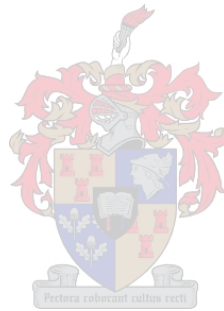


**MANAGING RACIAL INTEGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS:  
IN DEFENCE OF DEMOCRATIC ACTION**

**Thinavhudzulo Norman Mafumo**



**Dissertation presented for partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in  
Education Policy Studies at Stellenbosch University**

**Promoter: Professor Yusef Waghid**

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## DECLARATION

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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## **ABSTRACT**

This dissertation explores the lack of racial integration in public schools in South Africa. The main argument of this study defends a deliberative conception of racial integration that builds on previous, more limited, conceptions such as assimilation, integration, multicultural education and antiracist education. In this work I further narrate my story in relation to encounters with issues of race, thereby contextualising the topic.

I argue that philosophy of education can be used as a tool to explore and illuminate the educational dimensions of a major philosophical problem, that is, racial integration. I further offer a historical account of racial integration, mapping three interrelated phases of such integration in South African public schools, namely the colonial/apartheid period, the democratic period and the post-democratic period.

The dissertation also offers a conceptual account of the major theoretical understandings that constitute racial integration. It furthermore investigates racial integration as it is currently unfolding in South African public schools and simultaneously points out the limitations of this project. I argue how and why the lack of effective and genuine racial integration results in social injustice.

Moreover, I advance an argument for deliberative racial integration in South African public schools; a notion that, it is hoped, could address some of the weaknesses associated with the present form of racial integration in South African public schools. The study also identifies the implications of deliberative racial integration for school governance, management, leadership, and teaching and learning.

## OPSOMMING

Hierdie proefskrif behels 'n ondersoek na die gebrek aan rasse-integrasie in openbare skole in Suid-Afrika. Die hoofargument in die studie is 'n verdediging van 'n beraadslagende begrip van rasse-integrasie wat op vorige, meer beperkte, begrippe soos assimilasie, integrasie, multikulturalistiese onderwys en anti-rassistiese onderwys voortbou. Ek konseptualiseer die onderwerp aan die hand van 'n narratief van my eie ervaring ten opsigte van aangeleenthede wat met ras verband hou.

Ek argumenteer dat filosofie van die onderwys aangewend kan word om die onderwysdimensies van 'n beduidende filosofiese probleem, naamlik rasse-integrasie, te ondersoek en te belig. Ek bied verder 'n historiese oorsig van rasse-integrasie deur te verwys na die koloniale/apartheidstydperk, die demokratiese tydperk en die postdemokratiese tydperk.

Die proefskrif bied ook 'n konseptuele verslag van die vernaamste teoretiese beskouinge wat rasse-integrasie uitmaak. Die studie behels voorts 'n ondersoek van rasse-integrasie soos dit tans in Suid-Afrikaanse openbare skole ontvou en dui terselfdertyd op die beperkinge van dié projek. Ek argumenteer hoe en waarom die gebrek aan doeltreffende en ware rasse-integrasie sosiale ongeregtigheid in die hand werk.

Verder ontwikkel ek 'n argument vir beraadslagende rasse-integrasie in Suid-Afrikaanse openbare skole; 'n idee waarmee, so word gehoop, die gebreke wat met die huidige vorm van rasse-integrasie in Suid-Afrikaanse openbare skole geassosieer word, die hoof gebied kan word. Die studie identifiseer ook die implikasies van beraadslagende rasse-integrasie vir beheer van skole, bestuur, leierskap en onderrig en leer.

## **DEDICATION**

To my late father and my late grandparents, who have made me who I am.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I want to acknowledge my wife, Avhaneti, and my children, Masindi and Balanganani, for accepting to live with a part-time husband and father respectively during my long pursuit of knowledge.

I want to pay tribute to my promoter, Professor Yusef Waghid, Dean of the Faculty of Education at Stellenbosch University, for his unconditional support towards my studies and motivation. Even in those moments of despair, he did not lose faith that I could make it.

I also want to thank my mother, sisters, nephews and nieces for living with my long spells of absence – both physical and otherwise.

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## **PREFACE**

### **Reflecting on my epistemological journey**

#### **Introduction**

In this section I reflect on my experiences (academic writing, interacting with a visiting scholar and other various challenges) in relation to this study. Furthermore, I discuss my encounters with and responses to racism. Thereafter, I explain how deliberations may help in addressing issues of racism at Stellenbosch University as well as in the town of Stellenbosch. Then, finally, I look at the major philosophical moves I made in this dissertation in the context of my narrative.

#### **Academic writing**

Since it is a well-known fact that academic writing is very challenging, I sought advice to improve my writing skills. I talked to my supervisor to find out how he could assist me in acquiring the necessary skills. He advised me to attend scientific writing skills workshops at the Writing Laboratory of Stellenbosch University. In addition to advising me to attend these workshops, he compensated for them. They really helped me to improve my academic writing skills. In my first draft of Chapter two, before attending the first workshop, I stumbled upon many other challenges in the writing process. I would write four to five pages, making claims without putting forward any single argument. I did not know where and how to express my own opinions. I now understand that a particular writing style has a lot to do with one's own voice. Here creativity is very important, since one has to formulate arguments. This was difficult for me and I told myself that I needed books that deal with the issue of argumentation. I consulted a useful book called *Completing your thesis: A practical guide* (2004) by Nelleke Bak. Particularly helpful in this book was Chapter 5, "Developing academic discernment", which deals with critical reading, thinking and writing.

As my study progressed, I also continued to search for literature related to issues of argumentation to improve my own arguments. As I did extensive reading, I realised how

important critical writing skills are for research. In my reading, I focused on clarity of argument, coherence of text, and taking arguments into systematic controversy.

### **Interaction with visiting scholars**

I greatly value the opportunity that the Faculty of Education and the Department of Education Policy Studies afforded me to interact with a visiting scholar by the name of Professor Paul Smeyers. His presentation was very important to me, since it focused on methods and, at that time, I was working on my methodology. Consequently, I picked up information that was useful for my dissertation. Professor Smeyers' elucidation of research methodology helped me to write about research methods instead of composing many unhelpful and confusing pages. Professor Smeyers helped me very much with my methods, because he indicated that philosophical methods refer to various ways and modes in which philosophers of education think, read, write, speak and listen. He further stated that these various ways and modes make their work systematic, purposeful and responsive to the past and present philosophical and educational concerns and conversation. Smeyers' presentation helped me in my thinking, my reading as well as my writing, in preparation for the remaining chapters of my dissertation. It assisted me to write them in a philosophical manner, which responded to the past and present philosophical and education concerns and debates such as addressing racism and promoting effective and genuine racial integration, which I had been struggling to do before listening to his presentation.

I underwent both good and bad experiences during the course of my study. I was required to rework the chapters after feedback from my supervisor. This was always sound and helpful. Some chapters had to be revised three to four times before they were approved. I always agreed with my supervisor because I believed that he wanted me to read more about what I was writing in order for me to gain more knowledge about what I was writing. I also had to submit my chapters for editing every time I reworked them after receiving feedback from the supervisor. This meant that if the cost of editing a chapter was R1 000 and it was revised four times, I consequently had to pay R4 000. My supervisor supported me financially because at this stage he gave me R5 000 to use for my editing only. This was indeed a major challenge but I made a plan to survive during my studies. At times, I experienced some discomfort with

my studies, such as spending sleepless nights thinking about my studies and experiencing stress and other uncomfortable emotions. I asked myself the following questions: Why I am at Stellenbosch University? What am I doing at this university? Is it worthwhile for me to be here? At times, I enjoyed my studies and thought I was on course with my research. I also thought that I would complete my dissertation quickly and graduate early. There were also times during which I felt humiliated and unmotivated. I managed to accomplish a great deal of my work during my study leave. I was able to co-author an article published in the *South African Journal of Higher Education*.

I do not think that I would have done justice to my discussion of my epistemological journey if I had only discussed my academic writing and interactions with a visiting scholar without touching on my encounters with racism at Stellenbosch University and in the town of Stellenbosch. In the following section, I therefore describe these encounters.

### **My encounters with racism at Stellenbosch University and in the town of Stellenbosch**

During my study at Stellenbosch University, I encountered four unpleasant racially motivated incidents. The first occurred when I went out for dinner with one of my friends in 2008. My friend and I were waiting in a queue to be seated when a White waitress came and skipped us in order to give a White couple a table to sit. The treatment really made me angry, but my friend told me to remain calm and advised me to keep quiet for a while, which I did. While we were still standing in the same queue another waitress arrived and did exactly the same as the first waitress; this really did not go down well with me and my friend. My friend asked why we were being treated this way as customers. The two waitresses could not respond to our genuine concerns. We then decided to seek help from the other waitress. We explained our situation to the other waitress, but she responded by saying that there was nothing she could do except give us a table. We demanded an apology from the two waitresses for the treatment we had received in their restaurant but to no avail. We requested a talk with the manager in order to promote deliberations between us (the manager, myself and my friend as well as the waitresses), which could have led to all of us discussing this issue in a way that might have helped the restaurant workers treat their patrons equally, regardless of their skin colour. Because the manager was not available, the afore-mentioned issue could not be addressed. As

a result, we were never given a chance to promote discussions, which might have addressed issues of racism experienced by my friend and myself as well as by other customers who might have been treated the way we were treated, which would in turn have advanced deliberative racial integration. Since that day, I have never returned to that restaurant and I will never go there again. The upshot of this racist encounter is my realisations that if deliberations are to ensue, all the people involved have to be willing to listen to each another, otherwise the discussion will not take place. Consequently, the willingness to listen constitutes a condition of deliberation – an aspect I have learned from this racist encounter.

My second unpleasant racially motivated incident occurred when I was walking from a friend's room in Lobelia to Academia residences at around three o'clock in the morning. I was walking at a relaxed pace, since it was summer and warm at the time. I saw a yellow Ford Focus approaching and took it easy since I thought that the town of Stellenbosch and its university were crime-free. The occupants of the car were four White men. Although they drove slowly alongside me and called me names such as "kaffir" and "Bantu", I decided not to respond to their insults since they might become infuriated at me. They then went beyond calling me names and started saying that Stellenbosch was not a place for "kaffirs" but a place for Afrikaners. I again decided not to respond to their vulgar language and insults and kept my composure. Two of the boys opened the doors of their car and walked towards me. I then decided that I would talk to them so that they could understand how important we (White and Black people) are for South Africa despite our different racial backgrounds, as well as to explain to them how important we are to each another concerning the building of a new non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and united South Africa. Unfortunately, I realised they were very drunk and aggressive, and they were not going to listen to me. I decided to walk a little bit faster but not run. The two turned back to their car and drove towards the Engineering building at a very fast speed. Little did I know that they were waiting for me on the other side of the road to Academia. As I approached the engineering building, I saw the car moving towards me but I did not take this seriously, only to find that it was the same car. When I realised this and observed that I was in a very secluded and dark place, I decided that if they wanted to fight me I would die, but I will take one of them with me. At that moment, I memorised the colour and registration number of the car. Fortunately, they did not approach me; I walked freely and they decided to drive away. The first thing I did when I arrived in my room was to write down the colour and registration of the car on a piece of paper. After

recording the details of the car, I thought about the whole scenario and felt very angry about what had happened. I then decided to call the University's Protection Services (USBD) and requested that they give me the number of the Stellenbosch police station. Since the USBD gave me the wrong number, I called them again and they again gave me a wrong number. I called them back again and they advised me not to report the matter to the police but to lodge a complaint or report the matter to the International Office. I was shocked when they suggested that I report the case to the said office. I did not even know where it was and what its responsibilities were.

I went to bed a very angry man. The following day I decided to walk to the police station to report the matter but on the way, I made the decision to return to my room because I thought it was one of those things that happens when young boys are drunk. In this case I was unable to promote the deliberations that could have helped us (the White boys and myself) to know and understand each other as South African citizens who are supposed to respect and protect each other without focusing on race as such. This, in turn, would advance the building of a new non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and united South Africa. I failed because the youths were very drunk, so much so that they were unable to listen to me. I also learned that deliberating about racism is not easy and that people must forgive in order to ensure a deliberative encounter. I was not only willing to talk but also to forgive the other who might have considered me as unwanted in the town of Stellenbosch. Consequently, forgiveness is a condition of deliberation.

The third incident occurred when I was enjoying having a *braai* with friends from Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland and Namibia. It should be mentioned that we were all Black students. The barbecue was taking place during the 'quiet times', because it was during the Engineering students' tests week. This phrase means that students can make noise until midnight. Our barbecue happened to go beyond 24:00. One young White man and a woman reminded us not to forget that it was 'quiet times' and that they were busy preparing for the test the following day. They talked to us as concerned students who were going to write a test the following day as well as in their capacity as members of the House Committee.



The young man and woman were very polite to us. My fellow Black African brothers and sisters started accusing the poor young man and woman that they were only reminding them about 'quiet times' because they were Black. In other words, my friends were simply saying that if it had been White students who were making a noise the two White people would not have reminded them about 'quiet times'. I think this was racist, because the way the Black students responded was as if they wanted to brand the two White students as racists. After the innocent White students left, I tried to engage my fellow African brothers to find out why they had responded in such a way. I told them we could have just apologised and stopped the noise out of respect for those students who were studying. To my surprise, my fellow African brothers and sisters informed me that the best way to make White people feel guilty is to tell them that whatever they say to us is because we are Black. I tried to indicate to my friends that this was not the best way to deal with these kinds of issues.

I was very impressed and glad when one of my friends from Botswana, who hosted the barbecue that led to the accusations, came to me three days later and informed me that he had met the two White students and apologised and that they had accepted the apology. To be honest, I was not convinced that he had indeed apologised. A week after the incident I went to watch a Union of European Football Association Champions' League soccer match in the Academia television room, and it was then that I became convinced that my friend had indeed apologised, because the way he and the House Committee member were talking showed that they were on good terms without fearing each other. I was delighted when I heard that one of the White guys was a finalist of the Stellenbosch Idols competition – a singing competition organised for students by the University's Student Representative Council. In this competition, the winner is voted for by the general student population. The White guy who was a finalist in this competition invited my friend from Botswana to go with him to the finals at the Neelsie (the Stellenbosch Student Centre). This to me was a positive move that illustrated the willingness of both parties to forgive each other. I argue that the apologies, forgiveness and invitation to the competition, as well as their being friendly to each other in the television room, did not start from nowhere but from small-scale deliberations between the two parties. I think it was a very good move towards the promotion of full-scale deliberations in Academia that, in the long run, could assist in addressing racism in a manner that could in turn lead to the advancement and realisation of deliberative racial integration.

My fourth and final encounter with the monster called racism was during a very hot day in February 2009. I was walking alone from the Pick n Pay grocery store in town when I met a young Black man walking with a young White woman. After passing them, I heard voices shouting, "How can a 'kaffer' go out with a White girl?" I looked back and saw a White Golf Chico with two young White men who appeared drunk. The young Black man and his companion did not respond to the insults hurled at them by the occupants of the Golf Chico. The vehicle passed but came back after five minutes with the occupants carrying water cannons; they sprayed the young Black man with water. Although they did not spray the young White woman, she was not pleased with the behaviour of the occupants of the car. While we were trying to console the couple, it came to our attention that the young White girl was an exchange student from Russia. She advised her companion to report the case to the police. When I left the scene, they were still debating about what action to take. Up to this day, I do not know whether they reported the matter to the USBD or to the police. Of all my stories, this was the worst. It was the worst because it happened on a busy Saturday afternoon when the town was full of shoppers and I really did not expect this kind of behaviour to happen in broad daylight.

Two of these four encounters took place in the town of Stellenbosch while two occurred on the Stellenbosch University premises. I therefore conclude that racism could still be prevalent at Stellenbosch University in particular and in the town in general. Thus, immediate attention has to be devoted to this issue if the University and the town want to contribute meaningfully by being part of the building of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa where all its citizens live harmoniously as equals irrespective of their race, colour, race, language and cultural backgrounds.

In the following section I discuss how these two entities can jointly respond to issues of racism in a way that would contribute towards the building of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and united South Africa where people from different racial backgrounds can live together harmoniously without fearing each other.

## **How can Stellenbosch University and the town of Stellenbosch potentially respond to issues of racism?**

I suggest that for Stellenbosch University and the town to address racism they should jointly organise “imbizos” or gatherings where they can encourage stakeholders to debate on how to deal with this issue, just as they did when the institution tackled the problems of drugs, drunkenness and lawlessness in the town and at the University during 2008.

In order for these entities to address racism and at the same time promote effective and genuine racial integration, they need to introduce a deliberative racial-integration model. This, as I have contended, is a way of remedying racism as well as of promoting racial integration. Deliberative racial integration is important because, as mentioned, it is developed from democratic principles and processes of deliberation, which are termed inclusion, equality, giving each other reasons, publicity, compassion, hospitality as well as belligerence. I therefore conclude that deliberative racial integration is important for Stellenbosch town and its university to effectively address racism and promote effective and genuine racial integration, because it calls for all affected participants in these kinds of debates to be included, treated as equals, tell each other why they think the reasons they are advancing to support their arguments are the most appropriate to address the racial problems they are experiencing, be compassionate to each other; be hospitable to each other as well as act with belligerence in robust debate (at times) during such deliberations.

The inclusion of all those affected by racism both at the University and in the town as free and equal participants must be guaranteed in order for the participants to debate freely as equals. They must not only be guaranteed free and equal status in these deliberations but must be allowed to give each other reasons why they think their proposals are better positioned to address racism in their town and at their University as compared to those of other participants. The participants taking part in such debates are also expected to take their debates further than feeling free, being equal as well as giving each other reasons. The participants are further expected to support their proposals by trying to be hospitable as well as compassionate to each other during these debates so that all participants can feel welcome. I firmly believe that

when the participants feel comfortable, they can start to trust each other. When they begin to trust each other, their fears should be allayed, which in turn may lead to them respecting each other. When participants start to respect each other during these debates, they can openly discuss the ways in which racism can be addressed as well as the way in which effective and genuine racial integration can be promoted. This in turn, I hope, could lead to Stellenbosch University and the town devoting attention to racism and the promotion of effective and genuine racial integration in a way that either reduces racism or relegates it to the dustbins of the past.

Stellenbosch University and the town of Stellenbosch could address issues of racism affecting them and at the same time promote the realisation of racial integration through deliberations among stakeholders affected by racism at the University and in the town.

In order to strengthen my epistemological journey, it is of great importance for me to discuss the philosophical moves I made in my dissertation. In the following section, I do so.

### **Conclusion: Revisiting my initial argument and restating my philosophical moves**

I always thought that philosophy of education comprises a body of knowledge that I had to ‘master’ before applying it to my doctoral studies. However, I have learned that philosophy of education is an activity (whether of the mind or actual external actions) that should enable me to highlight major philosophical problems, such as the lack of racial integration, which I have identified in my study, and then to investigate its implications for educational discourses (teaching, learning, management and governance in schools). Because of the link between the analytical approach in philosophy of education used in my investigation and political theory, I found myself engaging with the works of major political philosophers, in particular the seminal ideas of Seyla Benhabib, Amy Gutmann, Iris Marion Young, Martha Nussbaum and David Miller.

By far the most significant philosophical move I have made is to offer a solution to resolve a lack of racial integration. Deliberative racial integration in itself implies that there is racial integration of a kind where people are deliberatively engaged in an ongoing conversation.

Concomitantly with such a move, I have extended deliberation to practices of compassion, hospitality, equality and freedom – those virtues without which genuine racial integration could not begin to unfold.

I consider my dissertation as potentially contributing to debates on achieving social justice in public schools and beyond. For this reason I have always considered my unexpected and unimaginable encounters with racism in the institution and town where I study as impediments I personally had to overcome in realising my goals.

Furthermore, this dissertation proposes the extension of philosophy of education into the realm of otherness and difference as to solve a major problem in public schools, that is, a lack of racial integration, which cannot be achieved through dialogue, discussions and debates alone. Dialogue is aimed at achieving consensus among participants; debate involves one person trying (perhaps) to out-manoeuvre the other with better arguments but without going anywhere; discussion involves participants talking back but does not require a person to listen at all. Deliberation, on the other hand, is a dialogical process of perpetual engagement with the possibility of a continuous conversation, i.e. a conversation that is always in the making. Therefore, I became attuned to the pursuit of deliberative racial integration because integration should always be a discourse in the making without necessarily reaching finality. Hence, my proposition is that racial integration should never be considered as completed but that it should be in the process of being constructed, reconstructed and deconstructed.

Finally, in a way, my own professional growth with regard to philosophy of education has evolved into an attachment to post-structuralism, an aspect I did not reflect on sufficiently in my study. In future publications resulting from this doctoral dissertation I shall, however, devote more attention to this particular framework of thinking.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION: ORIENTATION OF RESEARCH

#### 1.1 Setting the stage: Overview of racial integration in South African public schools.

The issue of racial integration in South African schools after the first free and fair democratic elections in South Africa and the introduction of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in 1994 has been, and remains to be, a thorny and challenging one. When the said government came into power, it inherited many unjust and segregatory policies from the previous apartheid government. Most of these were related to separate development, which included different education systems structured according to race, colour and ethnicity. During the apartheid era there were 18 departments of Education that corresponded with the different demarcations of race, provinces and homelands. The new government amalgamated these into one national and nine provincial non-discriminatory departments of Education for a unitary non-racial South Africa.

The reason that motivated me to conduct this study on racial integration in South African schools is the fact that South Africa is emerging from the apartheid era where schools, churches, transport systems, residential areas, sporting facilities and entertainment facilities were segregated according to race, gender, language and/or tribal lines. Since division according to the previous categories will not be helpful to our societal transformation and the development processes that are currently taking place in our country, South Africa cannot remain racially divided if the aim is to be a non-racial, democratic country. All public schools in South Africa have been legally opened to all South Africans irrespective of race and other factors. Access to schools can no longer be denied to learners based on differing backgrounds. Statutory demands brought about by South Africa's Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996a), the South African Schools Act ( Republic of South Africa,1996c), as well as the National Education Policy Act (Republic of South Africa, 1996b) now expect all South African schools to admit and accommodate learners from diverse backgrounds.

The following are some of the legislation and policies that have been guiding racial integration in South African schools after 1994: The Education White Paper 6: Special Needs

Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (Department of Education 2001b) requires in all instances that schools recognise and respect the differences among all learners, build on similarities and give support to all learners irrespective of race, colour or creed.

The National Education Policy Act (Republic of South Africa, 1996b) commits government to enabling the education system to contribute to the personal development of each learner, and to the moral, social, cultural, political and economic development of the nation at large. The rights guaranteed by this act to every citizen are the following: protection from unfair discrimination within or by an education department or educational institution on any grounds such as race, culture, language, ethnic grouping; basic education; and equal access to educational institutions.

The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) Act (Republic of South Africa, 1995a), together with all curriculum documents, give direction for successful teaching within integrated schools and for successful living in a non-racial democratically integrated society. The said act further specifies the critical outcomes that must be considered when designing learning programmes. One of these is to work effectively with others in a team irrespective of , race, gender, ethnicity, sex, culture, language and /or tribal lines, which implies that the learner will develop tolerance for difference (racial, cultural and tribal) within the group; develop empathy for more vulnerable members of the community; and appreciate working democratically.

The Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) for grades R to 9 (Department of Education, 2002) was developed on the basis of the principles of social justice, human rights and inclusivity. The way in which teaching the new curriculum could foster racial integration is described within the statements for each learning area, most notably within life orientation and the social sciences, which require respect for different cultures, languages, race and colour as well as promotion of social cohesion in the Republic of South Africa.

The Employment of Educators Act (Republic of South Africa, 1998b) plays a crucial role in promoting racial integration in schools because it encourages employment of educators from different racial and cultural backgrounds. This practice encourages learners from all racial backgrounds to perceive role models in the teaching staff. It prohibits unfair discrimination and promotes affirmative action in order to ensure the representation of designated groups with regard to race and gender. The act further stipulates that the filling of any position in any educational establishment shall be with due regard to equality, equity and the other principles of the Constitution.

The Employment Equity Act (Republic of South Africa, 1998a) states that the ethical conduct of educators that could lead to the promotion and realisation of effective and genuine racial integration is governed by the South African Council for Educators Act of 2000. This act provides for the possibility of sanctions against educators and principals who practice racial discrimination and at the same time promotes effective and genuine racial integration in South African public schools.

The Norms and Standards for Educators Act (Republic of South Africa, 2000) sets clear parameters for how educators should promote racial integration in schools. The following are three of the seven roles of an educator that might assist educators directly as to how they should promote and manage racial integration in South African schools in a more effective manner, which may lead to the promotion and realisation of social justice, which seems to be one of the main aims of racial integration: First, as learning mediator, an educator is expected to mediate learning in a manner that is sensitive to the diverse needs of learners and shows respect for the differences of others, for example, respecting the cultures and languages of learners and educators from different racial, linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Secondly, as a leader, administrator and manager, an educator is called upon to operate in a democratic way without segregating learners according to race, colour and the like, which could lead to a more successful management of racial integration in our schools; in turn this could ultimately lead to the promotion and realisation of social justice in South African schools. Thirdly, as part of the educator's citizenship and pastoral role, he or she is expected to uphold the Constitution and promote democratic values and practices in schools, such as treating learners



and educators as equals, irrespective of their different backgrounds, as well as in the wider society, which may result in smooth management of racial integration in South African schools.

The Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (Department of Education, 2001c) highlights 10 constitutional values such as democracy, social justice, equity, equality, non-racism, respect and reconciliation, which guide both the practice and the spirit of governance and teaching at all South African schools towards racial integration. The opening of schools to different learners from different racial groups and linguistic and cultural backgrounds has been and is still an enormous challenge to South Africa and its public schools despite the introduction of the various policies that laid a foundation to promote effective and genuine racial-integration processes. The opening of the schools to learners from different backgrounds and groupings is a test, as principals are called to change their old ways or styles of managing schools, which were authoritative and which could potentially undermine racial integration. School principals are expected to adopt new democratic management styles that accord other stakeholders such as the parents, learners and educators a hearing (owing to democratic participation) in the day-to-day management of public schools in South Africa. Authoritative rule is no longer feasible because there are many alterations in policies that affect the day-to-day running of schools. One of these is the abolishment of the outdated corporal punishment policy and the introduction of new and democratic alternative strategies to this policy, which strip away authoritarian powers to manage schools from some school principals.

Alternative strategies to corporal punishment imply that there must be a new way of managing schools in South Africa, which must be done democratically. It is important because it involves all stakeholders concerned with education in developing policies on the day-to-day running of schools, unlike the authoritative management style that only involved the principal in policy development and implementation. The new style might play an important role in managing racial integration in South African schools because the stakeholders or citizens concerned with issues affecting their schools on a daily basis, such as the abolishment of racism and lack of promotion of racial integration, will have a say

concerning the development of policies at school level that advocate effective management of racial integration. This, in turn, could ultimately lead to the promotion of social justice in South African public schools.

I argue that for the Republic of South Africa and its schools to achieve one of its main visions (in terms of the “South African dream”) of creating a unitary, non-racial, rainbow-Coloured and peaceful country for all its citizens, schools must be managed differently than they have been in the past. The phasing out of an authoritarian management style of schools and its replacement by a democratic one create conducive conditions for all concerned citizens or stakeholders to have a say, through exercising deliberative democracy. This should in turn lead to the smooth management of racial integration in South African schools, which will result in the promotion of a non-racial, unitary and democratic South Africa.

I also contend that there should be a link between the management of racial integration as a burning issue and deliberative democratic theory. In terms of the latter all stakeholders who are affected by the lack of management of racial integration in South African schools will engage in discussions on how racial integration can be better managed in a free atmosphere and as equals, without fear of exclusion, towards building a non-racial, non-sexist and unitary South Africa for all who live in it.

The concept of deliberative democracy could have positive implications for the management of racial integration in South African schools, because the notion deals largely with citizens, stakeholders or community members engaging each other as equals about how best they can solve or tackle problems, such as those mentioned, in a reasonable and accountable way as a group. In 1.2, I develop a normative conceptual understanding of education management, including that of racial integration, along the lines of deliberative democracy. This is important because it could potentially promote the involvement of all concerned as equals in decision-making processes as compared to the authoritative management process of schools, which is and was undemocratic.

## **1.2 Literature review of racial integration in South African schools**

### **1.2.1 Orientation and background**

Racial integration of schools in South Africa since the end of apartheid in 1994 after the first watershed democratic elections offers a serious challenge to all South African citizens. When the GNU came into power in April 1994, it laid the foundation of a comprehensive programme for the reconstruction and development of South African society. The new government faced the challenges of rebuilding the South African education system after years of apartheid education. Government realised that the rebuilding and regeneration of the South African education system was inevitable and unavoidable (Naidoo, 1996a:1–4). The intent was to restructure the education system in a way that would accommodate and treat all South African citizens equally, irrespective of their race, gender, culture and language, towards the building of a unitary non-racial and non-sexist Republic of South Africa. This would be an education system ensuring equal educational opportunities in a unitary, non-racial and democratic South Africa. Segregation in South African schools was officially abolished in 1996 when the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No. 108 of 1996 and the South African Schools Act No. 84 of 1996 were passed.

An example of acceptance related to racial integration in schools is Sunny Ridge Primary School, which received a presidential national award for racial integration on 13 March 2003 at the Most Improved Schools Award Ceremony held at the Presidential Guest House in Arcadia (Department of Education, 2001a:5). Even though there are some schools that are regarded as doing well in this respect, racial integration in many schools is not taking place without difficulties. It remains a major challenge to ensure that all learners from different racial backgrounds share the same opportunities to receive good-quality education, and to ensure that schools provide equal access to learners who live within a school's vicinity, irrespective of their race. It also remains a test to ensure that schools treat all learners with respect irrespective of their race, as it still remains a serious undertaking to ensure that all schools teach learners how to learn and live together in mutual understanding and harmony despite their different racial backgrounds (Van Heerden, 2000:274–282). While noting the attempts made by some schools to integrate, including certain schools whose practice should

be studied as models of good practice, some exclusionary practices have been observed in schools, which I discuss later on in this chapter.

### **1.2.2 Current state of discourse on racial integration in South Africa public schools**

There are two types of schools in South Africa, namely independent and public schools. The category private schools falls under the umbrella term “independent schools”, whereas ex-Model C schools are all public schools. A large body of literature ( Mda, 2000; Moletsane, 1999; Munusamy, 2000; Naidoo, 1996a; Naidoo,1996b; Ndandini, Semuli & Odhav, 1999;Vally & Dalamba, 1999; Van Heerden, 2000; Carrim, & Mkwanzani & Nkomo,1993; Carrim & Mkwanzani, 1993; Carrim,, 1995; Chisholm & Sujee, 2006; Fiske & Ladd, 2004; Soudien, 2004; Sujee, 2004) reveals that the current state of discourse on racial integration is based on a system of private pedagogy and the ex Model C schools. This means that the current debates and literature on racial integration focus more on private schools and former Model C schools. Black parents from the townships and rural areas take their children to private and ex Model C schools. There are, however, pockets of resistance to racial integration in some ex Model C schools (for example Vryburg High School, Lichtenburg High School, Trompsburg Primary School, Potgietersrus Primary School, Kuschke Agricultural School and Ben Viljoen School in Groblersdal). Prior to 1994, issues of education were linked to apartheid and separate development. Apartheid was a planned and long-term political ideology to keep races separate and unequal (Mda 2000:51; Naidoo, 1996a:8).

The formal, legal and rigid segregation of schools according to racial groups was more rigidly enforced after 1948 when the National Party (NP) came into power. The division of education according to racial and ethnic groups was supported and sustained by apartheid laws such as the Group Areas Act No. 41 (Union of South Africa, 1950a), the Population Registration Act No. 30 ( Union of South Africa, 1950b), the Bantu Education Act No. 47 ( Union of South Africa, 1953a), the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act 49 ( Union of South Africa, 1953b), the Native Resettlement Act No.19 (Union of South Africa, 1954), and the Bantu Homelands Citizens Act No. 26 ( Republic of South Africa, 1970). Prior to 1994, schools were divided into 18 different departments of Education, which were set up strictly according

to race, culture and language. Funding for education in South Africa varied on the basis of race. In 1986 per capita subsidies for White schools amounted to R2 365 compared to R572 for Black schools (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:10).

As noted, there is a gap in the literature as regards how public schools grapple with racial integration. In the late 1970s, private schools began opening their doors to increase the numbers of Black children. But the exorbitant fees charged by these schools were seen by people as a restrictive mechanism, since many Black parents could not afford the high fees.

Limited desegregation of ex Model C schools began in 1990 following educational reforms with a view to fostering better intergroup attitudes and relationships to the benefit of South African former ex Model C schools and the South African society at large, apart from pressing for equal education for all. Coloured and Indian schools in South Africa opened their doors to African learners in 1985 (Du Toit, 1995:212; Vally & Dalamba, 1999:10; Van Heerden, 2000:274). With the end of NP rule and the apartheid regime as well as the inauguration of the new democratically elected GNU, different policies that led to the establishment of non-racial education in South Africa came into place, as mentioned above (Naidoo, 1996a :9; Ndandini *et al.*, 1999:45).

The 1996 Constitution of South Africa, Act 108 ( Republic of South Africa,1996a), the South African Schools Act, Act 84 ( Republic of South Africa,1996c) and the White papers on Education and Training of 1995 (Republic of South Africa, 1995b) laid the foundation for the integration of schools in South Africa. When the GNU came into power in 1994, it made it impossible to practice apartheid and racial segregation in South African public schools and society in general. In order to effect changes to the former apartheid and Bantu education system, the GNU created opportunities for access to quality education by all learners irrespective of race, culture, language, etcetera.

It did so by announcing free and compulsory education for all learners from Grade 1 up to Grade 9 in all state schools. This was introduced to make it possible for Black (African, Indian and Coloured) learners and parents to apply for and be admitted to desirable but often exclusive former ex Model C schools without having to worry about high school fees and admission tests, which were used by many former Model C schools as exclusionary measures (Mda, 2000:48).

Prior to 1994, and before the GNU came into power, many Model C schools employed these exclusionary measures (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:45–49). With the promulgation of the new Constitution in 1996, schools were legally forbidden to administer admission tests and to expel children from schools because they could not pay school fees.

The legal opening of former ex Model C schools for Black learners to attend seemed to have been exciting and relatively easy after the 1994 democratic elections. However, closer investigation reveals something different. The majority of schools thought that all they were required to do was open their schools to all racial groups, only to find that more was required – schools were in actual fact expected to make allowances for racial, language and cultural differences of Black learners coming to these schools (Mda, 2000:54; Naidoo, 1996a:12; Vally & Dalamba, 1999:24).

### **1.2.3 Opening the doors of learning to all**

Vally and Dalamba (1999), in their studies on integrated schooling that examined admission policies, found that the majority of schools either did not keep records of the number and races of learners refused admission or failed to divulge this information. Of the schools that responded, the most frequent reasons given for refusing admission related to learners residing outside the feeder zone of the school and to insufficient space in the school.

In their studies, Vally and Dalamba (1999) further established that in some provinces, a number of schools were clearly filled to capacity. A few schools, though, enrolled more

learners than they could accommodate. Of all the schools studied, one of them had conducted the now prohibited selection tests for admission purposes. The study also mentions that a significant minority of the schools had not yet formulated an admission policy and made it available to the heads of provincial departments, despite this being a requirement of the 1996 South African Schools Act (Vally & Dalamba, 1999).

A number of scholars investigated the extent to which Black learners who have gained access to former ex Model C schools have been allowed to participate in schooling. In 1997, Soudien investigated the experiences of African learners in a Coloured school in the Western Cape where Afrikaans is the dominant language. He concludes that their experiences are no less alienating than those experienced by African learners in former White schools. Several studies have found low incidences of cultural integration (Ntshakala, 1997; Soudien, 1997; Vally & Dalamba, 1999; Van Heerden, 2000).

Since 1986, racial integration in South African schools has been largely a one-directional process, with learners from formerly oppressed Blacks (Indian, Coloured and African) seeking (and gaining) admission to schools that were previously reserved for those who were privileged according to their colour and languages (that is, Whites learners in South Africa), since racism in South Africa is associated with colour, culture and language. In other words, Black (African, Indian, Coloured) learners have sought places in formerly White schools (Paterson & Kruss, 1998:34).

I argue that the factor that attracted Black learners and their parents to these schools was not the opportunity to attend racially integrated schools, but superior learning conditions; abundant resources, both physical and human; better qualified teachers; and a schooling system that had not been rocked by the trauma that had seriously curtailed the learning process in many schools found in townships since the Soweto uprising on 16 June 1976. As a result, learners from previously disadvantaged schools were obliged to adapt to the norms, values and cultures of former White schools in order to be able to cope with the new learning environment.

In the above cases, advantaged or privileged communities have been in control of the process of racial integration of schools. However, the control of integration has taken place in conditions where the powerful were largely unwilling to carry out the task of integration because they had little idea of what to expect, if any problems prevailed or surfaced. Some have learned to cope with such difficulties better than others, depending on the skills and attitudes of the learners, teachers and parents from previously excluded groups and privileged groups (Naidoo, 1996a:12).

#### **1.2.4 Incidents linked to racial integration in South African public schools**

The following are some of the few reported incidents linked to racial integration in some of the provinces in South Africa: At Lichtenburg High School (Free State province), a 15-year-old African boy by the name of Tumelo Buthelezi was seriously beaten by a White boy in Grade 10 on 30 May 2000. Tumelo was beaten up after a boy made a bad joke about his spectacles; the derogatory word “kaffer” was used and a brawl erupted. Running battles between African and White learners were reported at Vryburg High School (North West province) in 1999 (Ngawebo, 2000:4). Racism attacks were also reported at Bryanston High School (Gauteng province), where a 17-year-old African learner by the name of Lindelani Khanyile was assaulted by members of the Sandton High School’s rugby team (Gauteng province) after he tried to stop them from assaulting a African friend (Mokwena, 2000:2). On 26 January 2001, Lee Andra Oliphant, a 13-year-old Coloured learner in Grade 9 at Die Burger Secondary School (Gauteng province), was allegedly punched by a White male schoolmate after a racist exchange of words (Molakeng, 2001:2).

Learners from the overcrowded Madikgetla Secondary School (North West province) staged a sit-in at Trompsburg Primary School to demand more classrooms, but were evicted from the school by White parents. In another incident, African learners from Monyakeng High School at Wesselsbrom (North West province) clashed with police when they marched to Sandveld High School in Wesselsbron to demand admission to the school (Naidoo, 1996a:3).



Racial incidents reported in the province of KwaZulu-Natal were largely concentrated in the former Indian schools. Evidence of serious racism surfaced during public hearings by the Human Rights Commission in Durban during the third week of July 2000. Among the 60 verbal submissions to the Commission were presentations by the University of Natal's Democracy for all institute, which discovered different forms of discrimination in KwaZulu-Natal schools (Munusamy, 2000:2).

