular activities and informal practices such as student seating preferences in the classroom and cafeteria settings. Too many desegregated schools in the United States face racial tensions, apathy, and absenteeism as a reaction to forced bussing and desegregation. All of these conditions retard personal achievements among students. Inequalities do exist in desegregated contexts (Bennett, 1981).

Race Relations in Desegregated Schools: Will the New System Reverse, Halt or Improve?

By examining one of the transformational initiatives in school governance within the South African School's Act, this study will help clarify the challenges of educational change in South Africa (Soudien, 1996; Vally, 2005; Naidoo, 1996). While the law ensures that Blacks have access to formerly White schools, White flight from those schools has become an equally prominent feature of the South African educational landscape. According to an Education Foundation report, the enrollment of Black students in public schools increased dramatically, from approximately eight million in 1991 to over ten million in 1997. However, this 24 percent increase was mirrored by a 21 percent decrease in White enrollment (Brook, 1996).

There are many challenges and it is crucial to express these challenges and issues in terms of how they affect the well-being of the children. It is particularly relevant in the South African context to transform an education system that is still saddled with the legacies of Apartheid in many respects (Soudien, 2004). In some schools, changes have been encouraged and have reinforced what is already in operation, whereas in other schools change has been resisted. However, addressing issues of educational transformation, the reconstituted provincial education departments have done little to

prepare teachers, school administrators, and other stakeholders to tackle the complexities and dynamics involved in the racial desegregation of schools.

Wolpe (1988) argues that neither race nor class, by itself, is capable of explaining the social formation and the ways in which position, privilege and power are distributed. Language dominance can raise important questions of power. The use of English and Afrikaans in formerly White schools as the medium of instruction remains sensitive and unresolved. Jansen (2994) states that even if desegregation can succeed for a number of years, the controversy of language dominance remains.

Wolpe (1988) also calls into question the ways in which discourses of race and class have been mobilized to understand South African racial discrimination. In his text *Race, Class and the Apartheid State*, he simply argues against the dominant iconographic systems of South Africa, particularly those of race, and looks at more complex ways of understanding social differences in South Africa. In attempting to analyze post-apartheid education, there are many challenges.

There is much more hope for the new South Africa, even when the new government tries to assert itself. However, Wolpe, like Jansen, contended that the new issue was the use of English or Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. This racial discourse of apartheid has been sustained and carried into the new South Africa schools. There are no guidelines to implement South Africa School's Act (SASA) this encouraged White teachers to choose business as usual (Naidoo, 1996; Wolpe, 1988). This study seeks to find out whether the emerging patterns are or might be similar.

In the United States, inequalities in schools have continued well after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that declared segregated schools unequal in 1954. Likewise, in South Africa, Black South Africans have been subject to poorer facilities, less expenditure per pupil, poorly trained teachers, and sometimes a shortage of Black

teachers. These inequalities continued until the historic public elections in April 1994. In both the United States and South Africa, until legally mandated to do otherwise, Whites constructed educational systems designed to maintain the privileges of White students and to prepare Black South African and African American students for the subservient roles that they were expected to play in their respective societies. There are historical similarities in the ways in which Blacks and African Americans were denied equal opportunity. For example, Murray (1997) has documented injustice in educational systems in both the United States and South Africa, stemming from the detrimental effects of unequal educational resources and segregation.

One of the larger conceptual issues to emerge is that South Africa should look at the reasons for inequality to try to draw from the lessons of Apartheid. The colonial and Apartheid experiences have had a tremendous impact on the collective and individual psyches of both Black and White South Africans as well as all other identity groups. To a varying degree, the collective behavior reflects this deep rooted experience (SAHR, 1999).

It is apparent that the provision of equitable education that is inclusive and representative of the diverse cultures of South Africa is not only necessary but also essential. It has become necessary for South Africans to respect diverse cultures and to eliminate all forms of discrimination. This is a mandate and education has an important role to play (Ntshoe, 1991). In the aftermath of apartheid, it is pivotal that teachers, parents and students learn to function within diverse populations and within multicultural settings. Not only is the South African Government hoping for more cooperation and democratic practices in desegregated schools, it also hopes to promote cross-cultural and positive racial interactions (Lynch, 1992 as quoted in Harber, 1998). To reach these goals requires a methodology to answer questions about the actual experiences of learners during the

process of desegregation. The methodology outlined in the next chapter provides us with the guiding principles for this study.

Summary

This study focuses on cross-racial interactions among Black and White learners in South Africa. The current study will explore the ways in which learners experience desegregation in formerly White schools and how these experiences impact their academic achievements. How schools adapt to increased numbers of Black students is critical to building a non-racist, non-sexist South Africa. This study examined interactions between Black and White students in one desegregated school in Pretoria, South Africa to understand the experiences of desegregation among learners in South African schools. Few studies have considered representing the voices of learners in the newly desegregated school system in South Africa.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Qualitative methods were used as this study to understand the cross-racial interactions among learners in a South African school. The qualitative research design employed here used a case study approach and presented collected data as narration. The goal is that the study will contribute to theory, educational practice, policymaking and social consciousness (Mc Muller & Schumacher, 2001). The central research question examined by this study is: what are the cross-racial interactions among Black and White learners in a former “Whites only” school of South Africa?

Patton (1985) and Sherman and Webb (1988) describe qualitative inquiry as one method that shows a direct concern for experience as it is lived, felt or undertaken. Three categories in qualitative studies by Maxwell (1998) are:

1. Understanding the meaning to participants in the study, of the events, situations and actions with which the subjects are involved, and of the accounts they give of their lives and experiences;
2. Understanding the particular context within which the participants act and the influence this context has on their actions and;
3. Understanding the processes by which events and actions take place.
4. Research show that there are limited studies in cross racial interaction in post-Apartheid schools.

Field Methods

1. The field methods to be employed in this study include the following:
2. Observations of students in and out of class while at school.

3. Analysis of documents to collect information about school policies, to reveal institutional positions on race, language and gender; and to identify students who have dropped out of school.
4. Interviews with students (both individually and in small groups), teachers and administrators.

These field methods are related to the research question and the theoretical framework because they seek to bring attention to individual voices and to capture the cross-racial interactions among learners in a desegregated school. Critical Race Theory (CRT) points to the importance of the marginalized in describing cross-racial relationships. To find the marginalized, it is important to see and hear from a variety of students, teachers and administrators as well as to learn from documentary evidence.

Data Collection

Data were collected from May 2008 – December 2008. During this period daily visits were made to the school for the purpose of classroom observations and interviews. The interviews lasted 45-60 minutes. All interviews were tape recorded. Appendix A (Interview protocol for students) includes the interview questions used. Merriam (1988) argues that the researcher's role in case study research is central. Face-to-face interviews were used.

As a researcher I identified nonverbal cues among the learners for more evidence of their cross-racial interactions. This method immediately helped me process, clarify, and summarize findings as the study evolved. The case study method is also, "one of the few modes of scientific study that admits the subjective perception and biases of both participants and researcher into the research frame." Consequently "all observations are filtered through one's world view, one's values, own perspective" (Merriam, 1988).

This study used a qualitative research approach in which I triangulate data from multiple sources, such as interviews, observations, and school documents. Data were collected from sustained classroom observations, in-depth interviews and field notes, primarily from learners, teachers and administrators. This research was conducted at an Afrikaans-speaking high school in Pretoria. This school is broadly representative of the larger number of desegregated schools in this community.

This enquiry included three stages:

- I explored the introductory questions to and got acquainted with the school and built rapport with the learners (see stage 1) of the protocol questions);
- I asked questions directly related to cross-racial interactions among learners and other questions generated from the observation, and
- I posed questions related to other issues. (See interview questions, Appendices 1, 2 and 3).

Sample

I selected the grade eleven classes in the school as the sample for this study based on the fact that they have spent a reasonable amount of time in the desegregated experience but, at the same time, still can benefit from further changes. The Grade 12 (twelve) learners were excluded from any research since this turns out to be a sensitive time of their final year as these students were preparing for their matriculation examinations. The area where the school is located is not far from townships east and west of Pretoria, where the majority of the Black students reside. Most of the White learners live in the area, which was subdivided by the Group Areas Act in the apartheid South Africa prior to 1994. Some now live in the former White residential area after the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, which separated learners.

The sample included:

- Sixteen students from Grade 11, including eight white students and eight black learners, eight female learners and eight male learners, of this sample eight Afrikaans-speakers, students and eight non-Afrikaans speakers.
- The Administrators, the Principal and the Head of Department were interviewed for background information verification of what was said by the learners about cross-racial interaction and other related issues. Observations took place in classrooms, sports fields, the cafeteria, bus/taxi rides, meetings and faculty rooms.

Interview questions guiding the observations and interviews are:

- How do you describe your interactions with members of your race and members of other races in this school?
- How do you describe others' cross-race interactions in your school?

(See protocol questions in appendix A)

Data Sources

Documents included school registers, admission books, grade schedule, school policies, students' books, official letters and correspondence, grade rosters, teaching materials, correspondence from the Education Ministry at the provincial and district levels and planning schedule for students, yearbooks. These documents revealed information about instruction, opportunities for learning for specific students (race/language based), school policies on race and language, and identified students who have dropped out of school.

During observations, notes were made that form the basis of the analysis and that highlight issues that arose from the interviews (classroom observations was followed by interviews). Students were selected after classroom observations ended to control the representation of students in accordance to race, language and gender. I chose equal numbers of White and Black, Afrikaans speaking/non-Afrikaans speaking and male and

females for the interviews. Bulmer and Warwick (1999: 34) argue that observation is appropriate when conducting an in-depth study of values and belief systems while Marshall and Rossman (1999:107) define observation as a systematic noting and recording of events, behaviors and objects in the social setting chosen for the study.

I kept a daily journal of my experiences, impressions, reactions, thought processes and other significant events that occurred during the data collection phase. A personal account of my feelings, ideas, prejudices, hunches, impressions, and problems (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992) served as an invaluable tool for cross-referencing and validating other observations in the data analysis of this study. Journaling helped address my own initial subjective reactions to the participants and the sites, issues of cultural adjustment, biases and values. Journaling is a strategic method to juxtapose my field notes with what I may be experiencing at a personal and cultural level. By serving as a form of triangulation, the journal was helping other scholars assess possible sources of bias arising from my individual experience.

Data Analysis

Marsha and Rossman (1999, 150) define data analysis as “the process of bringing order, structure and interpretation to the mass of collected data”. They view data analysis as a messy, ambiguous, time-consuming, creative and fascinating process. Jorgeson (1989,107) states that the analysis of data is the breaking up and separating, or disassembling of research materials into pieces, parts, elements or “units”. When facts are broken into manageable pieces, the researcher is able to sort and sift them, searching for types, classes, sequences, processes patterns and the whole. He adds that the main aim of data analysis is to assemble or reconstruct the data in a meaningful or comprehensive way.

