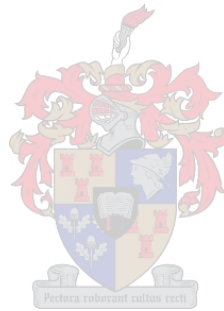# EXPLORING THE 'EDUCATIONAL ENGAGEMENT' PROCESSES AT A FORMER MODEL C HIGH SCHOOL IN CAPE TOWN

**Thesis Presented for the Degree of Master in Education (Education Policy Studies), Faculty of Education, University of Stellenbosch**

**By:**

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MARCH 2016

**Declaration**

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i

Abstract

The purpose of this research study was to explore the 'educational engagement' processes at a former Model C high school in Cape Town.  This research study focused on the challenges experienced by Model C schools to adapt their apartheid era institutional functioning in service of white children, to the vastly diverse racial and classed contexts of the students who now attend these schools.  It could be argued that the capital misalignments – i.e. the gap between the school's functional culture and the cultural identities of the students - at Model C schools are enormous. Model C schools have been struggling to adapt their cultural and functional registers to accommodate and engage students in education. Stemming from the above, this study investigated how a former Model C high school has gone about laying an institutional and functional platform in light of the students' demographic composition. Based on a qualitative case study, this research also considered the nature of its curriculum and pedagogical engagement platform and how this has accommodated itself within its deracialised context. The study provides an analysis of the ways in which a former Model C high school adapted its functional platform with regards to its changing class and racial composition of students in the post-apartheid period. This research study makes use of 'capital alignment practices', a Bourdieu-inspired concept, to refer to the functional and pedagogical adaptations of an institution in light of its deracialised student composition, which is believed to be largely out of sync with the Afrikaner-base that the school was originally intended to serve.

Keywords: 'educational engagement', model C school, curriculum and pedagogy, institutional identity, capital alignment, assimilation.

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**Table of Contents**

**Chapter 1**

**1.1 Rationale**

South African society has experienced a social and political turnaround from the early 1990s.  This turnaround has influenced all aspects of life, including the functioning of institutions that shape and mould societies by equipping students with knowledge and educational disposition that have exchange value in society.  Schools have experienced changes in policy that govern their functioning, dealt with the introduction of new curricula, and have taken in new and diverse student populations.  As an educator at a former Model C school, I have noted with interest how schools have dealt with the challenges that these changes have brought upon them on the school playground, in the classroom, and within the leadership and governance of the school.  The purpose of this research study is to determine how a former Model C school, with its own historically shaped functional character, managed to serve an impoverished white community during the heydays of apartheid, and responded to the changing socio-political context while attempting to preserve its functional reputation.

Bourdieu's concepts of '*habitus*', '*capital*' and '*field*' have been used within the ambit of this research to gain an understanding on the nature of a former Model C high school's responses to the political changes that have taken place in the post-apartheid era.  Grenfell (2008) refers to the concept 'capital' as being an accumulation of the knowledge, values and modes of expression that individuals acquire at home, in the community and at school.  These capitals are symbolic and include sub-types such as cultural capital, linguistic capital and scientific capital.  Capital exists in different forms; in one form capital is objectified and represented in material forms such as books, art or instruments.  Capitals can also be embodied and may be expressed in dispositions, body language, as well as stance and lifestyle choices of an individual.  The concept '*habitus*' does however not have a material existence, but focuses on the way an individual is likely to act, feel, think and respond in an environment where social interactions take place within a field.  The way in which an individual or institution will act, think, feel and respond within a field

1

will depend on its position in the field, which in turn depends on the value of the capital that the individual or institution has in the field.

The educational engagement processes that a school undertakes centre around the actions taken by the school and its teachers that aim to bring the capital that learners have already accumulated, in line with the capital that schools require of learners to function and be successful.  This study will describe and analyse the educational engagement processes by using a the concept referred to as '*capital alignment'*, which is a Bourdieusian concept that refers to the educational practices that people or institutions establish in order to bridge or address the gap between students' class / cultural backgrounds and their educational or learning processes in institutions.

Being a former Model C school implies that a school has a specific cultural identity that has been established in the apartheid era to serve the interests of a white community.  During the apartheid era, schools served as instruments to maintain and reinforce the political ideology and economic interests of the apartheid state. Schools situated within impoverished communities have furthermore served as a vehicle to move these Afrikaner communities into middle-class mobility by becoming a place where learners could acquire capital by means of prolonged exposure to a specialised social *'habitus'*.   This was facilitated by an Afrikaner dominated state whose political raison d'etre was the upliftment of its own race group.

These communities could often be found on the outskirts of cities, close to industrial zones where parents were employed in low skilled positions.  The members of these communities were racially homogeneous.  The cultural capital that they possessed was associated with working-class capital, which has little exchange value in society. They were impoverished.  The mobility of learners into the middle-class was partly achieved by schools by teaching learners the knowledge, skills, values and modes of expression that had exchange value in the greater society within which it existed. The Christian National Education (CNE) curriculum, the curriculum followed prior to 1996, served as the tool that schools used to teach the valued *'capital'* to learners, aiming to achieve middle-class Afrikaner mobility.  The knowledge, skills, values and modes of expression, thus the capital that has exchange value, is determined by the dominant groups within a society.  During the period prior to 1994, the capital with

exchange value was determined by white Afrikaner nationalists.  The schools therefore functioned by means of its educational processes to align the capitals of its constituents with, in the case of Afrikaner community schools, the desire for middle-class mobility, aimed at the resolution of the poor white problem.

Schools effect capital alignment by means of governance, management, curricular and pedagogical practices.  Under apartheid, the CNE determined the value system within schools to be Christian and national in character (Van Niekerk, 2010).  In keeping this value system, all formal and informal activities at school would be opened in prayer, and Bible studies would be taught as a subject to all learners.  The pedagogical approaches of educators were narrow and focused on promoting the values of the CNE.  The transmission of knowledge had taken place within an environment that demanded strict academic discipline.  The content of the curriculum focused on equipping learners with knowledge that would enable them to take up the opportunities that was available to young whites within the world of work.  Learners were expected to be disciplined and their progress was measured by means of continuous formal examination.  In addition to school's academic offerings, schools also provided learners the opportunity to engage in cultural and sporting events that served to further inculcate the capitals that would affect middle-class mobility.

The discriminatory nature upon which the apartheid state was built, led to the increased isolation of South Africa from the global community.  The strain of isolation from the global economy, coupled with growing civil protest, forced the apartheid government to initiate the social and political reforms that would lead to democratic elections in 1994.  The transition period between 1990 and 1994, saw the apartheid state being replaced by a legitimate democracy (Fataar, 2010).  This period was characterised by negotiations between the National Party (NP) and the recently unbanned African National Congress (ANC).  Access to quality education for all South Africans was an important part of these negotiations, and it was during this period that schools were deracialised.  Negotiations during the transition period (1990 to 1994) would prove to have a lasting effect on education as provisions within the South African Schools Act (SASA) of 1996 (Republic of South Africa, 1996a), which stands central to the functioning of schools today, was the outcome. This Act of 1996 (Republic of South Africa, 1996a) sets the framework, norms and standards

for the governance of schools.  This act makes provision for the formation of the School Governing Bodies (SGBs).  SGBs are democratically elected bodies that consist of parents, teachers and students.  SGBs were given powers to draw up and enforce a school's code of conduct, determine school admissions policies and language policies, and to set school fees (Christie, 2008).  SGBs are furthermore responsible for making recommendations to the provincial department of education when hiring teachers.  SGBs therefore have an influential role in determining the functional character that is established and maintained at a school.

The desegregation of schools since the early 1990s resulted in a growing number of non-white learners (learners who were not allowed to attend white schools under the apartheid dispensation because of race)  from working-class communities enrolling at former white middle-class schools.  Model C schools situated in or near impoverished, mainly black, areas, were not able to restrict the influx of students from traditionally black and coloured working-class communities, by setting exorbitantly high school fees. This practice would also have excluded its traditional white constituents with modest economic means from these schools.  The affordability of schools, coupled with a geographic location giving it access to public transport, resulted in an increased number of non-white learners from working-class communities entering formerly white schools that are considered to be fortified school sites.  Working-class black and coloured communities considered former Model C schools to be 'fortified sites'.  Teese and Polesel (2003) describe these sites as being safe, with superior facilities and infrastructure, and a strong academic history that ostensibly give their learners the knowledge and skills needed in pursuit of prosperity.  Model C schools who historically served poor white communities with the purpose of ensuring their class mobility, have now been transformed into schooling sites that serve diverse student populations on the basis of race, class, religion and culture.

The schools' new demographic composition, expressed in newer patterns of class and race terms, has forever changed.  The attendant mix of cultural capitals from students with diverse backgrounds has begun to characterise these schools' functioning.  It is this diversity in the cultural capital of the students, which informs this research study.  The newer incoming children from working-class, black and

coloured backgrounds represent a historical break from the educational processes that existed at these schools during the apartheid years.  Expressed in Bourdieusian terms, there now exists a capital misalignment between these schools' functional character and the diverse student population.  In this research study, capital misalignment refers to the capitals schools assume each of the students possesses, as well as the capitals that the 'new' students actually possess.  Given this misalignment, the key research question for this study revolves around understanding how, and on what bases, schools such as these adapt to establish a functional character to 'meet', socialise and educate the students who derive from different cultural backgrounds. The primary focus of this study is therefore to determine how and whether the schools close this 'cultural' gap between students and the (apartheid – acquired) functional orientations of the school.

Each student brings with him or her to school what Thompson (2002) describes as a virtual suitcase, a suitcase containing all the knowledge, skills, values and modes of expression that students have learned at home, from their friends and from the world in which they live.  The content of each learner's virtual school bag determines to what extent each learner is able to productively engage with a school's curriculum that is now built around the middle-class knowledge and skills that dominate a global economy of which South Africa is now part of.  Teachers and their pedagogical practices contribute most to the learning outcomes of learners, especially learners from disadvantaged backgrounds (Lingard, 2005).  For all learners to actively engage with the curriculum, their teachers must have a repertoire of pedagogical practices to ensure a connection between the existing knowledge of the learners and the knowledge that count within the curriculum (Dyson, 1997 cited by Thompson, 2002).  Vandeyar and Jansen (2008) state that the most common attitude that schooling institutions adopted towards desegregation, is one of assimilation where learners are merely absorbed into the existing historical culture of a school. Assimilation refers to the process whereby the learners from working-class backgrounds are required to adapt to the customs and attitudes prevalent in their new educational environments.  Learners are expected to conform to the pre-existing culture and identity of these schools.  This approach denies the variances in the content of learners' virtual suitcases and relies on treating everybody in a similar manner. This similarity relates to the educational needs of learners, the knowledge

base that learners have, and the ability to respond to the pedagogical practices of educators.

Schools have not necessarily adapted in response to the changes that have occurred in their student composition.  The author is of the opinion that schools may have neglected and disregarded the educational needs of the learners from the working-class in its academic and extra-curricular offerings.  Schools are able to achieve this by means of their SGBs who are not representative of the student population, thereby leaving learners from working-class communities with no voice in the day-to-day running of their school.  The content of the virtual suitcases that learners from the working-class have, have little or no exchange value in an educational environment that is dominated by middle-class knowledge and values, or within the narrow construction of what it means to be a successful school.  Schools do not, in its governance structures, management, curriculum and pedagogical practices, recognise nor have the adaptive bases to accommodate learners with capitals that differ from what it is familiar with. In order for learners from outside the schools' existing culture and identity to be successful and achieve their aspirations, they have to be able to identify what qualifies as appropriate cultural expectations and behaviour, and conform to it (Fataar, 2010).  When students are unable to adapt and conform to their schooling environment, the school engages in practices to ensure that learners meet the minimum requirement set for achieving academic success.  These practices may include screening students before admitting them into the school, streaming students into subjects considered to be easier, and encouraging students to transfer to Further Education and Training (FET) facilities. Schools engage in these practices to ensure that they achieve high pass rates, which in turn serves to maintain the schools' functional reputation.  A functional reputation ensures that schools would be able to compete successfully with neighbouring schools for the enrolment of the constituents historically served by these schools.  These schools' construction of functionality is therefore more aligned with the needs of their historical constituents, driven by their desire to retain acceptance from members of the community.