In 1996, Potgietersrus Primary School (Limpopo province) was the centre of attention as far as racial clashes in South African schools were concerned. On 22 January 1996, the school admitted a number of African learners. However, on the following day the governing body of the school refused to admit 22 more African learners, arguing that they wanted to protect their culture. The children were only admitted after a High Court ruling in February 1996 ( Naidoo, 1996a:3). Racism at Kuschke Agricultural High School in the Limpopo province has been evident since 1997. The school became known for racism when White learners assaulted a fellow White learner whom they accused of being "too nice to kaffers". In one incident, a White learner was assaulted by enraged African learners there who learners claimed that the former had made many racist remarks directed at the African learners, such as calling them monkeys and "kaffers" (Sefara, 2000:4). African learners also use derogatory racial and retaliatory terms in reference to White learners, such as "pigskin", "rooinek" and "boere" (Van Heerden, 2000:27). In Groblersdal at Ben Viljoen School (Mpumalanga province), 33 African learners were taught in separate classrooms from their White counterparts. African learners were not allowed to wear the school uniform and they also claimed that they were physically and verbally abused by some of their White schoolmates (Mabasa, 1997:4).

### **1.2.5 Exceptional patterns of racial integration**

Even though there were large numbers of difficulties and complaints related to racism in South African schools, there were also exceptional patterns of good practices in this respect. White and Black learners (Coloured, Indian and African learners) in some former White schools are learning to study together. Some schools have accepted and embraced the challenges and experimented with new approaches and curricula that challenge previous apartheid educational practices (Motala, 1995:1–4). As a result of experimentation with new approaches, some former White schools are encouraging their learners to participate in

different sporting activities without considering whether they are regarded as sports for White learners only, for example rugby, or for Black learners only, such as soccer. Some of these former White schools are teaching African languages as subjects. A number are also appointing Black teachers to teach other subjects, such as life orientation or life sciences, rather than only African languages. Black parents are also fairly represented in SGBs in these former White schools.

### **1.3 Tentative ideas about a normative (conceptual) understanding of education management along the lines of deliberative democracy. (Why educational management of the dissertation involves integration?)**

As has been alluded to earlier, authoritative management styles in schools can most appropriately be quelled by democratic ones. One such management style can be grounded in some of the ideals of deliberative democracy. Deliberative democracy is generally known as a collective and accountable decision-making process undertaken by all stakeholders. It comprises discussions among free, equal, accountable and reasonable people about issues that affect their daily lives, such as racial segregation and lack of racial integration in South African public schools. Deliberative democracy needs to be considered and taken seriously if South African schools are to transform effectively from an authoritarian style of management to a new democratic way of doing so, which could potentially lead to the promotion and realisation of social justice. I argue that deliberative democracy needs to be taken seriously in this respect, since it revolves around the transformation of perspectives that is expected to prevail in our schools where citizens take responsible and accountable decisions on how racial integration can be better managed, rather than simply representing an aggregation of preferences, as can be observed in South African schools today.

The introduction of deliberative democracy in our schools should lead to the effective management of racial integration in South African schools, because deliberative democracy has the potential to improve and to relocate decision-making processes.

Such democracy is very important for the management of racial integration, because it encompasses genuine deliberations where the main aim is for concerned citizens to persuade each other as equals through reason in order to reach a consensus on how schools can be a resource for managing racial integration in a more effective way. Deliberative democracy is

mainly concerned with the involvement and cooperation of all citizens in public deliberations. According to Benhabib (1996:68), democracy is the process through which the collective and public exercise of power is realised and argued in societies and in schools on the basis of the principle that decisions affecting the good of a collectivity are best arrived at by the collectivity itself. Such decisions are also viewed as the outcome of a procedure of free and reasoned deliberation among individuals regarded as moral and political equals. Hence, deliberative democracy refers to public (open) discussions or arguments where citizens submit their views and the reasons for holding them to the test of other members' perspectives. These debates are necessary for making decisions on policies that can be better applied in the management of racial integration in South African schools (Waghid, 2004:25).

#### **1.4 (Re) constructions of integration from desegregation, racism and race**

According to Moller (1999:73) and McCarthy and Cambron-Mocabe (1992:493), racial integration was developed or constructed to address desegregation (that is, the practice of enrolling learners from different racial backgrounds who were attending schools classified on race in the same school without promoting racism) weaknesses, which involves a lack of provision of equal educational opportunities for learners from different racial backgrounds in the desegregated schools. In turn, desegregation was developed or constructed to address racism (that is, prejudicing a position of ignorance; an irrational hatred or fear of another racial group; an ideology of racial domination and/or exploitation) in schools (Govender & Woker, 1987:236). Likewise, racism was constructed or developed from race. It is considered as an ideological social construct aimed at addressing twentieth-century problems of the colour line (the relation of the darker to the lighter races of people) (Back & Solomons, 2000:4).

I now attend to explorations of the concept of race, racism and desegregation before moving onto a discussion of racial integration – the central themes in this dissertation.

### **1.4.1 What is race and identity?**

The concepts of race and identity comprise a set of social relations with many contradictions that are important for this study.

According to Back and Solomons (2000:4),

The study of race as important social issues can be traced back to the early part of the twentieth century, in relation to the United States of America. It is really in the period since the 1960s, in the aftermath of the social transformations around questions of race that took place during that decade, that we have witnessed a noticeable growth of interest in the theorization of race and racism.

Race, just like ethnicity, are ideological constructions that usually arise during the struggle for dominance and control. These are not just theoretical categories, but indications of how people define themselves as well as how they participate in social life. In desegregated schools, the issue of dominance and control takes on racial undertones because of the entry of different racial groups that challenge the real or perceived locus of power (Naidoo, 1996a:19).

At first sight it seems relatively easy to give meanings of the concepts race and identity but in reality it is not the case. There exists a confused and differential notion of race as used by human biologists, social scientists, lawyers, demographers and the man (woman) in the street; a blurred distinction between racial and ethnic and a confusion between criteria of colour, geographical origin, national origin, religion culture and ethnic affiliation. (Cohen & Manion, 1983:11)

According to Cohen (1986:23), race is the object of racist discourse and has no meaning outside it; it is an ideological construct that signifies a set of imaginary properties of inheritance that fixes and legitimates real positions of social domination or subordination in terms of genealogies of genetic differences. It is not a biological concept that cannot change.

It is a complex, dynamic and changing construct. It is not a fixed, natural system of genetic difference. Race operates as a system of socially constructed and enforced categories constantly recreated and modified through human interaction (Gilborn, 1990:3).

Furthermore, according to (Naidoo, 1996a:20),

Identity is not a static term reflective of a timeless unchanging inner self. It is not necessarily stable and permanent; giving consistent meaning to our daily lives. Rather, identity is a racialised and historical construct subject to many tensions and contradictions. Monolithic notions concerning people (of colour) are muddled if we consider the intricate influences correlated and convergent statuses have on identity formation.

Stanfield and Dennis (1993:23) refer to “the fallacy of homogeneity”, stating that class, gender, religion, age, region and language in historically specific contexts all complicate what identity is and means.

It is therefore unlikely to come to agreement on a single formulation of an ethnic group as well as to adequately describe the complex dimensions of ethnic groups in modern societies during this period of globalisation, which is characterised by extreme flux and contradiction.

For example, Black learners in former White schools in South Africa may identify themselves as Black but their economic and political interests may be closer to those of their White peers than poorer Black learners. This group may be involuntary, although individuals’ identification with the group may be optional (Naidoo, 1996a:20).

In addition, according to Cashmore and Troyna (1990:30), the notion of group is subjectively defined in that it is what the group members feel to be important in defining themselves as a

group and not what others consider them to be. The main criteria for group membership are an assumed common descent, whether real or mythical, and identification of another person as a fellow and a person who is playing the same game (Schrine, 1990:25). Following Naidoo (1996a:20), ethnic distinctions assume greater importance when they form part of individual or group strategies for preserving control of resources and social status, etcetera.

In the context of school integration, racial and ethnic differences and identities will continue to play a significant role, despite the progress towards reformulating and redefining the world in which we live today. In the case of South Africa it will be reformulating and redefining a new South African nationhood. Distinction between ethnic, racial, or social group will, inevitably, endure, and people of different background have always felt themselves to be different from each other and there are many positive benefits from these feelings of personal, ethnic, and social identity. What is important, however, is to explore strategies for restructuring group relations in ways which will make the differences less invidious and less likely to be a source of conflict, tension and frustration between groups and individuals in schools. (Naidoo, 1996a:21)

#### **1.4.2 Race and identity in South Africa**

The concept of race and identity in South Africa just like in other countries such as United States of America and Great Britain is complex and comprises a set of social relations with many contradictions that are important for this study. The study of race as an important social issue in South Africa can be traced back to 1948 when the National Party government came into power. From 1948 to date categorisation /classification of race in South Africa can be traced back to 1947 after the National Party won the White only elections and came into power in 1948 (Zegeye, 2001: 2). From 1948 to date categorising race can be divided into three phases. The three phases are: Apartheid phase from 1950s – 1970s; Anti-apartheid movements and organisations phase from 1970s – 1980s; and post-apartheid phase from 1994 to date. In the following section I discuss the unfolding of the three phases in South Africa.

#### **1.4.2.1 The race concept during apartheid phase**

Under the apartheid legislation and government the South African populace was divided into four racial groups. The Population Registration Group Act (PRA) of 1950 after the National Party came into power in 1948 classified the South African population into four racial categories called White, Coloured, Indian (Asians) and African ( Zegeye, 2001: 6; Dolby, 2001:21). According to (Zegeye, 2001: 21) a “White”, the Act declared, is a “person who in appearance obviously is, or who is generally accepted as a White person, but does not include a person who, although obviously a White person, is generally accepted as a Coloured person”. A Black (Native) was any “member of an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa”. A “Coloured” was defined negatively as a person who was neither White nor native (Black). Indians (Asians) were sub-classified under Malays, Griquas, Chinese and two residual groups called “other Asiatic group and “other Coloured group”. The Population Registration Act (PRA) provided for the classification of every individual in South Africa under the apartheid government as either White or Coloured by skin color. African (native) was defined by country of origin whereas Indians (Asians) were defined by continent of origin (Dolby, 2001:21).

#### **1.4.2.2 The race concept during anti-apartheid organisations and movements phase**

During 1970s and 1980s anti-apartheid organisations and movements that participated in the anti-apartheid struggle created a new identity by undermining apartheid notions of Whiteness as representing political superiority and non-Whiteness as representing political inferiority. Disenchantment of Africans (natives) during this period led to the emergence in South Africa of a new movement called the “Black Consciousness Movement” (BCM). The BCM focussed more on the psychological liberation of Black people. By the Black people the BCM was referring to Coloureds, Indians and Africans. The United Democratic Front (UDF) formed in 1983 further strengthened the position of BCM by promoting the need for unity in the struggle through which all democrats regardless of their race used by the apartheid regime shall take part together. The UDF called upon Coloureds, Indians and Africans to fight as Blacks. During this period “race” as an organising concept was questioned and disputed. The BCM led by Steve Biko promulgated a “Blackness” that included Africans, Indians and

Coloureds. In other words during this period Indians, Coloureds and Africans were classified as Black.

### **1.4.2.3 The concept of race during the post-apartheid phase**

During this phase or stage (post-apartheid phase) Coloureds, Indians and Africans were classified as Black (Soudien, 2007: 27). In other words the post-apartheid phase supported the racial groups initiated and supported by the anti-apartheid organisations and movements. Categorising race into two racial categories called White and Black is further supported and strengthened by government strategies of Affirmative Action, Black Economic Empowerment by means of preferential treatment of Black people (Coloureds, Indians and Africans) determined by racial categorisation. The legislative machineries that are being used to drive the categorisation in South Africa during this stage into two racial groups are the Employment Equity Act, Public Service Laws Amendment Act, Skills Development Act, as well as the Skills Development Levy Act.

This study on racial integration in South African public schools is going to look at races in South Africa as two racial categories, that is, Black and White. The Black race comprises Coloureds, Indians and Africans.

It is therefore important for this study to explore notions of White and Black racial identity.

### **1.4.3 What constitutes racism?**

Racism is often equated with prejudice, implying a position of ignorance, an irrational hatred or fear of another racial group. More formally, it has been viewed as an ideology of racial domination and/or exploitation (Naidoo, 1996a:21).

Given the world in which we are presently living, which is growing smaller and smaller day by day due to globalisation, there is bound to be racism in schools that are being desegregated. It may be overt and in some cases may be denied or discounted for different reasons. It is therefore important and necessary to attempt some kind of conceptual and



theoretical clarification of the concept racism. Like race, racism is a greatly contested notion in sociological and other popular vocabularies. A debate on the meanings and relevance of racism involves issues such as the following: “What counts as racism?”; “How is it represented?”; “How have its forms changed?”; “How generalisable are its forms?” and over and above all these, “What is its nature and scope?” These are all practical but not terminological issues. Explaining racism’s persistence and combating it depend on these debates (Naidoo, 1996a:21). The dynamics of racism, just like that of race, culture and ethnicity, are much deeper than a catalogue of attitudes that workshops organised to try to address racism challenges might aspire to change.

According to Naidoo (1996a:21), “in common usage, racism is often equated with prejudice, implying a position of ignorance, an irrational hatred or fear of another racial group”. More formally, it has been seen as an ideology of racial domination and exploitation. Carrim and Mkwanzani (1993:1) explain racism as “the systematic oppression of people of colour which occurs at the individual, interpersonal, and/or cultural level. It may be overt or covert, intentional or unintentional”. Racism is racial prejudice or discriminatory practice where both domination and exploitation of races are justified and are regarded as being inferior (Le Roux, 1994:17). Likewise, racism can also be regarded as the practice of discrimination in favour of White people and to the detriment of other racial groups such as Black people (Govender & Woker, 1987:236).

I therefore conclude that racism is not simply a function of an individual’s subjective attempts at making sense of the world; but a manifestation of an ongoing collective process of group interactions, whereby the status and behaviour of minority groups are defined and refined with respect to the dominant group. These are not arbitrary but linked to various modes of social production, such as those defined by gender and class relations. Racism describes the way in which social relations and practices are organised and must be understood with reference to issues of political and economic disadvantages and patterns of inequality in society (Rizvi, 1991, cited in Troyna, 1992:2).

#### **1.4.4 What is desegregation?**

Desegregation is a practice of enrolling learners of different racial groups who were attending schools classified on race in the same school without promoting racism. (Ornstein & Levine, 1993:400). In general, desegregation means to change from a specific situation or condition to another situation or condition, for example changing from a system where learners of the same race were attending the same school to enrolling learners from different racial groups in the same school (Moller, 1999:73). Desegregation can also refer to plans by government to integrate schools that were previously segregated based on race in an attempt to ensure equal educational opportunities through racially balanced schools (McCarthy & Cambron-Mocabe, 1992:493). Desegregation is a mechanical process that merely involves establishing the physical proximity of members of different groups in the same school (Rist, 1974:17).

I therefore conclude that desegregation means the ‘opening’ of formerly racially exclusive schools to learners from or of different racial backgrounds.

#### **1.4.5 What constitutes racial integration?**

Racial integration describes a situation not only in which learners of different racial groups attend school together, but also in which effective steps have been taken to accomplish two of the underlying purposes of desegregation, namely (1) to overcome the achievement deficit and other disadvantages of the disadvantaged majority group learners; and (2) to develop positive interracial contacts and relationships (Ornstein & Levine, 1993:400). Integration is a new phase under new historical and international conditions where learners from different racial backgrounds, as well as education and training systems, are joined together (Chisholm, 1997:59). According to Naidoo (1996a:11), integration means bringing learners from different racial backgrounds together in a single education system that will be racially balanced and will ensure equal educational opportunities for all. Integration is a social process and the possible outcome of desegregation, which is not a single event or one time shift in school conditions but a series of activities, events and changes occurring over a long period of time. Naidoo (1998: 48) argues that integration is the total transformation of the education system that was separated in terms of race, that is, the opening of all public schools to children of different races. Integration means that all the groups at the school, including the teachers and

the SGBs, observing and respecting each other's languages and cultural traits, are integrated. The host group does not remain unchanged as it interacts with the incoming groups (Mda, 2000:54).

Racial integration means that the divisions created by apartheid need to be addressed systematically as well as systemically. It is not merely concerned with altering the racially exclusive demographics of learners and educator bodies or with desegregation, but rather entails insistence that schools change to meet the needs of all children enrolled, fostering meaningful interaction among learners in the classroom, in the playground and in external activities, as well as instilling a human-rights culture (Nkomo, Chisolm & McKinney, 2004:1–2).

According to the Department of Education (2001a,10), racial integration implies that individuals from all racial backgrounds enjoy the rights of access to and participation in all aspects of school life. Such integration refers to the extent to which schools have made a conscious attempt to respond to the needs of historically disadvantaged groups and to help learners form relationships with others, irrespective of colour or creed. I use racial integration in reference to different racial groups attending school together and developing positive interracial contacts and relationships that unite Black and White learners in a single education system. Here, equal educational opportunities for all learners will be provided irrespective of their different racial groupings. According to the Department of Education (2001a, 10), racial integration further implies that all human beings are seen as equals, irrespective of class, colour, religion, gender and other categories; diversity in learner and staff profiles is seen as a strength; differences are acknowledged, discussed and celebrated, where appropriate; differing needs are catered for and the legacy of past discrimination is taken into account (different needs are, however, not catered for via separation of learners into parallel structures); an active stance is adopted in order to promote mutual understanding and reconciliation; and all individuals, irrespective of colour, class or religion, are viewed as participants in the process of promoting racial integration.

### **1.5 Why do we need a deliberative model for management in South African schools? (Why does this work have to do with educational management?)**

Deliberative democracy is important for the management of schools because democracy of this kind sets a standard that emphasises five central elements of open discussions, namely inclusion, equality, reasonableness, respect and publicity (public processes) (Young, 2000:23). The inclusion of all citizens in the discussion on how to manage racial integration in South African schools can be improved through public debate. In this regard, no exclusion of citizens who want to participate in the public discussions of these issues will be tolerated, whether based on race, gender, ethnicity, sex, culture, language and /or tribal lines. When equality is practised as part of school management, it implies that citizens are not only included in public debates but that they are also equally included and respected in the decision-making processes without fear of any domination. Processes of deliberative democracy regarding the management of racial integration are characterised by inclusion and equality because of the general understanding that all human beings are rational. In addition, rationality demands that these people be reasonable in their dealings with each other on matters related to the management of racial integration in South African schools. In this case, all the people who engage in such deliberations are expected to also respect each others' ideas by listening, comparing such ideas and making unhurried and unforced judgements and decisions. It is also particularly important because it will hopefully encourage a public defence of those policies that are regarded by citizens as sound for the management of racial integration in their schools, on the basis of solid reasoning (Cooke, 2000:948).

For schools in South Africa to be managed more effectively than before 1994, including the management of racial integration, it is argued that school-management policies be conducted through a process of public discussions and debate in which the interests of all citizens, as equals, are reflected. However, for a more adequate account of the value attached to the decision-making processes in this regard, citizens need to draw on the principle of equal respect, which is based on the idea of people as autonomous and moral agents with a distinct point of view (Habermas, 1996:305). Equal respect in this case means that each citizen is deemed capable of making an informed, insightful and accountable judgement on such issues.

No one's arguments should be discounted on the grounds of race, gender, class and so on. This implies that in rational discussions in which public arguments are advanced, every citizen's contribution to the management of racial integration must be perceived as worthy of consideration (Cooke, 2000:955).

In deliberative democracy, all citizens, irrespective of their backgrounds, engage in arguments as equals in order to persuade and convince each other based on facts or reasons accessible to the other deliberants on how best racial integration in South African schools can be effected. For example, citizens need to debate with and persuade each other, advancing reasons for the adoption of English or Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in their schools (Waghid, 2004:24). According to Gambetta (1998:19), deliberation can also be described as a conversation wherein individuals speak and listen sequentially before making a collective decision on how racial integration in their schools can be better managed. Deliberative conversation on this issue or any other falls between the two extremes of bargaining, which involves exchanging threats and promises, as well as arguments that concern matters of fact and causality.

I consider deliberative democracy as necessary for attaining legitimacy and rationality with regard to collective decision-making processes on how to manage racial integration. Rationality signifies the individual's readiness to accept responsibility for self-interpretations, and the ability to provide reasons in support of one's claims, for example "We don't need to employ a parallel medium of instruction in our school because it further divides or segregates people according to their languages" as well as the willingness to enter into unconstrained discussions of these reasons (Cooke, 2000:955). The more the collective decision-making process approximates this model, the more it increases the legitimacy and rationality of participants in such deliberations. In these cases, deliberation on policies to be implemented on how to manage racial integration in our schools effectively must be governed by norms of equality. This means that all participants or stakeholders engaging in such debates are afforded the same chances to express themselves, to question, to interrogate, as well as to open debates on issues that could hinder a smooth process of integration. An example of such an issue is the practice of requiring Black male learners to play soccer only, because soccer is

regarded as a sporting code for them, while White male learners play rugby only, for the same reasons. All people attending the meeting have the right to question the topics to be discussed and also to engage in positive arguments about the rules of debating procedures to be followed when deliberating on such crucial issues (Habermas, 1996:305).

Moreover, deliberative democracy is regarded as an exchange of arguments or points of view that are unrestricted but that must be based on facts or reason in order to persuade holders of other viewpoints to make a sound decision to the benefit of society and the schools found in them with regard to the issue being researched. Under this system no individual or group of people could legitimately exclude other individuals or groups from debating school-management issues, including that of racial integration, in their schools. The individuals or groups of people cannot be legitimately excluded because their rights to participate in deliberation on such issues are legally institutionalised without any individual or group of people being excluded from decision making with regard to the day-to-day activities of the management of schools (Habermas, 1996:305).

Deliberative democracy is important for the management of racial integration and other matters because it is characterised by a concern for the inclusion of minority groups' viewpoints and sets limits on what the majority group can legitimately do, which is seemingly not currently the case in our schools. Educational and school-management decisions in terms of deliberative democracy will be concluded by majority decision-making processes that will hopefully not undermine the views of the minority groups (Cohen, 1996:95; Young, 1996:122–123).

School-management issues discussed in line with deliberative democracy will be concluded by a majority decision linked with the exercise of reason where participants furnish reasons why they think that there must be proportional representation of both Black and White parents in the school governing body (SGB) for racial integration to take place smoothly. Deliberations must be concluded by majority decision making. Then, the principle of majority

decision making functions as a rule of argumentation requiring minority group participants to persuade the majority group of the correctness of their views (Habermas, 1996:303).

Habermas (1996:305), citing Cohen (1996) characterises the procedure of deliberative democracy in terms of the following postulates:

(a) Process of deliberation takes place in argumentative form, that is, through the regulated exchange of information and reasons among parties who introduce and critically test proposals. (b) Deliberations are inclusive and public. No one may be excluded in principle; all of those who are possibly affected by the decision have equal chances to enter and take part. (c) Deliberations are free of any external coercion. The participants are sovereign insofar as they are bound only by the presuppositions of communication and rules of argumentation. (d) Deliberations are free of any internal coercion that could detract from the equality of the participants. Each has an equal opportunity to be heard, to introduce topics, to make contributions, to suggest and criticise proposals. The taking of yes or no positions is motivated solely by the unforced force of the better argument. (e) Deliberations aim in general at rationally motivated agreement and can in principle be indefinitely continued or resumed at any time. Political deliberation, however, must be concluded by majority decision in view of pressures to decide. Because of its internal connection with a deliberative practice, majority rule justifies the presumption that the fallible majority opinion may be considered a reasonable basis for a common practice until the minority convinces the majority that their (the minority's) views are correct. (f) Political deliberation extends to any matter that can be regulated in the equal interest of all. (g) Political deliberations also include the interpretation of needs and wants and the change of political attitudes and preferences.

Under deliberative democracy the decision-making process on school-management issues will hopefully be moved by the force of a better and more reasonable argumentation, for example why it should be made compulsory that all learners in a school must take one African language irrespective of whether they are Black or White as well as how this could enhance the management of racial integration. If the majority group's position is reasonable, that such

a ruling can or cannot enhance the management of racial integration, then it must be adopted on the basis that common practice can equally be changed later if the minority group convinces the majority group that its alternative positions are correct and reasonable. In other words, democratic decision by majority rule can be reversed and can be challenged. Under deliberative democracy, decisions made are not seen as final and conclusive but always tentative, open to challenges and revision in the light of new evidence and argument; however, unconstrained rational argumentation seems the most appropriate forum for adjudicating rival claims. Autonomous reasoning is a very important ingredient of deliberative democracy (Cooke, 2000:955). According to Waghid (2004:26),

Deliberative democracy endeavors to seek ongoing deliberation in search of the better argument between majorities and minorities after the parties have temporarily reached a compromise for the sake of progress, e.g. smooth management of racial integration in South African schools. By implication, a deliberative democracy process actually compels the majority to take the minority into account by making their reasons answerable to the minorities.

In my view, deliberative democracy (as I shall argue for in chapter 5 in this dissertation) can improve racial integration in South African schools because it seeks to involve all those citizens, irrespective of who they are, who are affected by the negative way in which racial integration is being managed and are interested in equality and accountability. Hence, in offering a potential solution to the problem about racial integration which I identify (below) under research questions , I again (in detail) take up this notion of deliberation that I consider salient in addressing the dilemmas in and about racial integration in public schools in Chapter 5. This brings me to my research questions for this study.

## **1.6 Research questions**

In this dissertation the following questions will hopefully be addressed:

First, how can the dilemmas facing racial integration in South African schools be adequately addressed? Working within the field of philosophy of education, I endeavoured to tackle this



problem with the understanding that the ( philosophy of education) can help identify what I consider a major philosophical problem before looking at its implications (if not remedied and if remedied) for education in schools.

Second, how can racial integration be better managed? In response to this question, I have developed a reconceptualised notion of racial integration along the lines of deliberative democracy.

Third, should schools be integrated? In order to answer this question, I discuss the current unfolding of racial integration in South African public schools to determine whether there is a need for schools to integrate or not.

### **1.7 Methodological considerations (philosophical methods)**

This study makes use of methodology stemming from philosophy of education and philosophical analysis to address the afore-mentioned research questions. I endeavoured to use philosophy of education as an activity in order to provide a critique of major philosophical issues emanating from educational discourse and practices in schools. The concept of philosophical method can be traced back from the pre-Socratic period to Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Kant, Wittgenstein and others (Divala, 2008:24). I therefore consider a philosophical method as that method where a person begins to wonder and doubt about accepted beliefs and their meanings. This method is conducted in order to gain more clarity on issues and problems. In this study, the issues and problems are related to the management of racial integration in South African public schools. Philosophical methods were used because of their arguments and justifications. I used philosophical analysis to break down or analyse key concepts central to the argument of racial integration I constructed in this study. Some of the issues I questioned in this study are the following: “How can the dilemmas facing racial integration in South African public schools be adequately addressed?” and “to how can racial integration be better managed?” The philosophical approach that was employed to resolve these questions is one that is linked to interpretive and critical perspectives.

As far as my methodological consideration is concerned, I am attracted to Habermas's critical educational theory. Critical educational theory has its origins in the Frankfurt School (in Germany) where the Institute of Social Science Research was founded in 1923. Critical educational theory represents a different way of thinking, being concerned primarily with solving particular problems. For critical educational theory the main interest of human beings would be to liberate themselves from forms of dominations, which are best understood as what occurs when peoples' goals and means of achieving such goals are prescribed for them. This framework of thinking emanates from problems of everyday life and is constructed with a mechanism of solving them. I am also attracted to critical educational theory because it is driven by an emancipatory interest, which is aimed at exploring and developing discourses that have a practical purpose, that is, its purpose is to contribute to change in people's understanding of themselves and their practices and thus free them from the constraints of society in order to help them change an unsatisfactory situation (Habermas, 1972:308; Carr, 1983:39). A critical approach to philosophical inquiry's aim is to generate critical action in others and give rise to conditions to replace one distorted set of practice with another, hopefully less distorted set of practices (Carr and Kemmis, 1986:197). In other words, the empowerment and emancipation of humanity lies at the heart of a critical paradigm.

This philosophical approach is grounded in interpretation (I want to understand meanings), criticism (I want to know the transformative potential of these meanings) and deconstruction (I want to uncover what lies beyond these meanings) of racial integration in public schools.

## **1.8 Research methods**

Philosophy of education was used as method of argumentation, that is, for analysis, questioning and propositioning. According to Smith and Hogan (2003) philosophy of education is an activity of mind to identify a problem and propose ways on how to remedy it (that is, the problem). In other words philosophy of education is something you perform or do in order to identify a problem as well as to come up with ways to solve the identified problem. Philosophy of education as activity is also pursued by analytical scholars such as Paul Standish, Nigel Blake and Paul Smeyers as well as other Anglo-Saxon scholars.

Philosophy of education was used in this study on managing racial integration in South African public schools in order to identify problems associated with racial integration as it is currently unfolding in South African public schools. Philosophy of education as an activity was not only used to identify the problems but was also used to propose ways as to how to remedy the problems associated with a perceived lack of racial integration in public schools.

This involved finding a justification for the problem of racial integration I have identified and offering a way through a reconceptualisation of how a major problem (racial integration) in schools can be resolved before moving on to a discussion of its potential implications for educational practices (i.e. school governance, management, leadership, and teaching and learning), which are discussed in Chapter 6.

One cannot conduct research on the management of racial integration without touching on how racial integration was developed or constructed as well as how the concepts closely related to its construction or development, such as race, racism and desegregation, in particular, unfolded ontologically.

## **1.9 Outline of chapters**

From my provisional analysis of racial integration in schools, I deduced that there is a lack thereof, which ought to be remedied. This dissertation offers some pathway as to how a lack of racial integration can be addressed. The dissertation consists of the following chapters:

In **Chapter 2** I offer a historical account of racial integration, mapping the three interrelated phases of racial integration in South African public schools, namely the colonial/apartheid period, the democratic period and the post-democratic period.

**Chapter 3** offers a conceptual account of the major theoretical understandings that constitute racial integration.

In **Chapter 4** I give an exposition of racial integration as it is currently unfolding in South African public schools and simultaneously point out the limitations of the racial-integration project. I also show how and why a lack of racial integration results in social injustice: that is, the principles of justice of desert, equality and need are neither adhered to nor at times attained, resulting in social injustices.

**Chapter 5** advances an argument for deliberative racial integration in public schools – a notion that could, it is hoped, address some of the weaknesses associated with the present form of racial integration as it is currently unfolding in South African public schools.

In **Chapter 6** I elucidate the implications of deliberative racial integration for school governance, school management, school leadership as well as teaching and learning.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF RACIAL INTEGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS FROM 1976 TO 2007**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I offer a historical account of racial integration in South African public schools from 1976 to 2007. This is the period during which such processes took place in these schools. In this way I will be able to garner a number of ideas regarding how education policy changes impacted on racial integration in these schools.

Racial integration in public schools in South Africa has been part of the broader transformation of both education and society in general. This transformation can be seen at the national and provincial levels of policy, at the level of the schools and the level of the classroom. Owing to the complex nature of this study, I decided that this research would focus on racial integration at the level of the school as recommended by (Naidoo, 1996b:10). My decision was based on my contention that the schools educate learners who are regarded as agents of change in their communities, since they are expected to engage these communities through deliberative democracy to work towards a single, non-racial, unitary and democratic South Africa.

In this chapter I discuss different views on racial integration as outlined by different researchers or scholars who have undertaken much work on the subject. I discuss the process in South African public and private schools during what I refer to as three phases of schooling in South Africa. These phases are the following:

- The private schools phase
- The Clase Model schools and the Model C schools phase, during which government allowed desegregation and integration to take place in a few public schools which it chose, naming them Clase Model schools and Model C schools

- The post-apartheid schooling phase, characterised by the abolishment of apartheid segregatory laws, and the introduction of laws that criminalised and prohibited discrimination, including racial discrimination, in South African schools.

## **2.2 Racial integration in South African schools during the private schools phase**

Racial integration began in private schools where it was initiated by the principals of such schools, who were supported by the Catholic and Anglican churches. Discussions on integration in these schools began at the meeting of principals of private schools, which took place in Cape Town in 1974. The Catholic and the Anglican churches entered the debate regarding racial integration in private schools during the same year as the principals, i.e. 1974 (Coutts, 1992:6).

According to Coutts (1992:06) and Carrim, Mkwanaenzi & Nkomo (1995:272), the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) in 1976 resolved to break with government's apartheid education policy of separate education for White and Black children, in favour of a racially integrated schooling system: a move in the right direction, since the bishops were supporting what the principals of their schools had decided in 1974. The SACBC decided to defy apartheid education legislation and that their church's racially segregated private schools will admit Black learners to their schools. This direction was subsequently supported by the other churches, such as the Anglican, Methodist and Baptist ones, the Jewish schools as well as the other independent schools in the open private schools movement, which called on government to allow them to admit Black learners to their schools (in order to become integrated) (Christie, 1990:179–180; Coutts, 1992:6; Pampallis, 1991:172).

After the events of 16 June 1976 in Soweto, Catholic schools supported by the Anglicans and the Methodists took advantage of these (Soweto uprisings) by defying the apartheid government education legislation on Bantu education and adopted a policy of steady racial integration in their schools, in line with resolutions taken at the principals' meeting of 1974 and the SACBC of 1976.

The response from government about this steady racial integration in/by previously White private schools was that such policies could contravene the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Education Act and the Bantu Consolidation Act, which were meant to strengthen segregation and separate development under the apartheid government. This government threatened to withdraw the registration of former White private schools that were admitting Black learners to their schools in an attempt to end racial integration (Coutts, 1992:6). It is evident that government did not want racial integration in these schools, since this would have undermined its separate development policies.

In 1976, private religious schools began the move towards school integration in South Africa, using their relative autonomy from government. In my opinion this was healthy for the process of racial integration in South African religious private schools and the country as a whole. These schools defied the established apartheid policies and practices (Christie, 1992:57). By the end of 1976, the first Black learners were being admitted to five White Catholic schools. St Mary in Johannesburg (Gauteng province) was one of these schools. More Catholic schools followed suit at the beginning of 1977, such as Sacred Heart (Christie, 1990:184; Coutts, 1992:8; Muller, 1992:39). Some other schools that defied the law in this regard were Woodmead (independent school) and St Peter's (Anglican) (Pampallis, 1991:172). According to Muller (1992:39) and Christie (1990:184), by 1977 there were only 200 to 220 Black learners in White private schools in South Africa.

At the beginning of 1977, higher numbers of Black learners in private church schools together with media attention focused on private schools that were defying the legislation resulted in a tough response from government. The schools were accused of breaching the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1961, and the regulations of provincial authorities, by admitting Black learners and they were threatened with the withdrawal of their teaching licenses (Christie, 1990:184; 1992:61).

Private schools that had traditionally been catering to elite South African White parents and learners also started enrolling Black learners in 1977 with the good intention of integrating

their schools to the benefit of all South Africans irrespective of their race. Black learners who were admitted to these schools were usually the children of African diplomats, Black South African government officials and exceptionally wealthy Black parents who could afford the high school fees (Carrim, Mkwanazi & Nkomo, 1995:272).

Over and above all the challenges faced by the private open religious schools and their supporters, they were able to pressurise government into making concessions regarding the questions on or issues of racial integration in private open religious schools. One of these concessions was the announcement in December 1977 that the government policy of separate schools for each race group would continue, but that in respect of private religious schools exceptions would, in exceptional cases on merit, be made in consultation with provincial authorities and the schools concerned (Pampallis, 1991:172). I regard this as a major victory for private open religious schools that really desired to see their schools integrating, and Black parents who wished to see their children attending racially integrated schools, as well as for Black learners who wanted to attend former White private schools.

According to Christie (1990:185), during the 1978 school year, government attempted to maintain control over the numbers of Black learners attending open private schools by requesting the schools to screen such learners before admitting them. Government's approach was obviously intended to protect the cultural ethos of the schools, which were predominantly White. Conditions for these special considerations (screening) were not clearly indicated and I concur with Christie (1990) that this was a mechanism to limit the number of Black learners in these private open schools. Nevertheless, such schools defied government and continued to admit Black learners without screening them, although in smaller numbers than they would otherwise have done, in order to promote racial integration in their schools.

In the Cape (currently Western Cape Province) and Natal (currently KwaZulu Natal province) control over admission of Black learners to open private schools was relatively lenient as compared to other provinces and these schools were made party to the selection of Black learners who applied to study in their schools (Christie, 1992:61). I regard this leniency in



admission of Black learners as well as in allowing the private schools to be part of the selection process in Natal ( currently KwaZulu Natal province) and the Cape ( currently Western Cape province) as being based on the following issues: In Cape Town the majority of people were Coloured and government, which was Afrikaner dominated, did not find it easy to control the admission of such learners to Cape ( currently Western Cape province) schools since they were in the majority.

The Natal Provincial Administration also insisted on its legal right to approve all admissions of Black learners to Natal's private open schools. The Natal schools were also warned to exercise restraint in this respect, since their numbers were increasing exponentially (Christie, 1990:186; 1992:61). It is evident that private open schools in Natal were warned to exercise restraint because they were admitting large numbers of Black learners to their schools without consulting provincial government, who was being lenient in this matter.

In the Transvaal and Orange Free State provinces, a completely different picture prevailed. In the Orange Free State there were no open private schools because there were no major moves from the Catholic Church to open private schools in this province (Christie, 1990:186), in my view because the province was predominantly Afrikaans and the Catholic Church anticipated that there will be resistance from the Afrikaners, since the latter would want to protect the separatist Bantu education policy which they had enforced. In the Transvaal, the provincial administration did all it could to limit the admission of Black learners to private open schools, but the whole issue became entangled in the broader conflict within the ruling NP between its enlightened members, better known as the *verligte* (reformers) camp and the *verkrampste* (conservatives) camp. The former opposed the overwhelming segregationist stance of the latter. Open schools were strongly opposed by the Transvaal Provincial Administration from the start: it was headed by Van Niekerk from the *verkrampste* camp who was not prepared to shift the legal boundaries when it came to the admission of Black learners to former White private schools. He continued to insist that Black learners were illegally attending open private schools and further indicated that he did not agree with the principle of racially mixed private schools (Christie, 1992:61). During this period when the *verkrampstes* and *verligtes*

were in conflict, the private schools took advantage of the internal tension within the NP and admitted more Black learners nevertheless.

According to Christie (1992:62), from 1978 to 1979 different conditions as regards open private schools developed across the various provinces. Some of the conditions that were devised and adopted by government further eased the admission of Black learners to Cape and Natal schools. Certain conditions however strengthened legal matters related to the admission of Black learners to private schools in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Despite these issues, some of the private open schools in the whole country defied government and provincial authorities by admitting Black learners to their schools in order to integrate them, and went on to admit more Black learners than they had been expected to without screening them as had been prescribed.

During 1980, the principle of open schools was firmly consolidated by large numbers of Black learners who were admitted to open private schools throughout the country. In the Cape private schools, 500 Black learners were admitted to these schools after all the applications had been approved. In Natal there were 200 to 300 Black learners in private schools, despite the more cautious policy on the part of provincial government. In the Transvaal there were approximately 850 Black learners in open private schools. Of these only 350 had been authorised (Christie, 1990:187). I contend that the exponential increase in the number of Black learners attending private schools in the Cape and Natal as well as the 500 Black learners just mentioned indicated a defiance of government policies on screening Black learners before admitting them, which I believe had a positive effect on the racial-integration processes in these schools. According to Christie (1992:62), no approval was granted for the admission of Black learners to private open schools in the Transvaal for the 1979 and 1980 school years, but Black learners were admitted nevertheless, in favour of racial integration in private schools in South Africa. There were no open private schools in the Orange Free State (currently Free State province) during this phase, in my opinion for the reasons mentioned.