A coding strategy was used to identify the important factors of the study. Marshall and Rossman (1999:152; Creswell, 2001, 155) identified four phases of data analysis:

1. Organizing data: According to major categories of coding: The analysis was presented because of the dialogues in interviews and description of interviews during the period research is completed.
 2. Generating categories, themes and patterns- the worlds of qualitative research are not discovered but are created in the text written (Denzin, 1995). The text was created in the process of data collection.
 3. Coding data: A list of categories was developed that reflect major and minor themes of the data. The process of sorting information might be done with file folders, file cards, identifiers or computer software (Merriam, 1988)
1. Testing emergent understandings of the students: the change of patterns and searching for alternative explanations. Patterns were searched by comparing with patterns predicted from theory and the literature and writing a report.

In the analysis phase, I returned to my research question and CRT to identify cross-racial interactions among learners at U school; and to understand the desegregation experience at the school. This study intends to codify the actual experiences of South African learners to help the government move ahead in its desegregation and deracialization processes.

CHAPTER 4

KEY FINDINGS

This chapter presents the key findings that emerged from this study and examines the cross racial interaction of Black and White learners in a former ‘Whites only’ school in Pretoria, South Africa. The study explores the nature and intent of cross racial interaction between learners and intends to explain the emerging patterns of interaction through activities observed in the classroom; sports; subject choice; and discipline. The central question of this inquiry is: What is the cross racial interaction of White and Black learners in a desegregated school? The findings are organized in two broad categories. Part 1 presents the contextual background and overviews of the school structure. Part II focuses on key themes that emerged from data collected through interviews with students, teachers and school administrators.

Part 1: Background and the Structure of the School

This dissertation study was conducted at a public school (“U School”) which is located in the outskirts of greater Pretoria area of Centurion, in the Gauteng Province in South Africa. U School was formed in (year) as a Whites-only school primarily serving middle and working class Whites. The area is not far from townships east and west of Pretoria. Most of the White learners live in the area which was subdivided by the Group Areas Act in the Apartheid South Africa prior to 1994. Some now live in the former White residential area after the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, which separate learners.

As with all others in South Africa, U school was founded on the Bantu Education Act of 1954, which provided for separate, superior education for Whites and subordination for all others. Its status was further codified in the Apartheid Education Act (1954) of which further circumscribed racial boundaries. For years U school diligently and competently served its narrow constituency. That dynamic was little changed as Apartheid

tottered. On the eve of the new era (1993), U school had a student population that consisted of (# White, Black, etc).

In South Africa, high school begins at eighth grade. Students study for five years. At the end they write a national examination known as ‘matric³⁰.’ The system used to be based on Higher or Standard grade in subject teaching. As of 2008, students must maintain a passing grade in their Home Language, additional languages, mathematics or mathematics literacy, and life orientation in order to progress to University. Officially in 2008 the Senior Certificate was changed to the National Senior Certificate. The system of higher or standard grade has been dropped. An alternative examination is possible in the Independent Examination Board (EIB). This board exam represents many private schools). The public school structure is represented by a National Examination.

With the demise of apartheid, one would assume that there is freer migration of South Africans than before between the various provinces in the post Apartheid era. The school has admitted Black learners. School enrollment data indicates that there are learners from most of the South African provinces. Despite the apartheid government’s policy of separating South Africans according to their ethnic and language orientation, the language distribution still shows a remarkable diversity.

Pretoria is the largest geographical council area (576,185 square kilometers) in the province and has a fragmented pattern of settlement both financially and racially. This fragmentation which is reflected in the districts and school was in the study. The school was selected as a case with consideration that it represents the largest desegregated school in Pretoria.

³⁰ Matric: Means the grade and standard level currently called grade 12 of schooling in South Africa

The U school is a parallel language medium (Afrikaans/English) school located in South West of Pretoria formerly known as Verwoerdburg (during the time of my study the name used is Centurian) in an area that previously served predominantly Colored communities as part of Apartheid residential segregation policies. The school was established by the former class of White Afrikaans speaking people. Not far from the school is a squatter camp that primarily houses Black residents.

There are huge disparities in wealth across this metropolitan area with average annual per capita incomes ranging from R53, 927 in the northern suburbs, to R8,358 in the districts in which this schools are located³¹. Mixed areas, which started to develop in the inner city during the 1980s are now becoming predominantly ‘Black’ and poorer. Wealthier Indians and Africans are starting to move into former White suburbs, but the scale of such relocation is too low to make any significant impact. The traditionally Black residential areas (mainly townships) remain exclusively Black. The “township and rural schools” continue to serve only Black learners. There has been greater integration in schools that served Colored and Indian students, as these schools are more accessible from the township areas. The U school’s location is in the same area and falls within the description.

The present pattern of former “Whites only” opening schools is not quantitatively significant in terms of the crisis for provision of schooling in South Africa. The U school

³¹ The demographic data on the province and school districts is from the Municipal Demarcation Board of South Africa which is based on the Statistics South Africa Census 1996 and Census 2001 databases. See <http://www.demarcation.org.za> School specific data is from the SRN 1996, SRN 2000, the EMIS Annual Survey for Schools (March 2002), and the 10Th School Head Count Survey (2002).

is in the process of adopting a Clase³² model, which is popularly known as Model C, although it is not yet complete. While he was Minister of Education and Culture, Piet Clase announced in the House of Assembly in April 1991 that separate education was abolished in favor of a single education system for the whole country. Post 1991, the schools were changed into three models:

1. Model A became private schools
2. Model B became state schools but were going to do away with admission policy
3. Model was C state-aided schools.

The estimated population that the school serves is 28,614 (6,512 households). The estimated annual median household income is R25126 (\$3500) US, approximately 40% of households earn below R18000 (\$2500).

The student population of the school under study is 941, comprised of 461 boys and 480 girls with 60% Afrikaans children and 40% African (Black), proportion that is steadily increasing. The majority of children who speak Afrikaans are White children. African children, who are in a minority in the school as a whole, are in the majority in the English medium stream. Registration for schooling closes on September 28 of every year. The following clubs run within the school: Natural science expo, Afrikaans expo, Olympiads in several subjects (competition on school subjects undertaken by several schools) and web³³ clubs (Internet chat web is designed for learners to chat on the school's webpage.) The school facilities and indicates symbolizes a school equipped with resources.

³² Clase, Piet: The formation of Model A, B, and C model is attributed to the Minister of Education and Culture then.

³³ Web- webpage: the school has information a webpage compiled on an internet for public viewing.

There are 44 teachers at the school, all of whom are White and Afrikaans speaking. Five of the grade head teachers (Grade 8, 9, 10, 11, 12) and the eight administrative staff are also all White. The school's custodial workers are all Black. The parent component of the School Governing The School Governing Body (SGB) governs the management of its *school*; and, among other responsibilities decides the language policy of the school, which, according to the Department of Education, must promote multilingualism. SGB)³⁴ is made up of eight White Afrikaans speaking parents. There are no Black parents represented on the governing body although a number were nominated, according to the school. In this desegregated school, the White learners come from primarily middle or upper class homes. The Black children come from primarily working class or poor homes.

The learners receive letters with the following information to give to their parents. School fees are R6600 per learner per year. Centre fees for specific subjects are raised individually, and then added to the school fees total for an all encompassing, individual school fee account. The implications thereof are that some of the parents will pay more than others, depending on the subjects their children take in different grades.

Registration fee forms part and parcel of the school fee. There is a process for gaining exemption of school fees. Application for an exemption of school fees must be done via official documents, available at the financial office. The arrangement at this school is noted as saying the exemption of school fees is and will always be a departmental issue, and if

³⁴ (School Governing Body (SGB): A school governing body is a government of the School, established in terms of the South African Schools Act. It is *mandated* to set policies and rules that govern the school, and monitor the implementation of the rules. The SGB gets its *mandate* from the different members (learners, parents, teaching and nonteaching staff) of the school community. These members of the School community elects the SGB. The elected members of the school governing body represent the school community.

parents do not apply for exemption they will follow the official route explained The below:

The notice in a school's newsletter states: "Failing to pay school fees is against the law."

The cultural activities of the school are: Choir singing and solo singing, drummer and debating society, orators and Rissieit Eisteddfod³⁵ (Lig die emmer³⁶ Voortrekkers,³⁷ Krismas Carols, Arts Festival and Green fields concert. These activities symbolize the Afrikaans culture and its practices. This school used to be an Afrikaans only school. A few years ago it was converted into a parallel medium. In a school officially known as a parallel medium the language of instruction is English for Black learners and Afrikaans for White learners.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa recognizes eleven languages. They are: English, Tswana, Afrikaans, S. Sotho, Zulu and Xhosa, Tsonga, Sepedi, Seswazi, Ndebele, and Tshivenda. All eleven of those are represented in the home languages of the Black learners at U school. The language of instruction for Afrikaans speakers is Afrikaans (their mother tongue) while Black learners are taught in Afrikaans which is not most often not their mother tongue or first language.

In South Africa, the School Governing Body is the only statutory body in the school which decides what language of instruction has to prevail at the school. Prior to 1994, educators, learners, parents and communities were largely excluded from school governance. Like schools themselves, SGBs were also organized along racial lines. However, with the establishment of the South African Schools Act of 1996, all public schools are required to have an SGB democratically elected by members of the school community. According to the

³⁵ Lig in die emmer- Light in the bucket (a traditional game played by people of Afrikaans origin)

³⁶ Rissieit Eisteddfod – A game played for competition in an Afrikaans school.

³⁷ The **Voortrekkers** (Afrikaans and Dutch for *pioneers*, literally "those who trek ahead", "fore-trekkers") were emigrants during the 1830s and 1840s.

Act, the SGB is mandated to set the policies and rules which govern the school, and to make sure that the school is run according to those policies.

Hence the dominating language of instruction at the school is Afrikaans. The second language of instruction is English, and while it is offered as a medium of instruction to Black learners, their first language is not necessarily English. The School Governing Body (SGB) is mandated to select the languages of instruction for the school it governs.

In an interview with a female Black student, she stated that they asked the principal why the school did not have a Black teacher. He replied that he hired one, but the teacher could not stay. The reason given was that there was too much work, and she could not handle it.

The Group Areas Act No. 41 (7 July 1950) had forced physical separation between races by creating different residential areas for different races. Implementation began in 1954. It led to forced removal of people living in "wrong" areas and the wholesale destruction of their communities. For example, Coloreds living in District Six, in Cape Town were affected by the Group Areas Act No. 77 where Blacks were removed to Soweto (1957). The following condition helps this study to locate how space in South Africa has been contested and the composition of the school population at the U school.

The following are learning areas at this school, which is common in public school. Two official languages English and Afrikaans (this differs from school to school), Geography, Travel and Tourism, Mathematics, Math Education, Information Technology, Arts and Crafts.

In this particular grade level I worked with fifteen 15 and interviewed 10 Black and 5 White and interviewed 5 (with consent form signed by parents) learners from whom I gathered a wealth of data. The data was collected over eight months of daily participation

with teachers, learners and the SGB members chose not to participate. The study was analyzed through the ethnographic interpretive approach, with common patterns picked up from the voices of learners in interviews and the reading of documents and observation given. The discussion in this chapter begins with theme: 1) language: privilege and creating or maintaining power and learners' recognition and the researcher's observation of the history of language of instruction in this school; 2) the perception of learners represented in their voices, the teachers' perceptions and their expectations in the desegregated environment.