Under conditions where students' success is determined by their own ability to adapt and conform to the demands of a schooling environment that maintains its

6

functionality in accordance with pre-existing culture, or where the school merely shuttles learners from one grade to another by achieving minimum promotion requirements, schooling becomes involved in 'capital misalignment' practices as opposed to 'capital alignment' practices. In other words, schools fail to engage their students as a result of the misrecognition involved in targeting narrowly defined educational success.  The individual student is left on his/her own to improve and make a success of his/her education. The functional culture of the school therefore fails to establish rich mediating platforms to engage their diverse student body.  The practices of these schools can therefore be regarded as highly exclusionary in the sense that they fail to develop a functional culture that recognises the capitals of the students.

Based on the above, this research study endeavours to explore the educational engagement processes established by a former Model C high school located in Cape Town after 1994.  The main aim of this research is to illustrate how this school has gone about adapting its functional character in the light of the changing student demography, and the specific ways that it has employed to engender an alignment between the cultural or functional orientations of the school, as well as the changing student body that started to attend the school.

## 1.2 Research question

### 1.2.1 Principle research question

What is the nature of the 'educational engagement' processes at a former Model C high school during the post-apartheid period?

### 1.2.2  Sub-questions

1.      How has the school gone about aligning its functional culture to the cultural capitals of a diverse student body?
2.      How has the school gone about laying a curriculum and pedagogical engagement platform to engage all students in their education?
3.      How has this school gone about producing its notion of 'functional' success in light of its educational engagement processes during the post-apartheid period?

## 1.3 Literature review

This study attempts to contribute towards an understanding of how a former Model C high school has responded to the social-political turnaround that has taken place in South Africa during the post-apartheid period.  This period has seen the adoption of a number of policies that is aimed at restructuring the way that schooling now takes place in South Africa. The literature review is based on extant literature tangential to the focus of this research study, in addition to serving as a means of conceptually demarcating the study's focus.

The research focuses on national and international literature that is relevant to the primary theme of this research study and addresses the following primary research question: What is the nature of the 'educational engagement' processes at a former Model C high school during the post-apartheid period? The literature review is organised around the main themes that will be addressed within this research study. The first section focuses on the policies that inform how schools function and the discourse within which it was formulated.  The second section focuses on published work that relates to school functioning in post-apartheid South Africa, as well as literature that sheds light on the pedagogical practices of educators within multicultural school environments.

South Africa's increased isolation from a growing global economy, together with growing civil resistance came to a head by the late 1980s.  A political turnaround was initiated with the unbanning of political parties and the release of political prisoners, most notably that of former president Nelson Mandela. The transition period from 1990 to 1994, when democratic elections were held, was one of negotiations where the apartheid policies were replaced by a political democracy. As education is not politically neutral, it became a central point of negotiation during this period.  Apartheid education was stratified along racial lines and was designed to maintain and reproduce inequality by providing education to the black population which was inferior to the education that white learners received (Dolby, 2001). During this period, education was governed by 19 different education departments (Pampallis, 2002).  Funding for schools serving different races was distorted when compared to that of white schools that received the bulk of government's expenditure on education (Christie, 2008).  This uneven distribution of finances resulted in the

underdevelopment of infrastructure and schooling facilities that served the black population.  The education system was designed to maintain the political and economic order of the day.  The disparity in facilities and infrastructure motivated parents to enrol their children in schools that historically served the white population.  Social and economic resources that families have access to, act as a determinant to where parents send their children to school.  Sekete *et al.* (2001) state that the search for a better education serves as a factor in black children's migration from township schools to former white middle-class schools.  Costs play an important role.  The majority of black parents who send their children to former white schools, have to contend with paying school fees which act as a major determinant in their decision (Sekete *et al.*, 2001).

By the end of 1990, the desegregation of white schools was initiated by the announcement of four different models from which schools could adopt one.  These models would determine the schools' admissions policy during this period (Dolby, 2001).  Educational engagement processes in schools are facilitated by the direction of policy decisions taken during the post-apartheid period.  Central to the large body of legislation and policy that were to direct the functioning of schools in the post-apartheid era is the SASA which was passed in 1996 (Republic of South Africa, 1996a).  As part of the process to rebuild the South African schooling system, this Act gave parents the responsibility of playing a large role in the governance of the schools that their children attended.  The Act made provision for the formation of SGBs composed of parents, teachers, students and members of the school support staff (Soudien, 2004).  According to this Act, the duties of a SGB include developing the schools mission and code of conduct for learners, admissions, formulating a religious and language policy for the school in accordance with the constitution of the country, and managing the school's grounds and finances (Weber, 2006).  It is the duty of the SGB to determine school fees, ensure that school fees are collected, grant exemptions for the payment of school fees, and oversee the appointment of teachers.  It is thus evident that SGBs play a crucial role in the functioning of schools, as well as determining the identity of a school by means of its mission statement, code of conduct, and the teachers that they appoint.  School offerings in its curricular and extra-curricular activities have remained largely unchanged with

9

regards to school management and teacher composition that remain predominantly white (Soudien & Sayed, 2003; Vandeyar & Jansen, 2008; Dolby, 2001).

The representation of parents of working-class students on the SGBs of former Model C schools did not materialise in the post-apartheid period.  SGBs of racially mixed schools remained dominated by white middle-class parents.  Schooling plays a critical role in the formation of a democratic society.  Schools in South Africa have become democratic in its existence.  This however does not amount to the school being democratic in its functioning.  All parents and community members do not have an equal input in decisions that determine the functioning of schools (Mills & Gale, 2010).  A lack of representation exists in the governance structures of former Model C schools, the election processes, duties and responsibilities, and the functioning of the SGB creates barriers to true democratic representation on the SGB.  As school policy and directives are determined by the SGB, the uneven representation of parents that serve on this body will subsequently lead to preference being given to the schooling needs of students whom have representation within the SGB.

The literature points out that these schools have assimilated students from working-class communities into its already existing culture (Soudien & Sayed, 2003; Johnson, 2004; Dolby, 2001; Vandeyar & Jansen, 2008).  The typological form of assimilation that takes place within schools with this character would be considered as aggressive assimilation in reference to the typologies that Soudien (2004) describes. This form of assimilation manifests itself in the interactions of learners, the formal ceremonies at school, and the pedagogical practices employed by educators.  All learners are expected to adapt to the existing culture and norms of the school (Soudien, 2004).  Christie (1990) confirms the existing trend of assimilation by stating that "In their institutional dimensions - premises, staffing, curriculum, sporting, and other extramural activities - most open schools carry a powerful legacy of white education…the established assumptions of white schooling have acted as gatekeepers against fundamental change, and have provided the material conditions for assimilation."  The assimilation that takes place within the school's functioning is facilitated by SGBs that are not representative of student diversity at the school.

Before the end of apartheid, it was expected that future school curricula would serve a radically different purpose.  The curriculum that served to divide races and prepared different groups to be dominant or subordinate in the social, economic and political life, would be replaced with a curriculum that would strive to unite all South African citizens as being equal (Harley & Wedekind, 2004).  The process of introducing a new curriculum was initiated immediately after the 1994 democratic elections.

In an effort to address the challenge of providing an improved quality of education, the 1994 government introduced Outcomes Based Education (OBE) - a more progressive model of education to replace the Christian National Education (CNE) curriculum.  OBE, an imported educational approach which has been implemented in various countries across the globe with varying levels of success, was introduced in 1997 by means of the newly adopted Curriculum 2005 (C2005) implemented in schools in 1998 (Booyse & Le Roux, 2010).  Gultig, Hoadley and Jansen (2002) remark that the OBE model adopted in South Africa originated in Australia and Britain, and it follows global trends of standardisation, accountability, devolution and choice (Brandt, 2010).  Curriculum 2005 failed to provide the desired result in South Africa as it was an excessively complex system that could only succeed in well-resourced schools with highly qualified teachers (Jansen & Christie, 1999).  C2005 was thus unrealisable in the impoverished school contexts where the majority of teachers lacked the knowledge and will to implement the curriculum (Fataar, 2010). In subsequent years, the failure of OBE has resulted in the implementation of a new curriculum with narrowing boundaries serving to counteract the problem of ill-prepared and underqualified teachers that are abundant in the South African education system.  This centrally designed curriculum has failed to take into consideration the social and cultural situations within which schools operate.  With a focus on performance and 'success', a policy by means of curriculum failed to take into consideration other fields of education, such as knowledge, curriculum, pedagogy, inclusion and leadership (Wrigley, Lingard & Thomson, 2012).

Schools have been driven to become more effective in response to the politically authorised purpose that they now serve.  To achieve the desired efficiency, the pace of teaching and learning has become narrowly controlled and circumscribed. A

11

prescriptive curriculum buttressed by standardised testing is currently dominant in schools as a way of attempting to increase learner performance.   This drive for efficiency has taken place at the expense of open learning and the development of critical thinking skills.  It has prevented disadvantaged learners from engaging with their education and has prevented teachers from engaging with the funds of knowledge that disadvantaged learners bring into the middle-class school environment.  Wrigley *et al.* (2012) state that performance management, which disregards the educational needs of learners, serves as a ring-fence that circumcises the pedagogical practises employed by teachers.  Wrigley *et al.* (2012) continues by saying that alternative, more engaging, pedagogical practices may affect learner performance within this results-driven education environment.  Schools therefore calculate the impact of the type of pedagogies that they employ in order to get the required results and learning outcomes.  In this reductive reformist policy environment, schools often end up providing a tightly scripted and narrow curriculum that fails to engage their learners with sufficient intellectual rigour, care and support.

Lingard (2005) is of the opinion that teachers, via their engaged pedagogical practices, contribute the most to better learning outcomes for all learners, especially learners from disadvantaged backgrounds.  Lingard (2005) further notes that pedagogy is intrinsically linked to issues of social justice, as it refers directly to the manner in which learners are taught at school.  This brings into question the appropriateness of the continued narrowing of the curriculum being taught in South African schools.  The curriculum as it exists today encourages pedagogies of sameness in the classroom. This implies that all learners irrespective of the content of their virtual suitcases, are taught and assessed the same and in line with methodologies that are familiar to learners from a middle-class background.  The use of pedagogical practices that regard all learners as being the same, serve to promote the practice of assimilating learners into the dominant pre-existing culture of a school, which have proved to be a common institutional attitude towards racial integration at schools (Vandeyar & Jansen, 2008).

The continuous narrowing of the national curriculum in South Africa, from the introduction of OBE in 1997 to the current implementation of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS), has served to strengthen 'pedagogies of

sameness' in a time where the cultural diversity of middle-class schools in South Africa required pedagogies that ensure that disadvantaged learners are taught the codes required to be successful in a society dominated by middle-class codes (Zipin, 2005).  An increased demand for product accountability that is associated with public service, has contributed to a culture of performability within education at the cost of pedagogies that actively engage with all the learners that now attend middle-class schools (Lingard, 2005).  Schooling is now dominated by testing and assessment practices of which the results are being used by international organisations like the World Bank as indicators of the functioning and development of economies (Lingard, 2005).  The drive for performance, coupled with a narrow curriculum, have facilitated pedagogies of sameness and serve as the reason for schools' inability to establish 'capital alignment' practices that would be able to engage and adequately involve those of their learners from diverse backgrounds.

Fataar (2010) warns that if schooling would continue on its current path with its associated pedagogies and fails to adapt to the educational needs of disadvantaged learners both culturally and intellectually by means of curriculum and pedagogy, disadvantaged learners will fail to engage meaningfully with their education, which would inevitably lead to schools becoming sites that merely maintain the existing inequalities within our society.  He further states that meaningful engagement can only take place if learners are able to make a positive association between their learners' social context and their schooling (Fataar, 2010).  This suggests that, contrary to the current narrowing curriculum, schools should by means of curriculum, pedagogy, assessment, and their overall functioning, work toward engaging with the cultural knowledge and identities of learners in order to create a positive association for learners by means of their education and thereby ensuring a better future for learners.  A narrow, prescriptive curriculum however, erodes the ability of teachers to take charge of scaffolding the contents of disadvantaged learners' virtual suitcases into the body of knowledge that is required to achieve the narrowly framed requirements of school success.  This means that teachers are unable to make the education process meaningful and contextually relevant for disadvantaged learners and thereby create a positive and relevant educational environment for their diverse body of learners.