During the school year 1984, the number of Black learners increased to 2 500 out of a total of 25 000 in the 78 White registered private Catholic schools throughout the country, which I also believe was positive for racial integration in South African private schools. According to Pampallis, the numbers of Black learners in these private open schools differed considerably from school to school. The expansion of Black enrolment in such schools led to rapid growth in the numbers of these schools (Pampallis, 1991:173).

In 1985 there were 55 398 learners in South African open private schools. Of these, 5 569 were Black, which was an achievement for such schools with regard to racial integration of these learners into open private schools in South Africa (SAIRR, 1986, cited in Pampallis, 1991: 173). By 1986, Catholic private open schools were not ready to accept racial controls over the admission of Black learners by government, such as threats regarding subsidies. The Catholic open private schools resolved to contest the racial clauses of the proposed subsidy regulations that were intended to lead to a reduction of the number of Black learners who were allowed to be admitted to these private schools, which would in turn lead to a dramatic decrease in the racial-integration processes of such schools in South Africa. Catholic open private schools took a firmer stand than other private schools by arguing that racial controls would be totally against their religious belief, which was to unite South Africans irrespective of race, creed, religion and so forth, and they vowed to defy government by continuing with the admission of Black learners to their schools.

The Private Schools Act of 1986 ended the 10 years of ambiguous legal standing as regards open private schools in South Africa when government legally recognised racially mixed private open schools, which was a positive step towards racial integration in South African private schools (Christie, 1991:63). By 1988, registered White private schools were housing 107 225 learners, of whom 14 543 were Black (5 974 African, 5 620 Coloured and 2 949 Indian learners) (SAIRR 1988/9, cited in Pampallis, 1991:173). Consequently, there was a tremendous increase in the numbers of Black learners who were registered in private schools in South Africa during this academic year. I argue that this massive increase was caused by the Private Schools Act of 1986, which ended the 10 years of laws that had prohibited private schools from registering Black learners by legally recognising racially mixed private schools.

Racial integration in South African schools during this period took place in private open schools only, which is why I have termed these years the private schools phase. There was no racial integration in South African public schools during this period at all. In my view, South African religions such as the Catholic, Methodist, Anglican, Baptist, Jewish and other faiths who fought very hard to admit Black learners to their schools under difficult conditions, as well as independent schools during this period, must be honoured for introducing the first racially mixed open schools, which later led to the introduction of racially mixed public Clase Model schools and Model C schools. I discuss these in the next section of this chapter.

### **2.3 Clase-Model Schools and Model C Schools Phase**

The limited desegregation and integration already considered was given a boost with the introduction of Clase Model schools in 1990 (Naidoo, 1996b:18). In October 1990, the then minister of White education (the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly), Piet Clase, announced that White state schools would be allowed to admit Black learners to their schools but under certain stringent voting procedures among the White parents (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:10).

Minister Clase's proposal offered White parents the opportunity to decide whether they wanted their schools open for Black learners or to retain the status quo. From my own point of view, this simply meant that the future of White state schools was left in the hands of White parents to decide, but not government, which causes me to be suspicious and uneasy as to whether genuine racial integration was intended in these schools (Naidoo, 1996b:22). Clase also reasoned that the enrolment of Black learners in White state schools needed to be carried out under certain conditions that would allay White fears of being 'swamped' and ensured them that they will not lose their privileges of domination, which were protected by the apartheid policies already discussed in this chapter. As such, Clase was able to make provision within the then existing apartheid constitution without making any changes in the laws that were governing education at that stage. He also managed to still keep White education, in the main, separate from Black education (Carrim & Sayed, 1991:22). All this was carried out to maintain and strengthen the dominance of White people over Black people, who were in the majority but could not do anything since they were not in power.

In 1991, in the wake of broader political changes, a lurching process of desegregation and integration began in state schools. The Clase model schools, which ushered in racial integration in White state schools under certain stringent voting procedures for White parents to vote for one of the models from the three models, were introduced. Conditions under which White Clase model schools were expected to admit Black learners in their schools were introduced in the context of the rationalization of educational resources as well as the broader political changes that were taking place in South Africa (Metcalf, 1991, cited by Naidoo, 1996b:19).

Models A, B, C and D became known as the Clase models.

#### Model A

This model was famously known as the privatisation model. In this scenario, the White state schools closed down as state schools and re-opened as private schools. They were administered by a management committee or board of governors, which employed and dictated the terms of learners' admissions. The state provided a 45% subsidy as long as certain criteria were met concerning curricula and facilities (Coutts, 1992:16; Naidoo, 1996b:20).

#### Model B

Model B schools remained under government control. They were also known as the state schools option. They remained state schools but were placed under the day-to-day running of a management body working within the constraints of departmental regulations. Salaries of staff and most operating costs were borne by the state. There were open admission policies in these schools. There were no compulsory school fees in these schools at the beginning of 1992 (Coutts, 1992:16; Naidoo, 1996b:20; Carrim, 1995:28).

#### Model C

The schools under this model were semi-private and semi-state-aided schools, run by the management committee and the principal. A prescribed number of teachers were paid by the state while the rest of the expenses were borne by the school community. The management

committee was accorded considerable flexibility to appoint teachers, decide on policy to govern admission and enrich the curriculum beyond the official core. The management committee was allowed to make school fees compulsory in order to cover costs. School resources such as grounds and buildings were transferred (given) to the school community and its management committee free of charge – provided they continued to be used for educational purposes. These schools were warned that if they did not use the transferred resources for educational purposes, their ownership would revert to the state (Carrim & Sayed, 1992:28; Coutts, 1992:16–17; Naidoo, 1996b:20).

#### Model D

By the end of 1991, a fourth model, Model D, had been announced. Model D was similar to Model B but placed no restrictions on the number of Black learners to be admitted. In fact, these became schools for Black learners run by the White parents, teachers and the White Department of Education (Carrim & Sayed, 1992:28; Naidoo, 1996b:22).

The management committees of these Clase Model schools were required to follow certain stringent voting procedures in order for parents to opt for one of the above models, such as achieving 80% polls, out of which they needed a 72% majority and additional conditions in order for them to admit Black learners to their schools. What interested me about these Clase Model schools was that they were all recommended within the provisions of the apartheid constitution. As a result, all models were subjected to the same conditions even if they were different models. Conditions to which they were subjected were as follows: all schools were to maintain a 51% White majority in their school population; their White cultural ethos was to remain intact; the management councils of the schools had the right to determine the selection criteria for Black learners who wanted to be admitted; no school was necessarily bound to consider curriculum changes; the opening of the schools to Black learners did not necessarily mean the employment of Black educators on the staff of the school; and the financing of Black learners at open schools was the responsibility of Black parents and learners ( Carrim *et al.* 1995:273).

All these conditions that were laid down for White state schools that opted to become open, so that they could be seen to be transforming, although they were still very segregatory and exclusionary because they were still linked to the apartheid constitution, did not enable the Clase models to challenge the foundations of apartheid education. I also believe that these models neither addressed the Black education crisis nor responded to the need for a single, non-racial, unitary and democratic system of education for all South Africans, as demanded by Black parents and learners during this phase (Carrim & Sayed, 1991:22; Carrim *et al.*, 1995:273).

I am of opinion that Clase models schools were introduced in order to respond to the crisis that White education in South Africa was facing. During this period, it was characterised by dwindling numbers of White learners in the White state schools, with some of these closing down (Carrim *et al.*, 1995:273). During 1990, 203 White state schools were closed and many more were in danger of doing so (Naidoo, 1996a:18). In my view, the other reason for allowing White state schools to admit Black learners to their schools, under the stringent conditions mentioned at the beginning of this section, was to protect the White teachers' positions, which were being threatened by the continuous decline in the numbers of White learners in these state schools (Naidoo, 1996b:18–19).

At the beginning of 1992, 98% of the schools that had voted opted for Model B while about 2% voted for Model C. Despite the overwhelming choice of Model B nationally, the minister of White education requested all Model B schools to convert to Model C schools. This marked the beginning of the well-known Model C schools in South Africa. To my mind, the Minister made this request because the numbers of learners in Model C schools were dropping, due to the reasons mentioned above.

The semi-private and semi-state Model C schools in the Clase Model gave government the rights and power to manipulate and control them by dictating terms to them regarding the appointment of teachers, and making decisions regarding admissions as well as charging high

compulsory school fees. I again suspect that all this was done in order to limit the number of Black learners who could be admitted to these schools.

The Minister of Education and Culture during the academic year of 1992, Minister Marais, argued that he had been forced to convert all White state schools to Model C schools because government could no longer fund White state schools as before, under the old system of education, due to the transformation processes that were taking place in South Africa (Carrim & Sayed, 1992:84). I do not believe this was the truth, for the reasons mentioned in the previous paragraph. To support my view, I want to point out that before the conversion of Model B schools to Model C schools in 1992, 10 000 White teachers were to be retrenched, but due to this intervention by the Minister of Education and Culture, only 4 000 teachers were retrenched while 6 000 White teachers' jobs were saved (Carrim & Sayed, 1992:84). Model C schools required the parents' community to fund the daily operating costs in the form of school fees. Such costs included the maintenance of school buildings and administrative costs, and all these were supposed/expected to be paid for by parents who wished to take their children to Model B schools, which were free. Owing to these fees, many Black parents who might have taken their children to Model C schools did not do so since they were very expensive, but opted to keep their children in the former historical Black schools, which were under-resourced and were meant for the Black learners. To meet the costs, Model C schools were obliged to increase school fees, which rendered education as a privilege for the few who could afford exorbitant fees, and as such Model C schools were not racially integrated as had been expected. Parents were expected to pay an estimated R1 200 to R1 500 a year per child in contrast to the previous fees of R420 to R650 per year per child and very few Black parents who were poor were able to send their children to these schools (Carrim & Sayed, 1992:28). Because of the low numbers of Black learners admitted to Model C schools due to high school fees, I argue that government was able to achieve three of the main conditions that the Clase Model schools were expected to abide by: maintaining a 51% White majority in these schools; keeping the ethos of the school intact; and making Black parents pay for the education of their children.



In my opinion, one consequence of Model C schools was that these schools took on a distinct class character because of the high fees they were charging, which was no different from racism, since Black working class parents were unable to afford these school fees. Because Black parents were in general unable to afford such high fees there was a significant decline in the number of Black learners in Model C schools, which led to minimal racial integration in these schools. This meant that such schools were technically admitting Black learners, whereas in reality they were not able to attend these schools; hence there was minimal racial integration in the said schools.

I contend that there was a more fundamental issue at stake. Semi-privatisation of White schools through the introduction of Model C schools at that point in South Africa's history insulated these schools from any future redistribution of educational resources. The introduction of Model C schools was conducted in such a way that a future non-racial, democratic government would be unable to take control of some White schools, as happened when the GNU came into power in 1994 and is still occurring even today, because they were and are still owned by a plurality of stakeholders both in the private sector and civil society. Although the introduction of Model C schools appeared to be an attempt at equalisation and integration in White schools, this was not the case, since the main aim of Model C schools was to ensure the maintenance of White privileges and the dominance of White people in education in South African schools and South Africa as a whole.

According to Carrim and Sayed (1992:29), the rationalisation of education by introducing Model C schools meant that South Africa would furnish Model C private schools for the rich and state schools for the poor. I am convinced that the majority of White learners and a minority of Black learners from rich Black families attended, and are still attending, Model C schools whereas the majority of Black learners from poor families and a minority of White learners from poor families attended, and are still attending, state schools. In a situation like this, one cannot claim that government was prepared to fully racially integrate South African schools as it had claimed. One can only assert that there was minimal racial integration in South African Model C private schools, which came at a price (cost of school fees). There was therefore no racial integration in South African public schools during this era. I therefore

argue that Model C private schools were integrated in a cunning way, which I believe maintained social inequalities in both these schools and state schools.

According to Carrim and Sayed (1992:29), Model C private schools gave parents a great and meaningful say in the day-to-day running of private schools affairs. I beg to differ, because I think the parents they are referring to were not representative of the demographics of South Africa, since the majority of them were White parents who could afford to pay the high school fees while the Black parents were in the minority and their votes were not going to make any difference. The very same White parents would still have wished to maintain the 51% White majority in their schools with the intention of retaining the White cultural ethos of the school in support of separate development. Giving parents a great and meaningful say in the day –to – day running of model C private schools was viewed as a positive move by government and those who supported it because they thought the parents would be able to shape the education of their children and it was also seen as more democratic – a situation that the majority of Black learners and parents had struggled for since 1976 (Carrim & Sayed; 1992:29). I again differ, because the shaping of education in Model C private schools was still in the hands of White parents, who were in the majority, and were there to maintain the supremacy of White learners in these schools but not to racially integrate them.

Given the historical manipulation of education in South Africa under the apartheid government, expanded and well-calculated parental involvement in education was introduced in a way that was to be seen as ensuring that schools were independent and that they would no longer be perceived as political playing fields for government. With all the powers given to the parents in these schools, of whom the majority were White people, the chances were strong that the White parents would prevent the majority of Black learners from attending Model C private schools by charging high school fees. I see this as being in line with the government policies of a 51% White majority, and I am convinced that government was still indirectly in charge of education through the White parents' votes in these schools (Carrim & Sayed, 1992:29).

I believe that the introduction of Model C private schools by the South African government paved a way to the privatisation of education in South Africa. These schools became commercial enterprises and education was regarded as a commodity for those who could afford it. The majority of parents who could afford the high fees were White; consequently the learner population of these schools was almost 70 to 80% White. In my view this constituted clear proof that government through the White parents was still manipulating the education system and that it was not ready for deracialisation or for full-blown racial integration in South African schools.

In my opinion, education privatisation in South Africa strengthened the division of the already fragmented education system into a privileged middle-class one for White learners and a few Black learners from rich families, as well as an under-resourced Bantu education class for the Black learners. This view is confirmed by Carrim and Sayed:

Minister Clase's proposal of stringent voting procedures and conditions under which Clase models schools were subjected were more telling in their silences rather than their utterances. At best they were seen as an attempt at reform, at worst they were seen as administrative changes aimed at excluding the possibility of a single education department being established and ensuring that most of apartheid education remained unchanged. (Carrim & Sayed, 1991:22)

Even though there was some apparent introduction of racial integration through the introduction of Clase Model schools by government, there was no significant integration in these schools. These schools and the government strategies underpinning them advanced racism by reinforcing stereotypes and by the general racial orientation of educators and learners, because there were more White learners and educators than Black learners and educators in such schools. High school fees, admission tests and the focus on culture in these schools made the schools inaccessible to the majority of Black learners from poor families. This meant that racial discrimination and segregation were replaced by class discrimination, which to me was still furthering the motives of racially segregated schooling in South Africa, since the new open schools could hardly claim to be truly desegregated and integrated while

the social inequalities of the past that were largely based on race were maintained and even strengthened.

Despite all the challenges and conditions prescribed by government to Clase Model schools in order to avoid racial integration, some of these schools defied government by going beyond desegregation and integrating their schools. In the following section I discuss racial integration in South African schools during what I call the post-Clase Model schools and Model C schools phase.

#### **2.4 The Post-Apartheid Schooling Phase**

When the GNU came into power in 1994, it was faced with challenges such as bringing the 18 fragmented departments of Education inherited from the apartheid government, which were legally segregated along racial lines, under one non-racial Department of Education. The 18 departments included those of the 'independent' states of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda as well as the self-governing territories of KwaZulu, Kwandebele, Kangwane, Gazankulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa. Each of these 18 departments catered to its respective racial and/or ethnic group. All of them had been established to realise the Verwoerdian maxim of separate and unequal education under apartheid (Rose & Tunmer, 1975, cited in Carrim *et al.*, 1995:270). The GNU was also expected to devise laws that would legalise racial integration in South African schools towards building a non-racial, single and democratic Department of Education. The laws that were promulgated included the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No. 108 (Republic of South Africa, 1996a), and the South African Schools Act No. 84 (Republic of South Africa, 1996c). These were intended to assist the Department of Education with the facilitation and strengthening of legal racial-integration processes in South African schools for the purpose of creating a single non-racial and democratic Department of Education, which was in turn expected to prepare future South African citizens to build a unitary, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

### **2.4.1 Racial-integration processes during the post- apartheid schooling phase**

Racial integration in South African schools since the legal dismantlement in 1994 of the apartheid legislative framework that institutionalised racism in the South African education system offers a shining example of how ordinary people from different racial groups can embrace change/transformation. The relative ease of this transition from segregated to desegregated and integrated schooling is in no small measure due to the cooperation and goodwill of stakeholders in education such as school managers, teachers and parents. Evidence of this successful transition follows:

In May 1994 a new Department of Education was established by proclamation. A total of 18 departments of Education based on race were amalgamated into one national and nine provincial departments of Education. The former 18 departments included the following:

At the national level:

- The Department of Education and Training [DET] for Black learners
- The Department of Education for White learners House of Assembly [HOA] schools)
- The Department of Education for Indian learners (governing House of Delegates [HOD] schools)
- The Department of Education for Coloured learners (governing House of Representatives [HOR] schools)

At the provincial level:

- The Transvaal Department of Education
- The Natal Department of Education
- The Orange Free State Department of Education
- The Cape Department of Education

At the Homeland administration level:

- The Lebowa Department of Education

- The QwaQwa Department of Education
- The Gazankulu Department of Education
- The Kangwane Department of Education
- The Kwandebele Department of Education

At the Independent State administration level:

- The Bophuthatswana Department of Education
- The Venda Department of Education
- The Ciskei Department of Education
- The Transkei Department of Education

Learners now write common matriculation examinations throughout South Africa, based on a common national curriculum. Many schools now contain learners from different cultural, language and racial backgrounds.

The opening of White (former HOA) schools to Black learners was a major issue at the beginning of the school year of 1995, particularly in urban areas, as a result of the process of abolishing apartheid in education, and partly as a means of expanding access. Until 1994/1995, a number of White schools had begun to open their doors, but access to Black learners was limited by language and mathematics competency tests, as well as by increasingly high fees (Chisholm, 2003:182).

According to Naidoo (1996b:9), after the GNU came into power and after the establishment of a single non-racial and democratic Department of Education in 1995, the national average of African learners at White schools did not exceed 15 to 20%. On the other hand, with the Education White paper of 1996, the policy of open or integrated schooling was affirmed, not only as a constitutional guarantee of a non-discriminatory system of education, but also as a policy measure designed to ensure enhanced access of learners from different racial backgrounds to all schools.

While the White, Indian and Coloured schools number approximately 5 000, they made up only 20% of the total number of schools in South Africa. In spite of their small percentage, these schools formed an important segment of the school system in South Africa because they happened to be well-equipped schools and had more well-qualified staff, hence the movement of African learners to these schools. The experiences of these schools were therefore of some importance to the education offered in the South African schooling system as a whole. In exception, African schools remained uniraical and unintegrated because of the existing demographics of the country and the crisis besetting these schools. As a result, I therefore conclude that it is highly unlikely that full integration will occur in the entire South African education system in the immediate future.

#### **2.4.2 Racial-integration challenges facing education in the post-apartheid schooling phase**

Racial integration in South African schools in the post-apartheid period did not occur without difficulties. It remains a challenge for the Department of Education, school managers, teachers and parents to ensure that all learners from different racial and linguistic backgrounds share equal educational opportunities in order for them to receive good-quality education, and it still remains a challenge to all stakeholders in education, such as school principals, SGBs and parents, to create environmental conditions that will ensure that schools furnish equal access to all learners who live within a school's vicinity, irrespective of their race, creed, colour, gender and social class. It likewise remains a challenge for school-based education stakeholders such as principals and educators to ensure that schools treat all learners from different language, cultural and racial backgrounds with respect, and it furthermore remains a challenge to all South African schools and their staff to teach learners from different backgrounds how to learn and live together in mutual understanding and harmony.

Even after the democratic election in 1994 and the abolishment of apartheid education/Bantu education, there is still much evidence that racism and segregation exist in South African schools. In 1999, it was reported that the legal department of the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) had received the second highest number of complaints regarding

racism in the education sector. In a study conducted by the SAHRC in 1999, 62% of the 1 700 learners surveyed from White high schools indicated that there were racial problems at their schools. The report included reports of racism towards Black learners as well as the fact that Black teachers were in the minority in White schools (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:15–21).

One should note the attempts made by some schools to integrate, including certain schools whose practices should be studied as models of good practice, such as Capricorn High School in Polokwane (in the Limpopo province). Capricorn High School teaches three African languages spoken in Limpopo: Tshivenda, Xitsonga and Sepedi. The school encourages African learners to play rugby and cricket, which are usually regarded as sporting codes for White people only. The school also encourages White learners to play soccer, moruba and murabaraba, which are often regarded as sporting codes for African people only.

Given the challenges facing education in post - apartheid schooling phase as discussed above, I therefore conclude that, while a genuinely integrated schooling system was and is still at the heart of the vision for a new democratic education system in the future, in practice this goal is more complicated and difficult to achieve: Even though a unified national Department of Education has been established and has been functional, the schooling system in South Africa has remained largely separate and segregated.

It is also important for one to acknowledge that desegregation is not just an issue of legislation and policy but also of social, economic and demographic realities. The effects of ‘group areas’ and residential segregation impacted the process and will still do so for some years to come. School fees in White schools, which are well resourced, are still inhibiting school desegregation and integration in South African schools. South Africa’s demography comprises Black people (Coloured, Indian and African people) who are in the majority, are often impoverished, with poorly resourced schools; and White people who are in the minority and are wealthy and reside mostly in suburbs that boast well-resourced schools. This will ensure that most schools found in townships and rural areas that are under-resourced will never be racially desegregated and integrated, but will remain exclusively African, since few African learners from rich families residing in townships and rural areas will move to well-



resourced schools found in suburbs, with no movement of White learners from these areas to township and rural area schools (Naidoo, 1999a:29).

For all the transformation processes that have occurred thus far in South African schools related to desegregation and racial integration, the reality is that racial integration in public schools has a long way to go. Just as in some Model C schools and pockets of ex (HOD) schools that were previously reserved for Indians, which are experiencing minimal levels of racial integration, the majority of public schools are racially exclusive in practice (Department of Education, 2001a:1).

The way in which schools adapt to increased integration in South African schools was and is still critical. Their responses differ from school to school. Some schools have embraced the changes and experimented with new approaches and curricula that have challenged old apartheid educational practices. For example, Venterpos Primary School, a school situated in the West Rand of Gauteng province, experimented with a parallel medium and dual medium of instruction. Parallel medium implies that some classes are taught in English only and some classes are taught in Afrikaans only. This, to me, is like running an English school and an Afrikaans school within one institution, which in my view is not different from schools for White learners only and for Black learners only. A dual medium of instruction implies that the educator is expected to teach in both Afrikaans and English during his or her lessons, in other words if the period is 30 minutes long, the educator is expected to teach for 15 minutes using Afrikaans and the remaining 15 minutes using English. This to me is like teaching two classes in one. It is like teaching an English class and an Afrikaans class in one class. I for one am not of the opinion that the introduction of a parallel medium of instruction served the purpose of desegregation and racial integration in South African schools, because Afrikaans-speaking learners were taught separately in their own classes while Black learners were taught separately in theirs. I believe this is the same as separate Afrikaans schools for Afrikaans-speaking learners and separate English schools for English-speaking Black learners, which, I argue, perpetuated segregation instead of enhancing racial integration in the schools that were experimenting with a parallel medium of instruction. However, I support the idea of a dual medium of instruction because the learners are taught in the same class where they are

expected to interact freely, learn each other's culture and respect each other's language, which are the pillars of desegregation and racial integration.

Other schools resisted racial integration despite the constitution of the Republic of South Africa and the South African Schools Act, which legalised this in South African schools. In the following section I discuss discriminatory actions that were evident in certain schools.

### **2.4.3 Racial exclusionary practices in South African schools in the post-apartheid schooling phase**

The following are some of the exclusionary practices that were displayed by certain White schools that did not wish to be integrated into the post-apartheid South African schooling system. In Groblersdal, at Ben Viljoen High School (Mpumalanga province), 33 African learners were taught in separate classrooms from their White counterparts and they were also not allowed to wear the school uniform (Mabasa, 1997:4). Some schools that did not wish to integrate but wanted to stick to their tradition of discriminating according to race, culture, language and creed, such as Badplaas Primary School, Sybrand van Niekerk High School and Graskop Primary School (Mpumalanga province), serve as very good examples of schools that used Afrikaans as medium of instruction, with the sole intention of excluding African learners from registering in their schools (Mpumalanga Department of Education 2001:14; Vally & Dalamba, 1999:47–50).

Some of the schools that did not want to integrate used different transportation facilities for Black and White learners during school tours in the post-apartheid schooling period in South Africa (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:13). During this period, there were still some schools that encouraged Black male learners to play soccer only and not rugby because the schools believed that soccer was traditionally a sporting activity for Black people whereas White male learners were encouraged to play rugby and not soccer because it was believed that rugby was a sporting activity for White people only (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:51–53). In 1995 academic year, at Vryburg High School in the North West province, African learners were placed in the school hall and left there for three weeks without being taught whereas their White

counterparts were effectively taught, which I believe represented another way of White schools resisting racial integration (Naidoo, 1996a:32–33).

During 1995 it was also reported on Radio 702, that Springs Boys' High School in the East Rand (Gauteng province) was admitting and enrolling White learners only, and that staff at the school had told Black parents that the school was full while there was still space. The spokesperson for the Democratic Party (DP) indicated that when a phone call had been made by a White parent working for Radio 702, enquiring about space for his daughter, the school indicated that there was still space, which to me demonstrates discriminatory practices and unwillingness to integrate racially (Mkwananzi-Twala, Mwiria & Greenstein, and 2003:154).

There was also another serious complaint that concerned demands being made of African prospective learners by White schools to bring proof that they were not infected with HIV/Aids before they were admitted, whereas their White counterparts were not faced with similar demands, which was a discriminatory practice that indicated how the White schools were not prepared to racially integrate their schools. It was reported that the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) had received reports of learners being required to take HIV/Aids tests before being admitted to some White schools, such as Suidhuidwels Primary School in Johannesburg (Gauteng province). Even though there were problems related to the registration of Black learners in some Model C schools, registration in other Model C schools in South Africa during the first years of post-apartheid South Africa, proceeded very smoothly without hiccups (Mkwananzi-Twala *et al.*, 2003:154).

The opening of schools to different racial groups in South Africa brought into the open other problems, such as the issue of the meaning of free and compulsory schooling as well as the issue of the high school fees that were charged by many former Model C schools to exclude Black learners from their schools. For example, many schools in Nelspruit (Mpumalanga province) were charging high school fees ranging between R2 300 and R4 400 per year in order to exclude Black learners from registering in their schools, since these families would not be able to pay these fees (Mpumalanga Department of Education, 2001:14). There was

major confusion about school fees in South African education, which entailed two issues: (1) After the election promise of the African National Congress (ANC) of free and compulsory education, many parents expected to be able to send their children to schools without paying school fees; (2) There was also confusion over the payments of school fees and school-fund contributions at state schools. Mary Metcalfe, the Member of the Executive Council for Education in the Gauteng province, suggested in 1995 that the African schools introduce voluntary funds to help the schools acquire extra facilities. The parents in several African schools expressed resentment at having to pay registration and other fees; they did not understand the introduction of free education for Grade 1 learners and were confused about this (Mkwananzi-Twala *et al.*, 2003:155).

COSAS and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) supported the parents by condemning the imposition of fees and called for a refunding of these fees already paid, arguing that it was the state's responsibility to maintain schools. Further justifying why parents should pay school fees, the Johannesburg Principals' Forum spokesperson, Peter Mantoa, stated that the issue of school fees and funds was somewhat complicated. Schools had a responsibility to find ways of raising funds and one method was to ask parents for contributions (Fiske & Ladd, 2004:51). Mantoa stated clearly that while COSAS was entitled to its own views, he felt that sensitive issues such as fees should be discussed in forums and that the organisation should not dictate terms to everybody (Mkwananzi-Twala *et al.*, 2003:155).

There were a number of disturbing reports from different parts of the country regarding Black children being turned away from schools because their parents could not afford to pay the fees. In the former Eastern Transvaal which now falls under Mpumalanga Province, some schools were reported to have doubled their school fees, and complaints were flooding into the Province's Department of Education. Parents were angered by the demand for high fees at a time when they were expecting free education (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:47–50). It was also reported that in the Western Cape, a DP Member of Parliament pointed out clearly that parents need not pay the fees being levied by some of the schools in the province as it was unlawful for schools to impose such levies. Levies had to be approved by the school

committee and could neither be imposed nor be made compulsory. This simply meant that no child or parent should be put under pressure if they could not afford to pay school fees. COSAS received reports of principals in Soweto and Kagiso on the West Rand (Gauteng province) who were demanding school fees before admitting learners to their schools, while some were threatening learners with expulsion if they did not pay these fees. In the Gauteng province, at the beginning of the 1995 school year, Mary Metcalfe stated clearly that no child could be refused admission to a state school or victimised in any other way for non-payment of voluntary school fees. She also further stated that no child could be denied admission on the grounds of race, gender, origin (ethnic or social), religion, language or inability to pay school fees. According to Metcalfe, school fees were not a condition for admission (Mkwananzi-Twala *et al.*, 2003:155–156).

As regards admission to former Model C schools in the Gauteng province, the Gauteng Department of Education issued the following guidelines: Former Model C schools could turn away learners only if the school was full. To accommodate more learners, the learner–teacher ratio in Model C schools needed to increase from 1: 18 to 1: 35 or 1: 40. If there was still space in Model C schools for children, irrespective of pre-education training or education standards, they would have to be admitted. Even after these guidelines were issued, there was still confusion regarding fees in former Model C schools. According to the NP spokesperson on Education, Julie Coetzer, as far as the NP was concerned not even a single law or regulation had been changed since 1994 when the democratic, non-racial and non-sexist GNU came into power, and the status quo therefore remained. In other words, former Model C schools were legally able to levy charges and to enforce payments for debts. However, the Gauteng Department of Education did not allow former Model C schools to expel learners whose parents were unable to pay school fees. Issues of school fees, admission policies and the definition and role of the community in relation to school governance remained contentious for a long time (Mkwananzi-Twala *et al.*, 2003:156).

One other case that gained serious attention and publicity was the attempt by White school teachers in the North West province to provide special attention to Black learners with language difficulties by streaming them, which to me was wrong and reinforced separate

education for Black and White learners, because this meant that Black learners would be taught in separate classes from White learners. Schools that had embarked on the process of streaming argued that Black learners from African primary schools required special attention. The Department of Education in North West, however, argued that a child's quality improves when he or she adapts to new and higher standards of schooling. Many programmes of this nature were abandoned immediately. I regard this as a clear indication that much more work is needed to cause South Africans to understand educational challenges such as deracialisation and integration of their schools (Chisholm, 2003:183). The following are some of the exclusionary practices observed in some Mpumalanga schools in 2000 and 2001: recruitment of White learners by White schools from outside the catchment area, in order to keep the Black learners out; scheduling of school governing board meetings at times when Black parents cannot attend; no provision of the dominant African language as a first language subject; staff profile being predominantly or exclusively White, while the learner profile is mixed; encouraging Black and White learners to sit separately at assembly or during breaks; imposing a foreign culture on Black learners, for example with regard to "*ontgroening*" (initiation); amalgamating schools into combined schools on a single set of premises, for example parallel and dual mediums of instruction to avoid integration; discriminatory practices with regard to discipline for different race groups; and discouraging or preventing Black learners from taking mathematics or commerce on the higher grade (Mpumalanga Department of Education, 2001:11–15).

## **2.5 Summary**

In phase one of racial integration in South African schools (the private schools' phase) there was extensive integration in a small number of schools and less in others, while there was no integration in public or state schools at all. During phase two (Clase Model schools and Model C schools) there was minimal racial integration in public schools or state schools that were converted into Clase Model and Model C schools. Integration into these schools was minimal because it was conducted under very stringent voting procedures and ambiguous conditions for admitting Black learners to these schools. Integration was also minimal due to the high school fees these schools were charging, which many Black parents could not afford.

Racial integration in public schools during phase three (post-apartheid schooling phase) remained minimal, similar to the previous phase, mainly because of the constitutional and legislative arrangements that enable State schools to take government to court over matters such as language provision and appointment of educators. The different phases of public schooling can be understood in relation to the different approaches of racial integration that have developed over a period of time. In the next chapter, I give an account of the major theoretical understandings of racial integration and how these different approaches were manifested in different countries. I also explore some of the weaknesses inherent in these approaches.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **CONCEPTUAL ACCOUNT OF THE MAJOR THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDINGS THAT CONSTITUTE RACIAL INTEGRATION**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I offer a historical background to racial integration and the different associated approaches, such as assimilation, integration, multicultural education and antiracist education, as well as some of their underlying meanings. I further describe the unfolding of the different approaches in the international arena, in particular the United Kingdom (UK), the United States of America (USA), Canada and Australia. I also discuss the weaknesses that plague/beset the four approaches in the four countries in their aim to address racism and at the same time promote racial integration towards the realisation of social justice in public schools. I then explain why we need racial integration in public schools. I further elucidate why racial integration is not achieving its main objective, which is to achieve social justice in public schools. In addition, I also give constitutive meanings of social justice. Lastly, I discuss the three principles of justice, termed desert, equality and need, which constitute social justice as advocated by Miller (2001).

#### **3.2 Historical Background of Racial Integration and the unfolding of the Different Approaches**

Racial integration in schools and societies began in the societies of Western Europe, North America and Australasia after World War II during the 1950s. All three of these continents were, at one stage or another, faced with the problems, issues and challenges of racial and cultural segregation with regard to the integration of the different racial and cultural groups that arrived at their shores during this period (Lynch, 1986:3). The approaches to racial integration adopted by the different countries in these three continents differed from country to country. These approaches included assimilation, integration, multicultural education and antiracist education. In the following section I discuss how the different approaches unfolded



in general, as well as in the four countries I chose for this study, namely the UK, the USA, Canada and Australia.

### **3.2.1 Assimilation approach**

Assimilation denotes the absorption of minority or subordinate groups into the ways of the majority or dominant group, requiring the minority group to adopt the language, customs and values of the majority group. In this case, assimilation creates loyalty of the minority group towards the majority group. At the same time, the minority group is led to believe that it is not fundamentally different from the majority group (Commission for Racial Equality, 2006:1–6). Although this is the case, assimilation processes maintain the culture of the majority group, or the assimilating body. As such, the assimilated group, the minority group in this case, becomes reduced to being a surrogate of the majority group. According to Lemmer and Squelch (1993:2–3), assimilation is also regarded as a monocultural policy that, until recently, has prevailed in most multicultural Western societies. Assimilation places emphasis on the minimisation of cultural differences and the encouragement of social conformity and continuity. The minority group is required to adopt the language, cultural models and values of the majority group. It is therefore a one-way process. Education is used to good effect to ensure assimilation because in such a case little attention and recognition are accorded to the needs of individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds, while at the same time educational policies and practices remain ethnocentric.

Assimilation can be regarded as a matter of conforming to the values, customs and traditions of the majority group by the minority group who foregoes its identity and culture due to the assimilation processes. The minority group is forced to deny its identity and heritage in order to participate fully in the institution or school, such as the case of learners (Naidoo, 1996b: 45), and be recognised as members of the school community. Generally, it could be argued that assimilation refers to a policy of making each cultural group adopt the culture of the hegemonic group. One can then conclude that the assumptions of an assimilation approach are that people are not equal, and that some cultures are inferior to others. The assimilation approach to racial integration used education to advocate superior cultures, languages, customs and traditions and to promote social injustice.

Such assimilationist policies of cultural and racial integration that vigorously stressed the need to assimilate the ethnic minority into the main stream were initiated and promoted by the UK and the USA. It was then assumed that once the ethnic minority groups had mastered the language of the majority group (English) and dominant traditions and values, the ethnic minority groups would be absorbed into the dominant White society with fewer challenges or problems. Education was similarly viewed and employed as a primary tool for helping the children of ethnic minority groups fit into the dominant White society. This approach in education led to an emphasis on teaching English as a second language and instilling middle-class values (Naidoo, 1996b:22). In the UK, this approach was adopted mainly after World War II. It maintained that for Black people to be integrated into dominant schools and society they required an education policy that de-emphasised their racial and cultural differences while emphasising their common national identity (Sekete, Shilubane & Moila, 2001:8).

In terms of this approach, the learning activities of the school usually strengthen the culture of the majority group while undermining the culture of the minority group. There is an understanding from the supporters of this approach that for the minority group to succeed it must adopt the values and lifestyles of the majority group. Furthermore, schools are under no obligation to accommodate the differences of the learners from the minority group. As such, these learners are expected to conform to the values and lifestyles of the majority group in order for them to survive and succeed in the schools of the majority group. In the assimilation approach the language and culture of the minority groups are not considered or prioritised at all. Its basic aim is the protection of the majority group's values, cultures and language (Naidoo, 1996a:13).

Sekete *et al.* (2001:8) argue that the school experiences in the UK and the USA show that the said policies failed to bring Black learners up to the levels of their White counterparts, which led to racial tensions that ultimately precipitated riots in the schools. This approach also resulted in the loss of their core cultural identities for minority group learners, because the values, traditions and customs of the majority group dictate the social and cultural context of the school. In the light of these developments, one can understand why Soudien (2004:95) argues that this approach to racial integration is the least accommodative and integrative of all

the approaches. According to Lemmer and Squelch (1993:2), although assimilation has come under strong criticism and pressure since the 1960s, it remains a pervasive approach to education.

Taking into consideration how the assimilation process is understood and implemented, some major conclusions can be made. In this regard, I want to highlight the implications of the process on issues of educational social justice. The assimilation process requires the minority group to adopt the language, customs and values of the majority group, thereby undermining their own cultural values. The fact that assimilation places an emphasis on the minimisation of cultural differences and the encouragement of social conformity and continuity confirms that the process forces minority groups to deny their identity and heritage, as indicated by Naidoo (1996b:32). Therefore, the learning activities of the school usually strengthen the culture of the majority group while undermining the culture of the minority group, making the process an entrenchment of educational social injustice.

### **3.2.2 Integration approach**

By the end of the 1960s crude assimilation had come under review. The (cultural) integration approach was entertained and advocated after the realisation of the failure of the assimilation approach during the late 1960s to address racial and cultural problems and challenges in schools, as discussed in the Section 3.2.1. It suggested that due recognition of the various ethnic origins, values and lifestyles of 'alien' Black people needed to be accorded (Carrim, 1995:6) rather than simply being assimilated into the dominant culture at schools. Integration refers to the policy of coordinating the goals of each cultural group by according them the required respect and recognition, while allowing each separate group to maintain its culture (Trinadis, 1986:78). Compared with the assimilation approach out of which it evolved, the integration approach was less crude in the sense that due recognition was given to each cultural group. In the introduction of this approach it was hoped that the mixing of these varying ethnic learners in schools on the basis of cultural tolerance would lead to an effective and genuine racially and culturally integrated schooling system where learners and teachers would recognise that difference is a mark of the richness of their cultural diversity. Through such recognition, learners would learn about other cultures without fear of losing or devaluing

their own cultures. The promotion of open spaces for dialogue in the schools would therefore be enhanced further. A racially integrated school would make further effort to teach the languages of minority groups in the school and ensure that a positive culture of the other is respected through teaching and learning.