Part II: Narratives

In South Africa, a host of legislative mechanisms enforced racial segregation in all walks of life for more than thirty years. These mechanisms became dominant in forming perceptions in South Africa. Segregated education was never equal education because, in contrast to Black education, education for Whites was compulsory and free and better endowed with state funding. Black education suffered from the consequences of insufficient physical education facilities, shortage of schools, lack of running water, toilet facilities and electricity, insufficient funds, a high dropout rate, curriculum deficiencies and inadequate teacher training for Black educators, as well as overworked, underpaid and unmotivated teachers (Swinepoxes & Booysen, 2003:96).

An Overview of Language Policy in South African Education

In 1976, the South African government passed a ruling to make Afrikaans a second language of instruction in African schools. The nation's learners, especially in the African schools at whom the ruling was directed, saw this as the imposition of one too many oppressive laws. Resistance to the ruling led to the 1976 school uprising in Soweto, a large Black urban development outside of Johannesburg, which quickly spread throughout the whole country (Christie, 1991; Harsh, 1980; Meridith, 1988). After this national disturbance against Afrikaans being imposed as a medium of instruction there is an effort and suggestions

by the new South African government to promote all of the marginalized languages in schools. These stipulated suggestions are found in the Education and Language Policy 1996).

Language policy in South African education formed an integral part of the former Apartheid ideology. Language, together with race and cultural background, provided the grounds for educating children, both Black and White, separately. A full account of the controversial role played by language policy in Black schooling is beyond the scope of this chapter (cf. Hartshorne 1992; McGregor & McGregor 1992). Instead, the ensuing overview is given as background to the language issue in schooling both Blacks and Whites in a desegregated environment.

During the time of my study, the new constitution states that English, Afrikaans, and nine indigenous languages “shall be the official South African languages at the national level constitution of SA (1996), White paper of Education (1996), and conditions shall be created for their development and for the promotion of their equal use and enjoyment” (South African Constitution, 1996). Whether this is happening or not remains to be seen. According to paragraph 5 of the *Language-in-Education Policy* (1997), the main aims of the South African Ministry of Education’s policy for language in education are:

1. To promote full participation in society and the economy through equitable and meaningful access to education;
2. To pursue the language policy most supportive of general conceptual growth amongst learners, and hence to establish additive multilingualism as an approach to language in education;
3. To promote and develop all the official languages;
4. To support the teaching and learning of all other languages required by learners or used by communities in South Africa, including languages used for religious purposes, languages which are important for international trade and

communication, and South African Sign Language, as well as Alternative and Augmentative Communication.

According to the Department of Education's language policy, school pupils have a right to be taught in a language of their choice and they should inform the school which language they wish to be taught in when applying for admission. Schools should take these preferences into account and work towards multilingualism.

According to Lion (2003) in Steven and Wolhuter (2006), the multilingual nature of schools is currently the biggest challenge. Lion regards this tendency as the biggest demographic challenge of our time, because there are not enough educators to convert schools from single to parallel medium. Lion also argues that this state of affairs has serious administrative, didactic and financial implications for his school and he ascribes the situation to the failure on the part of the Department of Education to launch adequate demographic investigations and to provide human resources in a particular region based on their investigation.

Language of Instruction and Governance in U School

The language policy dictates that the other marginalized languages should be promoted by all schools. In U School there were nine (9) grade 11 classrooms. Five of the classes enrolled Black learners and the remaining four enrolled primarily White learners. The language of instruction in the five classrooms for Black learners is English while Afrikaans is the medium of instruction in classes with White students. The school is classified as a parallel medium³⁸ as a result of the initiatives advocated by the Department of Education. At the U school only two of the languages are used as languages of instruction.

³⁸ Parallel Medium school: A school which uses two languages as medium of instruction.

Since the inception of the new alternative approach to the Apartheid system the school has changed from an Afrikaans medium to a parallel medium format but the ethos of the school conforms to the usual practices of the Apartheid order by marginalizing indigenous languages. In an interview a Black learner said:

We are in an Afrikaans-English speaking school unless you're speaking half the things are mostly in Afrikaans and then the others are in English. They do try to include us and put some things in English but if you were to take a total count of all the assemblies that have taken place and all the announcements and actually count them, how many times do they speak English and for how long do they speak Afrikaans.

The school started as an Afrikaans medium school only and through transformational initiatives it was obliged to change into a parallel medium institution. The school uses Afrikaans as a medium of instruction but there are other learners from indigenous language background who are not accommodated. The African and Colored parents (the disadvantaged group during Apartheid), are demanding the English medium of instruction for their children. One Black English speaking learner said: "The teachers are all Afrikaans speaking."

In an interview the learners explained how the school remains true to the historical institutional structure of Afrikaans, White only school with separate classrooms for Black and White learners. In another interview the learners explained how the school is structured and the authority relationship:

Implications of language policy on classroom practice at U school

The implications of the South African language policy on educational provision are generally far-reaching. Firstly, it is necessary to mention the effects upon the teaching of English as a second language in an Afrikaans-medium South African school. I visited both English and Afrikaans classes with the purpose of observing the practices. I found that all

classrooms had Afrikaans speaking teachers and there were no Black teachers and that no teachers whose first language is English are employed by this school. The school has never had any Black teachers or native English speaking teachers. The English-speaking learners were mostly Black; a few of these children came from a different language background.

There were early signs and patterns, throughout my time at the U school that Afrikaans was the language spoken more often than English, I was even advised by one teacher to speak a little bit of Afrikaans. “You must speak Afrikaans a bit,” she said. This requirement sounded like an imposition to me. On the first day school of my visit to the school I went to see the Grade 11 Head of Department she asked me to talk to the Black learners coming to school late. I did not do it as it was not my area of responsibility; I had to be a dispassionate observer.

A Black female learner remarked: “Afrikaans is spoken throughout the day.” Expressing despair in what looks like a challenge, the learners find themselves at risk of underachievement or falling behind their classmates. The learners have nothing to fall back on because they are not taught by native speakers of any of the indigenous language or by native speakers of English. “We fall behind as to what they say; half the time we do not know what is going on”: said an English speaking Black learner. The Afrikaans language has a negative connotation in the school. Most of the teacher’s documents were written in Afrikaans. One learner made me aware that the school was forced to change from Afrikaans to English. The teachers did not necessarily like the transition from an Afrikaans medium to a parallel medium. He had this to say about the school and what he thinks the school is responding to: “The government had to come in [intervene] and make them change into a parallel medium”.

The Voices of Learners

Languages have always been a contentious issue in education in South Africa, from the drive for mother-tongue education to the ever pressing need to be able to use international languages such as English. Speaking English and Afrikaans has always been contested in the history of South Africa as reflected in the following statements. The school has a racist history as a Black learner explained the history of the school and explained how she felt about her school, “With me when I first came into grade eight, this school was known as a racist school. I didn’t want to come here”. Some of the White learners stated that they were forced to learn English. Another perception was White Afrikaans “was fading away” one Afrikaans learner said commenting on what she interpreted as the fading away of Afrikaans. Everyone prepares to speak English and that Afrikaans was not preferred anymore.

Some of the White Afrikaans learners spoke to me about how they feel about the school and their Black counterparts. When they talked about their fellow students, it was in terms of “others”. Another Black learner stated:

Black learners at U school claim to be aware of the importance of English and its economic future. Some of them stated that to be successful in South Africa you have to know English. These students even predicted that their school would change into an English medium institution. There are competing values on the existence of English and Afrikaans as a language of instruction.

This is a controversy that has erupted as to whose language has to be used as a medium of instruction at the school. Township and rural schools where African languages are used as the medium of instruction will not have the same resources and expertise due to the injustices and policies of the past that schools (formerly advantaged or

disadvantaged) will have the infrastructure or even motivation to accommodate more languages

Based on the emphasis that they gave to the matter, the Black English speaking learners definitely preferred to be taught in English. In all interviews, the Black learners objected to Afrikaans dominating the school environment. This attitude towards Afrikaans seems to have been common with the learners I interviewed. A Black English speaking learner, who seems to be open minded and was proactive in promoting culture and using his position as prefect³⁹, said in an interview:

When it comes to staff like inter-high⁴⁰ we need people who cheer up so it's always the English kids who are loud, the Afrikaans kids are very reserved, we like expressing ourselves and we like showing people and showing our talents. I am not putting Afrikaans people in a box but they are very reserved and they like keeping to themselves and the like.....cos [because] really we talk loud...

In almost all interviews the Afrikaans speaking learners made me aware that they held this stereotype of Black people. One Afrikaans speaking White learner said, referring to the Black English speaking learners: "We get to know their languages we also know that they are loud." Her justification for this stereotype was that all Black learners' problems are attributed to the dysfunctionality of Black family life. She said they were told by the teacher that Black people speak loudly. The explanation for this from the Black learners is that they are not seen to be gossiping.

³⁹ Prefect- Student Leaders belonging to Learners Representative Council

⁴⁰ Inter high- Area high school competitions

There are many explanations given by the learners to illustrate the idea of Afrikaans dominating at the school and how this affects their cross racial interaction. A Black English speaking learner said:

It does, it really does but our school is different because the whole parallel medium, I was not used to it. When I came in Grade 9, I really couldn't speak Afrikaans, it was weird, but then my teacher Ms V, she helps us a lot and some kids were really racists, but it wasn't their fault, and those ones left – it's just a few kids now where there are challenges in Afrikaans and in English when working together.

The above explanation indicates how Black learners prefer parallel medium instruction as compared to Afrikaans only instruction, and that some learners still have some challenges working together. Most of the interviews with Black learners emphasized the language differences and how this lack of English proficiency made the Afrikaans speaking learners drift apart from the Black learners.

Teacher attitudes towards language of instruction

One teacher, who happened to be the only one with a doctoral degree in Afrikaans at this school, suggested in an interview that the Black children in the school should be taught in their mother tongue. The teacher (T1⁴¹) said in an interview:

I firmly believe that the Black English speaking learners will get better Mathematics results and Physical science results if people learn via their own language....their mother tongue: and I think it's a problem in our country that you haven't got Is Zulu and Susana.... [Setswana] you see all of those people go to school in [he meant to say township or rural school] Even at Primary level they start to use English and they cannot cope.

⁴¹ T1, T2, T3- Identifies the individual teachers who were interviewed.

The teacher continued to say:

I really think quite a lot of them don't simply understand the language well enough to learn subjects like Mathematics properly and therefore I think there is a great deal of benefit if you could learn through your own mother tongue those kinds of subjects. I think not enough is being done for home language schools and...later on in your career it doesn't matter that much coz their probably [because] our second language or third language skills will be developed well enough to cope.