This study draws on the views of Wrigley *et al.* (2012) who emphasise the need for alternatives to global and neoliberal discourses that have manifested itself in education systems across the globe, further disadvantaging already marginalised learners struggling to engage with their education in an unequal society.  The study will show that in the context in which schooling is taking place today, there is a need for a curriculum that engages in a more meaningful way with the working-class learners that attend middle-class schools to ensure that these learners have the opportunity to achieve 'real' success.  For a curriculum to achieve this 'real' success, it should take into account the funds of knowledge of learners to ensure that learners are able to engage in their own lives the knowledge that are taught to them at school (Zipin, 2005).  A curriculum of this nature would give teachers the freedom and security to adapt their pedagogical practices in such a way that they are appropriate for the learners that are in front of them.

This study will firstly concentrate on the enactment of governmental policy in a former Model C high school.  In light of this, the study will investigate the manner in which the school works with this policy platform to go about establishing its functional culture in relation to the diverse body of students on its campus after 1994.  The primary focus will be on the nature of the educational engagement processes that the school establishes in light of the changed policy orientation and the widely diverse student demography.  Secondly, this study will focus on the curriculum and pedagogical adaptation processes established by the school in order to understand the school's bases of adaptation and alignment with regards to the curriculum and pedagogical processes established in the school and classrooms.  The latter will shed light on the various ways in which the school have mounted their cultural adaptation or alignment practices to receive, facilitate and engage their students in their educational socialization at the school.

## 1.4 Research methodology

A descriptive research approach has been identified to be the most appropriate research method for exploring the educational engagement processes at a former Model C high school in Cape Town.  This research study will be conducted by means of a case study.  Descriptive research is designed to depict the participants (i.e. Bay View High School, students, teachers and the community) in an accurate

way.  It is used to obtain information concerning the current status of the phenomena (i.e. the 'educational engagement' processes of Bay View High School).  The descriptive study will describe the interactions that exist between the school, students and the community.  This description will facilitate the analysis of how the educational engagement processes that occur within a school environment fail to recognise the capitals of workers-class learners that require more than observation. The analysis will require an interpretive approach to deconstruct how the school 'normalises' the production process that leads to a notion of functional success in view of its educational engagement processes.

The next section will provide a description of the methodological paradigm within which this research will be conducted. This will be substantiated with reasons why the research has been placed within the post structural paradigm.  Subsequently, the research design, research methods, and the procedures for data collection and the subsequent analysis thereof, will be expanded upon.  Discussions relating to the validity and ethical considerations relating to this research study will follow thereafter.

## 1.5 Methodological paradigm

This research falls within the post-structural research paradigm.  During poststructuralist research practices, emphasis is placed on identifying meanings that are context-specific and that relate to the varying operating discursive practices. A post-structural research approach is modelled upon linguistic understandings of inter-relationships between culture, language, desire and oneself. It assumes that reality is constituted through language by means of discourse and that the meaning of language and discourse shifts according to the context within which it is used (Cannole, *et al.* 1993).  Post-structural research is conducted by interrogating discourses that constitute the field of enquiry.

Poststructuralist research generates an understanding of how knowledge is constructed.  This research paradigm offers the means to establish a visible relationship between the manner individuals construct their identity and the social meaning and values that are dominant in society.  Analyses by means of poststructuralist research demonstrate how particular meanings are more powerful than others through their relationship with institutional discourse.  This research

study will demonstrate how the interests of the historical or original constituents of the school still dominate its functioning, and will highlight how this dominant view are maintained within this context.  Given this sustained dominance, it further indicates the possible positions for marginalised groups.  In the context of this study, the focus will be on new learners that have entered this educational environment and the particular requirements needed to access these opportunities.

The parameters of poststructuralist research are appropriate for this research and will be utilised for interrogating education policy, investigating the discourses within which it has been encoded, and subsequently how it has been enacted within schools to construct truths.  The constructed truths within this research relate to the normalisation of the success of schools by means of a production process that misrecognises the cultural identities and knowledge of worker-class learners within a former Model C high school.

## 1.6 Research design

Qualitative case study research has been identified to be the most appropriate research methodology for this study as it allows for an intensive analysis of an individual unit, in this instance a former Model C high school, within a specific context.  In order to understand how 'capital alignment' practices are actualised in a former Model C school, a descriptive study focussing on one specific unit of investigation by means of a case study has been chosen as the method of investigation.  A case study allows the researcher to focus on one specific case and to present a realistic picture of the complex and contextually rich situation within which Bay View High School is situated.

To gain insight into the 'educational engagement' processes of a former Model C high school in the post-apartheid era, research was conducted by following the methodological guidelines provided by a descriptive case study.

The researcher identified and accessed a school that closely resembles the school where he/she teaches.  The school that I chose for my research had as its self - defined purpose to achieve middle-class mobility for a white working-class community that is situated on the outskirts of the urban centre adjacent to industrial

zones that provided employment opportunities to people with varying levels of skill. The reason for selecting a school such as this is twofold: First, in the post-apartheid era the school has become fully integrated with an intake of learners from different cultures, religions, races, social economic standing, geographic locations and social classes.   Second, regardless of the changes that have taken place in the post-apartheid era at this school, the school has been able to sustain its academic performance in the post-apartheid period.  It is this particular phenomenon that served as motivation for this proposed study.

Using a case study as qualitative research instrument allowed the researcher to address the main research question together with its sub-questions.  Using focussed semi-structured, one-on-one interviews assisted in capturing the thoughts, ideas, knowledge, and attitudes of educators and management that relate to the reception of policy within this environment.  Data gleaned from interviews provided a clear insight into how a former Model C high school implements curriculum changes and the associated pedagogical processes associated with these changes. In addition, interviews assisted in establishing the attitude of educators in relation to curriculum changes and the implementation thereof. This allowed for understanding of how the production processes that establish functional success within the school ,are initiated through all levels of school functioning (school governance, school management , classroom-level) which will ultimately contribute towards providing comprehensive answers to the research questions at hand.

## 1.7 Case study as qualitative research instrument

A case study can be described as a research strategy, an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context.  Thomas (2011) provides the following definition for a case study:

> *"Case studies are analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more methods. The case that is the subject of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame — an object — within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates."*

17

For the purpose of this research, a qualitative case study research method was used to investigate how a former Model C high school produced, and continues to produce, a notion of functional success by means of production processes, and in doing so, fundamentally misrecognise the cultural identities and knowledge of worker-class learners that now attend the school.  By means of observation and analysis it was possible to show how this process is normalised within this middle-class school environment.  Using a case study allowed for the analysis of events and interactions that take place at the school as it stresses the developmental factors of events or occurrences in relation to the context within which it has occurred.  The complex nature of this study lends itself to the use of a case study as the research question and sub-questions require the use of multiple research methods.  The fluid nature of the environment within which education policy is enacted, and the sometimes subtle manner in which misrecognition takes place in the daily interactions of learners with their school environment, requires a research instrument, such as a case study, that is not limited by rigid protocols.

In spite of the apparent 'freedom' that a case study as a research instrument provides to the researcher, it still requires a systemic way of looking at events, collecting data, analysing information and reporting results.  Observing ethical protocols throughout the research was a primary consideration. A qualitative case study allowed for providing rich descriptions of the 'educational engagement' processes that transpire at the mentioned urban middle-class school.

**1.8 Research instruments**

Case study research generally requires the use of a variety of data collection methods.  In this research study observation served as data collection methodology within all the areas of investigation.  The data gleaned from observations was captured by means of field notes.  Interviews, both structured and unstructured, were conducted with a variety of respondents from within the school environment and included educators, learners, parents and individuals from within the school's management and governance structures.  Furthermore, historical documents from the school were used to gain a clear understanding of the school's history, identity and role within the community.

The majority of interviews were conducted at the selected school.  Interviews with parents, learners and members of the school's governing body were scheduled at times that suite the interviewees and at locations that would be appropriate to conduct meaningful interviews.  Interviews were scheduled and confirmed with respondents one day prior to the interview.  Several challenges were experienced during the interview process and involved the sometimes unpredictable schedules that educators, and as a result the respondents and interviewer, were subjected to. These challenges were addressed by ensuring that the interview schedule made provision for unforeseeable happenings. The approximate length of interviews was discussed with respondents prior to scheduling the interview, ensuring that respondents knew what to expect, and were therefore able to plan their personal schedules accordingly.  The interviews were kept to less than 60 minutes in duration. With the permission of respondents, interviews were recorded.  Notes taken during the interview served as a back-up to the recordings in case of technical problems. Interview recordings were transcribed verbatim. I always kept the recordings, transcriptions and research notes locked up in a password protected safe to which only I had access.

Structured interviews contained both open-ended and closed questions.  The open-ended questions gave respondents the opportunity to air their experiences as educators within the specific school environment.  Closed questions were used to address the primary research question and the three sub-questions stated within this research study.  Respondents were selected to address the different fields of this study, and interview questions were designed accordingly.  Interviews with educators focused on curriculum, assessment and pedagogical practices.  Interviews with school management focused on the broader functioning of the school and aimed to establish the rationale behind decision making within the school environment, focusing particularly on how the notion of success is produced within the school and how this process is normalized within the school.  Results gathered from the interviews conducted with members of the SGB, management and selected teachers, provided a greater understanding as to how the governing body sees its role as the primary decision making body of the school and how it engages with policy.  Interviews with former pupils and parents provided a clear understanding of their expectations, participation and experiences as part of the 'school community'.

The purpose of the interviews was to both complement and supplement on-going observations.  The author's experience as educator at a school similar to the school under investigation, created an awareness which guided the observations that were made throughout the research process. The purpose of the observations was to gain an understanding about the nature of engagements that take place between school management, teachers and learners whilst engaging in both curricular and extra-curricular activities.  The observations focussed on how decisions impacting the schooling experience of learners were made with particular attention to the impact that decisions had on learners.  The focus of this study however remained on academic and curricular decisions and how they were made and implemented.  In addition, several meetings of the SGB were attended to observe and interpret the decision making process.

## 1.9 Parameters of this research

This study was conducted at a former Model C high school in one of Cape Town's northern suburbs.  The primary objective of the study was to investigate how a former Model C school have received and enacted policies that govern its functioning.  The study focuses on how a former Model C school adapted its functioning in relation to the new and diverse student body that now attend this institution.  Accordingly, the author describes how the school have engaged with policy, curriculum, learners and parents in the post-apartheid era to ensure that the diverse student body is equipped with the 'capitals' that are valued by society when they complete their schooling.

## 1.10 Data analysis

Data was collected in the form of field notes gleaned from the observations. Additional data was collected from transcripts of recorded interviews.  Data was used to describe the functioning of the school by means of a narrative.  As an excepted method of qualitative research, using narratives allowed for providing rich description of the particular school environment in question. Data placed findings into context and lay bare how the functioning of the school together with the pedagogical practices amounts to the fundamental misrecognition of the cultural identities and knowledge of the worker-class learners attending the school.  A narrative approach was used to show how the school in its interaction with learners normalises its

functioning, a functioning that is believed to misrecognise the cultural knowledge and identities of worker-class learners.

## 1.11 Limitations of the study

The study has potential to contribute to a growing body of knowledge that relate to the failure of schooling to engage all students.  The school that serves as the unit of analysis exists within a specific context.  This context is unique to this school which limits the extent to which the results of this research may be extrapolated to different situations.

## 1.12 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations played a vital role in this study. Particular attention was paid to all ethical aspects that are relevant to this study.  The necessary permission to conduct this study from all the relevant role-players (WCED, SGB, principal and the university) was obtained.  The role-players will also be presented with information explaining the purpose and importance of the study.  The researcher informed participants about the nature of the research study and availed the necessary choice to participants to participate at their own free will.