Despite the unstated hopes in the integration approach, such integration was in fact not occurring despite the mixing of various ethnic groups. What seemed to have happened was that learners tended to stick to their ethnic identities, because integration was perceived to implicitly dilute and erode the authenticity of their original ethnic identities. In many ways, the integration approach did not fully and in practice recognise the language, culture and values of minority groups in schools but recognised the language, culture and values of the majority group, which promoted social injustice instead of social justice in schools. This meant that the approach did not realise its main aim of developing racial and cultural integrated schools, and hence missed its social-justice goal.

### **3.2.3 Multicultural education approach**

The assimilation and integration approaches as explained above have major problems. The assimilation approach in the first place does not in any way lead to any form of integration except the absorption of minority groups into the main stream. On the other hand, the main problem in the integration approach is that although the culture, language and values of the “other” (i.e. the minority groups) are taken on board, there is no effort made towards a symbiotic learning of each other. Eventually, the minority groups embrace the language, value and culture of the majority group at their own expense. This promotes social injustice instead of social justice. According to Naidoo (1996a:13), in order to address difficulties that surfaced during the assimilation and integration approaches as they unfolded in various countries, the idea of multicultural education was suggested, motivated and implemented as a solution. In reaction to the oppressive problems of the assimilation approach and that of cultural and racial integration, a more accommodating approach namely multicultural education was introduced during the late 1970s. In other words, multicultural education emerged in reaction to the ideology of assimilation and integration.

Multicultural education recognises and accepts the rightful existence of different cultural groups and views cultural diversity as an asset and a source of social enrichment rather than as a handicap or social problem. Unlike assimilation, it fosters a balance between social conformity on the one hand and social diversity and change on the other. It further encourages some form of acculturation, as opposed to assimilation, where cultures are shared and enriched through interaction (Lemmer & Squelch, 1993:2). While assimilation involves the complete elimination of cultural differences, which may lead to cultural alienation, multicultural education recognises that cultures change and are modified but that each culture retains its essence. The differences between the integration approach and the multicultural education approach are that in the former learners tend to stick to their ethnic identities, since integration implicitly diluted and eroded the authenticity of original ethnic identities, whereas the multicultural education approach gives recognition to the right to existence of diverse ethnic groups without the pressure to amalgamate. In other words, the process of integration assumes that there has to be one form of society as an outcome whereas multiculturalism thrives on diversity as an outcome. Of course, multiculturalism can envisage harmony, but that harmony comes through tolerance of coexisting differences (Carrim, 1995:6). Central to multicultural education is the notion that the schools are expected to accommodate the different cultures of learners among them, by making it a point that all cultures are equally valued and respected within the school context (Soudien, 2004:96). I develop these ideas further in this subsection.

Multiculturalism is not an easy term to define, and its place within the liberal theory debates has remained controversial (Kymlicka, 2002:339). Kymlicka notes that multiculturalism is connected to minority rights. The issue becomes part of the liberal debate when it comes to considering that “minorities that share basic liberal principles nonetheless need minority rights” (Kymlicka, 2002:339). In this sense, multiculturalism also becomes an issue of social justice. Nevertheless, the practice of multiculturalism in education does not immediately translate to the effective implementation of social-justice concerns. Within education, debates on multiculturalism originated in the liberal pluralist approach to education and society that attempted to address the Black demands for the restructuring of the schooling system and pedagogical practices in the UK and the USA. Multiculturalism was viewed as part of the

emancipatory programmes that were granted a mandate to address racial inequality in schools (McCarthy, 1998, cited by Naidoo, 1996a:13). I argue that the view of multiculturalism as emancipatory can originate from the quest to provide equal educational access and quality.

Banks (1981: 2) posits that in the UK, multicultural education developed out of the notion that education should draw upon the experience of the many cultures that constitute the country's multiracial society. In the USA, multicultural education emerged in response to the ethnic rejuvenisation or revitalisation movement. Specific minority groups there demanded the inclusion of their cultures and histories in the curriculum. They also demanded educational equality for cultural and ethnic groups. In this light, South African multicultural education is regarded as a sound approach based on the educational merit that it has other than purely addressing matters of racial equality. Lemmer and Squelch (1993:340) argue that the pedagogical merits that multicultural education is understood to have contributed to the development of equal educational opportunities in the country. Multicultural education broadens learners' perspectives of the world and informs their own identity, which are important ingredients in the processes of learning in diverse classes.

Multicultural education concerns the acceptance of similarities and differences between and within different cultures (Atmore, 1994:155). As Gollick and Chin (1998:3) suggest, multicultural education embraces the strategy in which the cultural backgrounds of the learners are incorporated in the development of effective classroom instruction and school environments. It is designed to support and extend concepts of culture, differences, equality and democracy in the formal schooling setting. Gollnick and Chin further indicate that multicultural education focuses on the different micro cultures to which individuals belong, with an emphasis on interaction of membership in the micro culture, especially race, ethnicity, class and gender. It also calls for the elimination of discrimination against individuals because of their group membership.

The multicultural education approach to racial integration has also been criticised for some of its weaknesses. Cohen (1988:13) argues that multiculturalism depoliticises culture and

naively suggests that cultural and racial differences can be removed by merely promoting cultural exchanges and understandings. In this regard, multiculturalism would also be promoting the illusion that the majority and the minority groups can swap places and learn how the other lives while leaving the structures of power intact. Naidoo points to another weakness inherent in the given approach:

It can promote a new racism based not on the ideas of (the assumed) innate biological superiority, but on the supposed incompatibility of cultural traditions. This presents itself as a worldly acknowledgement that different communities have different values and different ways of life which they have an instinct and right to defend. (Naidoo, 1996a:16).

Sekete *et al.* (2001:9) cite Carrim (1999) and Moletsane and Zafar (1999) in their proposition that research into the multicultural education approach of racial integration is seriously flawed because of its mistaken assumption that all cultures enjoy equal status in a society and that all people who belong to a particular cultural group are the same. On the other hand, the multicultural education approach is not well understood by many people since it is complex, controversial and minimally supported by the teachers who are expected to implement it in their schools.

Lemmer and Squelch (1993:2) propose that, essentially, multicultural education concerns challenging the nature of teaching and learning in order to create a suitable learning environment for learners from diverse cultural backgrounds. According to Mansfield and Kehoe (1994:419), multicultural education traditionally emphasised intergroup harmony, educational underachievement, individual prejudice, equality of opportunity, enrichment through the celebration of diversity, as well as improvement of the self-image through pride in one's cultural heritage. Some of the major emphases of multiculturalism as observed here can at best offer formal recourse to justice but they do not go far enough to address justice issues where the envisaged harmony could not be reached. In other words, this form of multiculturalism also promotes forms of social hegemony. Hence, I agree with Kehoe (1994:354) that multicultural education did not achieve these goals because it ignores the fact that racial differences as well as racial discrimination, which flows from the visible

differences, must be challenged by changing the total organisation of the institutions. This would mean that such forms of multicultural education only address superficial elements, such as the common elements that are found in individuals, without adequate interrogation of the individuals' differences. Such education can also be regarded as a disservice to the disadvantaged because it interferes with the learners' ability to feel a sense of belonging to the school environment. As a result, sentiments that such multicultural education ignores the institutional basis of domination and discrimination (Kehoe, 1994:354), which negatively affects the process of racial integration in the schools, can easily be justified.

### **3.2.4 Antiracist education approach**

Owing to the growing division between the liberal notion of multicultural education and the more radical stance during the late 1980s, a tough response to racism and inequality known as antiracist education was introduced (Fyfe & Figueroa, 1993:38). Issues of racism and the acquisition and reduction of prejudice were gradually recognised as central concerns for the school and the curriculum. This period has been characterised by mounting politicisation and criticism of multicultural education both from the right and left (Lynch, 1986:41). The antiracist education approach was viewed as that which involves education for social justice and critical pedagogy in the fight against racism, compared to the assimilation, integration and multicultural education approaches, which failed to adequately address issues of social justice in education. According to Soudien (2004:96), the antiracist education approach was adopted because it was also regarded as a school of thought that engages directly with the processes that are meaningful and was further regarded as a school of thought that directly attacks the 'othering' implicit and embedded in dominant cultures.

After the adoption of multicultural education in the UK and the USA, supporters of antiracist education in the two countries cautioned that teaching about cultural differences was just as likely to produce enmity and empathy between the minority groups and the majority group. The main reason for the creation of such enmity and empathy is that although there is acknowledgement of different cultural groups and their values, the influence of the majority culture and values immense the minority forms of life. They further strongly indicated that multicultural education could not address the problems of racism effectively. Instead, its



prime outcome would reinforce the marginalised minority groups' political, social and cultural compliance, while cementing their economic subordination. The supporters of the antiracist education school of thought, who criticised the multicultural education approach as discussed above, suggested and advocated for a shift towards antiracist teaching where the focus would not fall on cultural differences only but on the manner in which society justifies inequalities in terms of race and other social differentiation factors (Sekete *et al.* 2001:9). Of particular importance in the antiracist approach was the open articulation of "race" and how racial identity influences social inequalities. According to Banks and Lynch (1986:196) the antiracist concept, which primarily surfaced in the UK, and to some extent in Canada, describes a process employed by teachers to eliminate institutionalised racism from the school and society and to help learners develop non-racist attitudes. In the antiracist educational reform movement in the UK, institutionalised racism comprises a primary focus, although race awareness workshops and training that focuses on individual racism also form a part of this concept. When antiracist education is put into practice, curriculum materials and group and streaming practices are closely monitored and steps are taken to eliminate racism from these schools.

The antiracist education approach was also embraced in South Africa: Evidence to that effect is found in the collaborative initiatives by some provincial education departments and some non-governmental organisations to introduce antiracist and anti-bias pedagogies in the schools. An initiative was also taken to link these pedagogies with the newly introduced Curriculum 2005 in the schools (Carrim, 1999, cited by Sekete *et al.* 2001:9; Vally & Dalamba, 1999).

The South African antiracist education approach gained respect and support due to the lack of delivery by the assimilation approach and the limited nature of multiculturalism's focus and emphasis on prejudices and attitudes. The antiracist education approach addressed the idea that the existence of racism in schools must be acknowledged and be dealt with accordingly. In this regard, the acknowledgement of the existence of racism and its challenges requires the dismantling of the institutionalised practices of racism, changing the curriculum, and bringing about changes in the attitudes and behaviours of education stakeholders. The antiracist

education approach believes that getting rid of racism requires the adjustment of power relationships in the economic, political and cultural institutions of the society and creating new conditions for interpersonal interactions (Moodley, 1986:64–66). According to Vally and Dalamba (1999:35–36), the said approach advocates not only challenging overt attitudes, practices and customs, but also working against subtle racism, stereotyping and patronising attitudes. Antiracist education attempts to empower teachers and learners with the analytical instruments to examine critically the origins of racist ideas and practices as well as those actions that promote the struggle against racism. According to Gilborn (2006:23), in addition, antiracist education has for a long time emphasised the need to build upon and respect the viewpoints and experiences of minority groups. The more recent antiracist approaches emphasise the importance of intergroup equity through the examination of educational disadvantage and institutional racism, in order to bring about equality of outcomes and cultivate political agency through critical analysis (Mansfield & Kehoe, 1994:419). Niemonen (2007:160) maintains the following:

Generally antiracist education is understood as a set of pedagogical, curricular and organizational strategies that hope to promote racial equality by identifying, eliminating, White privilege. Inspired by the principles of Paulo Freire, it employs the language of critique. One of its strengths, as it is claimed, is the ability to move beyond prejudice and discrimination as a problem to be corrected in individuals in order to examine critically how institutional structures support racist practices economically, politically and culturally.

The antiracist education approach, just like the assimilation and multicultural education approaches, was not immune from weaknesses and loopholes. Gilborn (1990:153) believes that there is no definitive antiracist education approach; rather, the term refers to a series of beliefs and practices concerning the proper role and function of education in a multicultural society. On the other hand, Naidoo (1996a:38) points out that one of the criticisms advanced against antiracist education focused on its inability to display an awareness of the nuances, contradictions, inconsistencies and ambivalences within educational practices. This approach is also criticised for not moving beyond the reductive conceptions of culture and the fear of

cultural differences as simply a source of division and weakness in the fight against racism (Rattansi, 1992, cited by Naidoo, 1996a:38).

In the following section I offer a discussion of the four racial-integration approaches just described as they developed in the UK, the USA, Canada and Australia.

### **3.3 International Approaches on Racial Integration with Reference to the UK, the USA, Canada and Australia**

In the following section I furnish an international approach to the issue of racial integration. I chose the four countries because they were characterised by tremendous cultural and ethnic diversity. This diversity is clearly seen in the period after World War II. The diversity of these nations was enriched by the native people that the European settlers displaced. Among them were Black people from Africa, and a large numbers of immigrants and refugees from nations throughout the world who flocked to these nations to realise their religious, political and economic dreams. As such, the influx of immigrants, whether social or economic, meant that these countries were the original ones to develop the practices of racial integration (see also Banks, 1986:2).

#### **3.3.1 The UK**

In Britain, the racially integrated schooling system was introduced in order to cope with Black immigration after World War II. This system was initially designed to provide social survival skills (language and cultural adaptation) for the Black people in the UK (Morrell, 1991:66), which took place in terms of the four racial and cultural integration approaches already mentioned. A discussion of this system follows.

##### **3.3.1.1 Assimilation**

During the 1960s, the first phase of racial integration in Britain adopted an assimilation approach where efforts were made to bring Black people to the level of White people, after

the first 1958 disturbances, attributable to racial tension, which took place in Notting Hill. As suggested, this approach sought to incorporate or assimilate Black minority groups into an assumed British way of life. It was based on the belief that Britain was a racially and culturally homogeneous society into which inward migrants ought to be inculcated (Gallagher, 2004:87–89). Proponents argued that for Black people to become integrated into British society, an education policy was required that de-emphasised the Black minority groups' racial and cultural differences and stressed a British identity; hence the development and adoption of the assimilation approach in Britain. Assimilation in Britain was also aimed at attempting to incorporate 'alien' Black people into the ways, lifestyles and values of British society with the assumption that through association with British people and their ways and by acquiring, in particular, the English language, these 'alien' Black people would become 'like the British'. This was also implemented in order to deny the ethnic origins, languages and values of Black people in Britain (Carrim, 1995:6).

The failures of the said approach to achieve its objectives in Britain as outlined in the previous paragraphs were evident in the 1970s. The disillusionment of Britain's newest citizens (Black people), and reports of 'racial violence' and 'race riots', triggered by the failure of this approach to promote social justice, featured on a regular basis in the media (Morrell, 1991:66). In order to address the failures of this approach in integrating people from different racial and cultural backgrounds towards the realisation of social justice, the integration approach of racial integration was suggested.

### **3.3.1.2 Integration approach**

Upon the introduction of an integration approach in Britain in the late 1960s, it was hoped that the mixing of these various and varying ethnic groups in British life, on the basis of racial and cultural tolerance, would lead to an integrated British nation (Carrim, 1995:6). During 1966, the Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, provided a classic definition of integration as: "not a flattening process of assimilation but equal opportunity, accompanied by racial and cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance" (Craft, 1986:80–81; Gallagher 2004:90). During the 1970s there was an official move of policy from an assimilation approach to an integration approach, where the latter was less overtly racist in approach and, rhetorically,

was given direction by the notion of ‘unity through diversity’. The introduction of the integration approach indicated an early recognition of some of the shortcomings of the assimilation approach, yet the absorption of the ethnic minority remained in like manner to that of the assimilation approach. Teachers began to acquire some knowledge of the social and cultural background of the ethnic minority learners with the intention of better understanding their learners’ origins and needs. In order to promote the integration approach, several books and articles were published in service courses and conferences were conducted in many regions throughout Great Britain to promote this approach. More in-service advisers and inspectors were appointed and Black studies appeared on the curricula of urban schools (Craft, 1986:80–81). This approach encouraged schools to accommodate, to a certain extent, racial and cultural diversity within the curriculum. There were limits to this accommodation, however (Gallagher, 2004:90). Owing to the failures of the integration approach, as was the case with the assimilation approach, to address issues of racial integration, multicultural education was proposed as a solution.

### **3.3.1.3 Multicultural education approach**

The approach to racial integration adopted subsequent to the integration approach was that of multicultural education during the late 1960s and early 1970s, which emphasised cultural differences. In an effort to combat racism, policy makers in Britain used education to explain racial and cultural differences. During this challenging time it was believed that reason and empathy would triumph over illogical, racial bigotry. During this period all efforts were made to change the curriculum to accommodate the history, geography as well as the languages of racial and cultural minority groups (Morrell, 1991:66). The multicultural education approach, then, afforded due recognition to the right to existence of diverse ethnic groups without the pressure to amalgamate. In its most hopeful scenario, multicultural education envisaged harmony through tolerance within coexisting differences (Carrim, 1995:6). According to Gallagher (2004:90–91), multicultural education was also developed in a manner that aimed at providing a positive self-image for Black learners while encouraging greater tolerance among White learners. The primary focus of the multicultural education approach fell on attitudes and prejudice, with the intention that the sympathetic teaching of cultures would dispel the myths and ignorance that provided the basis for prejudice.

According to Gallagher (2004:91), by the 1980s the culturalists' emphasis of early versions of multicultural education was being hotly debated, with many in Britain arguing for a more explicitly antiracist dimension to educational interventions. Critics of multicultural education pointed out that to teach about racial and cultural differences was just as likely to produce enmity as empathy. During this period, the radical critics of multicultural education argued that it could not prevent racism because its main function was to render the Black population in Britain politically, economically, socially and culturally compliant, in an attempt to promote social injustice in schools (Morrell, 1991:66). The very same critics of this approach proposed the introduction of antiracist education as an alternative approach to dealing with issues of racial desegregation and racial integration, which could ultimately promote social justice in schools.

#### **3.3.1.4 Antiracist education approach**

During 1983, the antiracist theme was taken up by the Inner London Education Authority. It was also supported by the Commission for Racial Equity and by a number of other local education authorities in Britain. Education initiatives at this stage began to take on a mixture of antiracist and multicultural themes (Gallagher, 2004:91). The critiques of multicultural education in Britain prompted a shift towards antiracist education. Its focus fell not only on racial differences but also on the manner in which society justifies inequalities in terms of race. In this most recent approach to racial integration, all learners are given a multicultural education so that all will accept each other's rights, responsibilities and status (Morrell, 1991:66). Antiracist education in UK contends that racism in UK society continues unabated, despite all the changes in the assimilation, multicultural and integration education approaches discussed above. The critiques of multicultural education in Britain further pointed to institutionalised racism, the different employment opportunities available to Black people, the low educational success rates of Black people and the generally low socio-economic and political status of Black people, among others. Antiracism education calls for a serious re-evaluation of the ways in which racism is conceived, paying particular attention to the structural inequalities suffered by Black people due to both capitalist and imperialist formations. It also points to the negative, stereotypical and caricatured depiction of Black ethnicities and an implicit, static understanding of culture (Carrim, 1995:6–7). According to Lund (2006:40), antiracist education focuses more on the need to eradicate both individual racism and racial inequality in education, such as examining the appropriateness of the

curriculum, focusing on issues such as racial harassment and stereotyping as well as the recruitment and promotion of ethnic and minority staff instead of concentrating on general racism and inequalities in education.

### **3.3.1.5 Racial integration in UK: A summary**

In order to address the failures of the assimilation approach of racial integration, such as denying Black learners their ethnic origin, languages as well as their values, the integration approach was suggested as a solution. The integration approach, similar to the assimilation approach, did not effectively address the issues of racism and promote racial integration, as it placed more emphasis on one of the shortcomings of assimilation, which was absorption of ethnic minority groups by the majority group in Great Britain. The two integration approaches failed to advance effective racial integration, which could have led to the realisation of social justice. Multicultural education was suggested as a remedy.

Multicultural education critics found that multicultural education did not prevent/address racism effectively because the main goal of this approach was perceived to render Black learners politically, socially and culturally compliant. In other words, the Black learners in Britain were denied their identity, way of life and value. The denial of these rights of Black learners meant the promotion of social injustice instead of social justice. On this basis, the antiracist approach was put forward as a solution. The weaknesses of antiracist education in the UK was that it increased polarisation and denied the ethnic identities, sensibilities and values of their differentiated Black constituency among Black people. Furthermore, the exclusion of White learners who were fascists proved to be counterproductive in addressing racism in schools and society (Carrim, 1995:9–10; Craft, 1986: 85–87).

The above discussion describes the various racial and cultural integration approaches Britain used to address issues of desegregation and racism in its schools and societies as well as to promote racial-integration processes towards the promotion of social justice, with the main aim of building non-racial and democratic schools as well as a non-racial and democratic Great Britain.

### **3.3.2 The USA**

Racial integration in US schools began after the 1966 racial riots deeply stunned the American nation, which stimulated action by government, private agencies, volunteer organisations and educational institutions. Government attempted to address the racial problems and promote effective racial integration by introducing the assimilation approach, later followed by the multicultural education approach. The USA did not make use of integrationist and antiracist education, like the UK, to address racism. Even though the USA did not adopt antiracist education as one of its approaches, it was articulated there by scholars such as Michael Apple, David Theo Goldberg, McCarthy and Cameron. These scholars supported the antiracist approach to racial integration because they believed that it could effectively address racism as well as promote effective and genuine racial integration in American schools, since it is a process that can be used by educators to eliminate institutionalised racism from the schools and society towards the realisation of social justice. It also helps individuals to develop non-racist attitudes. They also believed that when antiracist education is implemented, curriculum materials, grouping practices, hiring policies, teacher attitudes and expectations, and school policy and practices are examined and steps are taken to eliminate racism from these schools variables. In the following section I discuss the unfolding of the assimilation and multicultural education approaches in this country.

#### **3.3.2.1 Assimilation approach**

Assimilationist forces and policies dominated American life from the turn of the century to the beginning of the 1960s. During this period, English people became the dominant cultural group, which gained control of most of the nation's social, economic and political institutions. A primary goal of schools in the USA was to Americanise (Anglicise) the immigrants and help them to acquire the language, values and behaviour needed to succeed in American English culture and its institutions. American leaders and educators believed that the schools could and should play a role in Americanising the new immigrants (Banks, 1984:72). The immigrants tended to settle in groups or settlements and acquire their own manners, customs and observances. The American leaders together with American educators planned to permanently break up the groups and settlements, with the intention of assimilating the



immigrants as part of the American race. The role of schools in America during this period was to assimilate the immigrants and to help them attain an upward mobility. Its primary goal was to eradicate the ethnic cultures of learners and to assimilate them in an attempt to promote social injustice in American schools. The educational experiences of the native Indians epitomise the assimilationist goals of education in the USA. The education of non-White ethnic groups such as American Indians, African American and Mexican Americans has historically been characterised by Americanisation and a form of neglect associated with assimilation, which promoted social injustice in American schools (Banks, 1986:31–32).

The assimilation approach was totally unchallenged during this period, since the assimilation of America's ethnic groups was viewed by minority group leaders, as well as most majority group leaders, as the proper societal goals. This approach assumed that ethnic groups had not been structurally integrated into the American society because they lacked the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to participate fully in the common American English culture. It was then believed that when they acquired the requisite knowledge, skills and attitudes, they would be able to become structurally integrated into the mainstream society (Banks, 1984:72).

In support of the assimilation approach in the USA, programmes that fostered cultural maintenance of ethnic and cultural minority groups, such as bilingual education and ethnic education, were done away with in American schools because it was believed that they would retard the ethnic child's ability to function in the mainstream American culture. Assimilationist educators in the USA held the view that modernity and traditional ethnic youths must be freed of ethnic group affiliations and cultures in order to attain success in the shared culture of this country by being assimilated into the mainstream's culture and activities (Banks, 1986:46). This approach led to the stripping off of the Black learners' culture, identity, language and traditions, which promoted social injustice instead of social justice in American schools.

The assimilation approach was not aimed at the maintenance of language and cultural differences. The result of this approach was that intergroup education was seen to protect the

status quo, rather than being a means of achieving social and racial justice for minority groups (Lynch, 1986:22). Major advocates of assimilation in the USA hailed from the dominant White community. The major cause of the Black civil-rights movement of the 1960s was the unfulfilled promises and dreams of the said approach of promoting social justice. During this period, Black people who became highly assimilated were still unable to participate fully in many American institutions and were denied many opportunities because of their skin colour (Banks, 1984:73). This state of affairs promoted social injustice.

Because of the failures of this approach to effectively address the said issues towards the realisation of social justice, an alternative approach, namely multicultural education, was decided upon as a solution.

### **3.3.2.2 Multicultural education**

The ethnic movement of the 1960s and 1970s stimulated much needed reform in educational institutions at all levels (Banks, 1984:74). When many educators thought of multiethnic education, they thought of the formalised course of study in schools as well as social studies and racially mixed schools. Multiethnic education was designed for all learners from different racial and ethnic groups and social classes, and not merely schools that contained mixed racial and ethnic populations. Multiethnic education in itself reached far beyond social studies. It was concerned with modifying the total educational environment in order for it to become more reflective of the ethnic diversity within American society. This also included implementing institutional changes within the school so that learners from diverse ethnic groups could enjoy equal educational opportunities, and for the school to promote and encourage the concept of ethnic diversity (Banks, 1984:81). The aforesaid embraces the broader concept implied by multiethnic education for the purpose of total school reform. Educators and principals of schools who wanted their schools to become multiethnic were expected to examine their entire school environment in order for them to take appropriate steps to create and sustain a multiethnic educational environment. Some of the factors that were supposed to reflect ethnic diversity within the multiethnic schools included the ethnic and racial composition of the school staff, their attitudes, teaching strategies and materials as well as the school's norms. In other words, the total school environment was expected to

undergo change, and not only one element. The most important goal of multiethnic education was to reform the major variables in the school environment so that learners from different ethnic racial groups could experience equality in education (Banks, 1986:43). When more groups, such as women and people with disabilities, began to demand that the schools reflect their cultures and promote equality for them, educational institutions started to view these diverse groups as a collectivity and responded to their needs with single courses, programmes and projects. Multicultural education emerged as a concept in the USA to incorporate the concerns and needs of a wide range of cultural and ethnic groups (Banks, 1986:43). According to Lynch (1986:24), the most eminent proponent of this field has been Professor James A Banks of the University of Washington, Seattle. Banks further argued for a holistic, multifactor paradigm as a basis for policies of multicultural education to facilitate the conceptualisation of the total school environment as a system composed of a number of factors, which would need to be changed to reflect ethnic, cultural, social class and gender equality. These factors included the ethos of the school, its language policy as well as its approach to racism and elimination thereof.

This holistic approach to multicultural education provided a baseline for acculturation and accommodation, affording an opportunity for children from ethnic minority communities to maintain separate identities, yet at the same time achieve socialisation sufficient for peaceful, effective and satisfying interaction with learners from other ethnic minority groups. The process was and is still one of mutual acculturation rather than exclusive accommodation of the minority culture. Bank's analysis and proposal contain three major dimensions indispensable for any commitment to multicultural education in a pluralist democracy, namely maintenance of a dynamic diversity; acceptance of the need for social cohesion; and a commitment to greater equity (Lynch, 1986:24). The conceptualisation and implementation of a highly inclusive multicultural education in the USA stimulated debates and controversy. Certain ethnic minority groups believe that the way in which multicultural education is conceptualised in the USA, where it is expected to include many different groups, deviates or shifts attention away from the real victims of racism and segregation, namely non-White ethnic groups. Critics of multicultural education in the USA believe that multicultural education focuses too little or not at all on institutionalised racism. Some critical observers also further believe that one of the major goals of multicultural education is to divert attention away from racism (Banks, 1986:44).

### **3.3.2.3 The patterns of racial integration in the USA: A conclusion**

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that the USA never had other forms of antiracism education such as integration and antiracist education as official policy frameworks. The only official policy dealt with assimilation and multicultural education approaches. The assimilation approach failed to address racism as well as to promote racial integration towards the realisation of social justice, because instead of aiming at promoting and maintaining cultural differences in the USA, it eradicated the cultures, languages and values of the minority groups. Multicultural education was decided upon as a solution to the failures of the assimilation approach. Nevertheless, multicultural education, just like the assimilation approach, failed to realise effective and genuine racial integration towards the realisation of social justice in US schools because it focused too little or not at all on institutionalised racism. It also diverted attention away from racism instead of phasing out racism in schools.

### **3.3.3 Canada**

The government of Canada responded to racism and racial and cultural segregation difficulties raised by their citizens whose backgrounds were neither English nor French, unlike the philosophies of its founding nations' (UK and the USA), which focused mainly on assimilation (Dorotich & Stephan, 1984:97). Instead, Canada decided to address its problems by adopting the multicultural education approach, because Canada valued the cultural mosaic of this country. The multicultural education approach was later followed by an antiracist one, which means that Canada made use of only multicultural education and antiracist education to address racism as well as to promote effective racial integration.

#### **3.3.3.1 Multicultural education**

In 1963 the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism investigated the then existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and recommended that steps be taken to develop the Canadian confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the founding races of Canada, the English and French. The primary purpose of the Royal

Commission was to investigate the English–French relations as well as to investigate how the other ethnic groups affected these relations. Many of the submissions to the Commission made it clear that a host of ethnic groups were interested in a multicultural but not a bicultural Canada. The Commission's recommendations were accepted in their entirety by government. In response to the commission's findings, government developed the policy of multiculturalism with a bilingual framework as the most suitable vehicle for assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians in 1971. The policy advocated cultural pluralism rather than the cultural assimilation of ethnic groups. The role of education in responding to the needs of new Canadians in multicultural society was discussed (Bhatnagar, 1981:80; Dorotich & Stephan, 1984:97, 105). According to Dorotich and Stephan (1984:102), the effects of the overall political cultures on the educational system were obvious. Although education was primarily a provincial responsibility, and although the provincial governments jealously guarded their autonomy, the principle of political socialisation as a process legitimising the mechanisms and the process of political control were similar if not identical throughout Canada.

With respect to multicultural education, there was undeniably an increasing recognition of members of various ethnic groups as significant contributors to social life. The three goals of multicultural education in Canada were equivalence in achievement, more positive intergroup attitudes and the development of pride in heritage. All these goals contributed to equality of opportunity (Kehoe, 1994:354). Multicultural education in Canada has been conceptually linked to the notions of the original federal multicultural policy, the main aim of which was to promote ethno-cultural retentions. Multicultural education in Canada made use of short-term programme curricular material designed to lead to attitudinal changes in learners and teachers as individuals. The main objective was to develop an appreciation of the cultural heritage of others with the intention of increasing intergroup harmony (Lund, 2006:39). There were six different variants within the multicultural education approach of racial integration, namely education for an emergent society; education of the culturally different; education for cultural understanding; education for accommodation; education for cultural preservation; and multicultural adaptation. All six variants of this approach did not take hidden forms of oppression seriously, since they were cosmetic. They treated the symptoms and not the disease itself (Lund, 2006:39). The majority of Canadian multicultural education supporters adopted a more transformative stance as they argued for an integrated approach towards a

broader notion of equity in education, acknowledging the complicated and intersecting reality of people's experience across racial, class and other categories of difference (Lund, 2006:39).

In this respect it was claimed that multicultural education in Canada aims to create a greater degree of tolerance, sensitize students about other cultures, and focus on the similarities among groups through positive representations of diverse elements of society" (Carr & Klassen, 1996:127). According to Banks (1986:62), in Canada, a broader definition of multicultural education also existed in the public awareness. The definition entails the celebration of difference in Canada. Multicultural education in Canada left the curriculum intact while adding the celebration of difference. A survey conducted in British Columbia suggested that after-school programmes were probably the most appropriate for some of the goals and objectives of multiculturalism. The inclusion of multicultural content, most prevalent at elementary level, mostly focused on social studies programmes. The non-integration of multicultural education into the curriculum was reflected by its status in the secondary schools in Canada, which were slower to adopt multicultural education than the elementary schools that were more discipline- and subject-oriented – secondary school teachers had been less innovative. School textbooks attempted to avoid stereotyping, and special programmes in support of the cultural heritage of given ethnic groups proliferated in areas where these groups were concentrated (Dorotich & Stephan, 1984:102). A clear distinction existed between programmes focusing on culture and lifestyles and those focusing on race relations, power and lifestyle opportunities. Those who pursued the culture and lifestyle approach saw as their goal the valuing of differences as a long-term path to better race relations. The most prevalent trend was to increase the dissemination of information on the different groups with the hope that this would lead to greater tolerance. The programme used to address the issues of differences in Canada was known as "Exploring likeness and differences". The programme portrayed the ordinary lives of children from different cultures as well as physically disabled learners. Learners were further taught to draw out their similarities and differences and encouraged to talk about their own lives, thereby providing the insider's approach (Banks, 1986:62).

Accentuating similarities was the golden thread of selected activities to enhance the multicultural climate of the school. This thread integrated a concern for the broader issues of equal opportunity and the hidden curriculum. It further linked these with the manner in which cultural diversity was treated. The similarities between the attributes of minority groups and others were emphasised, becoming a very popular approach in multicultural education in Canada. It also advised against the use of historical bad news such as dwelling on the typical Canadian treatment of minority groups as well as the tendency to connect poverty with immigrants (Banks, 1986:63). The other programme that emphasised children's better understanding of themselves and respect for the differences of others was known as the Society for the Prevention and Elimination of Discrimination and Stereotyping. The programme highlighted the uniqueness of individuals in terms of their needs, abilities, values, ideas, beliefs, emotions, feelings and their choice of forms of expression (Banks, 1986:63). Most programmes in multicultural education in Canada focused on accepting and respecting differences and recognising similarities. Divergence from this approach was the concern of the Association for Values Education and Research at the University of British Columbia, which concentrated on issues of moral education. It viewed multiculturalism as a moral concern, because it was and still is concerned with how cultural minority groups were and continue to be treated.

A criticism of multicultural education in the Canadian context is that educators are not regarded as "agents of change", but considered as facilitators in a teacher or learner dynamic (Carr & Klassen, 1996:127). Multicultural education has been the subject of intense criticism by the advocates of antiracist education since its inception as an official Canadian government policy in 1971. Antiracist theorists and critics of multicultural education maintained that multicultural education did not address the real concerns of minority groups and contended that for the purposes of cultural enrichment, equality of access and reducing personal prejudice, multicultural education in fact fortified the status quo and reproduced social and economic inequities (Mansfield & Kehoe, 1994:418). Owing to the weaknesses of multicultural education in addressing issues of racism, racial segregation and the promotion of racial integration in Canada, its critics proposed the introduction of antiracist education to address racism and segregation as well as promote racial integration in Canadian schools.

### **3.3.3.2 Antiracist education**

According to Dei (1993:2), antiracist education issues in Canada unfolded during the 1990s. In order to address social and economic inequities in Canada, the antiracist theorists suggested a move away from the multicultural education approach and an embracing of the antiracist education approach popular in the UK (Mansfield & Kehoe, 1994:418). Such an education was proposed to replace multicultural education after Canadian antiracist educators complained that traditional multicultural education programmes failed to name and address racism and other discriminatory practices. They further claimed that multicultural education programmes supported assimilation to the mainstream, and fostered ethnic stereotyping by treating cultures as static and foreign (Lund, 2006:39). The goals of antiracist education in Canada included ensuring non-racism or at least less racism among individuals and institutions (Kehoe, 1994:355).

According to Dei (1993:2), the starting point for antiracist education in Canadian schools required the educator to problematise Eurocentric, White male privilege and supremacy, and to eliminate social inequities in the Canadian pluralistic society. Antiracist education was regarded as a discourse about the social inequality experienced by all non-White people of various class backgrounds in Canada. It also meant training people with regard to the actualities of equality and justice through critical teaching practices that address matters of social differences, inequality, racial oppression and gender discrimination in the classrooms and schools. Antiracist educators in Canada are also expected to equip themselves with relevant knowledge in order to adequately prepare learners for racial oppression and other forms of discrimination as well as to deal with the institutional structures that enhance social inequities (Dei, 1993:6).

Carr and Klassen (1996:127) suggest that in terms of antiracist education in Canada, educators were further expected to cultivate critical thinking skills and openly discuss challenges in society and validate the needs, concerns and experiences of learners irrespective of their backgrounds. Furthermore, the role of teachers in antiracist education in Canada was to connect the learners stemming from the racial minority to the school culture and curriculum. Antiracist education was supposed to be presented as a system of political



education in order to increase the level of awareness of both groups and individuals, to build critical political thinking and connections as well as to motivate activism among educators, support staff and learners for progressive changes in society. Hence, it was called political education by certain antiracist education proponents. Antiracist education in Canada further wished to question the domination of power and rationality. This approach to antiracist education called for a fundamental restructuring of power relations in the community starting from the schools (Dei, 1993:3), further advocating that only radical transformation of the existing structures within which learning, teaching and administration of education take place could effectively respond to the segregation of all non-White people within the schooling system. Classroom debates and learning materials legitimised the hegemony of the Euro-Canadian culture (Dei, 1993:3). Lund (2006:39) regards antiracist education in Canada as being housed within the multicultural education approach. He also reveals strong historical and legislative connections between the multicultural education and antiracist education approaches. He further indicates that neither of the two approaches could achieve its goals without the other. Over and above all this, he furnishes similarities between the two approaches and calls for a connection to civil responsibility, moral accountability, enhanced political sensibility and participation built within a commitment to work on equity matters. He sums up his argument by indicating that in a recent analysis of literature on antiracism and multicultural education in Canada, it was found that a fair amount of literature on antiracist and multicultural education was interchangeable, which simply means that the weaknesses of antiracist education were similar to those of multicultural education.

### **3.3.3.3 Canada's two approaches to antiracism education: A conclusion**

Canada, just like the USA, had only two official policies on racial integration, namely multicultural education and antiracist education. Multicultural education in Canada had the weakness of not regarding educators as “agents of change”, but as facilitators in teacher and/or learner dynamics. This resulted in multicultural education not addressing the real concerns of minority groups. Instead of promoting cultural enrichment and equality of access and reducing personal prejudice, which would have promoted social justice, multicultural education fortified the status quo and reproduced social and economic inequities that promoted the realisation of social injustice in Canada. This led to the development of antiracist education. However, antiracist education in Canada had the same weaknesses as multicultural education since it was housed within the multicultural education approach.

Multicultural education and antiracist education in Canada operated under the same historical and legislative frameworks. Antiracist education did not find the sufficient legislative environment to treat the concerns of minority groups seriously and in a different way from the multicultural position. In this regard, one can conclude that the antiracist education policy in Canada was superfluous and cosmetic and not substantive enough in dealing with problems of racial integration towards the promotion of social justice.

### **3.3.4 Australia**

Racial integration in Australia was pursued in 1945 immediately after the World War II when the Labour government launched a programme directed by the Immigration Minister, Arthur Calwell, after the arrival of immigrants from other countries in large numbers. In the following section I discuss how the three approaches of racial integration, namely assimilation, multicultural education and antiracist education, were employed to address racism in Australia.