The Afrikaans teacher blamed lack of interaction between the Afrikaans and English speaking students on the differences between their language background, one of the reasons why they do not mix and interact. One of the teachers who suggested that Black students be taught in their mother tongue also remarked that Black people will think it is "sort of Apartheid again," meaning that mother tongue instruction would be taking Black learners back to the segregated schools in the Apartheid era. His contention seems to be promoting the idea that language proficiency is the main reason that Black learners are not achieving.

There are differences noted by the learners, and there is the history of the learner's influences, as to how the Black learners are treated and the White learners were given preferential treatment. In an interview a Black learner attributes the resistance to change at this school to the historical occurrences of the past and present segregated structure of the schools.

This suggests that there is more at play here than just language proficiency. The student saw the injustice of having all Afrikaans speaking teachers but the teacher, however, failed to see the different mismatches between home languages and languages of learning, teaching techniques in this school, and the learners' preferences. The learners had a non-compromising attitude about the opportunities available in the world of work if they were

taught in English. They knew the disadvantages they have of achieving their future goals if they were taught in Afrikaans or any of the indigenous languages. “The world is English,” said one Black learner expressing a preference for English as the language of Learning and Teaching (LOLT).

When the Afrikaans speaking learners were asked if it is a problem to have English speaking Black learners in their school they all said, “Yes it is”. The White learners had an impression that the school was an institution for Afrikaans speakers. The White learners uniformly gave the above answer.

When I arrived at this school, the teachers and the principal explained to me that structurally this was a parallel medium⁴². As I spent more time at the school it was clear that the prevailing environment and what was clearly promoted was Afrikaans. In explaining the structural design of the classroom in Grade 11 an Afrikaans speaking learner explained in this manner: “We are actually Afrikaans people; Afrikaans learners are separate from English learners. We are only together in our registered period but, yeah, you can say we sometimes, we do mix sometimes”.

The learners were aware of the separate classrooms and the limited opportunities for Black and White students to interact. Despite the government's commitment to multilingualism and the promotion of language rights in all spheres of public life, this school does not totally reflect the multilingual nature of South Africa. Another example from an interview was when an Afrikaans speaking learner said what he understood the school to be and expressed what sounded as though the Afrikaans speakers were making a compromise to the extent that the school is allowing Black English speaking learners to be at the school. In

⁴² Parallel Medium- A school where English and Afrikaans are used as Language of Instruction

an interview, during which Afrikaans learners explained how they got to the school one said: “I wanted to be in an Afrikaans school...” He repeated. “I just wanted an Afrikaans school. “I’m Afrikaner”.

A Black learner recognized that the government made it compulsory for schools to desegregate and those schools are undergoing a process of desegregation. The Black learners see an additional need for the school to be compelled to change. It was not the school’s sole decision to open the doors for Black learners. An example of racial logic that opened my eyes is when the school categorizes the Black learners as English speakers it denies them their actual identity - they are from a background of indigenous language and other origins, like Indian. Categorization provides the White authorities with a comfort zone where they can label all non-Afrikaans students as English speakers instead of recognizing them as Black or African. One day in the staff room I overheard teachers talking in Afrikaans and referring to “Engelse sprekende kinders⁴³” To this Afrikaans speaking White teachers identifying with the school is important, and it seems that this comforts him to know that he is an Afrikaner in a school that is dominated by Afrikaans speaking staff members and that the school is structured to separate English and Afrikaans speakers.

The existence and dominance of Afrikaans in the school suggests that the teachers are using the power of this language to privilege one group of students over the others. The Black learners are well aware of the school’s history and they see as racist the continued dominance of Afrikaans as the LOLT in the school.

An Afrikaans teacher and his colleagues suggested that Black learners should be taught in their African languages because they believe “they might understand better.” I

⁴³ **Engelse sprekende kinders** mean Afrikaans language meaning for English speaking learners only.

shared with him what the Afrikaans learner said that Afrikaans was fading away and that the Afrikaans language will be lost because everyone seems to want to speak English. The teacher defended with vigor the need to retain Afrikaans language.

The lingua franca, like they say it, is becoming English, the language of use, but I really think that they speak from their point of view and this is a parallel medium school, but if you can speak to somebody say in Waterkloof⁴⁴ where you've got only Afrikaans, then you might get another view point, and they also say that because and they might be right then, the Universities tend to assume English much more than in the past.....

When I asked which instruction he was referring to, he said in response:

Ja⁴⁵, except like the University of the Northwest and Potchefstroom campus, where you've got quite a strong contingent of Afrikaans and the Universities policy also quite outspoken to their specific campus to retain Afrikaans, not that they will refuse English students, but they will... Like they say protect the Afrikaans character of that University.

This teacher did not believe that the Afrikaans speaking learners at this school expressed fear that Afrikaans did not have competing value with English. He was sure that Afrikaans is kept alive in the Universities that he mentioned. The other Afrikaans colleague explained to me that they did not want to lose their culture and language. They blamed the government for introducing measures that were not practicable. The Principal said in the school's year book: "I really think that my colleagues in the Department do not know what they are doing."

⁴⁴ Waterkloof: An upscale residential area in Pretoria South Africa, dominated by the Afrikaner.

⁴⁵ Ja! An Afrikaans exclamation for: Yes.

Other teachers (T1, T2, T3) shared the same view of retaining their own language as a priority, emphasizing the fact that English speaking Black learners were losing their culture and language by being in the former White schools. There is a general fear of losing one's language, particularly the Afrikaans language. The teacher, supported by the school structure of separate classrooms for English and Afrikaans speakers, explained why the school structure has created a segregated environment. Keeping to its Apartheid ethos and sustaining it (Naidoo, 1996). In an interview, the Afrikaans speaking teachers emphasized that an effort is made to keep the Afrikaner culture in place. "We are fighting" said an Afrikaans White teacher. "We even do it outside the school. We go to the laager to keep Afrikaans alive". There is also a false pretext of sympathizing with the English speaking Black learners by claiming that they were not coping with the English language that is their medium of instruction and that they are losing their "tribes" and culture. Another teacher (T2) professing knowledge of the past also makes reference to Black people's identity as belonging to tribes. "They are losing their tribes when they come here" she said. Black people would remain in their "reserves;" residential areas that were designed by the Apartheid laws.

This statement by Teacher 2 is clearly meant to nurture the patterns of the past when the Broederbond formed the Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Organizations, following the example provided by the Christian National Schools, to develop a sense of pride and accomplishment in the Afrikaans culture. Segregation seems to be a preference at the school despite the government mandate to open doors to all learners and cultures. Instead of using a language policy to the advantage of all learners, the school, through the attitudes of the teachers and with its educational practices, is in conflict with new theories on how to assist learners who may not be proficient in English (Sipho, 2006).

For the Afrikaans teachers and learners the Afrikaans language stands at the centre of their goal and their emphasis is on ethnicity. I saw this expression as a symptom of their fear of losing their language. The School Governing Body (SGB) governs the management of its *school*; and, among other responsibilities decides the language policy of the school, which, according to the Department of Education, must promote multilingualism. The teacher's remarks about the learners showed that they had low expectations about Black learners: "They cannot cope with the language." But with the Afrikaans learners it was all smooth sailing according to the teachers.

In my observation it was clear that there is an over representation of Black learners in subjects like travel and tourism and arts class. The White Afrikaans chooses Accounting and stated that the Black learners were not competent in English and that the Black learners were doing however well in Afrikaans, which was Information Technology (IT) classes. There was only one Black learner in an IT class. The grade 11 classes are made up of three classes of Black English speakers (134) and two classes of Afrikaans speakers. This allows the School Governing Body (SGB) to choose a language of Instruction for the learners and the SGB chooses a language that represents the Afrikaans learners. This is a violation of Black learners' rights by not including one or two of the indigenous languages.

The second major theme explored the relationship between language, power, and privilege. There are two fundamental sources from which language derives its power, that is, the ability of the individuals or groups to realize their intentions by means of undermining the marginalized indigenous languages. The school under study seems not to give any official recognition to the nine indigenous languages and instead recognizes English and Afrikaans only. Language empowerment is the ability of individuals or groups to impose their agendas on others (disempowerment of the latter). When a language is

representation of culture and the agendas too can be facilitated through Afrikaans. (Foley,2003).

The following statistical information shows the language distribution as illustrated by Statistic South Africa of the languages spoke in the province where the school is located. Gauteng Province - isiZulu (21%), Afrikaans (14%), Sesotho (13%), English (12%), English, the country's *lingua franca*, is the language of business, politics, and modern communication media, but ranks fifth out of eleven in home usage.

The U school seems to be experiencing when an ‘influx’ of learners not only from different racial groups but also from linguistic backgrounds. A Black English speaking student expressed some excitement in realizing that Black students are becoming a majority, particularly in terms of racial and linguistic background:

In matriculation⁴⁶, we will be the first matrices where there is more than one English class because our grade is the only grade where English dominates Afrikaans. I guess that’s why we are so good.

In an interview a learner expressed his feeling about Afrikaans by making me aware that the world was becoming English and their excitement about their emerging majority in the classrooms and in the school. “I think it is more of an advantage to us because for Afrikaans kids the world is English. It’s something that you cannot avoid.” He spoke about what he saw as an advantage in learning through English as the medium of instruction

So I think that for them is more of a disadvantage. If I was Afrikaans I would go to English class because once you leave our school, the world so English, it’s a recognized

⁴⁶Matric- a completing class (last year school at high school or grade 12) in the South African education system

language so I think it's more of a disadvantage towards them, I think it is the parents who choose.

The future of Black English was a motivating factor to the English speaking learners as expressed in the following statement

In five years the school is going to be 70/30. In ten years it's going to be 90/10, 90 percent English and 10 percent Afrikaans, and I think in 15 years time our school is going to be purely English, maybe sooner if the government steps in, you know, 'cos (because) they stepped in and changed our school to parallel medium, the government stepped in and changed it, so it wasn't like by choice.

His explanation about how he feels about Afrikaans:

There is no option, you are born into a setup" meaning the Afrikaans setup, the Afrikaans learners are born into the racially discriminatory society ...this English speaking learner referred to the Afrikaans speaking schoolmates. That even when they grow up in an Afrikaans speaking background they can chose English.

The Afrikaans white speaking learner made a point about the fading away of Afrikaans language. Meanwhile the Afrikaans teacher (T1) continued to make a point that the Afrikaans Speaking Universities are and will remain a strong contingent of Afrikanedom.⁴⁷ The teacher reaffirmed ideas of segregation, which supported ideologies of the old Apartheid South Africa that emphasized competence in one's mother tongue. Several teachers I spoke with taught to the Black learners as a Subject area and second language. Expressing a camouflaged concern I found this a double standard in terms of which language is promoted. The Afrikaans language was advocated by the Afrikaans

⁴⁷ Afrikaner - Afrikaans, literally, African, from Latin Africanus. Date: 1824. : a South African of European descent whose native language is Afrikaans

teachers and 100% of the teachers are Afrikaans speaking. The SGB also is dominated by Afrikaans speakers who reinforce the commitment to instruction in that language. In trying to find out who has to make compromises in the effort to advance this process of inclusion, he stated:

I think the government should do more A...maybe money must be funded, because what we have at this stage is either Afrikaans speaking schools or English speaking schools. We don't have schools or if we have them it's a big minority of schools with other African languages are predominate and...as the main language of the school the language of teaching at the school and I think what should be done to get schools say Zulu as the main language.