The researcher availed participants the right to confidentially and anonymity. The study respected the privacy of participants, and as such the researcher ensured that all information was kept strictly confidential.

**Chapter 2:  Bay View High School, 1971-1991:  An Afrikaner place of purpose**

**2.1 Introduction**

Bay View High School is an ordinary high school situated in Cape Town's Northern Suburbs, a historically white neighbourhood that is located adjacent to a freeway and in close proximity to industrial developments.  The housing distributions in this neighbourhood paint a picture of a community that is divided by their income.  To the South side of the neighbourhood there are prefabricated sub-economic houses once developed for the low-income working-class white community of Cape Town.  Towards the North, the cared for brick houses with well-kept gardens paint a picture of family life and comfort.

The neighbourhood has changed since its founding in the early 1970s.  Where this was once a conservative, exclusively white working-class community, it is now representative of a diversity of races, cultures and religions.  White, Coloured, Black, Indian and foreign nationals now live as neighbours in what has become a cosmopolitan neighbourhood.

The school, which takes its name from the neighbourhood within which it is located, is a former white school with a capacity of 850 learners.  It was established in 1971 to serve a growing working-class Afrikaner community.  The predominant language of instruction was until 1990 Afrikaans, with minimal provision for English speaking learners.  The demographic composition of learners now mirrors the image of a democratic, free society where different races and cultures are free to attend the school of their choice, and as such, Bay View High School today has learners from different races, cultures and nationalities sitting alongside each other hoping to receive an education that will ensure them access to a prosperous life.

To the naked eye it is visible that change has taken place in the community and at school.  This chapter describes the nature of the cultural- and functional identity of this specific former Model C high school.  Throughout this chapter specific focus will be given to how the political ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism in conjunction with the CNE, have worked toward establishing a particular institutional order at schools.

This chapter is concerned with understanding how this order was produced and how it worked in this particular school.  This was achieved by describing how the school's cultural identity was established given its existence within a particular social environment, followed by a description of how the school established its functional identity through its engagement with the CNE. This chapter concludes with a description of how the school management of Bay View High School, and its actions in conjunction with teaching practises of educators, shaped and maintained in learners attending Bay View High a particular subjectivity which resonates with the politics of the day.

This study makes use of the analytical tools provided by Bourdieu.  Bourdieu's concepts of *capital, habitus* and *field* will be used to investigate the dynamic interaction between a school and the individuals attending the school taking into account the larger historical, political and economic context.  In this study, the school (Bay View High School) represents what Bourdieu describes as a *field,* an environment where social interactions take place (Grenfell, 2008).  Thomson (2008:67), suggests that in order to understand social interactions, it is insufficient to merely look at what was said, it is necessary to examine the particular social space (*field*) within which the interactions have taken place.  In order to better understand the concept of *field,* Bourdieu makes use of the analogy of a football field. Thompson (2008:68) explains Bourdieu's analogy by describing the football field as a site where football is played.  It has boundaries within which the game of football is played.  Players have to know the rules of the game and when football is played, players have set positions that determine the movement of players during the game. Similar to the football field, Bay View High School constitutes what Bourdieu describes as a *field.*  All individuals (teachers, learners and the community) occupy particular positions within this *field* and their participation and success in this 'game' is reliant on the extent of knowledge that they have of the rules of the game.

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:104-107), provide a clear account of what it means to analyse a *field.*  Bourdieu in Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) provides three distinct levels that direct the researcher to:

1. Analyse the position of the field versus the field of power;

2. Map out the objective structure of relations between the positions occupied by agents who compete for the legitimate forms of specific authority of which the field is the site; and

3. Analyse the habitus of agents, the systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalising a determinate type of social and economic condition.

Grenfell and James (1998:169) elaborate upon these three levels in education.  The first level refers to the relationship between education and the political and economic system that govern society.  This relationship is essential to understand what is expected from education, how it is organised, and ultimately what knowledge is valued and legitimate.  The second level refers to intra-institutional structural relations,  the way an individual establishment is organised whilst level three involves an analysis of the habitus of the individuals involved, referring to both educators and learners.  Through the course of this chapter, the nature of these three distinct levels at Bay View High School up until 1991 will be determined, the period from which racial integration to come into effect at Bay View High School.

Establishing the contextual background to the functioning of Bay View High School is crucial to this study, as the subsequent chapters will focus on how this school has responded by means of its educational engagement processes, to the disruption of its particular institutional identity since 1991.

## 2.2 The founding of Bay View High School

The political context within which the school was established has a particularly important role in the functional identity that the school has established after its founding.  School functioning was governed by the National Education Policy Act No. 39 of 1967.  The ideological orientation upon which this act was formulated was the CNE curriculum.  The CNE aimed to instil in students a world view that was governed by Calvinist religious ideology on the one hand, and strong national sentiment on the other (Tihanyi, 2006:48).  The CNE was the compulsory education system in all former white schools and was particularly influential in white Afrikaans schools (Van Niekerk, 2010:81).  Van Niekerk (2010) suggests the CNE to be the system of education, promoting an official value system that schools should have a broad Christian character in order to further entrench an Afrikaner nationalist

24

character.  Fataar (2010:74) remarks that the CNE served to solidify the racially exclusive ethnic identity among Afrikaners.

The specific period during which the school was established had particular significance in the Apartheid era.  By the mid-1970s, the South African economy experienced an economic downturn.  The price of mining commodities upon which the South African economy was built had tumbled, resulting in a 25 percent decrease in per capita income, with the poorest people experiencing the heaviest decline (Gilliomee, 2003:597).  An increase in poverty among white Afrikaans speaking citizens had precipitated the re-emergence of the poor white problem that originated between the period 1875 and 1904.  Despite many decades of attempts to address this issue by successive white governments, this poverty among whites had not disappeared.

In an effort to uplift the living standard of poor white Afrikaners, the Afrikaner Nationalist Government in power embarked on a drive to ensure that white privilege and power are sustained.  One of the means by which the government aimed to achieve the upliftment of poor white Afrikaners, was to provide superior education for whites (Gilliomee, 2003:325).  Quality education would equip the poor white community with the skills to gain access to more desirable jobs, which would alleviate the poor white problem and engender nationalist pride among the white Afrikaner population.  White privilege would be further boosted and ensured by coupling superior education with ease of access to trades by means of job reservation, i.e. semi-skilled and skilled positions that were reserved for whites.

Aside from providing superior education, the Apartheid Government also initiated the development of housing schemes that would provide housing to poor white families.  Bay View High School is situated in one of Cape Town's northern suburbs.  This was one of the neighborhoods that was earmarked for development of low cost housing for poor white Afrikaner families.  The neighborhood was established in a government proclamation issued in 1964. The suburban settlement was originally approved for the development of low-cost housing for "poor white people" earning less than R180.00 per month (The property editor, 1971).  Bay View was the first and only suburb in South Africa where approval was granted for the erection of wooden

houses with pre-fabricated wooden panels and walls under asbestos roofing.  The pre-fabrication of the houses allowed builders to construct three houses per day.  In 1970, the development of low cost housing for poor whites reached its second phase.  During this phase an additional 1000 houses were added to the existing 1000 that were built during the first phase of the development (The property editor, 1971).

## 2.3 The cultural identity of Bay View High School

The growth of Bay View necessitated the establishment of schools in the neighborhood and as a result Bay View High School was established in 1971. A description of the cultural identity of this particular high school is reliant on a working definition of what constitutes culture.  Culture is a complex concept and is described by Tiedt and Tiedt (1990:3) as a complex and integrated system of beliefs and behaviour.  Culture provides structure within a society, and guides the actions, emotions and thoughts of individuals in different situations.  Gollnick and Chinn (2002) are of the opinion that culture allows us to predict how others will behave in certain situations.  Each individual is born into a specific culture, however it is the upbringing and socialising within a specific cultural environment that will determine the manner in which individuals will act, what Bourdieu refer to as '*habitus'* (Maton, 2008:51).  Habitus thus refers to the composition of a person's disposition.  It is a composite of an individual's values, dispositions, lifestyle and expectations acquired through the everyday experiences and activities that an individual engages in. '*Habitus'* is defined by Bourdieu as the property of social agents that comprises a "structured and structuring stature" (Bourdieu, 1994:170).  The *'habitus'* of an individual is 'structured' by his past and present circumstances.  These circumstances may for instance include the family upbringing of an individual, as well as his or her educational experiences.  Within the everyday surroundings of the individual, dispositions are generated, which in turn generate perceptions, appreciations and practices. *'Habitus'* is 'structuring' in a way that it helps to shape one's current and future practices (Maton, 2008:51).  The socialising of learners into a specific culture refers to the internalising of social and cultural rules.  Cultural and social rules are acquired from parents and the individual's direct social environment. The social environment represents the habitat within which the *'habitus'* of learners is formed.  All *'habituses'* do however not have the same value in society, it is therefore

the school, in this instance Bay View High School, that is responsible for ensuring that learners acquire a specific type of habitus that does have exchange value in a wider society.  The prolonged exposure of learners to a specialised social *'habitus'* at school and home, gives rise to the formation of embodied cultural capital within the individual (Moore, 2008:101).  Embodied cultural capital is described as both the consciously acquired and the passively received dispositions of an individual attributed to a particular social setting, usually their family, that person finds himself in.  Cultural capital is not acquired instantaneously, but is acquired over time and impresses itself on an individual's character and ways, becoming habitus.  Habitus is structured within a specific social setting.  Bay View High School represents such a setting.  Bourdieu refers to a social setting such as a school where interactions, transactions and events occur, as a *'field'* (Grenfell, 2008:67).  This 'field' which Bourdieu describes as a social construct, is hierarchical in nature, and the position of an individual within this field is determined by the capital that an individual possesses (Thompson 2008).  Thompson (2008) explains that the interaction of habitus and capital with a particular field, results in the practice of an individual.

Moodie (1975:107) refers to the Afrikaner culture as a culture with particular identifiers.  He describes the Afrikaner culture as a culture that centres on the importance of language, religion, politics, sport, recreation and the arts.  The Afrikaans language is one of the most recognisable characteristics of Afrikaner culture.  It is a language that evolved out of the Dutch language spoken by the first settlers in the Cape.  Afrikaans was first recognised as an official language in South Africa in 1925.  Afrikaners are known to be proud and protective of their language. In addition to language, religion is also forms an important part of the Afrikaner culture.  Afrikaner culture is also narrowly associated with conservative Calvinist religious beliefs and the teachings of reformist churches of which the Dutch Reformed Church is the predominant denomination among Afrikaners.

Similar to their religious beliefs, Afrikaners are also seen to have conservative political views.  Afrikaner nationalism as a political ideology emerged from the middle of the nineteenth century.  This ideology promoting unity among Afrikaners was born in light of the strong anti-British sentiments among them following the Boer wars. Moodie (1975:79) describes Afrikaner nationalism as a civil religion that combines

the history of Afrikaners with the Afrikaans language and Afrikaner Calvinism. Calhoun (1997: 5) identifies three dimensions that make up nationalism. First, nationalism as a discourse produces the cultural understanding, thought and language that allow people to identify with such a culturally defined nation. Second, nationalism as a project focuses on the social movements and state policies that claim to act and advance the interests of the nation in the striving for national autonomy. Third, nationalism as a cultural and political ideology professes pride in one's nation and inherits difference and superiority. These three dimensions are encountered with different variations and apply with different degrees to various nations of which all are present and identifiable in Afrikaner Nationalism.

Apart from language, religion and politics, the Afrikaner culture is further expressed in common interests and pastimes. Most Afrikaners are passionate about sport. Rugby in particular stirs up the emotions of many Afrikaners. Young boys have traditionally been introduced to the sport of rugby during the early part of primary schooling. Participation in rugby was encouraged by parents, and by participating in this robust and physical sport served as a platform whereby young boys could prove their toughness and manhood (Grundlingh, 2013, cited by Chandler & Nauright, 2013:81). The cultural character of rugby facilitated its acceptance as a constituent part of the white and especially Afrikaner establishment as opposed to soccer, which was a popular sport among the white working- class in cities like Cape Town and Johannesburg. Rugby therefore became a popular school sport in schools that served to effect middle class mobility within working-class Afrikaner communities, such as the one in Bay View.