#### **3.3.4.1 The assimilation approach**

Assimilation in Australia occurred between 1945 and the mid-1960s. The ideology of assimilation dominated official policies that were blatantly assimilationist towards immigrants. The immigrants were expected to fit into society, give away or compromise their cultures and languages in order for them to fit into the Australian society; furthermore, they were expected to symbolically announce their new status by becoming naturalised after the statutory period of five years had elapsed. The White Australian policy formed part of the assimilationist ideology, and the government's belief in a monocultural Australia expressed during the late 1960s was accompanied by a firm belief in favour of its monoracial composition (Bullivant, 1986:103; Taft & Cahill, 1986:25). At the quasi-official level of the Australian citizenship convention instituted by the federal government, names or terms used to describe immigrants such as "new Australians" in 1950 or "migrant", a title used for immigrants from Britain in 1953, served as markers of exclusion (Bullivant, 1986:103; Taft & Cahill, 1981:26).

In the field of education, very little was done for the children of immigrants and the children of migrants were even worse served. The formal school system provided a conservative curriculum geared to the traditional needs of Australian-born children. It was generally authoritarian, conformist and teacher-centred. Non-English-speaking children were expected to attend normal school classes, and to acquire proficiency in English painlessly (Hick, 1984:127). These children were viewed as a problem, disrupting classes by their presence and irregular arrival in schools. An Anglo-Australian approach completely dominated the curriculum. The little attention afforded the needs of migrant children provided them with the minimum language skills needed for them to communicate in a monolingual Australian society. This was achieved with a minimum of structural change in the education department or schools: the “withdrawal classes”, whereby immigrant children were instructed for between one and five hours per week in special classes consisting of children of mixed ages and speaking different languages, by teachers who were unlikely to know the mother tongue of any of the learners. The very same “withdrawal classes”, which were also known as immigrant English classes, showed that the system was kept intact by the device or strategy of taking teaching staff and immigrant children out of it (Bullivant, 1986:104). The picture portrayed above was not true of the general situation in Australia during the period up to the mid 1960s. In many Australian schools, immigrant children were more or less left to drown or swim and to understand English as best they could (Bullivant, 1986: 4). In 1960 the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council published the results of an enquiry, which stipulated that migrant children had adjusted well, that problems of adjustment evaporated quickly when English was mastered and that this occurred fairly quickly. These conclusions were shown to be substantially untrue, but the bland satisfaction with the existing situation was certainly indicative of the views of the majority of Australians who wanted the immigrants to assimilate unobtrusively and without reciprocity, a wish that became irrational yet was perceived to be actuality (Hick, 1984:127–128). According to Bullivant (1986:104), “the Australian ideology of assimilation maintained that it would be contrary to the prevailing egalitarian values and detrimental to assimilation for immigrants to be given unique privileges or considerations of any kind”.

A total lack of theoretical literature regarding immigrants of this period reveals that even Australian academics were not interested in them (Bullivant, 1986:104). The failure of an assimilation approach to address racism and segregation, as well as to enhance effective racial

integration in order to promote social justice in Australian education, led to the adoption of the integration education approach as a possible solution to the problems in that country.

#### **3.3.4.2 The integration approach**

Serious changes became evident during this period between the late 1950s and mid 1960s as a result of the mounting pressure of immigrant numbers, which were increasing exponentially in major Australian cities such as Melbourne and Sydney. During this period it became evident that immigrants were not assimilating into the Australian mainstream, while at the same time becoming more diverse than before in terms of their cultural backgrounds. In most of the schools found in the metropolitan areas it was common to find 30 to 40 different nationalities represented, in some instances even in one classroom. During the 1960s, Australian citizenship conventions contained agenda items aimed at changing the assimilation ideology to one that would recognise the ethno-cultural diversity that was becoming evident in Australia (Bullivant, 1986:105). In 1964, the ideology of integration was officially adopted by the Australian federal government. Owing to the continuing arrival of large numbers of non-English-speaking children from poorly educated, low-skilled families during this period, which led to a distinctive shift in emphasis from the successful adaptation of immigrant children to a concern with their problems, the federal government set up an office of integration within the Department of Immigration during 1964 (Taft & Cahill, 1981:26). The office was managed by an officer in charge of integration, J Rooth, who proved to be the right person, as he was prepared to push the agenda of integration without prejudice when he indicated in one of his reports that Australians should not only tolerate but also respect and encourage cultural differences. He believed that members of the minority groups in Australia could make an important contribution to the Australian way of life while retaining their ethnic identity. In 1965, the new policy, which aimed to create a united nation of nations, including all the best of European cultures and traditions in Australia, was developed. Even though the White Australian policy of assimilation was under attack from various concerned groups such as church leaders, academics and during the mid 1960s, assimilation had not yet been officially eliminated. Barriers of exclusion remained in place for Asians. Regarding the European immigrants, such barriers were gradually being removed. Despite all these efforts, *de facto* prejudice and discrimination still existed among the general public (Bullivant, 1986:105).

The ideology of integration, which characterised the late 1960s, did not result in many educational changes in the curriculum and schooling practices in Australia, even though assimilation as a slogan was replaced owing to mounting pressure (Bullivant, 1986:106; Hick, 1984:128). The immigrant children were regarded as a social problem for which the obvious remedy was to teach them English, a policy that was still assimilationist in intent. Other structural and institutional barriers in education and the wider society in general that acted as exclusionary mechanisms discriminating against immigrants were intentionally and conveniently overlooked (Bullivant, 1986:106; Taft & Cahill, 1981:26–27). It was never really clear what integration in Australia meant (Hick, 1984:128). With the publication of AJ Grassby's 1973 report on a multicultural society for the future, the Australian government indicated that the multicultural reality of Australian society needed to be reflected in the schools' curricula of languages, social studies, history, literature, the arts and crafts, staffing and the school organisation. These changes are particularly important to promote the self-esteem of immigrant children growing up in a society that was immensely enriched by a broader sharing in the variety of cultural heritages found in Australia at the time (Bullivant, 1986:107; Lynch, 1986:29). After Grassby's report, integration and interactionism were officially phased out and multiculturalism and multicultural education began to occupy the centre stage of addressing racism and segregation, as well as promoting racial integration in Australia.

#### **3.3.4.3 Multicultural education**

A review group established by the Australian government in September 1977 to investigate the post-arrival programmes and services provided to immigrants presented its report to the Commonwealth government in April 1978, proposing that first priority be afforded to multicultural education. It further recommended a structural proposal for the co-ordination of Commonwealth policies and programmes with regard to schools and school systems in the field of multicultural education, including courses of appropriate multicultural dimensions at all tertiary institutions. The review further recommended the setting of an Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) to be directed by a team of experts in the field (Lynch, 1986:29; Taft & Cahill, 1981:30–31). However, AIMA was said to have done too little to counter the strong feeling among academics and ethnic communities. It was further labelled

an ideological arm of the government, designed to promote multiculturalism uncritically. AIMA's review of multicultural and migrant education released in mid 1980 was similarly criticised for ideological bias as well as for highly selective research surveys and slanted reporting of findings and even the distortion of results. Due to this criticism, and others, of AIMA, its operation was reviewed during 1983 and 1984 by an independent committee, the Galbally Committee.

The educational recommendations of the Galbally Committee followed the recommendations of the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council by stating that the schools and their systems were supposed to be encouraged to develop fast initiatives aimed at improving the understanding of the different histories, cultures, languages and attitudes of those who constituted the Australian society by means of an effective allocation of resources to the teaching of histories, cultures and languages (English and others) through the development of bilingual teaching (Bullivant, 1986:110–111; Hick, 1984:133). Ethnic schools were strongly encouraged to teach community languages and cultures. The Galbally Committee further recommended the formation of an Australia-wide committee for multicultural education composed of acknowledged experts in the field. The committee was small, with no recognised Australian experts on ethnic pluralism or migrant education, as recommended by the Galbally Committee and expected by Australian society in general. The first report of the committee on multicultural education included the following elements: Australia was expected to become a society where the preservation of the identity of cultural groups and interaction among them were encouraged; and it was also expected to promote a degree of cultural and social variations. The report became the base document from which the Commonwealth multicultural education programme was developed. It also proposed six major interrelated core elements to be incorporated into school curricula. It further stipulated that the emphasis be placed on the lifestyles of the children from ethnic backgrounds rather than their life opportunities (Bullivant, 1986:112). General programmes were recommended to enable all learners to appreciate the dignity of cultures within Australian society, while special programmes aimed at providing opportunities for all to study the historical, social, cultural, aesthetic and literary backgrounds as well as the traditions of particular ethnic groups were introduced. International and intercultural studies were recommended as a way of appreciating the traditions of the countries from which the ethnic groups had originated. Languages were emphasised and subsequently also became the main thrust of multicultural

education. Community languages were taught in schools to give all children an opportunity to study a language other than English, while English was also offered as a second language for learners from non-English-speaking backgrounds so as to enhance their capacity to participate in the activities of the school and society at large. A more contentious recommendation was made for the schools to set up bilingual programmes to enable learners to learn school subjects in a language other than English (Bullivant, 1986:112–113). Two further recommendations, among several others of a structural nature, concerned enhanced support for ethnic schools as way of achieving linguistic and cultural maintenance and the appointment of liaison officers for ethnic schools. They carried a number of responsibilities designed to provide a variety of support and advice services regarding educational matters for ethnic communities. English language teaching for immigrants as well as the teaching of ethnic community languages were stressed, provided the teaching would not detract from the primary aim of learning the dominant language of English (Bullivant, 1986:112).

On the broader educational front, major organisational and ideological developments took place during the 1980s. An official advisory committee on multicultural education or its equivalent was appointed for each state. All the efforts of these bodies were co-coordinated at the federal level by the National Advisory and Co-coordinating Committee on Multicultural Education (Bullivant, 1986:117). Multicultural education was funded by the school commission, whose views on multiculturalism shifted from the simplistic cultural approach characteristic of the 1970s to a more realistic appraisal of Australian pluralism. In its report for the triennium of 1982–1984, this commission warned against naïve, romantic approaches to multicultural education and it further conceded that the specifics of what was needed to achieve equal opportunity for all people from different ethnic groups had to be worked out. Most groups warned that this would not be achieved without political action and struggle (Bullivant, 1986: 117; Lynch, 1986: 31).

A participation and equity programme was established in 1984, which included provision for aboriginal education. In most schools the teaching of multicultural education was generally confined to additive courses regarding the lifestyles of major ethnic groups rather than the major reconstruction of the whole curriculum that would truly reflect a multicultural

Australia, while virtually nothing was done to render multicultural education more politically sensitive and the curriculum more appropriate to the needs of ethnic minority group children's life opportunities (Bullivant, 1986:118; Lynch, 1984: 31).

#### **3.3.4.4 Concluding remarks on Australia**

Australia had three official policies on racial integration, namely assimilation, integration and multicultural education. The weaknesses of the assimilation approach to racial integration in Australia included the approach being authoritarian, conformist and teacher-centred. Within this approach, learners were taught English for between one and half hours per week in classes consisting of children of mixed ages and speaking different languages by teachers who did not even know the home languages of any of the minority group learners. In many Australian schools, minority group learners were more or less left to drown or swim to understand English best as they could. All these weaknesses of the assimilation approach to address racism as well as to promote effective racial integration towards the promotion of social justice in Australian schools led to the proposal of the integration approach, which in turn was found to be assimilationist in intent. The integration approach conveniently overlooked other structural and institutional barriers in education that acted as exclusionary mechanisms discriminating against Black minority group learners and promoted social injustice instead of social justice in Australia. This weakness led to the development of multicultural education. Multicultural education aimed at improving the understanding of the different histories, cultures, languages and attitudes of those who constituted Australian society by means of an effective allocation of resources to the teaching of histories, cultures and languages (English and others) through the development of bilingual teaching (Bullivant, 1986:110–111; Hick, 1984:133). Within this approach, ethnic schools were strongly encouraged to teach community languages and cultures. The main weaknesses of the multicultural education approach in Australia were that multicultural education was confined to additive courses on the lifestyles of major ethnic groups rather than the major reconstruction of the whole curriculum that would truly reflect a genuinely multicultural Australia; a lack of political sensitivity; and a curriculum that was not suitable to the needs of ethnic minority group children's opportunities. All these weaknesses of multicultural education in Australia led to the promotion of social injustice and not social justice, as was its main aim.



### **3.3.5 A summative view of the different racial-integration approaches**

In the following section I discuss some of the weaknesses of the different racial integration approaches as they unfolded in the UK, the USA, Canada, and Australia. In this regard, I want to first acknowledge that the different approaches did not develop in the same way and at the same time in the different countries. The case of the UK is the only one examined in this dissertation that saw the development of all four approaches: assimilation, integration, multicultural education and antiracist education. The other cases had either two or three approaches as official policies that developed into racial integration. For instance, the USA only used assimilation and multicultural education, whereas Canada used multicultural education and antiracist education. Australia used assimilation, integration and multicultural education. It is important in this regard to also note that although all approaches to racial integration started after World War II, none of the approaches started at the same time in any of the countries. Although one can argue of the approaches influencing other developments in some countries, no simultaneous development of an approach to racial integration can be found in any two countries. In other words, assimilation in the UK, the USA and Australia did not start at the same time although its development in one country may have been a result of its development in another.

#### **3.3.5.1 Weaknesses of the assimilation approach**

By means of an assimilation approach to racial integration, minority groups were absorbed into majority groups. When this occurred, they were then expected to adopt the language, customs and values of the majority group while foregoing their languages, customs and values. As noted, assimilation led to the incorporation of Black minority groups into the way of life of the majority group (Carrim, 1995:6; Gallagher, 2004:87; Lynch, 1986:22). The afore-mentioned weaknesses of the assimilation approach to racial integration, which promoted the absorption of Black minority groups into the majority group, did not enhance social justice as the main goal of racial integration. Instead of promoting social justice by ensuring the equal distribution of resources, which is the main objective of social justice, the assimilation approach tended to be biased towards social injustice by promoting an unequal distribution of resources. In my view, the absorption of minority groups into majority groups

does not pose any effort to engage with the minority group. Instead, there is an emphasis on the creation of a homogenous society. I consider this homogeneity to be the main reason for minority groups' loss of languages, customs and values. In addition, the expectation that majority groups' culture, norms, values and language would prevail unnecessarily creates an aggregative model of organisation of society.

### **3.3.5.2 Weaknesses of an integration approach**

Although the integration approach was designed to root out racism, it was in effect overtly racist, because the Black minority groups continued to be absorbed by the majority groups (cf. the assimilation approach). Craft (1986:80–81) regards the integration approach as a more sensitive development of assimilation, in terms of which Black minority groups were absorbed in a benign way. The weaknesses of the integration approach were similar to the weaknesses of the assimilation approach, since they both promoted the absorption of Black minority groups into the majority group. The integration approach further strengthened social injustice (unequal distribution of resources) instead of promoting social justice (the equal distribution of resources) initiated by the assimilation approach. Similar to the assimilation approach, the integration approach did not address social justice because it did not highlight the three main principles of justice, namely desert, equality and need.

### **3.3.5.3 Weaknesses of the multicultural education approach**

To recapitulate, multicultural education deviated or shifted attention away from the real victims of racism and segregation, who were non-White ethnic groups. It focused too little or not at all on institutionalised racism (Banks, 1986:44). Teachings about racial and cultural differences produced enmity and empathy between the minority and majority groups. Multicultural education lacked the necessary strategies to enhance ideas of culture and difference in such a way that an environment of critical engagement could be created. Hence, some scholars think that multicultural education did not prevent racism but rather promoted it (Gallagher, 2004:91).

It is also surmised that some of the main aims of multicultural education were to render Black people politically, economically, socially and culturally compliant (Morrell, 1991:66) in order to divert attention from racism (Banks, 1986:44). According to Mansfield and Kehoe (1994:418), multicultural education did not address the real concerns of the minority groups but, for the purposes of *inter alia* cultural enrichment, equality of access and reducing of personal prejudice, upheld the status quo and reproduced social and economic inequities. Multicultural education naively suggested that cultural and racial differences could be removed by merely creating the illusion that the majority and the minority group could swap places and learn how the other lives while leaving the structures of power intact. These structures of power needed to be engaged with in a deliberative manner. As a result, multicultural education promoted a new racism based not only on the ideas of innate biological superiority, but also on the supposed incompatibility of cultural traditions (Cohen, 1983:13). A multicultural education approach to racial integration, similar to the assimilation and integration approaches to racial integration discussed above, fails to address the most important principles of justice, namely desert, equality and need, which are the most important constituent elements in the aim to the realisation of social justice. I agree with Sekete *et al.* (2001:9), who argue that multicultural education embraced the mistaken assumption that all cultures enjoy equal status in a society and that all the people who belong to a particular cultural group are the same.

#### **3.3.5.4 Weaknesses of the antiracist education**

According to Naidoo (1996a:38), the weakness of antiracist education is its inability to display an awareness of nuances, contradictions, inconsistencies and ambivalences within educational practices. It does not move beyond the reductive conceptions of culture and weaknesses in the fight against racism. The antiracist approach to racial integration did not achieve the main goal of racial integration, that is, the promotion of social justice.

#### **3.3.5.5 Weaknesses of all four approaches in general**

In general, the assimilation, integration, multicultural education and antiracist education approaches possess weaknesses, which in some instances strengthen racism and promote social injustice in schools and communities, and fail to achieve the main objective of racial integration, namely social justice.

### **3.4 Why racial integration?**

The main objective of racial integration is to achieve social justice in public schools. Although racial integration aims to promote social justice in public schools, the four approaches of racial integration, namely assimilation, integration, multicultural education and antiracist education, as they developed in different phases in the UK, the USA, Canada and Australia, failed to do so. The four approaches could not achieve social justice because they fell short of addressing the three principles of justice, namely the principle of desert, the principle of equality and the principle of need, as the main constituent elements of social justice. In the following section I discuss some of the constitutive meanings of social justice.

### **3.5 Constitutive meaning of social justice**

Social justice focuses on how the good/advantages and bad/disadvantages in life, for example, educational opportunities should be distributed among members of society (Miller, 2001:1). According to Gamarnikov and Green (2003:210), social justice highlights the “disadvantaged” and “excluded” to ensure that their access to education is more equally distributed. The emphasis is not so much on equalisation, but on equitable distribution of opportunities. Social justice implies the participation of all groups in society that is mutually shaped to meet the needs of citizens irrespective of their culture, race, language, gender, financial background and political affiliation. Furthermore, it includes a vision of a society in which the distribution of resources is equitable (Bell, 2007:1–2). Social justice is also regarded as an aspect of distributive justice. Sometimes social justice and distributive justice are used interchangeably. Distributive justice means fair distribution of benefits among members of various associations (Miller, 2001:2). In this study, I decided to use social justice as an expanded version of distributive justice pursued more systematically and with respect to a wider range of benefits distributed in a just manner. In the following paragraph, I give an exposition of the three principles of justice that constitute social justice.

### **3.6 Discussion of the three principles of justice that constitute social justice**

The principle of desert: The principle of desert presupposes that people can identify valued activities (for example performing well in education, contributing to the production of goods

and services) that form the basis on which individuals come to deserve benefits of different kinds (Miller, 2001:19). The principle of desert supports the notion that a person deserves some benefits by virtue of some performance or attributes (Miller, 2001:32). The principle can be further associated with positive discrimination in the job market (Miller 2001:172). “Positive discrimination” is used to cover all policies that give preferential treatment to women, ethnic minority groups, Black people, or other disadvantaged groups, whether these take the form of reserving places for members of these groups, awarding those extra points when hiring decisions are made, or something else. In each case, “positive discrimination” policies appear to contradict the principle of hiring by merit, and this is often stated as a convincing argument against adopting them.

The principle of equality: The principle of equality presupposes that people should receive equal benefits (Miller, 2001:19). Moreover, the principle of equality can also be regarded as a fair procedure that requires that everyone who has a *prima facie* claim on the good that is being allocated should be afforded equal treatment in the allocation of the good (Miller 2001:99). In other words, justice requires an equal distribution of advantages in cases where there are some benefits to be allocated and there is no one who can advance any particular claim to all or part of it (Miller, 2001:233). Miller (2001:233–234) posits as follows:

These are what we might call manna- from heaven cases, cases in which a group of people find themselves in possession of a divisible good for whose existence none of them is in any way responsible and on which none has any special claim of need, say. Here an equal distribution is the only distribution that recognizes the equal moral standing of each member of the group, and it is the distribution that justice requires.

The principle of need: Principle of need presupposes a shared understanding that someone must have in order to lead a decent life (Miller, 2001:19). The principle of need implies the distribution of resources according to needs of individuals (Miller 2001:3). Citizens who lack the resources necessary to play their part as members of the community claim the right of access to those resources. Justice requires that the quantity of resources each person receives should depend upon the strength of his or her claims of needs (Miller, 2001:31–32).

According to Miller (2001:27), distribution of resources according to needs is the substantive principle of justice found within solidaristic communities. In other words, needs are understood in terms of the general ethos of the community. Each community embodies, whether implicitly or explicitly, a sense of the standards needed to live a decent life, and it is in terms of this benchmark that the much contested distinction between needs as matters of justice and mere wants is drawn.

In order for needs to be used as a criterion for social justice, people have to be prepared to reveal enough about themselves to allow relative needs to be assessed, and others have to be confident about the reliability of such revelations (Miller, 2001:78). According to Miller (2001:204), the distribution of resources according to needs as a principle of justice is worth emphasising because a person can use “to each as according to his/her needs” as a guiding rule when promoting social justice.

The absence of the three principles of justice in the unfolding of the four approaches of racial integration, namely assimilation, integration, multicultural education and antiracist education, indicate their failure to achieve social justice in public schools. The four approaches of racial integration as they developed in the four countries mentioned above did not succeed in addressing the three principles of justice due to a lack of deliberations among stakeholders in education who were concerned by the lack of racial integration in public schools. Racial integration in schools could have led to the realisation of the three principles of justice, which would have promoted social justice in public schools.

### **3.7 Summary**

The four approaches of racial integration did not successfully achieve social justice as they unfolded in the four countries (the UK, the USA, Canada and Australia). This is so because they fell short in addressing the three principles of justice that constitute social justice (desert, equality and need) due to the lack of deliberations.

In view of racial integration being designed to address issues of social justice, the next chapters explore the pattern(s) of racial integration currently unfolding in South African public schools. I do this through the analysis of learner movement and enrolment patterns in each of the provinces. Other factors affecting racial integration in schools, such as composition of the SGBs and parents' participation therein, language of instruction and the place of African languages in schools are also examined.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **EXPOSITION OF RACIAL INTEGRATION AS IT UNFOLDS IN SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS DURING THE POST-APARTHEID SCHOOLING PHASE**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I intend to expound how racial integration is unfolding in South African public schools following the demise of apartheid in 1994 and the introduction of policies, which aim to address past racial prejudice in education, and to promote and strengthen racial integration. Moreover, I endeavour to illustrate how these policies contributed towards the realisation of non-racialism and social justice in public schools, as well as the societies in which the schools are located.

In unpacking this issue, I am going to focus on how and to what extent the six most important building blocks of racial integration in schools, namely learner enrolments, language of instruction, curriculum (with special reference to the teaching of African languages as subjects), employment of educators, composition of SGBs and extramural activities are promoting or derailing genuine racial integration. These building blocks of racial integration can lead to the realisation of the three principles of justice known as desert, equality and need and the promotion of social justice in South African public schools. The first aspect to be analysed in this study is the enrolment of learners from different racial backgrounds in former racially classified schools in all nine provinces of the Republic of South Africa.

#### **4.2 Learner Enrolments**

Following the end of apartheid and the introduction of the new GNU, which led to the creation of one non-racial Department of Education, one of the commonly asked questions is to what extent former White schools (HOA schools) and Black schools [African (DET schools), Indian (HOD schools) and Coloured (HOR schools)] have actually opened their doors to learners from different racial backgrounds in South Africa. This can be taken as one of the signs as to what extent South African schools have integrated or to what extent racial integration in South African schools is being managed (Chisholm & Sujee, 2006:141). Most empirical research conducted on integration in South African schools has demonstrated that while there has been a flight of African learners from DET schools to HOA, HOR and HOD



schools, there has been no parallel movement towards DET schools by White, Coloured and Indian learners. Learners classified as African comprise a great proportion of the school population in schools formerly classified as schools for White, Coloured and Indian learners only.

In order to prove this movement of learners, as mentioned above, as it has emerged from different empirical studies conducted by Carrim (2003), Carrim and Soudien (1999), Sekete *et al.* (2001), Soudien (2004) and Vally and Dalamba (1999), I attempt to track patterns of learner movement, the extent to which integration has occurred, as well as to provide explanations for this and the implications thereof, using enrolments of learners from different racial backgrounds registered in former racially classified schools during 2001.

For this section, I shall use South Africa's Education Management Information Statistics (EMIS) of the 2001 Annual School Survey (ASS) to analyse national patterns of learner movement across all provinces and across the country within and across former White schools (HOA), former Coloured schools (HOR), former Indian schools (HOD) and former Black schools (DET). The year 2001 was the earliest year that could be analysed in this regard. The current analysis was conducted in 2008. The former homeland departments of Education, such as those in QwaQwa, Gazankulu, Lebowa and KwaZulu, departments of Education of the former independent states such as Venda, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Transkei as well as township schools were classified under the Department of Education and Training (DET). Data regarding learners were classified as 'unknown' and 'others' are not used in this study.

In the following section I discuss the movement of learners from different racial backgrounds across the nine provinces of the Republic of South Africa as well as across the Republic of South Africa in general during the academic year of 2001.

#### 4.2.1 KwaZulu-Natal Province

##### Secondary School students by former Departments and Race of students, Kwazulu Natal Province

Department	DET	HOR	HOD	HOA	TOTAL
<b>All students</b>					
Total	1924507	86619	252791	102776	2366693
%	81.3%	3.7%	10.7%	4.3%	100%

##### Estimated racial mix within former departments

African total	1897638	70548	126694	49653	2144533
%	88.6%	81.4%	50.1%	48.3%	90.6%
Coloured total	1814	15259	4747	4122	25942
%	0.1%	17.6%	1.9%	4%	1.1%
Indian total	6335	398	119985	12563	139281
%	10.3%	0.5%	47.5%	12.2%	5.9%
White total	18396	386	1099	36086	55967
%	01%	0.5%	0.4%	35.2%	2.4%
Others total	324	28	266	352	970

<b>%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.1%</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1924507</b>	<b>86619</b>	<b>252791</b>	<b>10277</b>	<b>2366693</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Estimated racial mix across former departments**

<b>African total</b>	<b>1897638</b>	<b>70548</b>	<b>126694</b>	<b>49653</b>	<b>2144533</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>88.5%</b>	<b>3.3%</b>	<b>5.9%</b>	<b>2.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>1814</b>	<b>15259</b>	<b>4747</b>	<b>4122</b>	<b>25942</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>58.8%</b>	<b>18.3%</b>	<b>15.9%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>6335</b>	<b>398</b>	<b>119985</b>	<b>12563</b>	<b>139281</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>4.5%</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>86.2%</b>	<b>9.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>18396</b>	<b>386</b>	<b>1099</b>	<b>36086</b>	<b>55967</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>32.9%</b>	<b>0.6%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>64.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>324</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>266</b>	<b>352</b>	<b>970</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>33.4%</b>	<b>2.9%</b>	<b>27.4%</b>	<b>36.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>

DET schools had the highest number of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners at 88.6% in this province. Indian learners were the second largest group at 10.3%, while White learners comprised the third largest group at 1% and Coloured learners in these schools constituted the lowest number of learners at 0.1%.

There was substantial movement of Indian learners to the DET schools at 10.1% in the KwaZulu-Natal province while the movement of Coloured and White learners was very minimal. These schools were still predominantly African in this province.

HOR schools housed the highest number of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners in KwaZulu-Natal at 81.4%, while Coloured learners comprised the second largest group at 17.6% and White and Indian learners constituted the lowest number of learners at 0.5% each. There was notable movement of African learners to HOR schools in this province. On the other hand, there was unsatisfactory movement of Indian and White learners to HOR schools in KwaZulu-Natal. HOR schools were predominantly African in this province.

HOD schools reported the highest number of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners in this province at 50.1%. Indian learners were the second largest group attending these schools at 47.5%, while Coloured learners comprised the third largest group at 1.9% and White learners constituted the lowest number of learners at 0.4%.

There was considerable movement of African learners to the said schools while the movement of Coloured and White learners to these schools was very minimal. Thus, in 2005, the HOD schools in KwaZulu-Natal comprised predominantly African learners.

HOA schools recorded the highest number of African learners compared to the Coloured, Indian and White learners at 48.3% in KwaZulu-Natal, while White learners comprised the second largest group at 35%, Indian learners constituted the third largest at 12.2% and Coloured learners 4%.

African learners moved to HOA schools in large numbers in KwaZulu-Natal. There was also noteworthy movement of both Coloured and Indian learners to the said schools, which subsequently consisted of predominantly African learners.

DET schools remained predominantly African in KwaZulu-Natal, just as they were before the democratic government came into power in 1994. HOR, HOD and HOA schools became predominantly African in this province.

In the given province, African learners moved in large numbers to HOR, HOD and HOA schools, whereas the movement of Coloured, Indian as well as White learners to DET schools was minimal.

In KwaZulu-Natal, African learners were registered in large numbers at DET schools at 88.5%. The second largest number of African learners in this province was found to be in the HOD schools at 5.9%. HOR schools boasted the third largest number of African learners at 3.3% and the lowest number of African learners (2.5%) was attending HOA in this province.

The majority of African learners here were attending DET schools. There was considerable movement of African learners to HOD, HOA and HOR schools in the KwaZulu-Natal province.

Coloured learners were registered in large numbers at HOR schools at 58.8%. The second largest number of Coloured learners in this province was found in HOD schools at 18.3%, while HOA schools boasted the third largest number of Coloured learners at 15.9% and the lowest number (2.5%) of Coloured learners was attending DET schools.

The majority of Coloured learners in KwaZulu-Natal were attending HOR schools. There was good movement of Coloured learners to HOD and HOA schools in this province. The movement of Coloured learners to DET was reasonable.

Indian learners were registered in large numbers (86%) at HOD schools, with the second largest number (9%) at HOA schools, the third largest number (4.5%) at DET schools and the lowest (0.3%) at HOR schools.

The majority of Indian learners in this province were attending HOD schools. There was notable movement of Indian learners to DET and HOA schools in KwaZulu-Natal. However, the movement of Indian learners to HOR schools was minimal.

In the said province, White learners (the majority group) were registered in large numbers at HOA schools, at 64%, with the second largest number at DET schools at 32.9%. HOD schools reported the third largest number of White learners in KwaZulu-Natal at 2%. The lowest number of White learners in this province was registered at HOR schools at 0.6%.

There was very noteworthy movement of White learners to DET schools in this region, while their movement to HOD schools was reasonable and virtually no movement to HOA schools occurred.

The majority (88%) of the African learners in KwaZulu-Natal were registered at DET schools with the majority (58.8%) of Coloured learners at HOR schools, the majority of Indian learners (86%) at HOD schools and the majority (64%) of White learners at HOA schools. It thus appears that learners in schools served by former departments still indicated a similar racial predominance of learners as was the case previously.

There was noteworthy movement of Black learners (Coloured, Indian and African learners) to HOA schools compared to the movement of White learners to Black schools (DET, HOD and HOR schools).

#### 4.2.2 Gauteng Province

##### Secondary School students by former Departments and Race of students, Gauteng Province

Department	DET	HOR	HOD	HOA	TOTAL
<b>All students</b>					
<b>Total</b>	<b>93351</b>	<b>90889</b>	<b>56396</b>	<b>59670</b>	<b>1587504</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>59%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>100%</b>

##### Estimated racial mix within former departments

<b>African total</b>	<b>92874</b>	<b>40850</b>	<b>37707</b>	<b>19412</b>	<b>1201429</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>99%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>38.3%</b>	<b>76%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>1304</b>	<b>49808</b>	<b>2173</b>	<b>26406</b>	<b>79691</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.1%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>5.2%</b>	<b>5%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>1599</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>15264</b>	<b>17072</b>	<b>34068</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>3.4%</b>	<b>2%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>1680</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>26292</b>	<b>264709</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>00%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>17%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>1173</b>	<b>6170</b>	<b>7607</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>1.1%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>93351</b>	<b>90889</b>	<b>56396</b>	<b>50670</b>	<b>1587504</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>



### Estimated racial mix across former departments

<b>African total</b>	<b>928748</b>	<b>40850</b>	<b>37707</b>	<b>19412</b>	<b>1201429</b>
%	<b>77.3%</b>	<b>3.4%</b>	<b>3.1%</b>	<b>16.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>1304</b>	<b>49808</b>	<b>2173</b>	<b>26406</b>	<b>79691</b>
%	<b>1.67%</b>	<b>62.5%</b>	<b>2.8%</b>	<b>33.1%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>1599</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>15264</b>	<b>17072</b>	<b>34068</b>
%	<b>4.7%</b>	<b>0.4%</b>	<b>44.8%</b>	<b>50.1%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>1680</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>26292</b>	<b>264709</b>
%	<b>0.7%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>99.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>1173</b>	<b>6170</b>	<b>7607</b>
%	<b>2.5%</b>	<b>01%</b>	<b>15.4%</b>	<b>81.1%</b>	<b>100%</b>

DET schools recorded the highest number of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners at 99% in Gauteng, while Indian and White learners were the second largest groups at 0.2% each and Coloured learners were the least at 0.1%.

While the movement of both Coloured, Indian and White learners to DET schools in Gauteng was very minimal, these schools were still predominantly African in this province.

HOR schools reported the highest number of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners at 55% in Gauteng. Coloured learners were the second largest group attending HOR schools in the Gauteng province at 45%. There were no Indian and White learners in HOR schools.

There was very noteworthy movement of African learners to HOR schools in the Gauteng province. There was no movement of Indian and White learners to HOR schools in Gauteng, and these schools remained predominantly African.

HOD schools recorded the highest number of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners at 67% in Gauteng, while Indian learners were the second largest group attending at 27% and Coloured learners were the third largest at 4%. There were no White learners in these schools in Gauteng.

There was very notable movement of African learners to HOD schools in Gauteng. The movement of Coloured learners was moderate, while there was no movement of White learners to these schools in Gauteng. HOD schools in Gauteng were predominantly African.

HOA schools recorded the highest number of White learners compared to those of Coloured, Indian and African at 52% in Gauteng. African learners were the second largest group attending such schools at 38.3%, while Coloured learners were the third largest group at 5.2% and Indian learners constituted the lowest number of learners in these schools at 3.4%.

African learners moved to HOA schools in large numbers in Gauteng. There was also notable movement of both Coloured and Indian learners to these schools, which still remained predominantly White during this period.

DET schools remained predominantly African in Gauteng, just as they were before the democratic government came into power in 1994 and similarly, HOR schools remained predominantly Coloured. HOD schools became predominantly Black, and HOR were predominantly White during this period.

In Gauteng, African learners moved in large numbers to HOR, HOD and HOA schools, whereas the movement of Coloured, Indian and White learners to DET schools was minimal.

In Gauteng, African learners were registered in large numbers at DET schools at 77.3%. The second largest number of African learners in this province was recorded at HOA schools at 16.2%. HOR schools reported the third largest number of African learners at 3.4%, while the lowest number of African learners in Gauteng was attending HOD schools at 3.1%.

The majority of African learners in Gauteng were attending DET schools. There was noteworthy movement of African learners to HOD, HOA and HOR schools in Gauteng.

In this province, Coloured learners were registered in large numbers at HOR schools at 62.5%, while the second largest number of Coloured learners was recorded at HOA schools at 33.1%. HOD schools recorded the third largest number of Coloured learners in Gauteng at 2.8% with the lowest number in DET schools at 1.67%.

The majority of Coloured learners in the Gauteng province were attending HOR schools. There was notable movement of Coloured learners to HOA schools and moderate movement of Coloured learners to HOD schools in Gauteng. The movement of Coloured learners to DET schools was minimal.

In Gauteng, Indian learners were registered in large numbers at HOA schools at 50.1%. The second largest number was recorded at HOD schools at 44.8%, while DET schools registered the third largest number of Indian learners at 4.7% and the lowest number at HOR schools at 0.4%.

The majority of Indian learners in this province were attending HOA schools. There was strong movement of Indian learners to DET schools, while the movement of such learners to HOR schools was minimal.

In Gauteng, White learners were registered in large numbers at HOA schools at 99.3%, with the remaining 0.7% at DET schools. There were no White learners at both HOD and HOR schools.

The majority of White learners in Gauteng were registered at HOA schools. There was very limited movement of these learners to DET schools, while literally no movement to HOR and HOD schools occurred.

The majority of African, Coloured, Indian and White learners were registered at DET, HOR and HOA schools in Gauteng. It thus appears that learners in schools served by the former departments still indicated the predominant race of the learners in Gauteng, except in the case of Indian learners, the majority of whom were attending HOA schools.

There was notable movement of Black learners (African, Coloured and Indian learners) to HOA schools compared to movement of White learners to Black schools (DET, HOD and HOR schools).

### 4.2.3 Limpopo Province

#### Secondary School students by former Departments and Race of students, Limpopo Province

Department	DET	HOR	HOD	HOA	TOTAL
<b>All students</b>					
<b>Total</b>	<b>1674046</b>	<b>6995</b>	<b>2571</b>	<b>25226</b>	<b>1708839</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>88%</b>	<b>0.4%</b>	<b>10.2%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>

#### Estimated racial mix within former departments

<b>African total</b>	<b>1664024</b>	<b>5211</b>	<b>2079</b>	<b>13595</b>	<b>1684909</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>98.4%</b>	<b>74.5%</b>	<b>71%</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>98.6%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>3421</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>4130</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.4%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>1.1%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>290</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>407</b>	<b>237</b>	<b>966</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>0.9%</b>	<b>0.1%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>6249</b>	<b>1402</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11090</b>	<b>18751</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>1.1%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>

<b>Total</b>	<b>1674046</b>	<b>6995</b>	<b>2571</b>	<b>25226</b>	<b>1708839</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Estimated racial mix across former departments**

<b>African total</b>	<b>1664024</b>	<b>5211</b>	<b>2079</b>	<b>13595</b>	<b>1684909</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>98.8%</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>0.1%</b>	<b>0.8%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>3421</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>4130</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>82.8%</b>	<b>8.5%</b>	<b>1.8%</b>	<b>6.9%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>290</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>407</b>	<b>237</b>	<b>966</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>3.3%</b>	<b>42.2%</b>	<b>24.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>6249</b>	<b>1402</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11090</b>	<b>18751</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>33.3%</b>	<b>7.5%</b>	<b>0.1%</b>	<b>59.1%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>75.6%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>24.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>

DET schools recorded the highest number of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners at 98% in Limpopo. White learners constituted the second largest group attending these schools at 1.4%, while 0.4% was Coloured learners and 0.2% Indian.

The movement of both Coloured and Indian learners to DET schools in Limpopo was minimal. The movement of White learners to DET schools in Limpopo was moderate

compared to that of Indians and Coloured learners, with the DET schools still remaining predominantly African.

HOR schools recorded the highest number of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners at 74.5%, while White learners comprised the second largest (20%) group, Coloured learners 5% and the Indian learners only 0.5% of the total number of learners registered at these schools.

There was remarkable movement of African learners to HOR schools. The movement of White learners to these schools was notable and the movement of Indian learners was minimal. HOR schools were predominantly African in Limpopo.

HOD schools recorded the highest number of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners at 71% in Limpopo, while Indian learners comprised the second largest group at 16%, Coloured learners the third largest at 13% with no White learners in HOD schools in Limpopo.

There was remarkable movement of African learners to HOD schools in Limpopo, and the movement of Coloured learners was noteworthy, while there was no movement of White learners to these schools. HOD schools in the Limpopo province were predominantly African.