He continued to say:

I don't know if people will say that puts us a little bit back to the Apartheid system. I hope they don't say it like this....What I see especially for people is to learn the different learning areas or subjects through their own home language because...

The Afrikaans learners have an advantage being taught in Afrikaans by Afrikaans teachers. He, in referring to Black learners, added "I am sure they will master it better, (referring to Black learners) but now they've got to learn through English and not all of them cope with English. Does this help cross-racial interaction, not the way the suggestion goes?" This remark emerged from a meeting that was held in the morning where one of the teachers expressed a concern about how English-speaking learners were not coping when taught in the medium of English. Again, it does not look like he realized he had no competence in the language himself, and some of the Afrikaans speaking teachers were struggling with English as their second language.

The teachers were so overwhelmed with an influx of Black learners in their school. The expression that the Black learners were not coping because they are taught in English contrasts with what one teacher said, about the Black learners doing well in Afrikaans language as a subject area. Both English and Afrikaans are third or fourth language for some of the Black learners especially those who come from indigenous language backgrounds. One wonders whether the same thing could be said about the Afrikaans learners. This does not appear to be helping cross racial interaction?

When I asked this Afrikaans teacher about the cross racial interaction of the students he confirmed that there was none, he said:

I think there is not enough interaction. I even see it here where we do have different cultures in the same school, which they stay too much in their own groups. I think they don't interact, as they should with exception.

A Black learner stated when referring to the cross racial interaction:

No I think (he pauses) because they... we the English Black learners we try our best to be friendly to them but they, they don't want that or they don't do the same".

My day-to-day interactions with the students revealed that English and Afrikaans speaking students did not see eye to eye on many socio political issues, including race and racism. "When they speak negatively about Mandela, I tell them he is my uncle," said a Black English speaking learner. I was struck by their lack of interaction at break (recess). The learners would go in different directions and group themselves along racial lines that are obviously Black or White groups. It was during the interview session that the learners expressed their deepest concerns and appeared to have been happy to have a chance to talk

about the subject. One student asked if I wanted to see their classroom, she said there are different classes, White and Black; she continued to explain it in this manner; “there English and Afrikaans only classes, they are different”, she said in the hallway while she was helping me to find the Life Orientation teacher. They seemed to know that because the school used to be an Afrikaans school it has a reputation of being racist. While students and adults talked about racism no one addressed the racism inherent and hidden in the act of denying the use and recognition of indigenous home languages at the school.

Language of instruction does not seem to be structured in a way that promotes or encourages cross-racial interaction. One teacher said in an interview, “there are too many languages.”

Language of Instruction and the Future

In an interview a Black learner expressed his feeling about Afrikaans by making me aware that the world was becoming English. There is a general belief among learners (especially Black learners) that the world is becoming English. English and Afrikaans learners expressed similar opinions about the importance of English and Afrikaans as their medium of instruction. The Afrikaans learner had this to say about how she understands the popularity of English: “Everyone wants to speak English even in an Afrikaans school.”

The future of English as the language of business was a motivating factor to the English speaking learners, causing them to want to be taught in English rather than Afrikaans. In his prediction the same English speaking learner said: “If I was Afrikaans I would go to English class because once you leave our school, the world is English, it’s a recognized language so I think it’s more of a disadvantage towards them [Afrikaans learners].”

The possible awareness of Black learners in preference of English as a language of survival is expressed by a Black learner how the school changed to a parallel medium, he said: “The government stepped in and changed it, so it wasn’t like by choice.” The English learner, in his

continued explanation about how he feels about Afrikaans, said: “There is no option; you are born into a setup” (referring to the Afrikaans learners).

The English speaking learner referred to the Afrikaans speaking schoolmates that even when they grow up in an Afrikaans speaking backgrounds they can choose English. “They choose their (referring to the Afrikaans learners) language because if you are [sic] brought up in Afrikaans, you can choose to go English class and get your education in English than choosing Afrikaans.” He said this trying to illustrate that it’s Afrikaans speaking parents who got them into being monolingual and that according to this learner there is a realization that the Afrikaans learners are marginalized by the parents and the way the school is structured. The new consequence is that the Afrikaners are made to believe that Afrikaans is superior or more important than other languages, especially more than the indigenous languages because they are not part of the curriculum in the school.

In trying to find out who has to help in an effort to promote this process of inclusion a White Afrikaans speaking teacher had this to say: “I think the government should do more because, what we...maybe money must be funded, because what we have at this stage is we have either Afrikaans speaking school or English speaking schools”.

While the new Constitution of South Africa recognizes the break of marginalizing various aspects of life this Afrikaans teacher chooses to ignore the changes in other languages especially which were not recognized as important. He makes suggestions which belong to the character and organization of the divide and rule practices of the Apartheid regime. He still believes the school should be separated:

We don’t have schools or if we have it’s a big minority schools with other Afrikaans languages and...as the main language of the school the language of teaching at the school and I think what should be done to get schools say Zulu as the main language.

The teacher seems to ignore the consequences of the Apartheid era. During morning meetings, teachers discuss problems and concerns they have in the classroom. In particular a bilingual teacher at this school (which means she speaks both English and Afrikaans), had a concern she posed by faculty meeting where they discuss their day to day agenda..

The Afrikaner's ethos is retained through the maintenance of Afrikaans language and philosophy of life. She claimed that Black learners were not coping when taught through English. Another teacher remarked that former White schools are becoming 90% Black. She further stated "We are fighting." This teacher explained that the Afrikaans speaking people were fighting to retain their Afrikaans language. "We organize meetings. We do it even during public holidays."

Again it does not appear that he realized he had limited competence in the language himself. When I asked this teacher about the cross racial interaction of the learners he confirmed that there was none: "I think there is not enough interaction. I even see it here where we do have different cultures in the same school, which they stay too much in their own groups. I think they don't interact, as they should with exceptions." He agrees that there is no interaction as a result of the language differences but suggest a further perpetuation of Black learners being taught in their mother tongue (each of the nine official indigenous languages).

In an interview with a Life Orientation Teacher, she/he explained that the values and practices of Afrikaans and English speaking learners are different. They are different because of the language background and other factors like socio – economics status. South Africa has had a racially divided past which means the learners have to adjust to each other and co-exist side by side in the classroom. About the behavior of learners: 'The Afrikaans learners are

more peaceful. “*Hulle is nie voedig*”⁴⁸ There are two or more ways that subject choice is relevant in the present data. First, the learners are deprived of learning challenging and substantial course, which will lead them to intellectual career field.

- . There is no history at the school and yet the subject would help me with a combination of my subject to choose law as a career field. “ I wanted to be a lawyer.

Secondly, they are tracked into following softer subject careers, which will take up employment into lesser challenging careers, like travel and tourism. The black learners are not allowed to choose subject areas for learning at Grade 11 and 12. The school allows those in Grade 10 to choose the subjects they want to take in class but when they get to Grade 11 the parents lose the opportunity to help their children to make choices in relation to their career aspirations because the school decides as to who has goes into subject areas because the school allows teachers to do the subject or learning choice for the learners. . I spoke to the teacher who helps the learners in this regard, she said: “We look at their performance and make a selection for them”.

Black learners stated “Before I came to the U school. I was at a school where we are truly mixed and when I came to this there was such racial segregation. I did not understand why... because I did not live through Apartheid so why should I be angry at people?”

The learners complained that the language used in the school is Afrikaans. The Black learners’ parents do not understand Afrikaans and at the parents meetings they are left behind because of the language barrier. A learner said: “Our parents come to school for parents meetings and Afrikaans is spoken all the way. Even when they pass jokes our parents do not understand them. ”

⁴⁸ **Hulle is voedig:** Afrikaans word for violence meaning the black learners are violent

There are two fundamental sources from which language derives its power, i.e., the ability of the individuals or groups to realize their intentions by means of forcing it on others. Language empowerment or conversely, the ability of individuals or groups to impose their agendas on others results in disempowerment of the latter. “I did not think the school will handle the idea of many languages. I am saying this because of the surroundings where we live—Centurion, Pretoria, Tshwane, it will never work” said the Black English-speaking learner from those interviewed.

But in this school there is a document that indicates that there are learners from most parts of South African provinces and other countries of the world. It posits that all things are beginning to be relatively equal in the linguistic distribution or might turn out to be even more divergent in the next decade or so. The learners predicted by saying this in an interview:

This school will one day be English. In five years, the school is ...going to be 70/50. In ten years it's going to be 90/10, 90 English and 10 percent Afrikaans, and I think in 15 years time our school is going to be purely English, maybe sooner if the government steps in, you know, cos (because) they stepped in and changed our school to parallel medium.

Thus despite the Apartheid government's policy of separating South Africans according to their ethnic and language orientation, the language distribution still shows a remarkable diversity.(see Chisholm and Mahomet study). In turn, any bilingual education program in South Africa will have to take into consideration the distribution of languages. The school under study seems to be encountering and adjusting to an influx of learners not only from different races but also from linguistic background. In an explanation this student expressed some excitement in realizing that they are becoming a majority.

In matric⁴⁹, we will be the first matrices where there is more than one English class because our grade is the only grade where it dominates Afrikaans. I guess that's why we are so good.

A learner stated when making reference to the cross racial interaction:

No I think.....because they, we the English learners we try our best to be friendly to them but they, they don't want that or they don't do the same if you look in the classes there is always that beef (crowd). There is always that separation. That is when we divide in groups, there and there (she points at groups). You will never find this huge clan of guys and girls chatting, doing stuff together, the separation.

The Black learner continues to give expression of despair on what she understands is an answer what she sees possibilities of cross racial interaction at the school. "They at a different level (referring to White learners) It's not level per se "it's a different mindset." There is emphasis of differentness in the learners. She repeatedly says they are different. "They are on a different mindset" she said with emphasis. When asked about their experience in the school, the learners said: "There's always that separation". She continues: "Separation. That's where we divide into groups,

Separation seems to be emphasized by the learners. They even say it in different ways and different words. A Register Class, a class where black and white learners meet for fifteen minutes and to register their names for the day. This is the only time when black and white learners meet. This structure was put in place by the principal, who in an interview explained that by introducing the register class, it will contribute to the

integration process for the school. In my observation the register class conflict often occurs in the register class as well as in sports interaction.

In the register class, the teacher allowed the school prefect to address the class in accordance with the learner's the teachers had an ongoing problem in the classroom that she could not stop. She called the Assistant Principal to come and help sort it out. The Afrikaans speaking learners continued to argue even when reprimanded by the teacher. The issue was that one of them had broken a door, and she had come to settle the disagreement and help identify who broke the door. This behavior is a major school violation when learners do not respect the school's property.

I observed discussions spearheaded by the Afrikaans speaking males, Black males and females. White Afrikaans female speakers were passive in this register class. In an interview they said they choose not to talk because the class it always ends up rowdy and in conflict. One Afrikaans speaking learner said that the Black female learners were loud, and rowdy. "You know they are very loud and we do not like it", said one Afrikaans learner referring to Black learners".