Grundlingh (2013:81) indicates that rugby, because of its rough physical nature, was described to be the 'ultimate man-maker', inculcating values such as courage, stamina and self-control. From a very young age boys in rugby playing countries are socialised into a world where rugby is an important element in the construction of male identity (Grundligh, 2013:82). If boys did not play rugby they would be described as 'sissies' or 'softies', both derogatory terms indicating that these boys displayed characteristics associated with girls. This narrow bond between rugby and manliness was woven into father-son relationships. This relationship was evident by the support the rugby teams of Bay View High School had received from parents,

particularly fathers shouting and encouraging their sons from the side-line every Saturday as confirmed by Mr Bester, a teacher and rugby coach at Bay View High, in an interview (2014).

Rugby further served as a legitimate battlefield where, according to Grundlingh (2013:65), young Afrikaner boys could confront what was often still regarded as the 'enemy' among poor working-class Afrikaners,  i.e. the English.  It is thus also for this reason that great rivalries developed between neighbouring schools serving English and Afrikaans learners respectively.  Bay View High School is still embroiled in these rivalries that originated in the late 1970s and the 1980s. These rugby derbies were fuelled by cultural differences as well as class differences.  Learners and parents from neighbouring schools would often be heard making derogatory remarks toward Bay View High School learners and parents based on characteristics derived from their class-cultural position.

On the cultural front, a number of organisations came into existence with the purpose of promoting the Afrikaners' language and culture. Many Afrikaner children would often join movements such as the Voortrekkers and Landsdiens.  These movements, which were active within school environments, focused on civic education, teaching Afrikaner values to young children, and instilling in them the value of service to their country and community.  The patriotic nature of Afrikaners was also evident in their celebration of national days of significance. For the Afrikaner these celebrations were also opportunities to express their pride of culture. Days such as Republic Day, celebrated on 31 May of each year, Kruger Day on 10 October, and what was commonly referred to as Dingaans Dag (Day) on 16 December, were opportunities during the apartheid years where Afrikaners were able to show their solidarity and support for the government.  These days were often recognised during mass gatherings of Afrikaners where people would engage in what was considered to be traditional Afrikaner activities, such as volkspele (folk games), boeremusiek (boer music) and boeresport (boer sport).

In serving an Afrikaner community, these putative characteristics of the Afrikaner culture described above, were evident in the practises and educational activities of Bay View High School since its founding.  The cultural identity of Bay View High

School was therefore unmistakably Afrikaner by nature.  This unmistakable Afrikaner culture of Bay View High School served to structure durable, if not entirely inflexible, Afrikaner dispositions in most learners.

## 2.4 School functioning

The cultural identity of Bay View High School is closely connected to the dominant culture of the community within which it is located. The functional basis, upon which schooling was founded prior to 1994, was based on Apartheid as a political and social ideology.  Fisk and Ladd (2004:24) report that this ideology was built on four basic premises. The first was the intention to preserve the identity of South Africa's four race groups, each with its own language, culture, history and traditions, based on the idea that groups must live and develop separately.  The second premise was the belief that white people are the custodians of civilization and should therefore lead the other groups to civilisation.  Third, was to enable whites to fulfil their role as custodians of civilisation, therefore their privileges had to be protected.  The fourth premise was that all white people forms a single nation, whereas black persons may be divided into many nations.  In accordance with these ideas, education for the different ethnic groups in South Africa was planned to develop along different paths, which adhered to the premises upon which apartheid was built.

The ideological vehicle with which the school was to achieve the above was the CNE curriculum, an approach to education designed according to Calvinist Afrikaner beliefs.  It is derived from an interpretation of Calvinism, the predominant religious doctrine practiced by most Afrikaners, which accommodated the racial policies adopted by the ruling nationalist government of South Africa. There existed a close union between the CNE, the church, and the state, to such an extent that all schooling was considered to be church schooling (Eshak, 1987).  The South African version of the CNE was formulated by a committee of prominent Afrikaners, the 'Die Instituut vir Christelike Nationale Onderwys' (ICNO) and the 'Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniging' (FAK).  On 17 November 1948, the congress of the ruling NP adopted a resolution that the country's education policies should conform to the FAK's interpretation of the CNE.  Some of the key principles of the CNE highlighted by Van Eeden and Vermeulen (2005) include:

- The instruction and education of the children of European parents should be based on their parents' life view of the world.  In turn, the abovementioned life view should have a Christian foundation based on the Holy Scripture.

- Under the 'national' principle it is understood that everything is loved that belongs to the own, such as 'our country, our language, our history, our culture'. Educational instruction should be conducted through the mechanisms of religious instruction, mother tongue instruction, civil educational instruction, Geography and History.

- Discipline in school is a God-given authority and therefore imposes great responsibility on the Christian teacher.

- No double medium schools – all groupings in South Africa should be separately accommodated.

- Schools should carry out their function independently from the home, the church or the state. The undertaking should rather be a joint effort of all three together.

The CNE policy of 1948 purported to be a policy for white Afrikaans speaking children.  It however had far reaching consequences for the education of all South African children.  From its early implementation, criticism towards this policy centred on the likelihood that this narrow chauvinistic policy, as Enslin (1984:142) describes it, would lead to Christian National indoctrination of white English speaking pupils attending state schools.  The CNE is explicitly a statement of the beliefs and worldview of the Afrikaner volk. Education is meant to instil love and pride for their country, language, history and culture, specifically those which is connected to being an Afrikaner.  This was to be instilled by means of educational instruction, religious instruction, mother tongue instruction and civil instruction.  This educational function should be fulfilled by the school in conjunction with the church and home.  It further affirms that the CNE served to promote the political ideologies of the apartheid government as is evident from articles within this policy.  By means of the CNE, schools had become institutions that served to promote the political and ideological aspirations of the Nationalist government.

The notion of racial supremacy is essential to the functioning of an ideology such as the CNE.  The notion that non-white races are in a state of 'cultural infancy' serves to justify the paternalistic nature of the CNE in which it had become the duty of 'white South Africa' to Christianise the non-white population of South Africa.  The notion of racial inferiority further served as justification for an education system that contributes to the reproduction of society where white is superior to black.  It does this by providing separate inferior education to different races on the basis that the education of different races should not be funded at the expense of the education of white learners.  Promoting the notion of racial supremacy was not only essential for the functioning of an ideology such as the CNE, but it was critical in maintaining support for apartheid politics, which in turn ensured the continued existence of an apartheid regime.  Schools were therefore strictly governed by government through its Department of Education.  Drawing on Bourdieu's notion of the field as described by (Thompson, 2008), the CNE provides the rules by which the school as a field functions within the greater field of power, which is the nationalist apartheid government and its racially based policies.

Fisk and Ladd (2004:43-44) explain that the CNE Policy of 1948 explicitly and implicitly placed different values on children of different race groups and genders. Curricula were written with white learners in mind and little effort was made to consider the needs of non-white learners. Instruction for non-white learners was designed to reinforce their lesser social status. Advanced vocational and technical subjects were available only to whites, as were higher-level math and science. Apartheid also greatly affected the content matter of subjects such as history, which sought to legitimize the prevailing social order and to teach students from the various racial groups about their proper place within this social order. The role of Afrikaners in South African history was glorified while other groups, especially Africans, received little mention. When they were mentioned, Africans tended to be described in terms of physical or other stereotypes, such as 'fearsome Zulus.' Indeed, schools promulgated "a system of values which amongst other things promoted racial fears, hatred and conflict" (Fisk & Ladd, 2004:45).

**2.4.1 Bay View High School's school management orientations, teachers and educational practices**

Adopted in 1980, the school's Latin slogan 'Unitate Fortior', which translates into 'in unity there is strength', provides a clear indication of the school's affiliation to what can broadly be regarded as Afrikaner culture and its nationalist ideology of unity among Afrikaners.  It affirms that this school was meant to promote unity, cultivate patriotism and create a stronger Afrikaner national identity.

From its founding in 1971, Bay View High School's governing structures, management and teachers were representative of the culture of the community and the Afrikaner learner that it served.  The management structures of the school were dominated by males as was the normal practice at schools in patriarchy dominated Afrikaner communities during this period.  (All participants' and the school's privacy have been protected by making use of pseudonyms throughout this thesis).The first principal, from 1971 to 1987, Mr Swart, and his successors were experienced senior teachers from schools within the district. Mr Grewe, a junior teacher who started teaching at Bay View High School in 1985, describes the management style of the principal as strict, conservative and rigid.  Teachers 'stepping out of line' were not tolerated and would be met with stern words. The dress code for teachers was strict. All male teachers were expected to wear a suit and tie.  Female teachers were not allowed to wear pants and had to wear skirts or dresses that conformed to specific restrictions.  All the teachers and staff were Afrikaans speaking, with a large number of the staff compliment at Bay View High School being male (personal communication, 2015).  Similar to learners from 'Diversity High', an Afrikaans school in Pretoria, the learners from this working-class neighbourhood were not considered to be academically strong (Vandeyar & Jansen, 2008:15). They were perceived as difficult learners coming from households where parenting was either absent or ineffective due to the impact of poverty.  Mr Bester (2015) describes the learners that attended Bay View High School as coming from difficult homes and that "they are good kids, sometimes just a little bit rough."

Maintaining discipline and order at schools serving these poorer communities was an important function, as the children were also thought of as having disciplinary shortcomings.  Discipline was enforced by male teachers through the use of corporal

punishment, usually with the liberal use of a cane.  Corporal punishment was an integral part of schooling for most teachers and students in South African schools. It was used liberally in schools (Morrell, 1994:294).  Corporal punishment was seen as a means of ensuring the control of children, and this was a mirror of how government was able to control social, economic and political conditions (Vally & Dalamba, 1999:81).  Teachers were encouraged to use corporal punishment as a way to maintain control and to deal with children who stepped out of line. The use of corporal punishment was common practise both at school and at home, as was confirmed in a conversation by John Stevens, a former learner (1987-1991) at Bay View High School.  Most Afrikaner parents accepted this form of punishment and exercised similar practices at home.  The CNE was designed to support the apartheid system by schooling children to become passive citizens who would accept authority without question.  This strict disciplining approach was evident in the day-to-day conduct of learners.  In spite of how Mr Bester (2015) described the learners as being "*a little bit rough*" at school, learners were mostly quiet and obedient inside the classrooms.  When changing classes, learners moved briskly and silently.  The physical appearance of learners, their uniforms, shoes and hair, despite their financial hardships, conformed to the rules stipulated by the school, and their engagement with their teachers was respectful in most instances.  Schooling had accomplished the task of making these learners subordinate to their teachers and to show pride in their school.

Afrikaans was the language of instruction at Bay View High School from its founding in 1971 until 1990. . .  According to Mr Smit, the school principal since 2005, Bay View High School was at the time of its founding on the furthest outskirts of Cape Town and attracted a small number of English learners who attended the school due to its geographic location.  During this period, the learners attending Bay View High School were almost exclusively Afrikaans speaking.  Mr Bester (2015) considered Bay View High School to be an Afrikaans school.  Vandeyar and Jansen (2008:16) point out that Afrikaans schools like Bay View High School, were expected to play an important role in the preservation of the Afrikaans language and therefore also the preservation of the Afrikaans culture of which the Afrikaans language was a key aspect.  This ensured that the purity of the Afrikaans language was central to the

functioning of the school.  All the teachers at Bay View High School were white and Afrikaans first language speakers.  The school principals had through the years ensured that the school employed teachers that would fit in with the existing school culture.  Great care was also taken in employing teachers who possessed the intellectual and professional capacity to deal with the learning challenges associated with teaching in a community such as this.  Newspaper clippings found in the yearbooks of Bay View High School (Bay View High School Yearbook, 1985) illustrate that great care was taken in the appointment of educators at the school.  Vacancies were filled by teachers that would integrate well into the Afrikaner-oriented culture of the school.  New teachers were formally introduced to the community via local newspapers.  This introduction provided a comprehensive background of each teacher, including details of their own schooling, where they grew up, where they studied, and a full description of their qualifications and previous teaching experience (Bay View High School Yearbook, 1984).  The quality of the teachers was further highlighted through reports of achievements by its teachers in the print media, which served to enhance Bay View High School's reputation for providing education of a high standard. The majority of teachers received their teacher training at Afrikaans universities or teacher colleges.  The teachers were expected to set an example to learners at school.  Through their actions, conduct, use of language and exemplary behaviour, the teachers were expected to set an example to learners about acceptable Afrikaner behaviour.  The teachers employed by Bay View High School were able to function within the narrow perimeters set by the CNE.  These teachers possessed the desired habitus; they were Afrikaans speaking, had the beliefs, values, conduct, speech, dress and manners that resembled that of the Afrikaans middle-class.  The teachers were required to transfer middle-class capitals to learners, enabling the schools to fulfil its mandate of improving the class status of poor working-class Afrikaners. The majority of teachers received their schooling under the CNE curriculum. Teaching an Afrikaner-orientated syllabus that served to strengthen the social and political ideologies of the apartheid regime was accomplished without open displays of discomfort or critical questioning.