HOA schools recorded the highest number of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners at 54%, White learners were the second largest group at 44%, Coloured learners were the third largest group at 1.1%, while Indian learners in Limpopo constituted the lowest number of learners at 0.9%.

African learners moved to HOA schools in large numbers in Limpopo, while the movement of both Coloured and Indian learners was minimal. HOA schools in Limpopo became predominantly African during this period.

DET schools remained predominantly African in Limpopo, just as they were before the democratic government came into power in 1994. HOR schools became predominantly African, while HOD and HOR schools also became predominantly African during this period.

In Limpopo, African learners moved in large numbers to HOR, HOD and HOA schools, whereas the movement of Coloured, Indian and White learners to DET schools was minimal. In Limpopo, African learners were registered in large numbers at DET schools at 98.8%, the second largest number (0.8%) at HOA schools, the third largest (0.3%) at HOR schools and the lowest number (0.1%) at HOD schools.

The majority of African learners in Limpopo were attending DET schools, while there was limited movement to HOR, HOD and HOA schools.

In Limpopo, Coloured learners were registered in large numbers at DET schools at 82.8%, the second largest number at HOR schools at 8.5%, the third largest number at HOA schools at 6.9% and the lowest number at HOD schools at 1.8%.

The majority of Coloured learners in Limpopo were attending DET schools, and there was notable movement of Coloured learners to HOA schools and some movement to HOD schools in this province. The incidence of the movement of Coloured learners to DET schools was reasonable.



In Limpopo, Indian learners were registered in large numbers at HOD schools at 42.2%, the second largest number at DET schools at 30%, the third largest number at HOA schools at 24.5% and the lowest number at HOR schools at 3.3%.

The majority of Indian learners in Limpopo were attending HOD schools. There was notable movement of these learners to DET and HOA schools in this province, while the movement of Indian learners to HOR schools was moderate.

In Limpopo, White learners were registered in large numbers (59.1%) at HOA schools, while the second largest number (33.3%) was recorded at DET schools, the third largest number (7.5%) at HOR schools and very few (0.1%) at HOD schools.

The majority of White learners in Limpopo were registered at HOA schools. There was very noteworthy movement of White learners to DET schools, reasonable movement of White learners to HOR schools, and very limited movement of these learners to HOD schools.

The majority of African learners in Limpopo were registered at DET schools, the majority of Coloured learners at DET schools, the majority of Indian learners at HOD schools, and the majority of White learners at HOA schools.

It thus appears that learners in schools served by former departments still indicated the predominant group of the learners in Limpopo, except in the case of HOR schools, where African learners were in the majority compared to Coloured learners.

There was a reasonable movement of Black learners (African, Indian and Coloured learners) to HOA schools in this province compared to the movement of White learners to Black schools (DET, HOR and HOD schools).

#### 4.2.4 Free State Province

##### Secondary School students by former Departments and Race of students, Free State Province

Department	DET	HOR	HOD	HOA	TOTAL
<b>All students</b>					
<b>Total</b>	<b>556525</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>72929</b>	<b>629454</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>88.4%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>11.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Estimated racial mix within former departments</b>					
<b>African total</b>	<b>540792</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>26836</b>	<b>567628</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>97.2%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>37.1%</b>	<b>90%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>14402</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>3301</b>	<b>17703</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>2.6%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>2.8%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>865</b>	<b>998</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>1174</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>41735</b>	<b>42909</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>7%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>216</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>556525</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>72929</b>	<b>629454</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### **Estimated racial mix across former departments**

<b>African total</b>	<b>540792</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>26836</b>	<b>567628</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>95.3%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>4.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>14402</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>3301</b>	<b>17703</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>81.4%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>18.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>865</b>	<b>998</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>13.3%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>86.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>1174</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>41735</b>	<b>42909</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>2.7%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>97.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>216</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>11.1%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>88.9%</b>	<b>100%</b>

DET schools recorded the highest number of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners at 97.2% in the Free State, Coloured learners reported the second largest group attending at 2.6%, and White learners at 0.2%, while there were no Indian learners in these schools.

There was moderate movement of Coloured learners to DET schools in the Free State, while the movement of White learners was minimal. The DET schools were still predominantly African in this province.

There were no HOA or HOD schools in the Free State. HOA schools registered the highest number of White learners compared to African, Indian and Coloured learners in the Free State at 57%, while African learners comprised the second largest group at 37.1%, Indian learners

constituted the third largest number at 11% and Coloured learners reported the lowest registration at 5%.

African learners moved to HOA schools in the Free State in large numbers, the movement of both Coloured and Indian learners to these schools was very moderate and HOA schools remained predominantly White during this period.

DET schools remained predominantly African, just as they were before the democratic government came into power in 1994 and similarly, the HOA schools remained predominantly White in the Free State during this period.

In the Free State, African learners moved in large numbers to HOA schools and minimal movement of White, Coloured and Indian learners to DET schools occurred.

In the Free State, African learners were registered in large numbers at DET schools at 95%, with the second largest number at HOA schools at 4.7%.

The majority of African learners in the given province were attending DET schools. There was moderate movement of African learners to HOA schools.

In the Free State, Coloured learners were registered in large numbers at DET schools at 81.4%, while the second largest number was recorded at HOA schools at 18.6%.

The majority of Coloured learners in the Free State were attending DET schools. There was noteworthy movement of Coloured learners to HOA schools and the movement of Coloured learners to DET schools was very high in this province.

In the Free State, Indian learners were registered in large numbers at HOA schools at 86.7%. The second largest number of Indian learners in the Free State province was in DET schools at 13.3%. This is remarkable since there were no HOR or HOD schools in the Free State.

The majority of Indian learners in the Free State were attending HOA schools. There was most noteworthy movement of Indian learners to HOA schools and moderate movement of Indian learners to DET schools.

In the Free State, White learners were registered in large numbers at HOA schools at 97.3%, with the second largest number at DET schools at 2.7%.

The majority of White learners in the Free State were registered at HOA schools. There was minimal movement of White learners to DET schools in this province.

The majority of African learners in the Free State were attending DET schools at 95.3%, the majority of Coloured learners attended DET schools at 81.4%, while the majority of Indian learners (86.7%) and the majority of White learners (97.3%) were reported at HOA schools.

It thus appeared that learners in schools served by former departments still reflected the predominant group of the learners in the Free State, except for the Indian and Coloured learners.

There was considerable movement of Black learners (African, Indian and Coloured learners) to HOA schools as compared to the movement of White learners to Black schools (DET, HOR and HOD schools).

#### 4.2.5 Northern Cape Province

##### Secondary School students by former Departments and Race of students, Northern Cape Province

<b>Department</b>	<b>DET</b>	<b>HOR</b>	<b>HOD</b>	<b>HOA</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<b>All students</b>					
<b>Total</b>	<b>47122</b>	<b>77077</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>35994</b>	<b>160203</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>29.4%</b>	<b>48.1%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>22.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Estimated racial mix within former departments</b>					
<b>African total</b>	<b>41765</b>	<b>7269</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>6760</b>	<b>55794</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>88.7%</b>	<b>9.4%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>18.8%</b>	<b>34.8%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>3915</b>	<b>68529</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>15068</b>	<b>87512</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>8.3%</b>	<b>88.9%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>41.9%</b>	<b>54.6%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>01</b>	<b>956</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>355</b>	<b>1312</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>1.3%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>1.0%</b>	<b>0.8%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>08</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>13432</b>	<b>13615</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>37.3%</b>	<b>8.5%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>1433</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>379</b>	<b>1970</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>3.0%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>01%</b>	<b>1.3%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>47122</b>	<b>77077</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>35994</b>	<b>160203</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### **Estimated racial mix across former departments**

<b>African total</b>	<b>41765</b>	<b>7269</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>6760</b>	<b>55794</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>74.9%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>12.1%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>3915</b>	<b>68529</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>15068</b>	<b>87512</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>4.5%</b>	<b>78.3%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>17.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>01</b>	<b>956</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>355</b>	<b>1312</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.1%</b>	<b>72.9%</b>	<b>00%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>08</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>13432</b>	<b>13615</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>0.1%</b>	<b>98.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>1433</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>379</b>	<b>1970</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>72.7%</b>	<b>8.1%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>19.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>

DET schools recorded the highest number of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners at 88.7% in the Northern Cape Province and Coloured learners the second largest group at 8.3%. There were no Indian or White learners attending DET schools in this province.

There was moderate movement of Coloured learners to DET schools, while there was virtually no movement of Indian and White learners to these schools in the Northern Cape Province. The DET schools were still predominantly African in the Northern Cape Province.

HOR schools reported the highest number of Coloured learners compared to Indian, White and African learners at 88.9% in the Northern Cape Province, while African learners were the

second largest group at 9.4%, Indian learners constituted 1.3% and White learners the lowest number of learners at 0.2%.

There was moderate movement of African and Indian learners to DET schools in the Northern Cape Province. The movement of White learners to DET schools was minimal. HOR) schools were predominantly African in the Northern Cape Province.

There were no African, Coloured or Indian learners in HOD schools in the Northern Cape Province. In HOD schools, 100% of the learners were White.

There was remarkable movement of White learners to HOD schools. HOD schools became 100% White.

HOA schools recorded the highest number of Coloured learners compared to White, Indian and African learners at 41.9%% in the Northern Cape province, with White learners being the second largest group at 37.3%, African learners constituting 18.8% and Indian learners the lowest number (1.0%) in these schools.

There was notable movement of African and Coloured learners to HOA schools. The movement of Indian learners to these schools was minimal. HOA schools became predominantly Coloured.

DET schools were predominantly African, HOR schools predominantly Coloured, HOD schools predominantly White, and HOA schools predominantly Coloured in the Northern Cape Province.



In this province, African learners moved in large numbers to HOR and HOA schools. There was no movement of African learners to HOD schools at all. The movement of White, Coloured and Indian learners to DET schools was minimal.

In the Northern Cape Province, African learners were registered in large numbers at DET schools at 74.9%, the second largest number at HOR schools at 13% and the third largest number at HOA schools at 12.1%. There were no African learners in HOD schools in the Northern Cape Province.

The majority of African learners in the Northern Cape Province were attending DET schools. There was noteworthy movement of African learners to HOR and HOA schools in the Northern Cape Province, while, as is evident, there was no movement of African learners to HOD schools in this province.

In the Northern Cape Province, Coloured learners were registered in large numbers at HOR schools at 78.3%, the second largest number at HOA schools at 17.2%, and the third largest number at DET schools at 4.5%. There were no Coloured learners in HOD schools in this province.

The majority of Coloured learners in the Northern Cape Province were attending HOR schools. There was remarkable movement of these learners to HOA schools. Their movement to DET schools was moderate, while there was no movement to HOD schools.

In this province, large numbers of Indian learners were registered at HOR schools at 72.9%, with the second largest number at HOA schools at 27% and the third largest number at DET schools at 0.1%. There were no Indian learners in HOD schools in the Northern Cape Province.

The majority of Indian learners in this province were attending HOR schools. There was notable movement to HOA schools, while the movement to DET schools was moderate.

In the Northern Cape Province, large numbers of White learners were registered at HOA schools at 98.7%, the second largest number at HOR schools at 1.2%, the third largest number at HOD schools at 0.1%, and none at DET schools in the Northern Cape Province.

The majority of White learners in the Northern Cape Province were registered at HOA schools. There was a very limited movement of White learners to HOR schools and HOD schools were 100% White in this province, while there was no movement of White learners to DET schools.

The majority of African learners in the Northern Cape Province were registered at DET schools, the majority of Coloured learners at HOR schools, the majority of Indian learners at HOA schools and the majority of White learners in at HOA schools.

There was a noteworthy movement of Black learners (African, Indian and Coloured learners) to HOA schools compared to movement of White learners to former Black schools (DET, HOD and HOR schools).

#### 4.2.6 Eastern Cape Province

##### Secondary School students by former Departments and Race of students, Eastern Cape Province

Department	DET	HOR	HOD	HOA	TOTAL
<b>All students</b>					
<b>Total</b>	<b>306628</b>	<b>138084</b>	<b>6226</b>	<b>77717</b>	<b>528655</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>26.1%</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>14.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>

##### Estimated racial mix within former departments

<b>African total</b>	<b>299633</b>	<b>41452</b>	<b>3270</b>	<b>27598</b>	<b>371953</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>97.7%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>52.6%</b>	<b>35.5%</b>	<b>70.4%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>3168</b>	<b>93846</b>	<b>1039</b>	<b>11248</b>	<b>10931</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>01%</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>16.7%</b>	<b>14.5%</b>	<b>20.6%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>585</b>	<b>1709</b>	<b>2568</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>9.4%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>	<b>0.5%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>2756</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>1329</b>	<b>36652</b>	<b>40869</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.9%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>21.3%</b>	<b>47.1%</b>	<b>7.7%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>965</b>	<b>2486</b>	<b>03</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>3964</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.4%</b>	<b>1.8%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.7%</b>	<b>0.8%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>306628</b>	<b>138084</b>	<b>6226</b>	<b>77717</b>	<b>528655</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### **Estimated racial mix across former departments**

<b>African total</b>	<b>299633</b>	<b>41452</b>	<b>3270</b>	<b>27598</b>	<b>371953</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>80.5%</b>	<b>11.1%</b>	<b>0.9%</b>	<b>7.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>3168</b>	<b>93846</b>	<b>1039</b>	<b>11248</b>	<b>109301</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>2.9%</b>	<b>85.9%</b>	<b>01%</b>	<b>10.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>585</b>	<b>1709</b>	<b>2568</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>4.2%</b>	<b>6.5%</b>	<b>22.8%</b>	<b>66.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>2756</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>1329</b>	<b>36652</b>	<b>40869</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>6.7%</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>3.3%</b>	<b>89.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>965</b>	<b>2486</b>	<b>03</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>3964</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>24.3%</b>	<b>62.7%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>100%</b>

DET schools reported the highest number of African learners compared to Indian, White and Coloured learners at 97.7% in the Eastern Cape Province, Coloured learners were the second largest group at 1%, and White learners were the third largest group at 0.9% while there were no Indian learners in these schools.

There was minimal movement of Coloured and White learners to DET schools in the Eastern Cape Province, while there was no movement of Indian learners to these schools. DET schools were still predominantly African.

HOR schools recorded the highest number of Coloured learners compared to Indian, African and White learners at 68% in the Eastern Cape Province, African learners were the second

largest group at 30%, and Indian learners were the third largest group at 0.2%, while there were no White learners registered at these schools.

The movement of African learners to HOR schools was remarkable, while there was very little movement of Indian learners and no movement of White learners to HOR schools in the Eastern Cape Province. HOR schools were predominantly Coloured in this province.

HOD schools registered the highest number of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners at 52.6% in the Eastern Cape Province, with White learners being the second largest group at 21.3%, Coloured learners the third largest at 16.7% and Indian learners constituting the lowest number of learners in these schools at 9.4%.

There was remarkable movement of African learners to HOD schools in the Eastern Cape Province, while the movement of Coloured and White learners to these schools was notable. These schools were predominantly African.

HOA schools reported the highest number of White learners compared to African, Indian and Coloured learners at 47.1% in the Eastern Cape Province, African learners were the second largest race group at 35.5%, Coloured learners were the third largest group at 14.5% and Indian learners constituted the lowest number of learners in these schools at 2.2%.

African learners moved to HOA schools in large numbers in the Eastern Cape Province. There was also notable movement of Coloured learners to HOD schools, while the movement of Indian learners was moderate. These schools were predominantly White.

DET schools remained predominantly African in the Eastern Cape Province, just as they were before the democratic government came into power in 1994. HOR schools remained

predominantly Coloured schools, and HOA schools remained predominantly White while HOD schools were predominantly African.

In the Eastern Cape Province, African learners moved in large numbers to HOR, HOD and HOA schools, whereas the movement of Coloured, Indian and White learners to DET schools was minimal.

In this province, African learners were registered in large numbers at DET schools at 80.5%, the second largest number was recorded at HOR schools at 11.1%, the third largest number at HOA schools at 7.4% and the lowest number at HOD schools at 0.9%.

The majority of African learners were attending DET schools in the Eastern Cape Province. There was noteworthy movement of African learners to HOR and HOA schools, while the movement of African learners to HOD schools was very limited.

In the Eastern Cape Province, large numbers of Coloured learners were registered at HOR schools at 85.9%, the second largest number at HOA schools at 10.2%, the third largest number at DET schools at 2.9% and the lowest number at HOD schools at 0.1%.

The majority of Coloured learners in the Eastern Cape Province were attending HOR schools. There was notable movement of these learners to DET and HOA schools, while the movement of Coloured learners to HOD schools was minimal.

In the Eastern Cape Province, Indian learners were registered in large numbers at HOA schools at 66.5%, the second largest number at HOD schools at 22.8%, the third largest number at HOR schools at 6.5% and there were no Indian learners in DET schools.

The majority of Indian learners in the Eastern Cape Province were attending HOA schools. There was noteworthy movement of Indian learners to DET and HOR schools in this province.

In the Eastern Cape Province, large numbers (89.7%) of White learners were registered at HOA schools, the second largest number (6.7%) at DET schools, the third largest number (3.3%) at HOD schools and the lowest number (0.3%) at HOR schools.

The majority of White learners in the Eastern Cape Province were registered at HOA schools. There was notable movement of White learners to DET and HOD schools. The movement of White learners to HOR schools was minimal. The majority of the African learners in the Eastern Cape Province were reported in DET schools, the majority of Coloured learners in HOR schools, the majority of Indian learners in HOA schools, and the majority of White learners in HOA schools. It thus appeared that the race of the learners in schools served by former departments remained the predominant race, except in the case of Indian learners, who were in the majority in the HOA schools in the Eastern Cape Province.

There was a notable movement of Black learners (African, Indian and Coloured learners ) to HOA schools compared to movement of White learners to Black schools (HOD, DET and HOR schools).

#### 4.2.7 Western Cape Province

##### Secondary School students by former Departments and Race of students, Western Cape Province

Department	DET	HOR	HOD	HOA	TOTAL
<b>All students</b>					
<b>Total</b>	<b>164506</b>	<b>549978</b>	<b>7602</b>	<b>171428</b>	<b>893514</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>01%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>100%</b>

##### Estimated racial mix within former departments

<b>African total</b>	<b>148561</b>	<b>48051</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>11575</b>	<b>208503</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>90.3%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>23.3%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>7132</b>	<b>491274</b>	<b>4039</b>	<b>52940</b>	<b>555385</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>4.3%</b>	<b>89.3%</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>62%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>798</b>	<b>1002</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>4020</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>0.1%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>01%</b>	<b>0.4%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>8559</b>	<b>476</b>	<b>02</b>	<b>86958</b>	<b>95995</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>5.2%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>51%</b>	<b>11%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>9397</b>	<b>2243</b>	<b>17941</b>	<b>29611</b>



<b>%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>1.6%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>3.3%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>164506</b>	<b>549978</b>	<b>7602</b>	<b>171428</b>	<b>893514</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Estimated racial mix across former departments**

<b>African total</b>	<b>148561</b>	<b>48051</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>11575</b>	<b>208503</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>71.3%</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>5.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>7132</b>	<b>491274</b>	<b>4039</b>	<b>52940</b>	<b>555385</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>1.3%</b>	<b>88.5%</b>	<b>0.7%</b>	<b>9.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>798</b>	<b>1002</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>4020</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>5.1%</b>	<b>19.9%</b>	<b>24.9%</b>	<b>50.1%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>8559</b>	<b>476</b>	<b>02</b>	<b>86958</b>	<b>95995</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>8.9%</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>90.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>9379</b>	<b>2243</b>	<b>17941</b>	<b>29611</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>31.6%</b>	<b>7.6%</b>	<b>60.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>

DET schools reported the highest number (90.3%) of African learners compared to Coloured, White and Indian learners, White learners were the second largest group at 5.2%, and Coloured learners were the third largest group at 4.3%, while Indian learners constituted the lowest number (0.2%) of learners in these schools.

There was moderate movement of Coloured and White learners to DET schools in the Western Cape Province, the movement of Indian learners to DET schools in the Western Cape Province was minimal, and the DET schools were predominantly African.

HOR schools reported the highest number (89.3%) of Coloured learners compared to African, White and Indian learners in the Western Cape province and African learners were the second largest group (9%), while Indian and White learners constituted the lowest number of learners in these schools at 0.1% each.

There was moderate movement of African learners and minimal movement of Indian and White learners to HOR schools in the Western Cape Province. HOR schools were predominantly Coloured in the Western Cape Province.

HOD schools recorded the highest number (53%) of Coloured learners compared to Indian, White and African learners in the Western Cape Province, Indian learners were the second largest race group (13%) and African learners were the third largest at 4%, while there were no White learners in HOD schools in the Western Cape Province.

There was very good movement of Coloured learners to HOD schools in the Western Cape. The movement of African learners to HOD schools was reasonable in this province. There was no movement of White learners to HOD schools in the Western Cape Province. HOD schools in the Western Cape Province were predominantly Coloured.

HOA schools reported the highest number of White learners compared to Coloured, Indian and African learners at 51% in the Western Cape Province, Coloured learners were the second largest group at 31%, and African learners were the third largest at 7%, while Indian learners constituted the lowest number of learners in these schools at 0.1% .

While Coloured learners moved to HOA schools in large numbers in this province, the movement of African learners was moderate and that of Indian learners minimal. HOA schools in the Western Cape Province were predominantly White.

DET schools remained predominantly African in the Western Cape, just as they were before the democratic government came into power in 1994, while HOR schools in the Western Cape Province were predominantly Coloured, HOD schools were predominantly Coloured, and HOA schools predominantly White.

In the Western Cape province, the movement of African learners to HOA, HOR and HOD schools was remarkable compared to that of Coloured, Indian and White learners to DET schools.

In this province, large numbers (71.3%) of African learners were registered at DET schools, the second largest number (23%) at HOR schools, the third largest number (5.5%) at HOA schools and the lowest number (0.2%) at HOD schools.

The majority of African learners in the Western Cape Province were attending DET schools. The movement of Black learners to HOR schools was most remarkable, to HOA schools moderate, and to HOD schools minimal.

In the Western Cape Province, large numbers (88.5%) of Coloured learners were registered at HOR schools, while the second largest number (9.5%) was found at HOA schools, the third largest number (1.3%) at DET schools and the lowest number (0.7%) at HOD schools.

The majority of Coloured learners in the Western Cape Province were attending HOR schools. The movement of Coloured learners to HOA schools was moderate, that of Coloured learners to DET schools limited, while that of Coloured learners to HOD schools minimal.

In the Western Cape Province, large numbers (50.1%) of Indian learners were registered at HOA schools, the second largest number (24.9%) at HOD schools, the third largest number (19.9%) at HOR schools and the lowest number (5.1%) at DET schools.

The majority of Indian learners in the Western Cape Province were attending HOA schools. The movement of Indian learners to HOR schools was notable and that of Indian learners to DET schools moderate.

In the Western Cape Province, very large numbers (90.6%) of White learners were registered at HOA schools; the second largest number (8.9%) was recorded at DET schools, the third largest number (0.5%) at HOR schools and none at HOD schools.

The majority of White learners in the Western Cape Province were registered at HOA schools. The movement of White learners to DET schools was moderate and minimal to HOR schools, while there was virtually no movement of such learners to HOD schools (in the Western Cape).

The majority of the African learners in the Western Cape Province were registered at DET schools, the majority of Coloured learners at HOR schools, the majority of Indian learners at HOA schools, and the majority of White learners at HOA schools. It thus appears that learners in schools served by former departments indicated the same predominant group of the learners in this province, except in the case of Indian learners, who are in the majority in HOA schools.

There was a considerable movement of Black learners (African Indian and Coloured learners) to HOA schools compared to movement of White learners to Black schools (DET, HOD and HOR schools) in this province.

#### 4.2.8 North West Province

##### Secondary School students by former Departments and Race of students, North West Province

Department	DET	HOR	HOD	HOA	TOTAL
<b>All students</b>					
<b>Total</b>	<b>584173</b>	<b>7601</b>	<b>2919</b>	<b>32524</b>	<b>627217</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>93%</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>5.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>

##### Estimated racial mix within former departments

<b>African total</b>	<b>572082</b>	<b>3977</b>	<b>2287</b>	<b>8585</b>	<b>586931</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>98%</b>	<b>52.3%</b>	<b>78.3%</b>	<b>26.4%</b>	<b>93.6%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>6995</b>	<b>3592</b>	<b>465</b>	<b>1417</b>	<b>12469</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>01%</b>	<b>47.3%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>4.4%</b>	<b>02%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>433</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>488</b>	<b>1094</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>01%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>5.3%</b>	<b>1.5%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>4449</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>21991</b>	<b>26440</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.9%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>4.2%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>283</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>0.4%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>584173</b>	<b>7601</b>	<b>2919</b>	<b>32524</b>	<b>627217</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### **Estimated racial mix across former departments**

<b>African total</b>	<b>572082</b>	<b>3977</b>	<b>2287</b>	<b>8585</b>	<b>586931</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>97.5%</b>	<b>0.6%</b>	<b>0.4%</b>	<b>1.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>6995</b>	<b>3592</b>	<b>465</b>	<b>1417</b>	<b>12469</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>56.1%</b>	<b>28.8%</b>	<b>3.7%</b>	<b>11.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>433</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>488</b>	<b>1094</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>39.5%</b>	<b>1.6%</b>	<b>14.3%</b>	<b>44.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>4449</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>21991</b>	<b>26440</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>16.8%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>83.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>283</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>75.6%</b>	<b>5.3%</b>	<b>3.9%</b>	<b>15.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>

DET schools recorded the highest number (98%) of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners in the North West province, while the second largest groups attending DET schools in the North West province were Coloured and Indian learners at 01% each, with no White learners attending these schools.

There was minimal movement of Coloured and Indian learners to DET schools in this province, and no movement of White learners to these schools, which were still predominantly African.

HOR schools reported the highest number (52.3%) of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners in the North West province, the second largest (47%) group was

that of Coloured learners, and Indian learners constituted 0.2% of the total number of learners, with no White learners in these schools.

There was remarkable movement of African learners to HOR schools in the North West province, and virtually no movement of Indian learners and White learners to these schools, which were predominantly African.

HOD schools reported the highest number (78.3%) of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners in the North West province, Coloured learners constituted the second largest percentage at 16.0%, Indian learners were the third largest group at 5.3%, while there were no White learners.

There was notable movement of African learners, fair movement of Coloured learners and no movement of White learners to HOD schools, which became predominantly African.

HOA schools reported the highest number (68%) of White learners compared to Coloured, Indian and African learners in the North West province, African learners were the second largest race group at 26%, and Coloured learners were the third largest at 4.4% and Indian learners constituted the lowest number of learners in these schools at 1.5%.

There was noteworthy movement of African learners to HOA schools in the North West province. The movement of Indian and Coloured learners to these schools was fair. HOA schools remained predominantly White in this province.

DET, HOR and HOD schools were predominantly African, while HOA schools were predominantly White in the North West province.



In the North West province, African learners moved in large numbers to HOR, HOD and HOA schools. However, the movement of White, Coloured and Indian learners to DET schools was minimal.

In this province, African learners were registered in large numbers at DET schools at 97.5%, the second largest number (1.5%) at HOA schools, the third largest number (0.6%) was found at HOR schools and only 0.4% at HOD schools.

The majority of African learners in the North West province were attending DET schools. There was remarkable movement of African learners to HOD, HOR as well as HOA schools in this province.

In the North West province, Coloured learners were registered in large numbers at DET schools at 56.1%, the second largest number at HOR schools at 28.8%, the third largest number at HOA schools at 11.4% and only 3.7% in HOD schools.

The majority of Coloured learners in the North West province were attending DET schools. The movement of Coloured learners to DET schools was notable, their movement to HOA schools moderate, and to HOD schools minimal.

In the North West province, larger numbers (44.6%) of Indian learners were registered at HOA schools, the second largest number (39.5%) being in DET schools, the third largest number (14.3%) at HOD schools and the lowest number (1.6%) at HOR schools.

The majority of Indian learners in the North West province were attending HOA schools. There was remarkable movement of these learners to HOA and DET schools and moderate movement to HOR schools in the North West Province.

In the North West province, White learners were registered in large numbers (83.2%) at HOA schools, the second largest number (16.8%) at DET schools and none at HOR and HOD schools.

The majority of White learners in this province were registered at HOA schools. There was moderate movement of White learners to DET schools and no movement to HOD and HOR schools in this province.

The majority of African learners as well as the majority of Coloured learners in the North West province were at DET schools, while the majority of Indian and White learners were at HOA schools.

There was a reasonable movement of Black learners (African, Indian and Coloured learners) to HOA schools in North West province compared to the movement of White learners to Black schools (HOD, HOR and DET schools).

#### 4.2.9 Mpumalanga Province

##### Secondary School students by former Departments and Race of students, Mpumalanga Province

Department	DET	HOR	HOD	HOA	TOTAL
<b>All students</b>					
<b>Total</b>	<b>725363</b>	<b>6052</b>	<b>9652</b>	<b>73901</b>	<b>814968</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>0.7%</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>9.1%</b>	<b>100%</b>

##### Estimated racial mix within former departments

<b>African total</b>	<b>718319</b>	<b>4630</b>	<b>8298</b>	<b>27229</b>	<b>758476</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>99%</b>	<b>76.5%</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>93%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>6409</b>	<b>1369</b>	<b>631</b>	<b>1806</b>	<b>10215</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.9%</b>	<b>22.6%</b>	<b>6.5%</b>	<b>02%</b>	<b>1.3%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>505</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>716</b>	<b>1426</b>	<b>2673</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.1%</b>	<b>10.4%</b>	<b>7.4%</b>	<b>02%</b>	<b>0.3%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>04</b>	<b>42555</b>	<b>42646</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.4%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>5.2%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>05</b>	<b>03</b>	<b>885</b>	<b>958</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.1%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>01%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>725363</b>	<b>6052</b>	<b>9652</b>	<b>73901</b>	<b>814968</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### Estimated racial mix across former departments

<b>African total</b>	<b>718319</b>	<b>4630</b>	<b>8298</b>	<b>27229</b>	<b>758476</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>94.7%</b>	<b>0.6%</b>	<b>1.1%</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>6409</b>	<b>1369</b>	<b>631</b>	<b>1806</b>	<b>10215</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>62.7%</b>	<b>13.4%</b>	<b>6.2%</b>	<b>17.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>505</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>716</b>	<b>1426</b>	<b>2673</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>18.9%</b>	<b>01%</b>	<b>26.8%</b>	<b>53.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>04</b>	<b>42555</b>	<b>42646</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>0.1%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>99.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>05</b>	<b>03</b>	<b>885</b>	<b>958</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>75.6%</b>	<b>5.3%</b>	<b>3.9%</b>	<b>15.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>

DET schools recorded the highest number (99%) of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners in the Mpumalanga province, the second largest group was Coloured learners at 0.9%, Indian learners were the smallest group (0.1%) and there were no White learners.

There was limited movement of Coloured, Indian and White learners to DET schools in the Mpumalanga province, which were still predominantly African.

HOR schools reported the highest number (76.5%) of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners in Mpumalanga, the second largest group comprised Coloured learners at 22.6%, the third largest group Indians at 10.4%, and the smallest White learners at 0.4%.

There was very noteworthy movement of African learners and Indian learners to HOR schools in Mpumalanga, with virtually no movement of White learners to these schools, which were predominantly African.

HOD schools registered the highest number (86%) of African learners compared to Coloured, Indian and White learners in Mpumalanga, followed by that of Indian learners (7.4%) and Coloured learners (6.5%), while there were no White learners in these schools.

The movement of African learners to HOD schools in Mpumalanga was remarkable and that of Coloured learners was fair, while there was no movement of White learners to these schools, which were predominantly African.

HOA schools recorded the highest number (58%) of White learners compared to Coloured, Indian and African learners in Mpumalanga, African learners were the second largest group attending at 37%, while Coloured and Indian learners constituted the smallest groups at 2% each.

African learners moved to HOA schools in large numbers in Mpumalanga. There was also a small movement of both Coloured and Indian learners to these schools. HOA schools in this province remained predominantly White.

DET schools remained predominantly African in Mpumalanga, just as they were before the democratic government came into power in 1994. HOR schools became predominantly African, and HOA schools remained predominantly White. HOD schools in the Mpumalanga province became predominantly African.

In Mpumalanga, African learners moved to HOR, HOD and HOA schools in large numbers. The movement of White, Coloured and Indian learners to DET schools was very minimal.

In the Mpumalanga province, African learners were registered in large numbers (94.7%) at DET schools, the second largest number at HOA schools at 3.6%, the third largest number (1.1%) at HOD schools and the lowest number (0.6%) at HOR schools.

DET schools in the Mpumalanga province reported the highest number of African learners compared to HOA, HOR and HOD schools.

While both HOD and HOA schools registered a moderate number of African learners in the Mpumalanga province, HOR schools registered a very low number.

The majority of African learners were attending DET schools in the Mpumalanga province. There was moderate movement to HOR and HOA schools, while the movement of these learners to HOD schools was very limited.

In Mpumalanga, Coloured learners were registered in large numbers at DET schools at 62.7%, the second largest number (17.7%) at HOA schools, the third largest number at HOR schools at 13.4% and the lowest number at HOD schools at 6.2%.

The majority of Coloured learners in the Mpumalanga province were attending DET schools. The movement of Coloured learners to DET schools was remarkable, to HOA schools noteworthy, and to HOD schools moderate.

In this province, Indian learners were registered in large numbers at HOA schools at 53.3%. The second largest number of Indian learners in the Mpumalanga province was in HOD schools at 26.8%. DET schools boasted the third largest number of Indian learners in this province at 18.9%. The lowest number of Indian learners in the Mpumalanga province was attending HOR schools at 0.1%.

The majority of Indian learners in Mpumalanga were attending HOA schools, to which there was remarkable movement. There was notable movement to DET schools and very little movement to HOR schools in this province.

In Mpumalanga, White learners were registered in large numbers at HOA schools at 99.7%, the second largest number at DET schools at 0.2%, the lowest at HOD schools at 0.1%, and none at HOR schools.

The majority of White learners in the Mpumalanga province were registered at HOA schools. There was minimal movement of White learners to former African only schools (DET and HOR schools in the Mpumalanga province and no movement to HOD schools.

The majority of African and Coloured learners in Mpumalanga were attending DET schools, while the majority of Indian as well as White learners were attending HOA schools.

It thus appeared that learners in schools served by former departments still indicated the predominant group of learners, except in the case of Indian learners, who were in the majority in HOA schools in Mpumalanga and the case of Coloured learners, who were in the majority in DET schools in this province.

There was a very noteworthy movement of Black learners (African, Coloured and Indian learners) to HOA schools compared to the movement of White learners to Black schools (HOD, DET and HOR schools) in this province.



#### 4.2.10 General South African Estimated Racial Integration

##### Secondary School students by former Departments and Race of students, South Africa in general

Department	DET	HOR	HOD	HOA	TOTAL
<b>All students</b>					
<b>Total</b>	<b>6924948</b>	<b>963295</b>	<b>338167</b>	<b>1099195</b>	<b>9325605</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>74.3%</b>	<b>10.3%</b>	<b>3.6%</b>	<b>11.8%</b>	<b>100%</b>

##### Estimated racial mix within former departments

<b>African total</b>	<b>6811562</b>	<b>221988</b>	<b>180651</b>	<b>365955</b>	<b>7580156</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>98.4%</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>53.4%</b>	<b>33.3%</b>	<b>81.3%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>48560</b>	<b>724027</b>	<b>13169</b>	<b>116592</b>	<b>902348</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.7%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>3.9%</b>	<b>10.6%</b>	<b>9.7%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>18167</b>	<b>2528</b>	<b>138115</b>	<b>36729</b>	<b>195539</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>40.8%</b>	<b>3.4%</b>	<b>2.1%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>43336</b>	<b>2605</b>	<b>2533</b>	<b>553427</b>	<b>601901</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.6%</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>0.7%</b>	<b>50.3%</b>	<b>6.4%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>3323</b>	<b>12147</b>	<b>3699</b>	<b>26492</b>	<b>45661</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>1.3%</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>2.4%</b>	<b>0.5%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>6924948</b>	<b>963295</b>	<b>338167</b>	<b>1099195</b>	<b>9325605</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### **Estimated racial mix across former departments**

<b>African total</b>	<b>6811562</b>	<b>221988</b>	<b>180651</b>	<b>365955</b>	<b>7580156</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>90%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Coloured total</b>	<b>48560</b>	<b>724027</b>	<b>13169</b>	<b>116592</b>	<b>902348</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>5.4%</b>	<b>80.2%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Indian total</b>	<b>9608</b>	<b>2528</b>	<b>138115</b>	<b>36729</b>	<b>186980</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>19.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>White total</b>	<b>43336</b>	<b>2605</b>	<b>2533</b>	<b>553427</b>	<b>601901</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>7.2%</b>	<b>10.4%</b>	<b>0.4%</b>	<b>92 %</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Others total</b>	<b>3323</b>	<b>12147</b>	<b>3699</b>	<b>26492</b>	<b>45661</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>7.3%</b>	<b>26.6%</b>	<b>8.1%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>100%</b>

When taken together, enrolments of Black learners (African, Coloured and Indian learners) have altered the racial composition of HOA schools, although this phenomenon varies within and across provinces. When one considers the integration of Black learners (African, Coloured and Indian learners) more closely, it is evident that while figures vary within and across provinces, often depending on population and urban density, the numbers of Black learners (African, Coloured and Indian learners) in HOA schools remain small given the large numbers of Black learners (Coloured, Indian and African) in South African schools in general compared to small numbers of White learners in South African schools.

The enrolments of Black learners (Coloured, Indian and African learners) in HOA schools as evident in the above-mentioned discussion cannot be used as the only criterion to measure whether HOA schools are indeed effectively and genuinely racially integrated. For HOA schools to be regarded as effectively and genuinely racially integrated, the movement of Black learners (Coloured, Indian and African learners) must be supported by the following

five building blocks of racial integration, namely (1) SGBs, which are representative of parents from different racial backgrounds; (2) languages of instruction, which are representative of learners from different racial backgrounds; (3) school curriculum, which promotes the teaching of different languages spoken by learners from different racial backgrounds attending these HOA schools, for example the teaching of African languages as subjects in these schools to promote multilingualism, as advocated by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa; (4) racial composition of educators that is representative of learners from different racial backgrounds; and (5) the promotion of racially mixed extramural activities in these HOA schools.

In the following sections I discuss the composition of SGBs and how this arrangement together with the participation of parents from different racial backgrounds in the governing bodies of HOA schools promote or derail effective and genuine racial integration towards the promotion of social justice in HOA schools. I consider to what extent the implementation of the language of instruction in HOA schools improves or hinder effective and genuine racial integration towards the promotion of social justice in these schools. I also draw attention to the role of the curriculum in South African schools in the promotion or disruption of effective and genuine racial integration, especially the teaching of African languages as subjects to further multilingualism in HOA schools, which can lead to the advancement of social justice. Moreover, I discuss how the racial composition of educators together with extramural activities in HOA schools advance or derail genuine racial integration towards the promotion of social justice.