When asked how learners perceive what they see the situation to be? A Black English Learner said in an interview: "White people do not want to change. They will remain that way. At an assembly when a Black learner has faulted they announce in Afrikaans what the learner has done."

Another Black learner stated, "The discussion was such that they insist on doing 'fiery'⁵⁰. "Their parents are racist. They are simply ignorant".

In an interview the White Afrikaans speaking learner explained that the school for her is average. She is not too excited about being at school. She also complains about teachers

⁵⁰ Fiery: An Afrikaans game

yelling at the learners in a Math class. A Black English speaking learner mentioned challenges of culture and how the teachers handle these conflicts between learners of different racial groups. The White Afrikaans learners said: “Its different cultures, we are also stereotyped, they generalize us.”

The register class helps but it is designed to last for just 15 minutes a day. She continues to say: “It is a momentary thing”. The learner sees the act by the Principal as “racist”. The problem is that they do not understand the occurrence of being “racist” and the impact thereof. I asked to get clarity as to what she meant by “they”. The Afrikaans speaking learners perception of the school is different from that of the English speaking Black .

In an interview the Black English speaking learners, gives an account of what happens when the students fight and how the school handles learners in conflict. He said: “Fights break out between Black or White. The Principal takes sides. It is useless to report a case to the Principal because the Principal takes sides with White learners.”

Socially, it's to a point where they will say something. You will hear by the way they speak-that they said something very hurtful. And they will say it in Afrikaans. I don't understand why they don't have the audacity to say it in English.

This unfair behavior demonstrated by people in authority appears to make conflict grow into a silent epidemic. A Black male learner discussed his experience with White learners as follows: “Those who play rugby have a superiority complex because they think they are better than Black learners”. From this discussion it appears that Black English learners perceive the cultural notions of teaching as authoritarian, that is the style of discipline . The teachers spend much of the class time yelling and using words that were very disturbing to the ear. Time for instruction was spent on reprimand. The opportunity to learn is lost because of lack of time and classroom management. I was in class for observation when a teacher

yelled, “Shut up! Shut your big mouth”. It appears that the culture of authority is authoritarian and racist. The majority of discipline was applied to Black learners. Whereas the Afrikaans speaking learners have a different relationship with this authority oftentimes it is a cordial relationship. Occasionally Afrikaans speaking learners call the teachers the ‘tanie⁵¹’ whereas the relationship of teachers with Black learners appears to be authoritarian.

Another example was given by Black English speaking female learners who mentioned that the rugby players bullied everyone in the hallway during class intervals. This behavior was brought to the attention of the Principal. Nobody took action against the rugby players. When ongoing racial conflict occurs and the teachers yell at the learners, the register class does not serve its intended outcome. If in fact the learners are to express their differences and learn to cope with their experiences; that this does not appear to be occurring. Thus positive cross racial interaction is impossible especially when they are kept in separate classrooms for most of their school days and they have only fifteen minutes of the register class.

The English speaking Black learner’s are disillusioned but stay focused on getting an education. The statement “We come to learn” was repeated a number of times. In one instance the Black English speaking learners said how difficult it is for their parents to believe them when they tell on their White teachers. At break time are the learners are conspicuously divided into groups. White Afrikaans speaking learners are on one side and Black learners on the other side. These learners break into segregated several are on one side of the and Black English speaking learners are on the other side of the classroom at this school. Stereotyping remarks from teachers were reported by several Black English speaking

⁵¹ “Tanie”- Afrikaans word , shortened for aunt

learners from teachers: “Ek is gat vol” “you Blackies”⁵² were commonly used reprimand or words of discipline. “I do not understand you; you are blank faces’ the learners quoted the Principal in his Economic class. The Black English learners said in a conversation when they explained how they got to be taught by the Principal. “We were kicked out of class because the teachers did not like some of us.”

The White Afrikaans speaking learners realize how protected they are at the same time they know how hostile the other teachers are towards the Black learners. “Hulle is rastig.”⁵³ Passive resistance and isolation results when segregation forbids the learners from getting to know each other, accepting and embracing each other’s differences.

The teachers are not aware of what is happening across cultures. Their interest is guarding against losing power and pressure on their own Afrikaans language. One Black learners remarked about the learners’ response to the situation they find themselves in.” They do not stand up for themselves.” This is in response to a teacher who advised him to leave school. “He is racist, said the learner. If I were a White learner he would advise me to go to his class, however he advised me to leave the school. In observing whether other cultural norms are treated, I found disrespect for other people’s differences. While the way of life of the Afrikaans speaker was fully displayed.

Black learners understand the structural history of the school under study. The Black learner explains it in this manner: The school was known to be racist. They changed to a parallel medium. The Black learners made this observation:

If you were to count the total amount of all the assemblies that have taken place and the entire announcement, how many times have they spoken in

⁵² **Blackie:** A derogatory and racist way of calling black people.

⁵³ “Hulle is rastig- An Afrikaans saying, meaning they are racist

English and how long do they speak English? It does not compare with the racial way they do Afrikaans. “I think because the school was built as an Afrikaans school, and that they speak to us in a language that they understand. They try to resist but there are those who open up.

When the Black English speaking learners comment on the historical background, they attribute the fact that the teachers are all Afrikaans speaking which results in a lack of cross racial interaction. I grew to know the students better, from day to day. I was often moved by their lack of interaction at break. I also observed a situation when they go home. It was during the interview session that the learners expressed their deepest concerns and appeared to have been happy to have a chance to talk about the subject. They said they knew that the school was Afrikaans only and that it was racist.

The school was originally built as Afrikaans school as a result the teacher’s are Afrikaans. In 2000 when the first English class was accepted; and then to Grade 9 and 10, on racial background. Meaning Black learners were accepted in the school. It is still there (racism). I not subjected to it very much I have White friends and all that but it still there.

A number of variables, such as scheduling, learning areas, discipline, attendance and promotion policies, testing practices, extracurricular activities are further generated by policy were mainly symbolic and representative of the Afrikaans culture. It is interesting to observe which language is mainly used in implementing the said variables. The relationship the student and the teachers in the classroom and out of the classroom was examined as an area of cross racial interactions.

Some of the internal organizational variables are influenced by the staff and faculty and the Afrikaans Head of Department⁵⁴ for Grade 10, 11, 12. The Afrikaans teachers must

⁵⁴ **HOD:** Head of Department at School Level

themselves implement what they themselves have no understanding of, said the Principal in an interview. I observed that the teachers apply disciplinary measures at the school to keep order. Despite the school's official agenda, discipline appears to be a priority.

In an interview with Black English speaking learner, she said:

They try to include us but sometimes you feel the difference. You sense that no, we're not included as the White people are. Let's say the Afrikaners, because yes, we are in an Afrikaans-English speaking school unless you're speaking half the things are mostly in Afrikaans and then the others are in English.

A Black female prefect had this to say about her relationship with White Afrikaner teachers:

There is favoritism for the Afrikaans. There is a lot of favoritism. The teachers are more relaxed with them referring to the Afrikaans learners, more on to, you know, "This is the work, I'm going to do something else." As with us, they will not. They do not trust us. They do not trust us, really. I feel they do not trust us but I mean, we are all not mischievous.

On how discipline of students was handled, the Black learners said:

The Afrikaans classmates act up just as much as we do but our thing is more blown up into a huge thing because there's also at that level where, you know what, these are English speaking children or something like that. I'm not sure what's going on exactly but ours is blown up into a more thing. Afrikaans learners are mischievous just as much as we are.

The learners from a learner's representative council (LRC) arrange activities or prefects tend to respond to what they say they are interested in.

He continues to say: "I think that day the fact that there were various things to be done this"

In an interview I asked the school principal whether this inappropriate language above is allowed to be used in a school setting. He replied “You must understand that that these teachers are handling Black learners for the first time.”

The instruction between Afrikaans and English classes is completely different. The race hierarchies in the two different classes are prevalent in the school. Black English learners are in the majority in the English language class are Black learners with less than five English speaking. White learners taught by a White Afrikaans speaking teachers.

The Afrikaans speaking teachers complained about the influx of Black learners into “their schools” They stated and that these Black English speaking learners are were not doing well, that they are struggling with the English language. There was no indication that this remark referred to all learners.

I explained the advantages created by the way the school is structured. The awareness of the student and the kind of treatment they receive from the school and their White counterparts that creates a problem for cross-racial interaction. A female Black English Learner reported the following:

Social interaction, Black and White, you know we get along. We do get along to a certain extent but I mean, even now as a prefect and youth counsel, you interact with them but there’s still that barrier of “You know what, I’m not going to be seen with you anymore or something like that but you talk and you have fun and you- but there’s still that kind of thing that’s there and I don’t know why it’s there.

The idea of Afrikaans teachers frequently construed the Black learners’ cultural behavior as disobedience. A Black female prefect explained what the principal said to the English-speaking economics class. “When we look down –they do not understand, they reprimanded us, saying; ‘Look me in the eye.’” There is a lack of cultural understanding that

feeds this problem: “There is an understanding by English speaking African learners. Mr. R tries to support. He reads from the Bible at assembly English and Afrikaans is used”.

“The parents are resistant as well”. A female learner had an Afrikaans female friend whose father would not allow her to be visited by this Black female learner. This school was pronounced as a religious school but no choice is made for other religious backgrounds. I wanted to find out about religion, and how there was no religious diversity - a teacher told me: “We tell the parents that this is a Christian school.”

One Black learner made this observation. “I found in the school that nobody stands up for themselves, they leave things to happen, even when they are treated in a racist manner.” An Afrikaans speaking teacher remarked as he passed where I was speaking with a student, I asked. When he saw the boy outside, the teachers remark was. “Why don’t you leave school”?

. One positive expression I got from the learners was the level of safety they feel in the school. They said this because of information they get about other schools, where it is not safe. The Black learners explained how safe the school was comparing the school with other schools she knows. “There is a sense of safety that the learners feel as compared to other schools. It is safe environment” (safety to her is teachers and friends). They “feel at home.” When the Afrikaans learners were asked if they would be comfortable learning in English, they said: “It’ll take longer to explain something. Then you have to explain in Afrikaans and then English. In an interview I made the Black learners aware of the 11 official languages in South Africa; I said: “Do you think your school will one day accommodate others? White Afrikaans speaking learners said “No, No, I don’t think so” When I asked why that was the case: Why? Why not? He said “Because our school is full” I asked the same question to the Black English speaking learners. A Black learner responded: “The Afrikaans speakers, they love their space” Black people are expressive. The school tries to include us. “We feel that

they try.” I asked English speaking learners how many times she thinks Afrikaans and English is spoken, She said: “It is Afrikaans and 60’s of the time and with English it is 40%. In explaining at assembly, what the Principal says on occasions where there is a factor of discipline; an announcement is made at assemblies. “Afrikaans is a battle. Others fall behind what they say.” In explaining how often Afrikaans a Black English learners said:

They speak mostly in Afrikaans and we fall behind in what they say, We are excluded when that happens--It’s all racial. ‘When there is a problem, or a Black learner has gotten into trouble, they speak and announce in Afrikaans. To me indicates that they are upset and angry with us. When it is a White learner they speak in both English and Afrikaans.