The classroom practice of teachers was rigid.  Learners were expected to be silent and disciplined.  Teaching happened by means of teacher talk where after learners

would be expected to complete prescribed exercises in their workbooks.  Teaching resources commonly comprised of a textbook, chalkboard and overhead projector. Learner progress was evaluated solely by means of written tests and exams.  To prepare learners for upcoming examinations, the teachers spent a great amount of time coaching learners in the writing of tests and examinations.  This coaching involved working through previous exam papers.  Vandeyar and Killen (2003:122) give a comprehensive description of the nature of assessment that was expected from schools during the era of the CNE.  They explain that the approach that was adopted during this period placed great emphasis on the accumulation of isolated facts and skills.  Assessment had taken place, as they describe it, by means of paper-and-pencil tests that valued the ability to recall textbook knowledge. Assessment during this period was driven by the need to produce marks, which in turn would be recorded and used as evidence that assessment as prescribed by the department, had taken place.  The implementation of the prescribed syllabus was heavily policed by school management in conjunction with the Department of Education.  The Department of Education, by means of subject advisors, would visit the school each school term to ensure that educators stick to the prescribed syllabus.  Assessment was largely summative in nature, emphasising content and factual recall with the best performing learners often being the ones who were best able to recall knowledge.  Teaching assessment practises placed very little value on the input of learners and the development of critical thinking skills.

Vandeyar and Killen (2003:122) describe the format of assessment at these types of schools as rigid, complying with strict guidelines set forward by the education authorities.  The biggest component of learners' marks under the CNE was based on written examinations.  Formal written examinations took place in June and November.  These examinations were used to determine the promotion and retention of learners from one grade to another.  The nature of assessment allowed for the ranking of learners according to marks achieved during examinations, resulting in strong competition among learners to achieve marks that would prevent them from being labelled as low achievers (Stiggins, 1994).  This competition was evident at Bay View High School.  Top achievers, learners who achieved A-aggregates (above 80%), had their names placed in the hallway and front entrance of the school.  This practice was aimed at displaying the academic excellence of the

school, which served to prove to both learners and parents that the school was successful at performing its mandate of academic excellence.

The objective of achieving academic success was continuously emphasised to both teachers and students.  Ms Jansen, an English teacher who was deeply involved in the cultural activities at Bay View High School, confirmed that most formal assemblies, aside from a strong emphasis on religion, was aimed at conveying a message that focused on the importance of discipline as a general requirement, but specifically in studying.  Matric (Grade 12) learners were constantly reminded of the importance of passing matric with good marks, as this would ensure them a prosperous future.  To this effect the school and its teachers had gone to great lengths to ensure that learners were well-prepared for their final examination at the end of the year.  The school arranged additional lessons for learners on Saturdays, had two parent evenings per year dedicated to Grade 12 learners, all serving to reinforce the importance of achieving not merely a pass, but also good grades. Craig de Beer(interviewed 2015), a former learner (1986-1991) at Bay View High School, remembers these practices well. He however indicated that this constant reminding of performing in the matric examination at the end on the year eventually instilled so much fear in him, that he was in fact motivated to study as a result of fear for the consequences of poor performance.  In addition, he did not want to let his parents or the school down, and as the captain of Bay View High School's first rugby team he felt great pride towards the school. He recognised all the sacrifices that both the school and his parents had made in order to provide him with hope of a good future.

The pedagogical approaches of educators were narrow and focused on promoting the values of the CNE. The transmission of knowledge had taken place within an environment that demanded strict academic discipline.  The content of the curriculum was to equip learners with knowledge that would enable them to take up the opportunities that were available to young whites within the world of work.  Learners were expected to be disciplined and their progress was measured by means of continuous formal examination.

Similar to what Vandeyar and Jansen (2008) reported in their research, this school was equipped to offer a wide range of subjects which would contribute to learners acquiring the necessary skills to take their position as the custodians of civilisation. The subjects offered at Bay View High School included Afrikaans, English, Mathematics, Science, Biology, History, Geography, Commercial subjects, Home economics, Needlework, Woodwork, Metalwork, Music, Guidance and Physical Education.  The academic focus at Bay View High School was towards the vocational subjects.  Learners from this working-class neighbourhood showed little interest in attending university, which was financially not possible for most of them. There were ample employment opportunities for them in the nearby industrial development hubs around their neighbourhood.

Coming from working-class households, mothers were often housewives and fathers tradesmen, and leaners possessed the type of *'capitals'* that reflect their parents' interests and occupations.  Learners showed a preference for vocational subjects and they flourished in them.  Maton (2008:58) confirms this phenomenon and states that Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) had indicated that learners from the working-class are less likely to attend university.  Learners from the working-class are according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) more likely to be exposed to vocational trades in their community and home contexts. These learners were therefore able to choose subjects through which they could acquire vocational knowledge and skills that enabled them to take up jobs in technical fields.  On this basis, Bay View High School built a reputation for producing top learners in the practical subjects that were offered at the school. Learners from the metalwork class were for example in demand with companies from die adjacent industrial areas.  These companies often contacted the metalwork teacher to offer employment opportunities to the school's learners. Mr Bester (2015) attributed this to the children's enthusiasm for the subject by stating that "the boys knew how to work with their hands" and that "they were good at it". Mr Bester further stated that learners presented him with "the most amazing projects year after year" and that he never understood where they got the materials to build their projects.  He felt fortunate that he almost never had to discipline learners for not completing their work and said that it felt as if the boys were hanging on his lips, eager to learn more.  In addition to the school's

formal academic offering, this school, like other similar schools, also provided learners the opportunity to engage in cultural and sporting events that served to further socialise the learners from this working-class neighbourhood into the practices most associated with the middle-class Afrikaner aspirations.

### 2.4.2 Sport and cultural expression

For the poor-white Afrikaners to take up their '*rightful*' place in South African society, the Nationalist government endeavored to provide, as Vandeyar and Jansen (2008:9), as well as Karlsson (2004:328) indicate, a variety of facilities to promote sports favored by the white community, such as rugby, hockey, netball, tennis and cricket.

The value of sport and physical education as a whole during this period is confirmed by the inclusion of Physical Education as part of the formal academic curriculum offered at schools.  Sport occupied a central discursive place in schools' identity, perhaps more than any other issue that defines and maintains the identity of former white Afrikaner public schools such as Bay View High School (Dolby, 2001:49).  It was compulsory for all learners, boys and girls, to participate in a minimum of one summer sport and one winter sport.  Girls mostly took part in netball during the winter and athletics or tennis during summer.  Boys participated in rugby during winter and cricket or athletics during summer.

Morrell (1996, cited by Dolby 2001:51), argues that rugby at white boys' schools allowed upper-class white males to solidify their race class and gender position. Through rugby, former white schools aimed to inscribe an identity that can be clearly marked as different from that of poorer whites, blacks and women.  Based on a study conducted by Dolby (2001:49) on former white schools in Durban, she indicates that rugby was the most visible sport at these schools, that it attracts the most spectators, and that rugby game scores appeared in the weekly newspapers.  It was therefore important that the schools performed well in this sport, as this served as an indication of a school's 'strength' or reputation.

At Bay View High School rugby was compulsory, as all boys regardless of athletic ability were expected to participate.  Within an Afrikaner community this was

however seldom a stumbling block, as most young boys were already familiar with the sport and participated with eagerness and excitement.  The importance of rugby is evident at Bay View High School. The school played its first competitive rugby match on 27 July 1972 against Bellville High School.  All the rugby matches, the players involved, and the scores of the games were recorded and preserved for future reference in a notebook referred to simply as 'The Rugby Book'.  Rivalry between Bay View High School and its neighbouring schools became a common feature, especially fierce with neighbouring English schools.  The nature of this rivalry amounted to more than mere rugby.  It was a rivalry between cultures and classes.  Learners from the older more established and affluent neighbouring English suburb were often seen to look down on learners from Bay View High School, which served to fuel this rivalry.  By 1973, Bay View High School was able to enter two full teams in the Western Province rugby schools league.  The number of rugby teams had grown to five by the late 1980s, establishing Bay View High School as one of the regular rugby venues in the district.

Rugby was not the only sport in which Bay View High achieved success, but it is the best documented sport at the school.  The school also quickly gained a reputation for delivering top-class athletes.  During the 1980s, the school won its annual co-ed athletics meetings against established schools from the district four years in a row.  Athletes from Bay View High School were selected to represent South Africa during international meetings in Europe.  The achievements of the school on the athletics field were a result of talent and hard work by teachers providing coaching after schools.  As recognition for the results achieved by athletes, teachers from the school were elected to serve on the Western Province schools athletics board.  Other sports at Bay View High School included cross-country, badminton, cricket and netball.  Hockey and tennis were introduced in later years.

As a former white school, Bay View High School further served as a site where civic education was taught to white learners with the aim of promoting the apartheid ideology.  In keeping with the value system of the Afrikaner culture and the prescriptions set by the CNE, all formal and informal activities at school would be opened with the reading of scripture and a prayer.  This practice was a common feature regardless of the occasion and conformed to the expectations of the CNE.

Karlsson (2004:336) reports on the experiences of learners who attended former Model C schools by stating that learners recall being subjected to school rituals that were laden with religion and nationalism such as the singing of the national anthem, always in Afrikaans, standing at attention, at all formal school gatherings.  Karlsson (2004:336) suggests that this indicates that the school and its buildings create a space of devotional reflection, the building of a collective national identity and the rehearsing of 'good' citizenship.  The rehearsing of 'good citizenship' relates directly to socialising learners into the practices of the Afrikaner culture.

Civic education at school was geared towards instilling national pride and patriotism among the Afrikaner community, as prescribed by the CNE.  The school celebrated national days such as Republic Day on the 31st of May of each year and Kruger Day on the 10th of October.  Even though these days were public holidays, Bay View High School, like other schools, celebrated these days that had particular importance to the Afrikaner culture during a formal assembly in the school hall.  Celebrations happened according to a formally compiled program.  The first item was the opening of the proceedings with reading from scripture.  On days with particular significance the school would invite the minister from the local Dutch Reformed Church to start the celebration where after a guest speaker would address learners.  Guest speakers would come from the political arena and included the mayor of the municipal area and local counsellors.  The messages conveyed by guest speakers were aimed at informing learners about the history and significance of these days, reminding learners of the sacrifices and struggles that their forefathers had made to establish an Afrikaner nation.  To this effect, the program would include a minute of silence to honour those who had made the ultimate sacrifice, those who gave their lives in order to realise the dream of an independent Afrikaner nation.  The formal proceeding of these celebrations further included the singing of hymns, a flag unfurling by the head prefects of the school, and finally the singing of the Vlaglied (Flag song) and the National Anthem.  Before proceedings were closed with prayer, all learners would recite a declaration of allegiance:

*Before all here, I promise to remain true to my fatherland, the Republic of South Africa, the land that I love.* (Republic day celebrations program, Bay View High School Yearbook, 1991).