### **4.3 Composition of school governing bodies and participation**

In South African schools, the most crucial ‘point of power’ is the SGB, as was discussed earlier. The racial composition of SGBs in some schools has changed, yet minimally so. There are a few Black members who participate in governing bodies activities compared their White counterparts (Sekete *et al.*, 2001:37).

However, there is an apparent lack of commitment to changing entire sets of school policies related to school governance in HOA schools so as to accommodate the diversity that abounds in the schools, for example the language used during SGB meetings, such as Afrikaans, which is rarely understood by African parents, as well as the times during which meetings take place, which are usually late in the evening, and which disadvantages majority of African parents as they mostly rely on public transport, mainly taxis, which cease operating before such meetings start (Sekete *et al.*, 2001:37). It is apparent that SGBs in many schools are not representative of their learner population (Lewis & Motala, 2004:127). Given the discussion above, I conclude that SGBs in some HOA schools in South Africa are still dominated by White parents despite large numbers of Black (African, Coloured and Indian learners) attending these schools. If the HOA schools' governing bodies are unwilling to change entire sets of school policies relating to school governance so as to accommodate the diversity that abounds in schools, for example the language used during school governing bodies' meetings such as Afrikaans as well as times during which meetings takes place, the ethos of these schools will remain a powerful instrument of exclusion as such will be a constrained in the development of genuine racial integration in South African public schools.

It is against this background that it could be argued that the lack of a commitment by some HOA schools' governing bodies to change their policies could lead to these schools failing to realise the two principles of justice associated with the composition of the SGB building block of racial integration, namely equality and need (Miller, 2001) in South African public schools because of its failure to (a) see to it that the Black parents (Indian, Coloured and African parents) whose children are attending these HOA schools are afforded equal treatment by being included in the SGBs of these schools (principle of equality) and (b) promote the need for Black parents to be represented in the SGBs in these HOA schools (principle of need).

Failure of the SGB building block of racial integration to address the two principles of justice associated with it contributed to a lack of racial integration in HOA schools. Given the lack of effective and genuine racial integration due to the failure of some SGBs to address the two

principles of justice closely associated with the composition of SGBs, one can claim that there is lack of social justice in some of South Africa's HOA schools.

It could be argued that this situation is, to a great extent, the outcome of a lack of deliberations among stakeholders concerned about the education of their children and how 'best' school policies related to school governance can be changed so as to accommodate the diversity that abounds in the schools in order to promote racial integration. This promotion of racial integration could lead to the realisation of the three principles of justice, which will also ultimately lead to the promotion of social justice in South African public schools.

#### **4.4 Language of Instruction**

In preparation for fast-tracking genuine racial integration in order to promote social justice in South African schools, the ANC issued a draft policy framework for education and training in January 1994, which proposed a democratic consultative process of determining the language or languages of learning in moving towards the promotion of genuine racial integration in the pursuit of the promotion of social justice in South African schools based on the following three principles, since South Africa enjoys significant language diversity and a high degree of multilingualism: the right of the individual to choose the language of learning; the right to develop the linguistic skills necessary for full participation in national, provincial and local life; and the need to promote and develop South Africans (Fiske & Ladd, 2004:64). The aims of the democratic consultative process of determining the languages of learning in South African schools were officially realised with the introduction of Section 29(2) of the Bill of Rights, Chapter 2, of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No. 108 of 1996, which states the following:

Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or language of their choice in the public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure access to, and implementation of this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium instructions, taking into account

- (a) equity
- (b) practicability
- (c) past racially discriminatory laws and practices. (Republic of South Africa, 1996a:14)

In the education context specifically and in South African society generally, language issues have been and continue to be intimately linked to questions of power and the pursuit of human rights. South Africa's rich linguistic heritage could be used as a classroom resource, for cognitive development and as a way of enhancing the human potential of learners and of South Africa in general. Yet, this heritage is used for divisive and segregationist purposes. Learners who do not conform to or cope with the dominant language are portrayed to have a language 'deficiency' and diversity is viewed as a language problem (Mda, 2004:177).

According to Alexander (1989:10),

... Racial prejudice and racism are without any doubt reinforced and maintained by language barriers. If we want to fight against racial prejudice and racism then we have, amongst other things, to break down the language barriers. How to do this so as to bring about maximum unity among our people [South Africans] is the meaning of a democratic solution to the language question in South Africa.

Like all other aspects of schooling, the language of instruction in education in some of South African schools was used for political purposes, and to dissuade Black learners (especially African learners) from entering HOA schools in large numbers. Despite the introduction of new policies and legislation to redress education imbalances of the past, including the medium of instruction in South African schools, only minimal changes in the medium of instruction in some of HOA schools have occurred. Since the collapsing of 18 education departments that were based on race and ethnicity and the formation of one national and nine provincial education departments, such changes included the policy of some of the former Afrikaans-medium schools to introduce dual and parallel mediums of instruction in order to

accommodate learners for whom Afrikaans is not their home language, the majority of whom are African. This was like running two classrooms in one. Dual and parallel mediums of instruction do not exist because they still require that all learners should be familiar with both languages and in addition, the issues of racism and promotion of racial integration are not addressed. These forms of instruction in fact enhance, if not reinforce, segregation in education. Former English-medium schools have mainly continued with a single medium, as was the case before 1994. However, some of the former Afrikaans only schools are still denying Black learners (Indian and African learners) admission to their schools, using the language of instruction in their schools as an exclusionary mechanism.

Section 29(2) of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa which reads “Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in the public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable” did not go unchallenged, since it was tested soon after the adoption of the Constitution as a result of the conflict at Potgietersrus Primary School. At this school, some of the more hard-line White parents wanted to bar African learners from attending by resorting to using language rather than race as an exclusionary mechanism to deny African learners from registering there. They (hard-line White parents) pointed to Clause 32(2) of the interim Constitution, which maintained that “every person shall have the right to establish where, practicable, educational institutions based on a common culture, language or religion, provided there shall be no discrimination on the grounds of race”. The Constitutional Court easily showed that the school discriminated on the basis of race, culture, language and religion of applicant learners and denied the African learners their fundamental right to education. While in this case the abuse of the clause was crude and transparently discriminatory, the question to be posed was whether or not it could allow sophisticated governing bodies an opening to mask discriminatory practices. Similarly, a clause in Section 29, which allows for single-medium institutions, must also be scrutinised (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:15).

In light of the above discussion on language of instruction in HOA schools, I conclude that these schools failed to advance African languages as a medium of instruction, which caused

these schools to neglect the two principles of justice closely associated with language of instruction as a building block of racial integration, viz. the principle of equality and the principle of need. Language of instruction, as a building block of racial integration, did not focus on the two principles of justice because (a) it did not adhere to the principle of equality since it did not advance the notion that learners should receive equal benefits in their daily learning activities, for example African learners learning in their mother tongue, which will allow them to understand and excel in the different subject just like Afrikaans- and English-speaking learners do, who are being taught in their respective mother tongues; and (b) it did not address the principle of need, since it did not take into consideration the fact that African learners can achieve better results in their different subjects if they are taught in their mother tongue compared to when they are taught in other languages such as English and Afrikaans.

Failure of language of instruction as a building block of racial integration to address the two principles of justice associated with it, as discussed above, led to lack of effective and genuine racial integration in these HOA schools in the Republic of South Africa. Given the lack of effective and genuine racial integration due to the failure of language of instruction as a building block of racial integration to address the two principles of justice closely associated with language of instruction, one can claim that there is no social justice in South African HOA schools.

Social justice is not being realised in some of HOA schools because there is a lack of deliberations among stakeholders on how the promotion of African languages as medium of instruction can promote racial integration, which can ultimately lead to the promotion of social justice.

#### **4.5 School Curriculum (with special reference to teaching of African languages)**

Since the curriculum is regarded as one of the most important building blocks of genuine racial integration, the direction for teaching within racially integrated schools and for successful living in a racially integrated society has been provided by all curriculum documents, beginning with the South African Qualifications Authority Act 58 (Republic of



South Africa, 1995a), one of the critical outcomes of which is to “work effectively with others in a team, group, organisation and community”. This consequently implies that the learner will

- develop tolerance for difference (racial, cultural) within a group and
- develop empathy for more vulnerable members of the community.

The Revised National Curriculum Statement for grades R to 9 (Department of Education, 2002) is based on the principles of social justice, human rights and inclusivity. A detailed explanation of the manner in which teaching the new curriculum can promote genuine racial integration in South African schools is outlined within the statements for each learning area, most notably within Life Orientation, the Human and Social Sciences, Literacy and Communication, and Arts and Culture. Guidance regarding the use of language as an academic subject is provided by the Language in Education Policy of 1997 Act 27 (Republic of South Africa, 1997), which requires that all schools should

- pursue the language policy most supportive of general conceptual growth among learners from different racial backgrounds; and
- counter disadvantages resulting from different kinds of mismatches between home languages and languages of learning and teaching.

The implications of this policy are that schools might need to employ educators who can teach the languages understood by a significant number of learners at the school; encourage monolingual or bilingual educators to learn the languages understood by significant numbers of learners at the school; or provide additional languages as subjects, in order to consolidate the academic language use of significant numbers of learners (Department of Education, 2001:15).

Despite the introduction of all these policies (including constitutional provisions that lay the framework for the promotion of multilingualism, such as the equal use and enjoyment of all 11 official languages; the creation of appropriate conditions for the development and

promotion of their equal use and enjoyment; the prevention of exploitation and domination or division' exercised through language policies; the non-diminution of rights to language and status of languages that existed at the commencement of the Constitution; the prevention of unfair discrimination on the grounds of language; the right of learners to instruction in the language of his or her choice where this is reasonably practicable) and despite the increase in the numbers of African learners entering HOA schools, there are indications that African languages are merely offered in a limited way in some of these schools. Different HOA schools give different reasons for not offering African languages. These reasons range from learners and their parents not being keen on taking subjects that are not used in the workplace and not being commercially viable, to the schools not being able to attract teachers who can teach African languages ( Sekete *et al.*, 2001:x).

The failure to introduce African languages in South African HOA schools derails effective and genuine racial integration, which can lead to the realisation of social justice in this schools, because when African languages are not offered as subjects, the two principles of justice that can be associated with the teaching of African languages in South African HOA schools, viz. equality and need, which can promote effective and genuine racial integration in South African schools, cannot be realised. Failure to teach African languages as subjects in HOA schools leads to a violation of the principle of equality, because White and Black learners (African learners in this case) do not enjoy equal benefits, as White learners benefit more than Black learners (African learners in this case) do because their mother-tongue languages are being taught as subjects whereas no attention is being paid to the mother-tongue languages of African learners. The failure to teach African languages as subjects in HOA schools further causes the curriculum, as one of the building blocks of racial integration, to neglect the principle of need because it does not advance the notion that African learners should be taught their mother tongue in HOA schools for them to feel accepted and accommodated. This leads to an absence of social justice in South African HOA schools. The failure to teach African languages in these schools that have many registered African learners causes them to be regarded as not being racial integrated and promoting social justice.

HOA schools are failing to effectively integrate as a means of advancing social justice because of a lack of deliberations among concerned stakeholders in education on how the introduction of African languages as teaching subjects can help HOA schools in furthering effective racial integration, which will address the aforementioned two principles of justice and promote social justice in these schools.

In the next section I discuss how educator composition in HOA schools promotes or derails effective and genuine racial integration in these schools.

#### **4.6 Racial Composition of Educators**

A diverse teaching corps facilitates the contribution of a wide variety of cultures, and it encourages learners from all racial backgrounds to see role models in the teaching body. When educator numbers in South African provinces are analysed, it appears that the educator complement is racially representative and that there is compliance with the Employment Equity Act ( Republic of South Africa, 1998a), which prohibits unfair discrimination and promotes affirmative action in order to ensure representativity of designated groups with regard to race, gender and disability in the workplace. The Employment of Educators Act (Republic of South Africa, 1998a) further stipulates that the filling of any post in any educational establishment shall be with due regard to equality, equity and the principles of the Constitution. However, when the data are broken down by schools or relation to learner representativity, it is evident that there is little or no deracialisation and integration of educators in some of the public schools. In certain cases there are more than 80% Black learners (African, Indian and Coloured learners) while the majority of the educators are White (Sujee, 2004:54). There have been little changes in some schools in terms of the racial composition of teaching staff since schools began to admit learners from different racial backgrounds. The teaching staff in some HOA schools is overwhelmingly White and shows an increasing trend towards White educators over the years and the teaching staff in Black schools ( HOR, HOD and DET schools) is overwhelmingly Black and records an increasing trend towards Black educators (Coloured, Indian and African educators) over the years.

This lack of alteration in the staff complements in HOA schools and (HOR, HOD and DET schools) is in stark contrast to the rapid changes in the race composition of the learners. The disjunction between unequal and unchanging staff composition and learner changes is very noticeable (Sekete *et al.*, 2001:34). Some HOA schools have made slow progress in changing the racial mix of the educators, but are still far from bringing that combination in line with the mix of learners. Thus, HOA schools have been making progress in diversifying their teaching force, but at a slower pace than that for racial diversification of the learners (Fiske & Ladd, 2005:98). It is therefore evident that there is little deracialisation and integration with regard to the employment of Black educators in HOA schools. This further demonstrates that the greater majority of the educators in each respective former department still represent the apartheid legacy (Sujee, 2004:56). “The movement of educators in the different race groups in the former departments is not discounted but the reconstruction of the racial composition in each of the former departments is taking place at a lingering and protracted rate” (Sujee, 2004:56).

Given the above discussion on the racial composition of educators as a building block of racial integration in South African schools, one can conclude that the current racial composition of educators in South African schools does not effectively address racial integration in a way for the composition of educators to promote the three principles of justice associated with this building block of racial integration, namely desert, equality and need. The composition of educators as one of the building blocks of racial integration in South African HOA schools fails to promote racial integration, which in turn can lead to the realisation of social justice in these schools, because (a) it does not promote the principle of desert, which is linked to ‘positive discrimination’ when it comes to the appointment of Black educators (African, Indian and Coloured educators) in HOA schools to ensure good representation of Black educators in these schools; (b) it does not take into consideration the principle of equality that advocates that learners from different racial backgrounds be treated equally in HOA schools, and does not afford Black learners (Indian, Coloured and African learners) the opportunity to be taught by Black educators; and (c) it does not adhere to the principle of need for Black learners to be taught by Black educators who, as their role models, can motivate them to perform better in these HOA schools. The racial composition of educators in South

African schools does not effectively address racial integration, which can lead to the realisation of social justice in HOA schools, because of a lack of deliberations among stakeholders in education on how the representation of educators from different racial backgrounds can help to promote effective and genuine racial integration, which in turn can lead to the realisation of social justice in South African HOA schools.

One cannot really claim to have dealt with all the most important elements that promote or derail effective and genuine racial integration into South African HOA schools if one does not write about the impact of extramural activities in this regard.

#### **4.7 Extramural Activities**

Minimal to no changes were reported in terms of the variety of extramural activities provided to accommodate learners with different interests or cultural backgrounds. For example, rugby fields could not be used for soccer, as there were no coaches for the latter sporting code (Sekete *et al.*, 2001: x). The choice of sporting codes in schools, the composition of school teams, access to facilities and training as well as sports stereotypes resonate with debates in the broader society focused on the national cricket and rugby teams ( Vally & Dalamba,1999:55). A number of White schools traditionally privileged rugby, cricket and swimming. Many male Black learners (especially African learners) in these HOA schools were encouraged to participate in soccer, since it was regarded as a sporting code for Black people only (especially African people), whereas White male learners were encouraged to participate in rugby, since rugby was regarded as a sporting code for White people only (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:55). In some schools, Black learners were motivated to try out for athletics while White learners were pressured to take up swimming (Limpopo Department of Education, 2004:10). The encouragement of separate extramural activities along racial lines, as discussed above, derails instead of promotes effective and genuine racial integration in South African schools towards the promotion of social justice, which is the main objective of racial integration. Separate extramural activities prohibits these activities, as one of the building blocks of racial integration, to achieve its main objective, which is to promote the principle of justice associated with extramural activities, namely need, because (a) in the unfolding of the extramural activities building block of racial integration in South African

HOA schools, the principle of need as a means of promoting social justice is not addressed because no attention is paid to the need of Black and White learners to choose the sporting activities they want to participate in. The need of learners from different racial backgrounds to choose the sporting activities they are interested in is not taken into consideration because educators in these schools take it upon themselves to choose sporting activities for learners from different racial backgrounds. For example, when educators choose sporting codes for learners from different racial backgrounds they always choose soccer for Black learners and rugby for White learners because they still believed in the apartheid policy, which associated rugby with White people and soccer with Black people.

I am of the opinion that extramural activities failed to promote effective racial integration, which could have led to the realisation of social justice in HOA schools, because of a lack of deliberations on how racially mixed extramural activities can effectively promote racial integration and at the same time promote social justice in South African HOA schools.

#### **4.8 Summary**

Despite the formal arrangements for genuine racial integration to take place in South African public schools towards the realisation of the three principles of justice, namely desert, equality and need, which could have led to the promotion of social justice in South African public schools, through the introduction of a number of education policies since 1994, when the GNU came into power, such as the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 ( Republic of South Africa,1996a), the South African Schools Act 84 ( Republic of South Africa,1996b), the Language in Education Policy of 1997, the South African Qualifications Authority Act of 1995, the Employment Equity Act of 1998, the Employment of Educators Act 76 ( Republic of South Africa, 1998b), and the Revised National Curriculum Statement for grades 0 to 9 ( Republic of South Africa, 2002), there is a unidirectional movement of Black learners ( African, Indian and Coloured learners) to HOA schools. Although there is considerable movement of Black learners (African, Indian and Coloured learners) to HOA schools, the needs of these Black learners, such as being taught in their mother tongue, having African languages taught as subjects, being taught by Black educators (Indian, Coloured and African educators), having Black parents (Coloured, Indian and African parents) voted into

SGBs as well as the introduction and promotion of racially mixed extramural activities, are not being met by the majority of HOA schools, and this promotes the absorption (assimilation) of Black learners (Indian, Coloured and African learners) into these schools. Such assimilation hinders the realisation of the three principles of justice, which ultimately leads to HOA schools not promoting social justice in South African public schools.

Given the discussion above, I conclude that racial integration in South African HOA schools has followed a decidedly assimilationist approach of integration, which promoted social injustice by requiring Black learners (African, Indian and Coloured learners) to adopt the language, customs and values of the White learners, thereby undermining Black people's cultural values. The building blocks of racial integration failed to advance social justice because they lacked deliberations among the stakeholders in education on how best they can be implemented to promote the realisation of the three principles of justice, which would ultimately have increased effective racial integration and social justice in South African HOA schools.

In the next chapter I suggest a deliberative racial integration model as the best option for the promotion of social justice in South African public schools.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **IN DEFENCE OF DELIBERATIVE RACIAL INTEGRATION**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I introduce deliberative racial integration as an alternative approach that could effectively promote effective and genuine racial integration in South African public schools. This proposed approach may also lead to the realisation of the three principles of justice known as desert, equality and need. In this chapter I also argue that a deliberative racial-integration practice that generates these three principles as advocated by Miller (2001) can ultimately lead to the given objectives. In other words, I argue that the foundations of a deliberative racial-integration approach should be informed by clear principles of justice. In turn this interaction between a deliberative approach to racial integration and educational practice that is built on the three principles of justice is well suited to the creation of schools and society that are socially just.

A deliberative model is crucial for South African public schools today because schools are the best sites for the promotion of genuine democratic values (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). Such values place a premium on the characteristic conditions of life that are constituted by inclusion, equality, publicity, deliberation, hospitality, compassion, belligerence and many other factors. I discuss some of these elements later in this chapter. Given the background of racial-integration approaches, particularly in South Africa, which I have characterised as an assimilation model (Chapter 4), it is important that they promote genuine democratic values that may in turn lead to social justice. Such an approach also needs to be founded on a deliberative culture. A deliberative racial-integration approach could militate against the slow progress and lack of effective and genuine racial integration, which result from assimilationist stances. The model which I propose seriously takes into account the presence of different stakeholders in education and also considers that deliberations among them are intended for the promotion of democratic values as well as social justice.



In this chapter, I will also discuss how I develop a deliberative racial integration approach as it is going to be used in this study. I further discuss its framework and its constituent elements. In doing so, I further advance my argument as to how these can, hopefully, address the weaknesses associated with the present assimilation approach of racial integration, which entrenches social injustice in South African public schools. The said elements also play a major role in enhancing deliberations among the stakeholders concerned, thereby leading to the realisation of the three principles of justice and social justice.

## **5.2 Development of Deliberative Racial Integration**

Deliberative racial integration will be developed from the point of view of deliberative democracy and cosmopolitanism or citizenship of the world (Benhabib, 1996; Gutmann & Thompson, 2004; Nussbaum, 1997; Waghid, 2004; Young, 2000). Such democracy is central in developing racial integration because the deliberative theory is considered a foundation for norms of public engagement. These norms promote the engagement of free and equal participants with each other in open debate, in order for them to address issues of common concern by persuading each other to accept each other's proposals on the basis of the strength of reasons that are mutually acceptable and generally accessible. This is done with the intention of reaching conclusions that are binding to all participants but open to challenges and changes in the future (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004:7).

A genuine approach of this nature should have the capacity to recognise the distant others and their vulnerabilities. As such, conceptions of cosmopolitanism will also be followed, because cosmopolitanism concerns norms that "govern the relations among individuals in a global civil society" (Benhabib, 2006:20). Cosmopolitanism represents a perspective that goes beyond consideration of the local, national, regional or continental affiliations to understanding each and every person as belonging to the same human race. In Nussbaum (1997:69), this conception is qualified as the concept of the world citizen. According to this line of thought, it may be construed that cosmopolitanism as a norm involves "understanding and respect that recognises not only difference, but also, at the same time, commonality, not only a unique history but also common rights and aspirations and problems" in such a manner that we are capable of "developing sympathetic understanding of distant cultures and of

ethnic, racial, and religious minorities within her own” (Nussbaum, 1997:69). I will use cosmopolitanism as a way of affording genuine recognition of the other, distant or otherwise. Such a cosmopolitan stand could enable one to take into serious consideration the painful emotions occasioned by the awareness of another person’s undeserved misfortune or suffering. These norms also enable the finding and enacting of conditions of political coexistence for different human beings, and ethical encounter with the other, a fundamental welcoming, an unconditional receptivity towards the other, which is ignored by deliberative democracy (Benhabib, 2006:157).

Stemming from the above understanding, a deliberative racial-integration approach in this dissertation will refer to a racial-integration process that is shaped and given direction by democratic deliberations as well as cosmopolitan norms and values. In evoking these two conceptions, namely deliberations and cosmopolitanism, I propose racial integration that involves all concerned stakeholders such as parents, learners, educators as well as government in promoting effective and genuine results in South African public schools. The approach proposed in this study entails four normative ideals for the relationships and dispositions of deliberation, known as inclusion, equality, reasonableness and publicity (Young, 2000:23), and the three pillars of cosmopolitanism, known as compassion, hospitality and belligerence.

In the following section I discuss the constituent elements of deliberative racial integration.

### **5.3 Discussion of the constituent elements of deliberative racial integration**

Deliberative racial integration, as the phrase used in this study, consists of eight important elements, namely deliberation, inclusion, equality, reasonableness, publicity, compassion, hospitality and belligerence. All these apply to the various areas discussed below. To avoid repetition, they will not be spelt out in each case.

#### **5.3.1 Deliberation**

Deliberation refers to public (open) discussions or arguments where citizens submit their views and reasons for holding them to the test of other members’ perspectives. These debates/discussions/deliberations /engagements are necessary for taking decisions on issues of

common concern affecting those involved in the debates and their societies (Waghid, 2004:25). According to Benhabib (1996:68), deliberations are concerned with the involvement and cooperation of all citizens in public debates as equals who are free, accountable and reasonable in order to solve the contemporary social problems faced by our societies as well as our schools, such as a lack of effective and genuine racial integration in this country. Deliberations consist of the weighing of reasons for and against a course of action. The sort of give-and-take method involved in this process is fundamentally argumentative, hence discursive. Gambetta (1998:19) further describes deliberations as a conversation wherein individuals speak and listen sequentially before making binding collective decisions.

Deliberations envision citizens engaged in spirited discussions that inform and transform the way they do things in their society. Such discussions should at least allow citizens to obtain better information on the topic in which they will be engaged, for example discussions on which policies will best satisfy issues of common concern, such as how to promote effective and genuine racial-integration processes. Of utmost importance is that these discussions should go beyond gathering information to include dialogue aimed at including all affected stakeholders irrespective of race, colour, gender and economic status; understanding other participants' situations, beliefs and interests; and encompassing vigorous debate where reasons are given in order to assess the desirability of proposed measures. More precisely, such discussions are expected to encourage citizens and their representatives to justify the measures they favour while criticising those they reject, to the benefit of the community or those affected by a particular problem they desire to solve. Deliberations are expected to proceed under conditions that all participants can accept as fair, that is mitigating the danger that more powerful participants will unfairly force other participants to alter their beliefs, interests or preferences (James, 2004:4). In this respect, citizens who are affected by a particular problem in their society, such as the present topic, are expected to engage each other in a free atmosphere as equals without fear of being excluded from a discussion on how best the particular problem affecting them can be addressed. Deliberations may also be described as discussion processes that encourage collective and accountable decision-making processes by all concerned or affected citizens to address a particular problem affecting them in their communities as free, equal, accountable and reasonable people.

The main aim of deliberations is for citizens to persuade each other irrespective of their different economic status, political positions, government position, race, gender, colour and sex as equals through argumentation in a hospitable, compassionate and belligerent fashion in order to convince each other regarding how best they can address a particular issue affecting them and/or their community (Benhabib, 1996; Cooke, 1996).

Therefore, discussion should, at least, allow citizens to obtain better information on which policies will best satisfy issues of common concern. But, more important, these discussions should go beyond gathering information to include dialogical engagement aimed at understanding other's situations, beliefs and interests, meant to assess the desirability of any proposed measures. More precisely, such discussions should encourage stakeholders to justify the measures they favour while criticising those they reject.

### **5.3.2 Inclusion**

In an approach of the kind envisaged, decisions on how to address and promote effective racial integration in communities and their institutions such as schools are legitimate only if all stakeholders who are affected are included in the process, which needs to occur irrespective of their colour, creed, gender, ethnic group, economic wealth and educational status. As an ideal, inclusion embodies a norm of moral respect for individuals irrespective of whether they belong to the supposedly racially superior or inferior group. This ideal promotes the concept that people be treated as equals so that they can in turn live by the rules or adjust their actions according to the decisions they were involved in formulating. Young's ideal of inclusion suggests that "we understand differences of culture, social approach or particularistic commitment as resources to draw on for reaching understanding in democratic discussions rather than as divisions that must be overcome" (1996:120). Similarly, for deliberative racial integration to succeed there is a need to understand people's racial differences as a resource rather than an obstacle to be overcome. When inclusion is coupled with norms of equality, it allows for maximum expression of interest, opinions and

approaches relevant to the problems or issues related to racism, racial segregation and the promotion of effective racial integration in communities and schools (Young, 2000:23).

### **5.3.3 Equality**

Not only should all stakeholders in communities affected by racism, racial segregation and the promotion of effective racial integration be included in decision making, but all should also be accorded equal status without prejudice with regard to colour, race and ethnicity. All stakeholders ought to be given equally effective opportunities to question each other as well as to respond to and criticise each other's proposals and arguments concerning how best the issues of racism and promotion of racial integration can be addressed, advancing good reasons. This framework of understanding is assumed to rest on the basic principles of a society of equals (Rawls, 2001:55). Furthermore, the ideas of equality in deliberation assume the following:

- a) all participants have the same chances to initiate speech acts, to question, to interrogate, and to open debate; b) all have a right to question the assigned topics of conversation; and c) to initiate reflexive arguments about the very rules of the deliberation procedures and the manner in which they are applied. (Benhabib, 1996:70)

A deliberative racial-integration approach promotes free and equal opportunities for participants in discussions to speak without fear regardless of their colour, race, gender and ethnic groups. In this regard, the condition of equality cannot be achieved without freedom from domination. The conditions of equality in society presuppose that participants in racial integration of this type are equal in the sense that none of them is in a position to coerce or threaten others into accepting certain proposals or outcomes of addressing and promoting racial integration in South African public schools. When discussions on addressing and promoting racial integration are inclusive, they allow the expression of all interests, opinions and criticism, and when they are free from domination, participants can be confident that the results arise from good reason rather than fear or force or false consensus. This confidence

can be maintained and sustained only when participants adopt a disposition of being reasonable (Young, 2000:24).

#### **5.3.4 Reasonableness**

The concept of reasonableness is drawn from Rawls's formulation of public reason. In this regard, Young (1996:75) reiterates: "Public reason is best viewed not as a process of reasoning among citizens, but as a regulative principle imposing limits upon how individuals, institutions, and agencies ought to reason about public matters". Reasonableness in this case refers more to a set of dispositions that participants in deliberations on racial-integration issues will possess than to the substance of people's contributions to deliberations. Reasonableness is also qualified by the willingness of people to listen to each other's reasons and assess whether their ideas on how to address issues of racial integration in their societies and their institutions such as schools are incorrect or inappropriate. In a broader perspective, being reasonable entails being open to see the reasons that other people offer for particular issues and assessing these reasons based simply on their merit rather than on the merit of the people presenting them.

Young's (2000) conception of reasonableness deals with people's capacity to recognise and take into account the differences that exist between people and the way they express their opinions, regardless of the nature of these opinions. In Young's sense, one can only be fully reasonable if the circumstances that result in internal exclusion are mitigated. Such exclusion of people different from us can be avoided by recognising that rational discussion and deliberation is not the only way of expressing one's views. Young (2000:53) proposes that other forms of communication need to be included in assessing what is reasonable in particular cases. Public acknowledgement of people's presence and their interests in crucial issues, as well as the acceptance that such public discourse should give room to people's expressions of joy, hope and passion (Young, 2000:65), may speed up the process of racial integration by offering the issues for public deliberation. Furthermore, Young's methodology would ensure that the process of racial integration "gives voice to kinds of experiences which often go unheard" in forums that are legalistic and formal (Young, 2000:71). The provision

for situated knowledge is meant to afford room to people to move from their experiences of oppression to public expression of liberation.

By implication, reasonable citizens and stakeholders enter into discussions on how to solve collective racial problems affecting their communities as well as the institutions found in their communities, such as schools, with the aim of reaching agreement on how best they can solve such issues. In most cases, when the citizens and the stakeholders do not reach agreement, they need to devise procedures for reaching decisions and registering dissent in the absence of agreement. Reasonable citizens and participants in debates usually understand that dissent often produces insight, and that decisions and agreements should in principle be open to new challenges. Reaching consensus on how to combat racism in communities and schools as well as how to promote racial integration in schools is a requirement for a deliberative racial-integration approach. Participants in such discussions must aim to reach agreement; when the participants believe that some kind of agreement among them is possible in principle, that is when they can in good faith trust each other to listen and aim to persuade each other into deciding which policies in their view could address and promote effective racial-integration processes in their community as well as their schools. In other words, reasonable participants in democratic debates on how best to fight racism and segregation must display an open mind.

The participants in deliberative racial integration are not expected to discuss collective problems while still holding personal commitments that might be binding them to the authority of prior norms or unquestionable beliefs. They are not allowed to assert their own interests above all others or insist that their ideas about who is right or just cannot be subject to revision. To be reasonable is to be willing to change one's opinion or preferences because other participants persuade one of their reasons. Being open in deliberative racial integration also refers to a disposition of being willing to listen to others, treating them with respect, working towards understanding them by asking questions and not judging them too quickly. "A reasonable respectful process of deliberative racial integration discussions exhibits deliberative uptakes; when some speak others acknowledge the expression in ways that continue the engagement" (Young, 2000:24–25).

### **5.3.5 Public processes/publicity**

Participants in deliberation form a public in which people hold each other accountable. The public comprises a plurality of different individuals and collective experiences, histories, commitments, ideals, interests and goals. People face each other to discuss collective problems such as effective racial integration under a common set of procedures. When members of a public engage each other on issues of common concern affecting them and their communities they become answerable to the reasons of others. The access of participants to each other's point of view makes them careful about expressing themselves. Participants in deliberative racial-integration processes are expected to explain their particular background experiences, interests or proposals in such ways that other participants can understand them. They must give reasons for their claims, for example why they think the policy they are presenting to other participants is viable, in ways that others recognise could be accepted, even if they disagree with the claims and reasons. Even when they address a particular group with a particular history, for example, consisting of Afrikaans-speaking White people, with their history of perpetuation of racism through the imposition of apartheid policies, they must speak with the reflective idea that the third parties should access these reasons and those reasons are understandable and acceptable. Deliberative racial integration thus entails the expression of disagreement; the posing of questions related to racial segregation, racism and the promotion of effective racial integration; and the answering of questions raised through the discourse.

Some of the limitations of such integration when it is not framed in terms of matters of inclusion, equality, reasonableness as well as publicity are that it ignores the painful emotion occasioned by the awareness of another person's undeserved misfortune or suffering, finding and enacting conditions for the political coexistence of different human beings, as well as neglecting the ethical encounter with the other, a fundamental welcoming, an unconditional receptivity towards the other (vulnerable groups). In order to strengthen deliberative racial integration towards the realisation of effective and genuine racial integration in schools, I propose the introduction of education for "cosmopolitanism" or being a "citizen of the world" to strengthen the four normative elements of such integration.



Cosmopolitanism through its three pillars can effectively and successfully support these four elements of deliberative racial integration in this respect. I regard these three pillars as the most important in addressing racial integration because they improve on some of the most crucial limitations of deliberative democracy by promoting the factors mentioned below.

### **5.3.6 Compassion**

Compassion is an emotion that has often been relied on to link our imaginations to the good of others and make them the object of our intense care (Nussbaum, 1997:13). In the light of this understanding, Nussbaum (1997:301) further defines compassion as a painful emotion occasioned by the awareness of another person's undeserved misfortune or suffering. The Oxford English Dictionary (1970:714) defines compassion as "suffering together with another, participation in suffering, fellow feeling, sympathy". In this study I use "compassion" to mean experiencing a feeling of sympathy and empathy towards those suffering in a particular situation. In specific ways, exercising compassion implies imagining oneself in the position of those suffering and working towards improving such circumstances. In the following section I consider how compassion can support inclusion, equality, reasonableness and publicity in promoting effective and genuine racial integration in schools.

As compassionate stakeholders in education, parents, learners and educators can promote deliberative racial integration by recognising the vulnerabilities of the learners who are not achieving good grades academically due to being discriminated against, in one way or the other, in schools. Nussbaum argues that compassion is the most important emotion to cultivate in preparing people to engage in deliberation and just action in schools as well as in society. Deliberations ought to be occasioned by the emotional drive to treat others justly and humanely (that is, with compassion). As a matter of fact, people involved with the situation in schools occasioned by diverse learner groups from both advantaged and disadvantaged backgrounds need to be encouraged to begin to debate about matters of public concern such as racial alienation and racial victimisation as well as poor academic achievement by the disadvantaged minority groups. In order for schools to realise effective and genuine racial integration, stakeholders in education will be required to make certain political and practical

judgements about how to deal with these different variables in their schools, without unnecessarily homogenising the minority groups. The judgements of stakeholders in education are expected to be based on the perceptions of the learners' undeserved treatment, suffering and other injustices. It is in this light that compassion becomes a crucial condition for acting upon and deliberating about such issues. Compassion not only prompts in people an awareness of the misfortune or suffering of others, but it also focuses one's attention on the suffering of others (Nussbaum 2001:299).

Nussbaum's understanding of compassion as painful emotional judgement encompasses two cognitive requirements, namely 1) a belief or appraisal that the suffering of others is serious and not trivial and that people do not deserve to suffer; and 2) a belief that the potential of the person who experiences the emotion is similar to that of the sufferer. In the following paragraph I discuss the above-named two requirements of compassion in relation to how stakeholders in education may be expected to deliberate rationally while at the same time cultivate a concern to be just and humane towards each other as well as the disadvantaged minority group learners (Nussbaum, 2001:317).

In so far as the stakeholders in education are able to become serious about the suffering of the minority group learners, the former are also expected to believe that the latter are not responsible for the kind of injustices they are suffering. In this sense, stakeholders are expected to recognise that the minority group learners' plight needs to be alleviated. This view does not turn a blind eye to the idea that stakeholders in education can feel compassion for the learners whose misfortune is not deserved. However, in discussing deliberative racial integration I shall focus on those who suffer injustices through no faults of their own. Many such learners and their parents cannot be blamed for their inability to achieve academically compared with their White counterparts, owing to, for example, being taught in English or Afrikaans as mediums of instruction rather than their mother tongue. Such a situation requires that schools and communities pursue the language policy that is most supportive of general conceptual growth among learners, and that counteracts disadvantages resulting from different kinds of mismatches between home languages and languages of learning and teaching. This cannot be achieved without employing the compassion of other stakeholders in education. In

such conditions, debates at school should take the form of ascertaining what can be done to ensure that disadvantaged minority group learners who are performing badly can perform well, just like their counterparts. Compassion also requires that stakeholders in education exercise compassion for learners who, not through their own fault, have not been exposed to equal educational opportunities, as is often the case in South Africa. Stakeholders in education should identify the need to find creative ways to help disadvantaged learners come to grips with difficult conditions of study.

Compassion can be best cultivated if the advantaged stakeholders in education acknowledge some sort of community between them and the disadvantaged minority groups, specifically understanding what it might mean for the former to encounter possibilities and vulnerabilities similar to those of the latter. This recognition of such vulnerability requires stakeholders who display a clear understanding of the difficult circumstances of the learners rather than impatience with those who are not achieving academically (Nussbaum, 2001:299–230). According to Nussbaum (2001:317), “the recognition of one’s own related vulnerability is an important and an indispensable epistemological requirement for compassion in human beings”.

In the main, compassion brings to the fore the emotions of people. It is therefore not enough to educate by focusing only on deliberation without also cultivating compassion. Deliberative argumentation prompts stakeholders’ in education to weigh alternative possibilities, to shape practical judgements, to cultivate and promote respect as well as to develop critical engagement. It further brings into open play the human emotions that are seen to be necessary for promoting ongoing dialogical interaction (Waghid, 2005:335–336). The cultivation of compassion in relation to schooling without considering the lived experiences of those who suffer in schools would also constrain the relevance of dialogue that aims to understand and improve the conditions of the disadvantaged. I therefore suggest that stakeholders in education be encouraged to act with compassion because this has the potential to bring about effective racial integration, which is critical to building relations of justice and trust among learners from different racial backgrounds in schools.

### **5.3.7 Hospitality**

Hospitality comprises the bestowing of a ‘right’ on the stranger as long as his or her intentions are peaceful, and it is also the ‘duty’ of the host to give this person temporary sojourn (Benhabib, 2006:156). Hospitality is the welcoming of the other without the urge to annex or incorporate him or her (Benhabib, 2006:157). Hospitality is an anthropologically and culturally limited encounter with the stranger. It is also regarded as an ethical encounter with the other, a fundamental welcoming, an unconditional receptivity towards the other (Benhabib, 2006:157). The Oxford English Dictionary (1970: 406) defines hospitality as “an act or practice of being hospitable, the reception and entertainment of guests, visitors or strangers, with liberality or goodwill”. In this study I use hospitality to signify an unconditional welcoming of the other, or visitor, with goodwill. In the following section I consider how hospitality can support inclusion, equality, reasonableness and publicity in promoting effective and genuine racial integration in schools.