I asked White Afrikaans learners what he thought was good about the school He said, “There is more discipline. The school invited cops when they found one boy who had drugs.” I asked a White Afrikaans female speaking learner about cross racial interactions. She said, “We learn about each other’s culture. We learn how to talk to each other.” She expressed the benefits of being with Black English speaking learners. When I asked her about whether this Afrikaans speaking had friends from the Afrikaans speaking class meaning learners from her own race group. She said:

Some White kids are mean. White kids are not friendly. Black learners make me feel good. Black learners about what goes on in their family. Culture mixing with Blacks has changed my life”. Her emphasis was what she thinks was the cause of problems learners had: “You know with apartheid, God did not make us discriminate. On Monday the Principal said that Whites and Blacks should accept each other.

This White Afrikaans learner seems to know that separateness is unfair and that being kept apart from each other is not what God designed. I further asked what are the cross racial

interactions of Black and White learners in a former White school of South Africa? She stated emphatically, “separate classrooms through does not help cross interaction.”

The English and Afrikaans learners’ are in separate classrooms. The conflict between them arises in the register class. Ideas clash and spaces are contested. There is a constant clash of learner’s class because there are no guidelines as to what to do when there is conflict. The onus is on all of the learners to figure it out. The learners did not report any smooth operation in the register class.

It seems that teaching is repressive. It like a military camp, teaching appears repressive in Black or English speaking classrooms. In my observation all the learners’ students kept looking at me to possibly observe whether I was paying attention-- or whether I see what they see. The teacher struggled to use English. Black learners seemed to be happy that I was an eyewitness to what is happening in the classroom. It seemed as if the Black learners were happy to see me at the school. I was the only Black professional in the vicinity.

Ethnic Identity and Language Retention

During my encounter with the teachers in their classrooms, they would not hesitate to tell me how the Black learners were misbehaving. They suggested that I find time to come and talk to them. The teachers remarked that the lack of discipline for Black learners was as a result of the ill-discipline from the Black families. They blamed the challenges of discipline on the Black family background.

The biggest challenge for former “White only” schools of South Africa is the ability of school to implement change. “The government should do something,” remarked one teacher. The school as a unit does very little to encourage cross racial interaction, especially through their approach to discipline structure and language separation. On observation I made was that most of the learners who were sent to the Principal’s office were Black males. Racist remarks in the classroom made the learners angry and some got discouraged, but they held on

to the value of getting an education. One wonders what goes on inside learners when they are stereotyped by teachers and fed with racist remarks in a school. On the sports grounds the Black learners sing the usual songs that originate from their township soccer and other related games. These Black English speaking learners cheered their fellow learners. The Black learners got into trouble. The Principal called the Black male learners to his office because of an incident that occurred during a sports competition when they had an inter-high school competition. A Black English speaking male quoted the Principal to have said: "So you were singing your stupid songs". The White Afrikaans students did not know or did not have a chance of knowing the songs because there is no soccer at school. The sport played is rugby. There is an obvious division of sports based on race at their school. A question was asked of the Afrikaans speaking teaching staff and faculty: asked "How can we expect an African child who is only taught about the glory of Afrikaans people to acquire the motivating passion of reconciliation?"

Languages unlike sports at the school are recognized by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Rugby represents a certain racial group--the Afrikaans speaking. Most Black English-speaking learners know that they are not liked by the teachers; they feel like they are treated differently. Black learners said in an interview that they are stereotyped as loud and under-achieving. The fact that they perceived as 'loud' prevailed at this campus. In several interviews the White learners noted that 'Black was loud' was a constant remark said the students and that their understanding is that if they whispered it mean this was mythical and stereotypical. The South African Constitution protects the language rights, so there is no reason why violation should occur. The school has no concern for and a lack of respect for indigenous languages.

Race appears to be a deciding factor in separating the classroom and the Black from the White learners or visa versa. White Afrikaans teachers and Black English speaking

learners are continually in contestation about how the Black learners are treated. They are aware of the unfairness.

Lessons Learned

There is with evidence of a school that this school was supposed to promote cross racial interaction. Instead promotes within school segregation and ii) one language. This ideology was promoted by the faculty from the Afrikaans-only background. There was resistance to policy implementation iv) and neglect of the use and existence of indigenous languages. There was also subject choice of high profile careers offered to Afrikaans learner. It is apparent South Africa requires a new national system for schools which will redress past injustices in educational provisions, provide an education of progressively high quality for all learners, and in so doing lay a strong foundation for the development of all our peoples' talents and capabilities.

In South Africa, desegregation seems to be an untidy exercise that was seen to be an answer to redressing the atrocities of the past. It is evident that desegregation is happening, however, the emergence of a new issue of desegregation is evidenced through a de facto process in which a dominant language is being preferred over another. If desegregation continues to be glossed over in schools this might continue to reproduce an arena in which prejudice and discrimination, bitter conflicts, and violence will thrive (Zafar, 1998).

Redressing the past injustices of separate and unequal schools would be successful if deracialized and cross-racial interactions were encouraged. The integration plan's implementation of policy guidelines needs to be made available with constant monitoring and evaluation. The development of positive attitudes among teachers towards learners from different ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious groups is a priority in teacher education worldwide (Gagliardi, 1994:6). Therefore, an important aim of teacher education programs is to encourage and help prospective teachers to change negative feelings, which they may have

toward learners from diverse groups, and to develop positive dispositions instead (UNESCO, 2001:1-2).

The language and character of the school is Afrikaans. The teacher expressed passion in protecting their language. Greater use of Afrikaans language in the desegregated environment of the South African schools appears to be rife. They even stated that there is a difference in the use of languages that disadvantages Black students, and making them feel inferior and unwanted. Teachers advantages Afrikaans speakers only at the school.

Students self-segregate and also respond to how the structure is designed, such that it accommodated the popular Afrikaans learners, according to interests of the Afrikaans speaking sports, language, and music, house. The post-Apartheid learners are in a situation where internalized radicalized categories of Apartheid ideology continue to be relevant in their perception of issues. Black learners are not constrained by Afrikaans in their living experience of boundary crossing and fashioning hybrid identities.

Black learners continued to recognize the value of education to learn despite the racial stereotyping that attempt to create barriers. Also the White learners often want to move beyond Apartheid and cultural differences. The school must foster inter-group relations in order to have the potential to be successful outside of the school. Camps for students of different racial groups are needed to interact socially outside the school environment and create. A forum needs to be created that can tackle prejudices, stereotypes. It is unusual that for a school in South Africa to be racially integrated, while the classroom are segregated.

Despite the 1993 constitution's insistence that the state was required to promote the equal use and enjoyment of all 11 official languages (Constitution, 1993, section 3/1), there was an undeniable shift towards mono-lingualism in the public sphere, with the effect that English is increasingly emerging as the *lingua franca*. Soudien (1997)) points out that, until

there is an inclusive program of language learning and education, all of the conditions of cultural oppression will remain.

Summary

The learners feel victimized by the institution believe their voices are not heard, their concerns unheard and the system fails them. Afrikaans teachers, separate classroom, the domination Afrikaans language) all contribute to their feeling of being treated unequally.

When comparing what the White learners are saying, there is a visible comfort experience by White Afrikaans speaking seen and explained as “we are at home attitude: “Needed are racially mixed sports teams, which are sensitive to the needs of all learners, such an inclusion of soccer in the schools extra mural activities.

Classroom teaching is influenced by teachers' perceptions of learner diversity. The current integration of South African schools calls for teachers to actively take stock of their perceptions of learners from diverse backgrounds and to develop the attitudes, knowledge, and skills that will equip them to teach effectively in culturally diverse classrooms.

The school should design an approach to education that permits equal recognition of languages and equal opportunity to learn. The recognition of some of the indigenous languages and English first language speakers will help facilitate cross racial interaction. Moreover in the register class, more time is required for the register class to facilitate a possible smooth cross racial interaction. At the time of my study there was no effort to try strategies with a more guided approach and fair discipline. In the light of these facts, the study also addresses some of the issues relating to how the language of the dominant in the Apartheid and post Apartheid era plays to privilege and economic prosperity. The message is clear, African languages and their speakers Black are still not valued, and are still not in power because Afrikaans and English are more valued and still demonstrate superiority and power.

Government documents (Curriculum, 2005) on language in education policy appear to emphasize integration and diversity, rather than coercion and segregation as was the case during apartheid days. Teaching goes on in segregated classrooms and Afrikaans is preserved and dominant. The school does not reflect a transitional society that moves from authoritarianism to democracy.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Discussion

In this study, that seeks to examination was made on the cross racial interaction between Black and White learners in a desegregated environment. I found that the institutional structure of and culture reinforced divisiveness between learners. The new development in the structuring of school to a parallel medium seemed to be a means to encourage isolation although the government tries to redress the atrocities of the past. Very little has been written about parallel medium as an initiative that was been adopted less than ten years ago. The South African Constitution purports to protects the rights of all language there but the school under study did not appear to include or recognize other nine languages. There seem to be an obvious resistance to language change at this school.

Resistance to transformational initiatives

The former Model C schools provided a useful example. In the past community control was an initiative of the late Apartheid era intended to enable White parents to preserve their schools, including facilities and equipment (Samoff, 1996). This is still the case after 1994. However the School Governing Body (SGB) put a new methodology to governance. The SGB focused on the termination of their special status order to redistribute resources and reduce inequality or tolerate them in order to promote reconciliation. In my study I found that a number of factors that inform the resistance to change at the U school. The key factor was the language of instruction and its associated power. There was been major resistance to the inclusion of other medium of instruction.

Greater use of Afrikaans language in desegregation environment in the South African school signified fear of loss of power. Even Black learners stated there is a difference in the

use of languages that disadvantaged Black learners and made them feel inferior, and unwanted. Language use by teachers advantaged Afrikaans speakers learners only.

Cross racial interaction which leads to integration supposedly was a positive structural change in the South African school system. It was an for the school to get the learners create a diversified environment as explained by the Principal is in the register class. These fifteen minutes class, every day for every class. In this class the students respond to the register class teacher and the class prefects are occasionally asked to announce business of the day (learner's activities) by the learners and the strategic plan is discussed in this class.

There can be no doubt that issues of diversity form part of the crux, of Desegregation might be one of the biggest challenges for this former White schools only of post Apartheid schools of South Africa. To the English Black learners the value of education is important and transformation is of concern to them. The Afrikaans teachers seemed resistant to the government's transitional efforts. The principal's cultural ignorance appeared intentional and did not foster positive relations in the school. The teachers' attitude towards indigenous languages was clearly negative.