41

During these celebrations, the school cadets played an important role, particularly during the flag unfurling.  School cadets were part of the civil education function that the school fulfilled. Boys were issued with military cadet uniforms.  Once a week as part of the school curriculum, all the boys participated in 'cadets'.  During this time, Standard 6 (Grade 8) and Standard 7 (Grade 9) boys were taught to march in platoons.  During the period where South Africa was involved in conflict on the boarders, cadets served to prepare boys for conscription into the military following the completion of their schooling.

The school, government and cultural organisations such as the FAK provided opportunities and platforms for the preservation and growth of the Afrikaans language.  Learners were given the opportunities to participate in Taalfeeste (language festivals) hosted by organisations such as the FAK that served to promote Afrikaans.  For this reason learners from Bay View High School participated in yearly Eisteddfod events where they would recite Afrikaans poetry, read prepared speeches or present musical items.  A number of clubs/associations were formed at school to arrange a variety of activities associated with the Afrikaner culture as indicated in the school annuals.  The Afrikaanse Christelike Studente Vereniging (ACSV, Afrikaans Christian Student Association) was one of the religious associations active at the school.  This movement is closely associated with the Dutch Reformed Church, and serves to spread the word of God among the Afrikaans youth. Another movement was Landsdiens (Land service), a body that strived to develop young Afrikaner leaders whilst promoting Afrikaner values of service to one's country. There were also debating, orators and a drama club.  Topics at the 1989 yearly orator's competition provided a hint as to the social struggles that the learners from Bay View were exposed to.  Ms Marais, who served as a coordinator of cultural events during this time, explained that she always considered topics that were relevant to the learners when planning the yearly debating and orator events (personal communication, 2015).  Topics of alcohol abuse, racial relations, and unemployment as shown in the Bay View High Yearbook of 1989, suggest that the learners from this working-class community were exposed to these social struggles around their homes and community.

The school also had a school paper called Snippets that was published yearly.  The purpose of this paper was to introduce learners to "the exciting world of journalism" (Bay View High School Yearbook, 1985).  The paper reported on sport results and the cultural events that had taken place at school during the year.  The paper also contained sections that were dedicated to providing particular advice to boys and girls.  Since 1981, Snippets was also responsible for organising a yearly beauty contest called 'Mej (Ms) Snippets'.  The purpose of this competition was solely to select the most beautiful girl in the school at a gala event.

The prolonged exposure of learners from working-class backgrounds to an aspirant Afrikaner middle-class habitus included cultural awareness and appreciation programmes.  These programmes were prompted by organisations such as the Kaapse Raad vir die Uitvoerende Kunste (KRUIK, Cape Performing Arts Board), a government sponsored body that was associated with the performing arts, and visited the school yearly to educate learners and expose them to the performing arts.  There were yearly plays where learners had the opportunity to take part in the performing arts.  The theme of school plays were drawn from the prescribed work that learners had to read as part of the formal curriculum.  An example of this was the performance of the epic poem, 'Raka' by N.P. Van Wyk Louw and 'King Lear' by Shakespeare in 1984.  In addition to school plays, there were also other expressions of culture at Bay View High School.  The school choir was a source of great pride.  The choir participated at yearly Eisteddfod evenings and received high acclaim for their performances.

### 2.4.3 The role of parents and the community

As with other schools, parents of learners attending Bay View High School have always been expected to play an important role in the education of their children and the functioning of the school.  The social and academic background of the parent community however, limited the ability of parents to assist learners with homework and projects, although it was still expected of them.  To maintain a functional relationship between the school and the parent community, the school held parent evenings twice a year.  Parent evenings were opportunities for both the school and parents to address concerns regarding learner progress.  The proximity of the school to the community ensured that parent evenings were generally well attended.

Parental involvement in school activities were further extended to the involvement of parents in parent-teacher organisations (PTO).  The PTO was involved in organising school events, such as sports days and fundraisers where parent involvement would entail the preparation or selling of food or acting as officials at sport events.

As a school, Bay View High School has through the years played an important role in the community that reached beyond the parameters of schooling.  The school provided a safe haven for the children from the neighbourhood.  With parents who often worked irregular hours, the school had through the years taken some level of responsibility upon itself to organise activities for learners outside regular school hours.  These activities over weekends and particularly during school holidays, served to provide learners with a safe environment, limiting their exposure to negative societal influence.  Acknowledging the financial constraints faced by members of the community, the school also engaged in fundraising to provide learners who achieved in various fields with funds to take part in events such as provincial-, and national sport championships, talent competitions and leadership camps.

## 2.5 Conclusion

From its founding in 1971 until 1991, Bay View High School had developed a distinct Afrikaner cultural identity.  Throughout this chapter it was shown how the school geared itself to establish its cultural identity.  By operationalising the prescriptions of the CNE, school management and governance structures succeeded in establishing an Afrikaner culture at Bay View High School.  The school was successful in establishing a functional identity that was consonant with the ideological and cultural orientations of Afrikaner nationalism.

Moving into a democratic era, Bay View High School therefore had a functional identity that was primarily geared towards sustaining an Afrikaner culture.  By means of this functional identity under the guiding structure, the school functioned in its educational practices to affect middle-class mobility within the working-class community within which it was situated.

Throughout the course of this chapter, the interactions of the three levels identified by Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:104-107) were discussed and will guide the analysis in subsequent chapters which will describe the changes that occurred in what Bourdieu refers to as the field of power.  This chapter has therefore provided the foundation from which this study will proceed by discussing how this former Model C high school had gone about adapting its functional character to 'meet' and educate students who come from different cultural backgrounds in the democratic period that started in the early 1990s.

**Chapter 3: The reception of change at Bay View High School (1990-1996)**


**3.1 Introduction**

This chapter establishes the contextual background within which Bay View High School functioned in the years subsequent to its founding in 1971.  It is against this background that this school, who served a white Afrikaner working-class community, responded to the multitude of social and political changes associated with South Africa's move to democracy.

In the 1980s, the apartheid system started collapsing on multiple fronts and international sanctions began to exert pressure on the faltering South African economy, thereby threatening the material welfare of the white elite.  Boycotts excluded South Africa from major international academic, social and sporting events.  With the country being isolated and surrounded by liberated post-colonial states, confronted with internal resistance and under pressure from Western powers, change in the South African political landscape was imminent (Hartshorne, 1999:26).

This chapter addresses changes that took place in education during South Africa's period of transition that directly influenced the educational adaptation and engagement practices at Bay View High School.  Christie (2008:5) describes how the educational changes that had taken place in the run up to South Africa's transition into a democracy, was more broadly motivated by changes in educational policy discourse.  She identified the following fields within which these educational changes have taken place during the mid to late 1990s:

- Educational change had been driven by pressure brought on by globalisation.
- State development, how decisions about the economy, society and government are made on a national scale pose their own challenges for educational change.
- The scale of state policy and how the policy processes of modern states opens new possibilities for educational change.
- At school and classroom-level, with emphasis on the importance of producing learning experiences of high quality for all students.

This chapter furthermore serves to determine how these changes across the different spheres had driven changes in education, which determined how Bay View High School now interacts with learners from various cultural backgrounds. This chapter will further describe how the changes that had taken place in education during South Africa's transition to a democracy were received by Bay View High School's learners, teachers and the working-class Afrikaner community that it served. This will shed light on the eventual attitude that the school and the community displayed toward change in the subsequent years.

One of the main drivers that characterised this period of education transformation, i.e. decentralisation, will be highlighted as a mechanism that enabled a school such as Bay View High School, to continue to function on a basis connected to the cultural ethos by which it was established in 1971. In other words, the focus is on the continuation of an established functional culture, albeit mediated by the new politics and demography associated with the democratic period. One key finding of this study was that the school struggled to recognise and respond to the cultural backgrounds and requirements of the newly incoming non-white learners during the period of change during the 1990s. As opposed to the plight of the new learners that have entered Bay View High School, white Afrikaner children from cultural backgrounds which are recognised and valued both by teachers and by the institutional procedures of the educational field are at a distinct advantage in the school. These students possess the type of cultural knowledge, language and abilities which are valued and rewarded at this school and play a large role in ensuring their continued success at the school. This chapter will therefore bring to light how education policy have been received and enacted in this school environment in such a way that instead of encouraging equity in the way it treats all its students, it ends up reproducing stratification among the students.

This chapter is based on data obtained by means of semi-structured interviews with a number of teachers, members of governance structures, and learners who attended Bay View High School over a period spanning twenty years (1985 to 2005). The data from these sources served to shed light on how this school and community responded to the social and political transformation that had taken place in South Africa from 1989.

**3.2 International developments and their influence on education transformation**

Advances in technology, particularly the ability to communicate, have resulted in the unhindered flow of information across borders.  Interconnectivity has led to higher levels of interdependence between countries (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010:25).  These processes, known as globalisation, have, according to Kallaway *et al.* (1997), become one of the prime characteristics of the post-Cold War era.  The unhindered flow of information across borders has resulted in the popularisation of ideologies that dictate how decisions are made within governments that have a direct influence on the field of education.

What  has come into play amidst global restructuring in the economic and social spheres, is what has come to be known as neo-liberalism. Kallaway *et al.* (1997) describe neo-liberalism as the ideology and discourse of globalisation.  For a country to survive and compete in the international market it has to participate in the international market by opening up its borders to international trade.  It is against the backdrop of globalisation and its associated processes that the apartheid government of South Africa became increasingly isolated.  Shunned from participation in the new emerging global economy during apartheid, it became clear that only by means of significant transformation of the socio-political order, would South Africa be able to take advantage of the capitalist rewards associated with the world economy.

Neo-liberal discourse emphasises the notion of national and international competitiveness, redefining national territories as markets, as opposed to socio-economic and political entities with their own specific and unique needs (Kallaway *et al.*, 1997).  Success in this global economy relies on the use of new technologies, which can only be achieved by an educated and highly skilled labour force.

To satisfy the requirements of the new global reality, education had to be fashioned in such a way that it would enable learners to actively participate in the emerging world economy.  Education would therefore have to comply with international standards.  The apartheid government acknowledged this and instituted an investigation into the state of education in South Africa with the aim of making

48

recommendations towards reform.  This investigation came to be known as the De Lange Committee (Hartshorne, 1999:28).  The brief, presented by government on which the De Lange Committee was expected to make recommendations, is set out by Hartshorne (1999:57) as follow:

a)  To establish guiding principles for education policy reform that would allow the realisation of the potential of all South Africans, to promote economic growth, and to improve the quality of life of all citizens.
b)  To make recommendations regarding the organisation, management structures and financing of education.
c)  To investigate decision-making in education.
d)  To investigate how education could provide for the manpower requirements of South Africa.
e)  To make recommendations on how education of equal quality could be provided to all population groups.

This brief signalled an attempt by government to initiate educational reforms that would align education more closely with the needs of the economy with the aim of restoring harmony between the schooling system and the labour market (Fataar, 2011:80).  The report presented by the De Lange Committee represented the first instance in which a government sponsored report suggested concepts of equality as its guiding principle in the transformation of education.  The findings of the De Lange Committee served as frontrunner for the 1995 South African White Paper on Education and Training (WPET), which offers the first guidelines on post-apartheid education policy that reflects the influence that international education policy discussions had on curriculum development in South Africa (Kallaway, 1997:111).

### 3.3 Shifts in national politics

Through the course of the 1970s and 1980s, the NP had increasingly become dominated by business interests.  Guided by business interest, the Nationalist government embarked on reforms that were aimed at gaining favour from black South Africans, thereby re-establishing conditions favourable for capital accumulation (Fataar, 2011:79).  In support of this aim, the state appointed the Wiehahn Commission to investigate the tenability of labour reform. This Commission

recommended that black trade unions be recognised and registered by the state.  In addition, the Riekert Commission, established by the apartheid government, looked into broader economic reform and also recommended that the state abolishes the practice of white job reservation.  These two measures would be aimed at ensuring that the South African industry had a reliable and stable workforce (Fataar, 2011:79). Such reform discourses emanating from state circles, contributed to the growing discord that existed between what was referred to as the enlightened members of the NP and the hard-liners (Kamsteeg & Van Dijk, 1990:41).  Andries Treurnicht, NP leader of the old Transvaal province, believed that the NP had deviated from its principles by accepting principles of power-sharing with non-whites. He duly broke away from the NP to form the Conservative Party (CP) on 7 March 1982.  As a number of reforms introduced by the NP had directly threatened the job security and future employment prospects of working-class white South Africans, the CP under the leadership of Andries Treurnicht, became increasingly popular with the poor working-class Afrikaner communities.