Hospitality is not only an anthropologically and culturally limited encounter of the White majority group learners with the Black minority group in HOA schools, but also an ethical encounter of the White learners in such schools with the Black learners who are coming to register in these schools, a fundamental welcoming, an unconditional receptivity towards the Black minority group. The otherness of the other (Black and White learners) is revealed in speech. In hospitality, minority group Black learners and their White counterparts as well as the stakeholders in education (such as the SGBs) in these schools get to know each other very well through deliberations in a way that can successfully promote effective and genuine racial integration in schools. Hospitality encompasses welcoming the Black learners in HOA schools without absorbing (assimilating) them in such a way that they lose their culture, languages and values. Benhabib (2006:157) further argues that hospitality is also about good human relations between stakeholders in education.

### **5.3.8 Belligerence**

According to Callan (1997:211), deliberation is not an attempt to achieve dialogical victory over one’s adversaries, but rather an attempt to find and enact conditions of political

coexistence that human beings can reasonably endorse as morally acceptable. In the following section I discuss how belligerence as a cosmopolitan element can reinforce inclusion, equality, reasonableness and publicity in promoting effective and genuine racial integration in schools.

Callan (1997:211) advocates a view of belligerence by proposing that through deliberation, stakeholders in education frustrate doubts about the importance of the differences between what they believe, which is accompanied by a rough process of struggle and ethical confrontation. The personal encounters that initially spin off from moments of doubt create spaces where individuals take each other's views into systemic controversy in pursuit of common understandings. In other words, belligerence becomes an important element in deliberation, where no one has a right to silence dissent and where participants can speak their minds about burning issues related to racism as well as the promotion of racial integration in schools. In this case, the participants are also prepared to take risks that could situate them favourably in relation to effective justice in their schools. Stakeholders in education, who are prepared to challenge forms of injustice, such as racism in schools in this case, do so for the sake of achieving social justice. "They act as friends willing to take the risk of speaking their minds when addressing issues affecting them and their schools such as how to eliminating racism and promoting effective and genuine racial integration in schools" (Waghid, 2008:205).

Given what I have discussed above, the main issue is that unless schools become havens of friendship aimed at producing a better future for all learners, irrespective of their stemming from different racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, we cannot seriously engage with the challenges mentioned.

#### **5.4 Constitutive Meanings of Deliberative Racial Integration**

Given the above discussions on the development and constituent elements of deliberative racial integration, I therefore conclude that it is an approach founded on a deliberative culture

that places a premium on the characteristic conditions of life that are constituted by inclusion, equality, publicity, deliberations, hospitality, compassion and belligerence.

In the following section I discuss the adequacy of deliberative racial integration in addressing racism and promoting effective racial integration towards the realisation of the three principles of justice, namely desert, equality and need, which could ultimately lead to the promotion of social justice in education in South African public schools.

### **5.5 The Adequacy of a Deliberative Racial-Integration Approach**

Even though different countries such as the UK, the USA, Canada and Australia have attempted various approaches in order to promote effective and genuine racial integration towards the realisation of the three principles of justice as advocated by Miller (2001), in South Africa this is still a dream, if not a myth.

In order to promote effective racial integration towards the realisation of social justice in schools and societies, solutions that were not successfully accomplished by the various approaches of racial integration as they unfolded in the different countries such as the UK, the USA, Canada and Australia, deliberations consisted of the four normative ideals known as inclusion, equality, reasonableness and publicity supported by cosmopolitan or citizen of the world elements known as compassion, hospitality and belligerence are suggested as the most important building blocks of an effective alternative approach to racial integration named deliberative racial integration for the following reasons: it is more suited to the set of commitments that causes participants who engage in the said debates to value democratic processes; it promotes co-operation, it promotes recognition of another person's undeserved misfortunes or suffering; it encourages participants to find and enact conditions of political coexistence of different human beings; it promotes ethical encounters with the other, which is a fundamental welcoming and an unconditional receptivity towards the vulnerable, to solve collective problems; and it also furthers justice. In terms of a deliberative racial-integration approach, participants in debates on how to address the said problems engage with each other about how best they can address problems of racism affecting them from the point of view of

inclusive equality. Since interaction in deliberative racial integration requires participants to be open and attentive to each other, as well as to justify their claims and proposals in terms acceptable to all participants.

A deliberative racial-integration approach is effective because it conceptualises the process of democratic discussions as not merely expressing and registering but as changing the preferences, interests, beliefs and judgements of participants. This alteration of preferences and positions takes place as people move through a process of provisional conclusions, since there is no foreclosure in deliberative issues (Habermas, 1997:57). Through the process of public discussions with a plurality of differently opinioned and situated others, people often gain new information, learn of different experiences regarding their collective problems, or discover that their initial opinions are founded on prejudice or ignorance, or that they have misunderstood the relation of their own interests to others.

## **5.6 How the elements of deliberative racial integration can help address some of the challenges or weaknesses associated with the present approach of racial integration**

In this section I discuss the potential of deliberative racial integration as an alternative approach in addressing the weaknesses of the current (assimilation) approach of racial integration. Deliberative racial integration has the potential to address these weaknesses because of its democratic constituent elements, discussed earlier. Due to its nature in terms of valuing democratic processes, I therefore suggest that deliberative racial integration can lead to the promotion of effective and genuine racial integration. In the following section I discuss how this might be achieved.

### **5.6.1 School governing bodies**

SGBs as an element of racial integration will be discussed under the two sections below.

#### **5.6.1.1 Composition of school governing bodies**

Deliberations by members of SGBs in HOA schools regarding the need to bring Black parents (African, Indian and Coloured parents) onto such bodies where the Black parents (African,

Indian and Coloured parents) are not represented at all or are few in number may promote the principle of justice called the principle of need.

Members of SGBs in HOA schools are not only expected to deliberate on why there is a need in this respect but must also include all the parents in such discussions irrespective of whether they are sympathetic to Black parents and their children at these schools.

In respect of the composition of SGBs, education stakeholders in HOA schools are expected to engage each other in discussions on why they think bringing Black parents onto these bodies could promote effective and genuine racial integration, which may further lead to the promotion of the principle of need for Black parents to be represented in these important governing structures.

The participants in this kind of deliberation must not only be included in these discussions, but must be included as equals irrespective of whether they are White parents who sympathise with Black parents and their children or Black parents. In these debates regarding why concerned White parents should consider bringing Black parents onto SGBs, the participants are not only expected to give each other reasons, but must furnish convincing reasons as regards the benefit to their schools in terms of the promotion and realisation of the principle of need. When this principle is realised it could in turn lead to the realisation of social justice in HOA schools. Participants in these discussions should furthermore not only be inclusive, but also treat each other as equals. Participants are further expected to explain their particular background, experiences, interests or proposals in such a way that other participants can understand. Even when the participants are addressing a particular group with a particular history, for example consisting of Afrikaans-speaking White people in South Africa, they must speak with the reflective idea that the third parties should access these reasons, and that such reasons should be understandable and acceptable.



One cannot claim that the four constituent elements of deliberative racial integration discussed above can successfully promote effective and genuine racial integration without these also being supported by compassion, hospitality and belligerence. In the following section I therefore discuss these three factors.

The White parents on SGBs in HOA schools are also expected to be compassionate towards and about the Black parents. In other words, the participants in these debates are expected to take into serious consideration the suffering of the Black parents resulting from not being represented on these SGBs. The participants must further consider that the Black parents are not responsible for this kind of undeserved injustice. Compassion should be best cultivated in such a way that it can support the elements of deliberative racial integration and the results already discussed. All this could be realised if the participants in deliberations regarding why Black parents should be brought onto such SGBs can acknowledge some sort of community between them and the disadvantaged Black parents, specifically for the White participants to understand what it might mean for them to encounter vulnerabilities similar to those of the Black parents.

Hospitality, like compassion, can also support the other elements of deliberative racial integration because it bestows the 'right' on Black parents to be represented in SGBs if their intentions are peaceful. Hospitality further supports the other elements of deliberative racial integration in the course of promoting social justice in HOA schools because it creates the conditions for White parents in such SGBs to welcome the Black parents without the urge to annex or incorporate them in their SGBs.

Deliberations that include all concerned participants and meet the above conditions probably cannot be carried out without the participants involved in this kind of deliberation being belligerent in order for them to overcome doubts about the importance of the differences between what they believe, since these discussions are accompanied by rough processes of struggle and ethical confrontation. The personal encounters that initially spin off from moments of doubt create space where individuals taking part in deliberations also take each

other's views into systemic controversy in pursuit of a common understanding of the particular topic.

This kind of deliberation that promotes all the elements of deliberative racial integration mentioned could lead towards the Black parents being willingly brought onto SGBs in these HOA schools by White parents. When this occurs it can subsequently lead to the promotion of effective and genuine racial integration in these schools, which may further lead to the promotion and realisation of the principle of need. This could in turn lead to the realisation of social justice. In the following subsection I discuss how participation in SGBs by Black parents can promote deliberative racial integration.

#### **5.6.1.2 Participation in school governing bodies by Black parents**

When the Black parents have been brought onto SGBs in HOA schools after the stakeholders there have debated as equals, convinced each other with reasons and have been compassionate and hospitable to the Black parents, the stakeholders must take the deliberations a step further to fuller participation of Black parents in this regard. In other words, deliberations must not only be about the need for Black parents to be represented on such SGBs. There must also be deliberation among the members of SGBs after this has occurred. Black parents must also be afforded equal treatment in the deliberations on issues affecting the day-to-day running of these HOA schools.

Under this heading I discuss how deliberative racial integration can lead to the promotion of participation of Black parents in SGBs in HOA schools. In other words, Black parents must be afforded equal treatment in these debates in order to promote effective and genuine racial integration, which can in turn lead to the promotion of the principle of justice termed the principle of equality, which is presently not being fully realised or achieved. When the principle of equality is fully realised through such deliberations it could also in turn lead to the promotion of social justice in these schools.

In the given case, education stakeholders in such schools are expected to engage each other, irrespective of their race, in discussion of policies that can be used for the day-to-day running of these schools. When the stakeholders in education engage each other as equals, they could promote effective and genuine racial integration.

When stakeholders in education here are engaging each other, they are also expected to be hospitable, compassionate and belligerent. In other words, inclusion, equality and giving each other reasons must be further enhanced by these three factors.

For these debates to achieve their objectives, those participants who were advantaged must be hospitable to the Black parents (Indian, Coloured and African parents) who were disadvantaged as regards participation in policy-making debates in the said schools. In other words, the White parents on the SGBs found in these schools must unconditionally welcome Black parents (African, Indian and Coloured parents) to the debates on policy issues related to the day-to-day running of these schools. The White parents must not only be hospitable during these deliberations, but must also be compassionate towards the Black parents and are further expected to sympathise with the latter: experiencing the painful emotion occasioned by the awareness of the Black parents' underserved suffering as a result of not participating in decision-making processes in the schools attended by their children. In other words, the formerly advantaged White parents must be both sympathetic and empathetic towards the formerly disadvantaged Black parents. Deliberations cannot be regarded as complete if belligerence is not included in these discussions, since it is one of the most important supporting elements of deliberative racial integration. After hospitality and compassion have been shown by the White parents towards the Black parents, one cannot claim that the participants have done justice to their deliberations if belligerence is not an element of their discussions. This simply means that during deliberations on policies that can facilitate smooth running of HOA schools, none of the participants has a right to silence dissent and participants are expected to speak their minds during these debates about why they think the policies they are suggesting could lead to the smooth running of these schools. Belligerence can reinforce inclusion, equality, reasonableness, hospitality, compassion, as well as publicity

towards the promotion of deliberative racial integration, which can in turn lead to effective racial integration in the said schools, which may also lead to the realisation of social justice.

These kinds of deliberations could lead to Black and White parents participating freely in debates and trusting each other, which may lead to them all contributing constructively in these debates on SGBs in these schools. This may then lead to the promotion of effective and genuine racial integration in these schools as well as to the realisation of the principle of equality and of social justice.

### **5.6.2 Languages of instruction**

In this section I intend to discuss how deliberative racial integration could lead to the introduction of a medium of instruction in African languages, which may result in the attainment of social justice in South African HOA schools.

In this case, stakeholders in education in these schools are expected to engage each other in debates regarding why the introduction of African languages as medium of instruction can promote effective racial integration by promoting the principle of need for Black learners (especially African learners) in such schools to be taught in their mother tongue, as well as to promote the principle of equality for all learners despite their racial backgrounds to receive equal benefits and treatment in their daily learning activities.

All concerned stakeholders in education participating in these deliberations must be included in these kinds of debates without segregating them in terms of race, colour, creed, cultural background, economic status, political affiliation, etcetera. The participants must not only be included in these debates, but must also be treated as equals and furnish each other with reasons as to why they think the introduction of African languages as medium of instruction is important for these HOA schools. Participants in these deliberations are further expected to explain their particular background, experiences, interests or proposals in such a way that other participants can understand.

When stakeholders in education in HOA schools deliberate, they must ensure that all concerned stakeholders participate freely in these discussions without being excluded owing to race, colour, creed, social status in the community, political affiliation, language and cultural affiliation, and are treated equally irrespective of their race, colour, social status, financial status, language and cultural background. Their suggestions must not be accepted only because of the status of the people who propose the suggestions, but should be supported by strong and convincing reasons. All these factors must be further enhanced by hospitality, compassion and belligerence.

For these debates to achieve their objectives, in this case the introduction of African languages as medium of instruction, those participants who were advantaged, such as White parents, must be hospitable to those participants who were disadvantaged. In other words, White parents on SGBs must unconditionally welcome Black parents (African, Indian and Coloured) to the debates on policies that can be most effectively used to introduce African languages as a medium of instruction in these schools, towards the realisation of effective and genuine racial integration. The White parents must not only be hospitable during these kinds of deliberations, but must also be compassionate towards the Black parents and their children. Again, deliberations cannot be regarded as complete if belligerence is not included in these discussions, since it is one of the most important supporting elements of deliberative racial integration. In other words, none of the participants has a right to silence dissent and the participants are expected to speak their minds during these debates about why these HOA schools must appoint Black educators in their teaching cohort. The previously mentioned advantages of belligerence hold true here as well.

These kinds of deliberations may lead to the introduction of African languages as medium of instruction for Black learners (especially African learners) attending these HOA schools. This could then lead to the promotion of effective and genuine racial integration in such schools, which may further result in the promotion and realisation of the two principles of justice associated with this building block, namely equality and need. These might in turn lead to the realisation of social justice in the said schools.

### **5.6.3 School curriculum (with special reference to teaching of African languages)**

Under this heading I discuss how deliberative racial integration could result in the introduction and teaching of African languages as subjects in HOA schools, thereby promoting social justice.

Education stakeholders in HOA schools are expected to engage each other in discussions on why the introduction of African languages as learning areas could promote effective and genuine racial integration, which may lead to the school curriculum addressing the principle of equality, as well as promoting the need for Black learners to be taught their African languages as subjects, just like their fellow White learners. In this case Black learners in the said schools must be treated as equals by being taught their mother-tongue languages as subjects or learning areas.

When stakeholders in education in HOA schools deliberate on this issue, they must ensure that all concerned stakeholders participate freely in discussions without being excluded or being segregated and that they are also being treated as equals. Their suggestions must likewise be supported by strong and convincing reasons. Again, these points must be further enhanced by hospitality, compassion and belligerence.

When stakeholders in education engage each other in deliberations as equals, those whose languages are already being offered as subjects need to be compassionate towards those whose languages are not being offered as subjects by being sympathetic and empathetic towards the Black parents and their children who were previously not involved in debates concerning the matter. This may well result in the advantaged parents and their children being convinced by the formerly disadvantaged parents and their children.

The advantaged parents and their children must take their compassion towards the disadvantaged parents and children one step further in order for the deliberations to be fruitful

by becoming hospitable to the latter. In other words, the formerly advantaged White parents must welcome the Black parents and their children to these debates, which may in turn lead to the promotion of the two principles of justice termed the principle of equality and the principle of need. When these two principles are promoted they might also in turn lead to the realisation of social justice in South African HOA schools. Compassion and hospitality cannot reinforce inclusion, equality, reasonableness and publicity in this respect without belligerence, which is important in deliberations on this issue. In other words, belligerence is an important element of deliberations because no one has a right to silence dissent. With belligerence participants in deliberations can speak their minds without fear of burning issues such as how the introduction of African languages as subjects in these schools can promote effective and genuine racial integration. These might further lead to the strengthening of the realisation of social justice in these schools.

#### **5.6.4 Racial composition of educators in the HOA schools**

Under this topic I discuss how deliberative racial integration can lead to the appointment of Black educators (African, Coloured and Indian learners) in HOA schools. Such a realisation of effective and genuine racial integration should further result in the promotion of the three principles of social justice, namely desert, equality and need. These should also in turn lead to the promotion of social justice in the given public schools.

In the case of the racial composition of educators in this schools, education stakeholders in HOA schools are expected to engage each other in discussions on why and how the appointment of Black educators in HOA schools can meet the need for Black learners to be taught by Black educators who, as their role models, can motivate them to perform better in these schools, promoting equal treatment and benefits for learners from a different racial background as well as affirming the principle of social justice called desert, which advocates that the appointment of Black educators in HOA schools must be based on “positive discrimination”. In other words, Black educators should be accorded priority compared to their White counterparts so that Black educators can be represented in such schools.

Again, stakeholders must ensure that all concerned people should participate freely in these discussions without being excluded or being segregated and are treated as equals irrespective of their race, colour, social or financial status, language and cultural backgrounds. Their suggestions in these debates should not simply be accepted because of the status of the people who make them but must be supported by strong and convincing reasons. As with the other factors, inclusion, equality and providing each other with reasons why they think their suggestions are valuable must be further enhanced by hospitality, compassion and belligerence.

For such debates to achieve their objectives, in this case the appointment of Black educators in HOA schools, those participants who were advantaged must be hospitable to those participants who were disadvantaged, that is, Black parents. In other words, the White parents should unconditionally welcome Black parents to the debates on policies that can be effectively used in this respect. The White parents must not only be hospitable during these kinds of deliberations, but must also be compassionate towards the Black parents and their children. In other words, the formerly advantaged White parents must be sympathetic and empathetic towards the latter. Deliberations cannot be regarded as complete if belligerence is not included in these discussions since, along with compassion, it is one of the most important supporting elements of deliberative racial integration. Belligerence simply means that during deliberations about the appointment of Black educators in HOA schools no one has the right to silence dissent and that the participants are expected to speak their minds during these debates. Belligerence can reinforce inclusion, equality, reasonableness, hospitality, compassion as well as publicity towards the promotion of deliberative racial integration in the same manner as mentioned earlier.

These kinds of deliberations, which promote all the elements of deliberative racial integration mentioned previously, may result in the appointment of Black educators in these HOA schools, thereby promoting effective and genuine racial integration in the given schools as well as the principles of desert, equality and need. This may in turn lead to the realisation of social justice in South African HOA schools.



### **5.6.5 Extramural activities**

In this section I discuss how deliberative racial integration can lead to the promotion of racially mixed extramural activities in HOA schools, leading to the promotion of social justice.

In the case of deliberative racial integration as regards these activities, education stakeholders in HOA schools are expected to vigorously engage each other in discussions on why the choosing of such activities by learners from different racial backgrounds themselves, without the help and influence of their educators, may lead to the realisation of the principle of social justice associated with extramural activities, termed the principle of need.

Again, stakeholders must ensure that all concerned stakeholders participate freely in these discussions without being excluded or segregated in any way. The participants in such discussions must also be treated as equals. Their suggestions regarding why and how the selection of extramural activities by learners from different racial backgrounds could lead to the promotion of effective and genuine racial integration, which might hopefully lead to the realisation of social justice in HOA schools, should not just be accepted because of the status of the people who advance the suggestions but must be supported by strong and convincing reasons. Likewise, inclusion, equality and rational argument must be further enhanced by hospitality, compassion and belligerence.

Those who were sufficiently advantaged (White parents) to participate in debates in school governing bodies must be compassionate towards the formerly disadvantaged (Black parents) during these kinds of debates. In other words, the White people should experience a painful emotion occasioned by the awareness of Black parents' undeserved misfortune or suffering resulting from not being involved in such discussions. White participants in school governing bodies in HOA schools, who were advantaged both before 1994 and after 1994 when the new democratic South Africa was born, are also expected to be hospitable towards those Black parents who were not allowed to participate in the said schools. Likewise, when the social

justice principle of need associated with the building block of racial integration called extramural activities is applied, it may in turn result in the realisation of social justice in South African HOA schools, particularly if it is supported by belligerence. The latter is important in debates of this nature for the reasons mentioned earlier.

These kinds of deliberations, which promote all the elements of deliberative racial integration already mentioned, may lead to learners from different racial backgrounds deciding on the extramural activities in which they want to participate instead of their educators doing so, which often ends up promoting racially divided participation in such activities in HOA schools. When learners make the choice, this could then lead to the promotion of effective and genuine racial integration in these schools and to the promotion and realisation of the principle of justice termed the principle of need. These might in turn lead to the realisation of social justice in the said schools.

## **5.7 Summary**

If the building blocks of racial integration are vigorously debated and properly implemented under deliberative racial integration, they may well further the realisation of effective and genuine racial integration in the schools being researched, which may then lead to the realisation of the three principles of justice called desert, equality and need. These in turn may promote genuine democratic values that lead to the realisation of social justice in the said schools. In Chapter 6 I explore the implications of a deliberative racial-integration model on school governance, management, leadership and the teaching and learning environment in schools.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **IMPLICATIONS OF DELIBERATIVE RACIAL INTEGRATION FOR SCHOOL GOVERNANCE, MANAGEMENT, LEADERSHIP, AND TEACHING AND LEARNING**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I explore different meanings of school governance, management, leadership, and teaching and learning as advocated by different authors. I identify the gaps of the school practices named above as well as teaching and learning as it is currently taking place in South African public schools. I show how deliberative racial integration can address the gaps associated with these specific practices of education.

#### **6.2 School governance**

##### **6.2.1 Meaning of school governance**

School governance is the development and adoption of school policies that are important for the day-to-day running of the school in a democratic way, which in turn promotes democratic participation of the stakeholders (Chetty & Ngcobo, 2000:68). According to Fleisch (2002:81), school governance entails the development and adoption of a school's constitution, policies, development and fundraising strategies, the improvement of school property, helping out with extramural activities, assisting with the purchase of books and paying for services in order for such institutions to provide good education for their learners. School governance means ensuring that the school performs in a manner that enables the provision of the best possible education for its learners by drawing up policies to this effect within the framework set by legislation and the policies of the Department of Education (Naidu, Joubert, Mestry, Mosoge, and Ngcobo, 2008:149). Mabasa (1999:4) further defines school governance as the practice aimed at determining the policy and rules of a school and its decision making as well as ensuring that policies are carried out according to the law by the representatives of the various stakeholders in education. Furthermore, Sithole defines school governance as referring to "the institutional structure that is entrusted with the responsibility of authority to formulate and adopt school policy on a range of issues, for example: school uniform; admission; school fees; languages of instruction; determination of curriculum; and so on" (Sithole, 1995:106). The denotation that I have used in this study is that which regards

governance as concerning the development of policies that are aimed at promoting effective learning of learners from different backgrounds and that avoid any prejudice.

### **6.2.2 Some gaps of school governance**

The majority of South Africa's HOA schools' governing bodies have not developed school language policies that are in line with the South African language policy: that every South African citizen has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of his or her choice in public educational institutions, where that education is reasonably practicable; and that there will be a high degree of multilingualism since South Africa enjoys significant language diversity (Mothata, 2000:14). Some of school governance structures in South African's HOA schools are also not developing school language policies that can address racial prejudice and racism, which in turn are being reinforced and maintained by language barriers as is presently the case in such schools. SGBs in some of these schools are also not promoting constitutional provisions that lay the framework for promoting multilingualism, such as the equal use, status and enjoyment of all 11 official languages; the creation of appropriate conditions for the development and promotion of this goal; the prevention of exploitation, domination or division exercised through language policies; the non-diminution of rights relating to language and the status of languages that existed at the commencement of the Constitution; the prevention of unfair discrimination on grounds of language; and the right of learners to instruction in the language of their choice where this is reasonably practicable (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:15). The failure to promote the South African language policy leads to a neglect of multilingualism, which in turn leads to lack of effective and genuine racial integration.

According to Vally and Dalamba (1999:45), most of South African HOA schools' governance structures have developed admission policies that are not in line with the South African Schools Act, which prohibits the refusal of admission of learners to South African schools based on, for example, selection tests on English proficiency and mathematics proficiency. These are currently used by most HOA schools and are thus perceived as a way of excluding Black learners (Indian, Coloured and African learners). When Black learners (African, Indian

and Coloured learners) are excluded on these grounds, there will not be effective and genuine racial integration.

The majority of South African HOA schools' governance structures have also not developed school fees policies in line with the South African Schools Act. This act provides that no learner must be denied admission to a school of his or her choice because he or she cannot pay school fees, which discourages schools from charging high school fees for exclusionary purposes (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:47). Once again, effective and genuine racial integration will not necessarily result.

### **6.2.3 Implications of deliberative racial integration for school governance**

Deliberative racial integration may lead to school governance in South African public schools addressing the current policy gaps just discussed. It could lead to the implementation and enforcement of the South African language of education policy as prescribed by the Constitution and the South African Schools Act. This may in turn confirm the rights of every South African citizen to receive education in the language of his or her choice in public schools; lead to a high degree of multilingualism; prevent racial prejudice and racism, which are being reinforced and maintained by language barriers in some of South African HOA schools; and prevent exploitation, domination or division. Deliberative racial integration might further lead to the implementation and enforcement of a fair admission policy, as prescribed by the South African Schools Act.

The proposed racial integration may also lead to the implementation and enforcement of national norms and standards for school funding as well as the exemption of impoverished parents from the payment of school fees, as prescribed by the said act, which could lead to the abolishment of exorbitant school fees.

Deliberative racial integration has the potential to address weaknesses associated with school governance as discussed above, because it promotes deliberations among stakeholders in education to address issues or challenges of common concern associated with education policies affecting the day-to-day running of their schools. Democratic principles, the making of decisions to the benefit of the public, compassion towards each other and those who were

previously disadvantaged when it comes to this kind of debate as well as hospitality to each other and those who were previously disadvantaged were all discussed above.

The potential of deliberative racial integration to address all these dilemmas associated with school governance in some of South African HOA schools, owing to its democratic principles and processes as discussed above, should lead to school governance promoting the opening of the doors of these schools to learners from different racial backgrounds without discriminating against them. When the HOA schools open their doors to learners from different racial backgrounds without discriminating against them, they can in turn aid in the promotion and realisation of effective and genuine racial integration in such public schools.

### **6.3 School leadership and school management**

In this section I show how school leadership and management differ from each other as compared to the way many people use them. The two concepts complement each other to achieve their main objective: to improve learning for every learner in the school irrespective of whether he or she comes from a poor or rich family, is Black or White, speaks a different language, etcetera. Naidu *et al.* (2008:6) further support the notion that the two concepts work towards a common goal by saying that school leadership and management must be seen as two sides of the same coin, as skills in both are essential to the effective functioning of schools. Calabrese (2000:27) has also indicated that a school principal has to move fluidly between leadership and management if he or she wants to see improvement of learning opportunities for every learner in his or her school.

#### **6.3.1 School leadership**

##### **6.3.1.1 Meaning of school leadership**

School leadership can be referred to as the ability of the school principal and his or her management team to influence the actions of individuals in a school, for example educators and learners or groups, such as the department of languages or the sports organising committee (Bush, 2003:5–6). According to Yudelowitz, Koch and Field (2002:2), leaders identify with the ability to direct change as well as with being future-oriented. Leadership in

the education context comprises the ability to understand emerging trends in education and to guide a school through various challenges by achieving a vision based on shared values. School leadership, as with school management, focuses on improving learning opportunities for every learner in the school. Leithwood, Jantzi and Steinbach (1999:5) associate leadership with the process of influencing leading to the achievement of desired purposes. Successful school leaders develop a vision for their schools based on personal and professional values. They articulate this vision at every opportunity and influence their staff and other stakeholders to share the vision. School leadership involves the principal inspiring and supporting learners and educators towards the achievement of a vision for the school that is based on clear personal and professional values (Bush & Glover, 2003:10). I therefore conclude that the meaning I personally accord to school leadership is the ability to direct changes, be future-oriented, understand emerging trends in education and guide a school through the various challenges mentioned.

### **6.3.1.2 Gaps of school leadership**

It seems that some principals and school management teams in certain HOA schools create the impression that they are reluctant to change since the new democratic government came into power in 1994. This impression is supported by Naidoo (1996b:32) when he states that: “most principals and their management teams in HOA schools do not want to establish a climate that is responsive to pressures generated by the process of racial integration”. This is demonstrated by the fact that many such principals and their management teams deny that most of the conflict or misunderstandings in their schools are racially motivated/influenced (Vally & Dalamba,1999:57). Some of these principals regard these conflicts as minor where ‘boys took it out on each other’, in other words merely fights and not as racial conflicts: This indicates a very major leadership weakness (Sekete *et al.*, 2001:50). According to Gillborn (1995:25), if school principals and their management teams deny any legitimacy to issues of racial conflict these points to the same predicament. Jervis (1996:15) similarly cautions against such tendencies of not providing leadership as regards racial conflicts or misunderstandings by indicating that it may explode into bigger problems, as is currently the case in many schools in this study.

### **6.3.1.3 Implications of deliberative racial integration for school leadership**

Because of its democratic principles and processes, as elaborated on in Chapter 5 of this dissertation, deliberative racial integration can model the principals and their management teams in such a way that they should understand that the emerging trends in such South African schools where Black and White learners are attending together are inevitable and are supposed to be dealt with professionally and effectively. When the principals of these HOA schools and their management teams can accept that the emerging trends in their schools are inevitable and need to be tackled head-on by engaging each other in deliberations that are guided by the principles and processes discussed earlier, they will be able to accept and embrace these changes. When the principals accept and embrace changes taking place in their schools as they are currently taking place, they will be prepared to direct changes in their schools in a positive manner to the benefit of schools and the South African community in general without any prejudice. Hence they will accept that there are racially motivated/influenced incidents of conflicts or misunderstandings that need their leadership to be addressed, but not minor incidents. When these management teams of HOA schools accept demographic changes taking place in their schools and provide leadership for these changes, they will be creating or establishing favourable climates for these schools to be effectively managed towards the promotion of effective and genuine racial integration.

The provision of effective leadership for trends of movement of learners from different racial backgrounds to schools that were formerly divided according to racial grouping should lead to sound management of racially mixed schools, which will be discussed in the following section.

## **6.3.2 School management**

### **6.3.2.1 Meaning of school management**

Bush (2003:4) refers to school management in terms of school operations. He advocates that the purpose of management in all areas of the school is to enable the creation and support of conditions under which high quality teaching and learning can take place. School management is a process that involves the skilful handling and supervision of learners and



educators by a principal in a such a way that predetermined goals are reached within a certain time, for example producing a 100% Grade 12 pass rate by the year 2011 (Calitz, Viljoen, Moller & Van der Bank, 1992:2). According to Glatter (1979:16), school management refers to the internal operations of the school: It involves dealing with school systems, structures and culture for effective and smooth day-to-day operations. In this study I have considered school management as the major means of realising quality educative teaching and learning for all learners within the school.

### **6.3.2.2 Gaps in school management**

The majority of South African public schools, including HOA schools, do not have strategies in place that could minimise management problems associated with the movement of learners from different racial backgrounds to schools that were formerly meant for specific racial groups, such as racially motivated/influenced incidents of conflict or misunderstandings. For example, at Lichtenburg High School, a 15-year-old Black (African) boy by the name of Tumelo was seriously beaten by a Grade 10 White boy on 30 May 2000. Tumelo was beaten by a White boy after the White boy made a joke about Tumelo, using the derogatory word “kaffer”, which resulted in the eruption of a brawl. Running battles between Black and White learners were also reported in Vryburg High School in 2000 (Ngwanebo, 2000:4).

Racism attacks were reported at Bryanston High School, where a 17-year-old Black (African) learner by the name of Lindelani Khanyile was assaulted by members of the White Sandton School’s rugby team after he tried to stop them from assaulting a friend they racially insulted before beating him up (Mokwena, 2000:2).

A 13-year-old Black (Coloured) learner from Newlands, Johannesburg, called Lee Andra Oliphant, who was in Grade 9 at Die Burger Secondary School, was allegedly punched by a White male schoolmate after a racist exchange on 26 January 2001 (Molakeng, 2001:2).

Potgietersrus Primary School was a centre of attraction as far as racial clashes in South African public schools during 1996 were concerned. On 22 January 1996, the school admitted a number of Black (African) learners, however, on the 23rd of the same month, the governing body at the school refused to admit 22 more Black (African) learners using the claim that they want to protect their culture (Sefara, 1996:3). Kuschke Agricultural High school in the Limpopo province experienced racial clashes when a White learner was assaulted by other White learners who accused him of being too nice to “kaffers”. The same school also reported an incident where a White learner was assaulted by enraged Black learners who claimed that the White learner had made many racist remarks directed at the Black learners, such as calling Black learners monkeys and “kaffers” (Sefara, 2000:4).

At Ben Viljoen School in Groblersdal, 33 Black learners (African) were taught in separate classrooms. Black learners (African) were also not allowed to wear school uniform. Black learners (African) also claimed that they were physically and verbally abused by some of their White school mates (Mabasa, 1997:4).

These racial confrontations taking place in most of these HOA schools show that there is lack of commitment from management to argue for a paradigm shift from the “business as usual” approach and to embrace the challenges that go along with change/transformations, no matter how daunting (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:57).

### **6.3.2.3 Implications of deliberative racial integration for school management**

Due to its democratic principles and processes, as outlined in Chapter 5, deliberative racial integration can help principals and management teams of schools in such situations because it encourages discussion where all management team members are included, treated as equals, and do not merely debate but furnish each other with reasons as to why they think their suggestions are the best. They could thereby come up with strategies such as community road shows on racial integration and school-based racial integration debates, where stakeholders in education consider the importance of diversity, multicultural schools, multiracial schools, multilingual schools and communities. These strategies as discussed above can minimise and

simplify management problems, because these debates and road shows could lead to learners and parents from different racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds understanding and knowing each other's culture, language, as well as their ways of doing things, which should encourage and motivate them to respect, embrace and treat each other as brothers or sisters irrespective of their differences. During these debates they can come to know each other very well and become familiar with each other's way of doing things and thinking, which may well allay their fears about each other. Hence, they can develop trust in each other. As a result, racially motivated/influenced incidents of conflicts or misunderstandings can be minimised or could be things of the past. In such a case, the principals and their management teams can claim to be managing their schools in such a way that they promote effective and genuine racially integrated schools free from racially influenced conflicts.

## **6.4 Teaching and learning**

### **6.4.1 Meaning of teaching and learning**

Teaching and learning are two terms that are closely related and that cannot be easily separated. Learning cannot take place without teaching and there cannot be teaching where there is no learning. Teaching and learning form part of the daily life of each one of us. In this study I discuss the meanings of teaching and learning in the context of the school (Du Plessis, Conley and Du Plessis, 2007:1).

Teaching and learning is reciprocal. In a true teaching–learning situation teachers teach more than they learn and vice versa (Vakalisa, 2003:3). Teaching and learning comprises a situation aimed at ensuring that the teachers and learners achieve one or more specific outcomes (Mahaye, 2003:210). This situation occurs when the educator transmits certain information, skills and attitudes to the learners that can influence and change their insight, behaviour and perception, and when these changes are expected to lead to added knowledge or ability to do something that the learners could not do previously (Du Plessis *et al.*, 2007:2). Teaching and learning takes place when the learners are expected to acquire knowledge, skills and attitudes that can influence their insight and behaviour in a positive way (Nieman, 2004:5).

#### **6.4.2 Gaps in teaching and learning**

Teaching and learning as currently conducted in South African public schools promote the integration of an antidiscriminatory approach to the teaching of history only, but not to the teaching of all subjects (Sekete *et al.*, 2001:xii). In their teaching, South African teachers do not seem to take into serious consideration the different multicultural, linguistic and multiracial backgrounds from which their learners stem. They do not teach more about diversity issues and their importance for a new non-racial and democratic South Africa (Sekete *et al.*, 2001:77). The learning materials that most of the schools and their teachers use, such as films, textbooks, videos and newspapers, are still discriminatory. Publishers are not developing and publishing material that speaks to diverse learners and teachers in South African schools, especially HOA schools. There is no teaching of indigenous knowledge in relation to the dominant Western science (Sekete *et al.*, 2001:77). Teaching and learning in some of South African schools are not taken as a two-way interaction but as a one-way flow where the learners learn from the teachers, who in most cases promote their own cultures, languages and beliefs (Sekete *et al.*, 2001:77). Cultures selected for teaching by most of the teachers in South African HOA schools are usually those ones which teachers know about and like (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:80).

#### **6.4.3 Implications of deliberative racial integration for teaching and learning**

Deliberative racial integration's democratic principles and processes alluded to earlier may well lead to the participants in these debates adopting the strategy that the teachers be allowed to invite parents from different racial, cultural as well as linguistic backgrounds to their schools as guest teachers to teach about their different racial, cultural, linguistic and traditional backgrounds, for example by sharing cultural activities and dressing in traditional clothing. Furthermore, participants may advocate that teachers incorporate the cultures, music, food and language of learners from different racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds into their daily classroom learning activities (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:79). Deliberative racial integration can further promote teaching about 'different' cultures found in South African schools as well as in the Republic of South Africa in general.

The latter may motivate and at the same time encourage learners and parents from different racial backgrounds to start appreciating, enjoying and tolerating each other's culture, race and language in the said public schools. Deliberative racial integration can further promote curriculum content that focuses on learning discrete pieces about the cultures, languages and behaviours of various racial groups in South Africa (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:80). When learners and parents from different racial, cultural and linguistic background start respecting and trusting each other, they will be able to promote the notion that they are all equal and deserve to receive the same treatment and the same education in HOA schools. These schools will then be able to claim to be promoting effective and genuine racial integration.

## **6.5 Summary**

Deliberative racial integration has the potential to address governance dilemmas associated with HOA schools in such a manner that favourable conditions are created for effective leadership, management as well as the teaching and learning processes. The favourable conditions could lead to the promotion of effective and genuine racial integration in the given schools. Specifically, deliberative racial integration has the potential to convince the principals and their management teams at such schools to provide leadership that should design changes in these schools in a positive manner, leading to the promotion and realisation of effective and genuine racial integration. Similarly, deliberative racial integration has the potential to motivate principals and their management teams to manage racially motivated/influenced incidents of conflicts or misunderstanding in their schools in such a way that they can be minimised or be relegated to the past. When this occurs, schools that are thus freed of racially motivated incidents may in turn experience the promotion of effective and genuine racial integration.

Deliberative racial integration has the potential to encourage schools to teach learners from different backgrounds to learn about each other's cultures, languages and races in the said schools, which should to some extent enable the learners from these different backgrounds to start appreciating, enjoying and tolerating each other's cultures, languages and races. When this occurs, such learners can start respecting and trusting each other, which may result in them promoting the notion of equality and that they deserve to receive the same treatment and

the same education in HOA schools. This process can then lead to genuine racial integration in the schools, a seedbed for effective social justice in schools.

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