Du Toit (1995) takes the view that the opening of schools to all races, does not automatically ensure mutual understanding and acceptance between educators and learners and amongst learners. Therefore desegregation *per se* does not lead to predictable and meaningful changes in the attitudes of groups to each other and can, in fact, lead to the heightening of tension and prejudices. I found this claim to be true in the occurrences at the school under study. Within the desegregated school spaces was dynamically constructed with language playing a significant role. Where there is little or no social interaction and the school did not promote it, the classes are in two languages kept the learners apart. This appeared to be another strategy to power play between groups (Van Heerden, 2000).

Classroom Instruction in Afrikaans and English classes: Comparison

In the Afrikaans classes learners are taught in a formal, respectful environment. Study manuals are used for interpretation and the learners received individual attention. However, the Afrikaans learners were deprived of learning from the other cultures represented.

Not only does the system breed cultural ignorance but prejudice also was visible when it came to the use of indigenous languages and the interpretation of unfamiliar cultures which is not a priority at this school. The teachers are not aware of other cultures. Their interest is maintaining power and their own Afrikaans language. The symbols of segregation and separate development were kept alive by the structural makeup of the school. The products of apartheid were still perpetuating inequality.

Stereotyping

Most students know that they are being stereotyped as expressed by the learners in interviews. The Black learners mentioned in an interview that they are stereotyped as loud and under-achieving. The perception that Blacks are 'loud' prevails at this school. In several interviews the White learners noted that 'Blacks are loud'. The Afrikaans learners claim they were told by their teachers that Black people do not whisper when they talk to each other because there is an understanding is that if they whisper it means they are gossiping; this is both mythical and stereotypical.

Students self-segregate and also respond to how the structure is designed, such that it accommodates the popular Afrikaans learners, according to interests of the Afrikaans speaking [sports], language, and music [house versus Hoffmeyer⁵⁵] mentioned as an example. Yet, when analyzing the groups, there is still a prevalence of groups segregating by race.

⁵⁵ Hoffmeyer-an Afrikaans music pop star

The study showed that the learner's attitudes toward their own or other ethnic groups seemed to depend on the their teachers' perceived power of their own race or ethnicity. The following conclusions that help present ideas that lead recommendations that will help create opportunities for cross racial interaction in a desegregated environment.

Conclusion

South Africa requires a new national system for schools which will redress past injustices in educational provision to lay a strong foundation for the development of all our people's talents and capabilities. In order to combat racism and sexism and all other forms of unfair discrimination and intolerance, the government must more strongly uphold the rights of all learners, parents and educators, and promote their acceptance of responsibility for the organization. The democratic transformation of society must take place to contribute to the eradication of poverty and the economic well-being of society, protect and advance our diverse cultures and languages, governance and funding of schools in partnership with the State (The South African Constitution, 1996, the ANC Education Policy, 1995).

The study found that the Black English learners continued to recognize the value of education to learn despite the racial stereotyping that attempted to create barriers. The White learner wants to move beyond Apartheid and culture. It seems that the Apartheid notion of owning resources in the former White schools (the schools are used as institutions to promote Afrikanedom, and use Afrikaans linguistic identity and entitlement. This creates a barrier for the process of desegregation and the integration strategy set by the Department of Education. The cross racial interaction of learners and the integration plan and strategies seem far from being implemented (DOE, 2005). This study concludes that the medium of instruction or sometimes called the language of teaching and learning, Language of Teaching and Learning (LOTL) English and Afrikaans at this school remains the main instrument for segregation. The Afrikaans speaking teacher should be educated about their fears.

Stereotypical thinking and misconceptions concerning African people will not or does not promote or nurture positive self-image and thus cross racial interaction is far from being reached at the U school.

The findings demonstrate a school that did not comply with the suggestion of the policies that are in place. The government must be diligent the monitoring the practices of former White schools.

Recommendations

There are many challenges facing the national and provincial education ministries. Local communities and individual schools have to ensure that schools are truly desegregated and integrated. Clearly much more work is needed to understand the educational issues at stake and to make integrated schools a reality. Developing teaching and learning in a desegregated environment takes much more than a formulated policy; it needs practical guidelines. The SASA seems to have moved in the right direction of opening doors to all learners. However, there appear to be no guidelines and strategies for desegregation and other existing problems in the education system.

It is recommended that teachers be mandated take courses and participate in working attend seminars related to South African diversity. Recognition of some of the indigenous languages, a language accepted by both parents of the White and Black learners must be introduced at the school. Positive inter-group relations should be encouraged by the school and throughout the school when learners are in the register class. The school's anthem is in Afrikaans. How does this create unfairness? There was no attempt to sing the national anthem which is composed in four of the official languages recognized by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.. The language of instruction – how does this create a feeling of 'we are at home attitude', this is our school' the school emerges as battle of race, language

and instructional deprivation. Diversity of school programs is not visible. Most school themes are in Afrikaans and carry the Afrikaans symbols e.g. Lente – spring, Kristmas Carols, fiery,

Learners mentioned the language used for instruction and that the school used to be Afrikaans only medium. They seemed to know that the school used to Afrikaans only and that it was also racist. While learners and teachers talked about racism no one addressed the racism in the interviews both inherent and hidden in denying the indigenous home languages or Black African learners.

When none of the indigenous languages is accommodated by the school the teachers are ill-prepared to address character, values culture of all learners. as a neither subject nor instruction vehicle; this type of exclusion does not promote learners interaction and the ultimate integration. This White Afrikaans learner seemed to know that separateness was unfair and that being kept apart from each other was not what God planned for humanity. Separate classrooms and separate languages did not help cross racial interactions

Future Research

The study contributes to the body of literature and a debate that goes on in South African and beyond. It extends prior research while the existing literature emphasizes what the government has or has not done. This study represents the voices of learners. Under this desegregated environment separating classes through language for Black and White learners does no benefit for cross racial interaction.

I plan on in-depth study examining though a bigger study of schools in the New South African education system, examining by comparing and contrasting a) the English medium, b) Afrikaans medium, c) Parallel Medium. As this study has revealed the dynamics of a desegregated environment; further study will examine the structure of three categories of former “White only” schools to ascertain whether the structure of these schools helps or creates more barriers for cross racial interaction.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR STUDENTS

Stage 1

1. When did you come to this school?
2. Which school did you attend before you came to this one?
3. Tell me what it is like to be a student at this school?
4. Do you have Black/White friends?
5. What do you talk about with your White friends and what do you talk about with your Black friends?
6. What would your parents say if you had a Black/White friend?
7. What is the best thing about the school?
8. What is the worst thing about the school?

Stage 2

1. How many are in your class?
2. How many students are White? How many are Black?
3. What has your experience been with Black/White learners?
4. What do you gain from being with Black/White learners?
5. What kind of comments do you get from Black/White learners?
6. What is your attitude towards Black/White learners?

7. When and who gets demerits?
8. Do you think racism exists in this school?
9. If so, how?
10. Do you think Black and White students interact?
11. How does the school promote interactions among learners of different races?
12. What language is mostly spoken in the classroom?
13. What language is mostly spoken outside the classroom?
14. What is your native language?

Stage 3

1. How would you describe your racial background?
2. What is it like to be a student at this school?
3. What is the best thing about this school?
4. What is the worst thing about this school?
5. What are your careers plans?

APPENDIX B:

1. PROTOCOL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR ADMINISTRATORS

2. How would you characterize the experience of the learners at this?
 - 2.1 What are the changes proposed by the government? How are they implemented?
3. What are these changes helping you to help the students?
4. The register class, what are the goals and objectives of this class?
5. What are the measures taken by the school to meet the challenges of all learners?
6. What do you think are the school's strengths and shortcomings?
7. How is the school in helping students in their interacting?
8. What is the school's major challenge in the next five years?
9. Where do you think South Africa will be in the next five years?
10. Is the language of indigenous South African a feature in your schools?

APPENDIX C:
CONSENT LETTER FOR STUDENTS

Project Title: Desegregation in former Whites schools of South Africa

Dear Students

My name is Nomalanga P. Grootboom. I am doctoral student at Michigan State University (USA) in K-12 Educational Administration. To complete my studies, I am required to do a research project and write a dissertation.

This project requires understanding the experience of learners in former White schools in Pretoria. The information I will gather from you will: 1) be part of completing my studies at Michigan State University, 2) help your teachers, administrators, parents, education officials and other government officials in the Ministry of Education design programs that will suit your needs and will help you and other students reach the highest potential in education.

Since you are a student at this school, we seek permission to interview you individually and in groups comprising of 8-10 students. Individual interviews will take 30-60 minutes. The interviews will be conducted during out-of-class hours to ensure that your class schedule is not interrupted. With your permission, we will tape-record the interviews.

I ask you to sign this form to indicate that you are aware of the purpose of this research and am willing to participate in individual interviews. Please check/tick the option

Individually

I voluntarily agree to take part in the study.

Please sign here: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX D:
CONSENT LETTERS FOR ADMINISTRATORS

Project Title: Desegregation in former “Whites only” school of South Africa

Dear Students

My name is Nomalanga P. Grootboom. I am doctoral student at Michigan State University (USA) in K-12 Educational Administration. To complete my studies, I am required to do a research project and write a dissertation. This project requires understanding the experience of learners in former White schools in Pretoria. The information I will gather from you will: 1) be part of completing my studies at Michigan State University, 2) help your teachers, administrators, parents, education officials and other government officials in the Ministry of Education design programs that will suit your needs and will help you and your students reach the highest potential in education.

We seek permission to interview students individually and in groups comprising 8-10 students. Individual interviews will take 90 minutes. The interviews will be conducted during out-of-class hours to ensure that the students' class schedule is not interrupted. We will tape-record the interviews.

The interviews will seek to understand your interaction with students across. Although we have sought permission from your head master for you to participate in this research project; **your participation is strictly voluntary.** You may choose not to participate and there will be no penalty. You will also withdraw from participating in the study at any stage or time of the interview without penalty.

We will not ask you to identify yourself by your real name. Instead, you will choose a pseudo name by which you will be known during the interview. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum allowance by law. The findings of the study and the way they will be reported will not have any information that might be associated with your responses or reveal your identity. I will keep all the data such as recorded tapes and notes locked cabinet. Only dissertation director (Prof. Reitu Mabokela) at Michigan State and me will have access to it. After to years the data will be destroyed.

If you have questions and concerns about this study, feel free the primary investigator, Prof. Reitu Mabokela (Tel: 517 355 1275) e-mail: mabokela@msu.edu, regular mail: 452 Erikson Hall East Lansing MI 48823. If you are dissatisfied with the study or have question or concerns about the study you may contact Peter Vasilenko, PhD, Chair of the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS) by phone : 517) 355 2180, fax 517) 432-4503, e-mail: uchirhs@msu.edu or regular mail: 202 Olds Hall , East Lansing, MI 48823.

Sincerely,

Ms Nomalanga Grootboom

Doctoral Candidate, MSU K-12
Educational Administration

1452 Apartment J, Spartan Village

East Lansing, MI 48823, USA

grootboo@msu.edu

I ask you to sign this form to indicate that you're aware of the purpose of this research and are willing to participate in individual interviews. Please check/tick the option

I voluntarily agree to participate in the study:

Please sign here:_____

Date:_____

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