On 2 February 1990, State President, Mr FW de Klerk, announced during the opening of parliament, that the ANC, the Pan African Congress (PAC), and the South African Communist Party would be unbanned and the restrictions placed on thirty three other civic organisations would be lifted.  This announcement would irretrievably alter the political landscape of South Africa and serve as the catalyst to South Africa's transition into a democracy (Booyse & Le Roux, 2010:57).

During this period, white government schools were experiencing particular challenges.  One key contributing factor was a decline in white student numbers, specifically in city and rural schools, which threatened the closure of a number of schools.  Simultaneously, given their new freedom, blacks were moving into these areas (Dolby, 2009:26).  Opposition black-led groups rallied for black students to be allowed to fill empty places in white schools and some groups threatened to occupy white schools and use them to provide education to black students (Reynolds, Rizvi & Dolby, 2009:24).  In spite of the pressure from opposition groups, schools and the syllabus remained largely unchanged in the years leading up to the democratic elections of 1994.

National political developments had a direct impact on schools such as Bay View High School. Mr Smit (2015), the current principal, started teaching at the school in 1985.  This was in the midst of a period that was filled with uncertainty within the Afrikaner community. Mr Smit (2015) describes how the changes that were taking place throughout South Africa during this period were met with apprehension by the predominantly working-class white Afrikaner community whose children attended Bay View High School.  He is of the opinion that the majority of the school's parents supported conservative political views and were therefore uneasy about the government's reformist turn.  The apprehension to changes taking place in the South African political landscape, as was shown by the community and learners, was fuelled by the media's coverage of the so-called "swart gevaar" (black danger) and the threat that the communists posed to the continued existence of South Africa as an independent country.

Jansen (2009:54) explains that the political views of working-class Afrikaner communities during the period of political transition and in subsequent years could best be described as conservative.  Mr Smit (2015) states that similar to the current situation, a large number of learners lived on the Air force base situated in close proximity to the school.  Parents and learners from this community were acutely aware of South Africa's continued involvement in conflict on its borders and they firmly believed that all black people were the 'enemy'. With the South African government still enforcing conscription, all white males were required to do two years of military service.  The majority of white males had done military service and served in the armed forces at some stage of their lives.  The purpose of conscription was to contribute to South Africa's war effort on its Northern borders against countries that had so-called communist affiliations.  All these countries were also described as 'black' countries, referring to the race of its population.  These countries were also known to harbour so-called 'terrorists' that opposed the South African government and its system of apartheid.

There were three areas of particular concern to the school management of Bay View High School. The first major concern was the potential integration of non-white learners into Bay View High School.  The second source of concern was school finance.  In the light of talks regarding decreased government financing of schools

and the introduction of school fees, the loss of learners whose parents could afford to pay school fees became a reality that had to be prevented.  There was a fine balance which had to be achieved.  School fees had to enable the school to continue providing quality schooling to the community, providing learners the opportunity to engage in all existing curricular and extra-curricular activities whilst still being affordable to its historical constituents, i.e. the poor Afrikaner community of the area. In providing these opportunities to the community, there was also concern that low schools fees would lead to an influx of black learners that would threaten the existing culture of the school and might motivate parents from this conservative community to send their children to neighbouring schools were integration was taking place at a slower pace. The final concern was speculation about the rationalisation and redistribution of teachers to other, possibly black, schools. The state begun to raise questions about employing a bigger teacher-to-learner ratio which would impact schools with smaller ratios.  To schools like these, it was implied that they would stand to lose teachers.  This prospect created an unsettling atmosphere at the school which contributed to a degree of insecurity and unhappiness amongst the teaching staff.

This view is further substantiated by John Stevens (interview 2015), a Standard 10 (Grade 12) learner at Bay View High School in 1991.  John describes the tense and fearful atmosphere that prevailed in his home and at school during this time of social and political change.  At home his parents distrusted black people, and they predicted that there will be a war in South Africa and expressed their wish to leave the country.  He gave an account of what he describes to be the view of teachers during this time.  John recalls a number of conversations that had taken place in the classroom between learners and teachers during this period.  It is John's view that the teachers also showed resistance to change.  According to him, many teachers suggested that they would leave the profession if they, for example, would be required to teach black children.  These teachers would often, according to John, refer to blacks as terrorists, and they would reminisce in class about their experiences in the armed forces and their time serving on South Africa's border.  As all white males of able body and mind were conscripted into the army for a period of two years during apartheid, all the male teachers had served in the military.  It was also these male teachers who were required to teach all the boys at school how to

march and to shoot with a rifle as part of the formal school curriculum, for all practicality prepare young boys to enter into the military once they have completed their schooling.  Remarks and actions such as this served to fuel feelings of insecurity among the school's learners.

By the 1994 democratic elections, the empty seats and classrooms in white schools had become symbolic of the inequality of the apartheid system.  Mr Smit (2015) confirms that this was also a problem at Bay View High School.  The school opened in 1971 with 103 learners, in 1985 it had reached 850 learners, but following the opening of two schools in what was considered to be the feeder areas of Bay View High in 1989, the number of learners decreased to as low as 420 in 1991.  Learners whose parents could afford it, enrolled them into neighbouring schools that were not as 'vulnerable' to a mass influx of non-white learners due to its geographic location, language policy or school fees.  Mr Smit (2015), however, explained that the school's management was pro-active in finding ways to attract new learners.  He explained that at this stage the school had increased its English component to become a fully-fledged dual medium high school.  Mr Smit (2015) further elucidated that the neighbouring English speaking high school had experienced such an increase in its learner numbers due to the continued residential developments in the area, that they were no longer able to accommodate all the learners.  Increasing its English speaking learner component was seen as an opportunity by the school's management to ensure that the school continues with what Mr Smit (2015) describes as its mandate to serve the community of Bay View by providing quality education for learners close to their homes.  Mr Smit (2015) acknowledges that the changes that took place in South Africa had made the decision to become a dual medium school somewhat easier.  What the school and its management did not anticipate was that by changing to a dual medium school, Bay View High School had made itself more accessible to learners from the growing informal settlements on the northern outskirts of Cape Town.

There were a number of concerns that related particularly to the integration of learners from different races into the existing school culture that the school and its management had to deal with during this period. The first issue was school financing.  The informal settlements that were sprouting up in the vicinity of the

school housed poor black communities.  The school's management was unsure about the ability of parents from these communities to pay school fees.  At this stage there was also no indication from government on what schools were to do with non-paying parents.  This was of particular concern, as it became evident that the financing model of schools will change, and that given the proposed student-teacher ratio, the school with its existing number of learners would have to make the posts of four teachers redundant. The second concern was regarding the academic ability of learners.  Schools management was concerned that those black learners entering Bay View High School would not be able to meet the academic rigour that the school required.  The existing perception was that black learners received inferior schooling at their black primary schools and would therefore not be able to meet the academic requirements of Bay View High School.

## 3.4 Integration at Bay View High School

There was growing uncertainty in the early 1990s among white communities about their socio-political and educational future.  The form of educational access and provision quickly became a centre point for discussion among them and other South Africans.  Parties representing the non-white communities within South Africa insisted on greater access to, and participation in, quality schooling for learners from non-white communities.  Organisations and parties representing the majority of white South Africans showed similar interest in the future of education.  Of great concern to these groups was how to maintain control over the education of their children which would ensure that the privileges of the communities are upheld.  To this effect, the NP government, anticipating a shift of political power from white into black hands, initiated the transfer of ownership of the physical property of the formerly all-white schools to the parents of learners at these schools.  Parents at white schools would assume ownership of the school via the SGBs by converting their school s to a Model C school status.  White community schools, such as Bay View High School, as former Model C schools, now had significant authority to run their own affairs (Fisk & Ladd, 2004:63).

The apartheid state's granting of authority to parents to take control of white schools included a provision that gave schools the right to augment public revenues through the levying of school fees (Karlsson, McPherson & Pampallis, 2001:146).  Karlsson

*et al.* (2001:146) conclude that despite concerns by the ANC and its allies that these powers would perpetuate apartheid differences, they did not seek to revoke the control that parents had over schools, but instead focused on gaining access for black learners to white suburban schools.  With pressure mounting, the then minister of white education, Piet Clase, announced a new model for a limited form of school desegregation in 1991.  The models put forward by Clase would give white schools the power to decide on their own admission policies with some preconditions.  These conditions included that any changes in admissions policy of the school may, according to Clase's proposals, not detract from the traditional values and ethos of such a school.

Dolby (2001:25) describes what became known as the Clase Models: "Model A" permitted schools to become private, but with reduced financial assistance from the state; "Model B" allowed schools to continue with the same level of funding, but gave them the right to adopt their own admission procedures; "Model C" allowed for conversion to a semi-private school, receiving state subsidy supplemented by school fees and donations.  In all cases, schools had to comply with a 50% plus one white enrolment policy.  In order to convert to one of these models, an elaborate voting process was prescribed that gave decision making power to white parents.  This opened the door for a small number of black students to enrol in white schools, however this did not permit any changes to the fundamental structure and ethos of the schools.  By the end of 1991, 667 of the 2130 historically white schools had chosen the Model B option. Parents of these schools were effectively given the power to determine their own school admission policies of which most parents have chosen for their schools to remain segregated.

Newspaper articles in Bay View High School's archives highlight how seriously the school and community viewed the decision about which model to adopt.  These articles indicate that the principals of all the local schools in the area, both primary and secondary, had meetings regarding the appropriate direction to take, showing that the schools functioned in terms of what they believed was in the best interest of the schools and community as a whole.  Mr Smit (2015) described the role of the school in guiding parents to select the model they had to adopt. He explained that during the early days of implementation of the changed dispensation, there was

great confusion amongst members of the community about the future of the school. Parents looked at the school, its teachers and principal to give them greater clarity.

After extensive consultation with neighbouring principals and parents, following the elaborate voting procedure, the parents of Bay View High School elected for the school to adopt the Model B option.  Mr Smit describes how they had come to this decision:  "Of the three options as set out by the minister of education, it was decided that Model B is the preferred option".  He explained that a number of concerns were raised during the meetings with neighbouring principals, which included the need to raise school funding and setting appropriate fees, where the non-white students would come from and how they would fit into the schools, the possibility of losing white students and a general decline in academic standards that existed at the schools.  Given these concerns and taking into consideration the preferences of the parent community, Mr Smit (2015) explained that it was decided that the Model B option would be best in serving the community's need for preserving white Afrikaner interests at the school.  This option would allow the school to continue receiving the same levels of funding from government which, given the poor financial standing of the community, was of great importance to the school and its white constituents.

By 1992, however, facing pressure to cut spending on white education, the new minister of white education, Piet Marais, declared that all Model B schools would automatically be converted to Model C, unless they voted to retain Model B (Dolby, 2001:26).  At Bay View High School this meant that unless school management was once again able to rally parents for a complicated voting procedure, by default the school would accept Model C status, which decreased the school's subsidy to 75%. A fourth option introduced by Marais, 'Model D', allowed white schools to operate without racial quotas.  This was introduced as an option for schools that were experiencing a rapid decline in the enrolment of white learners which made them non-viable financially. Scrapping racial quotas (the less than 50% non-white rule) was meant to attract non-white learners which would keep white schools' enrolments and thereby help retain the jobs of teachers. Only a handful of white schools throughout South Africa opted for Model D status (Dolby, 2001:26).

The school management of Bay View High School accepted, with reservation, that it would become a Model C school.  The school did not make any attempt to initiate the required voting processes that would have enabled it to retain its elected Model B status. Bay View High School therefore opted to accept a situation where they had to adapt to the prevailing political and economic situation.  They did not have a sudden change of heart about deracialising and opening their schools to black students.

It was also during this period that the first non-white learners enrolled into Bay View High School.  The school had put into place an admissions policy to use as guideline for the enrolment of non-white learners.  The admissions policy was drafted after consultation with neighbouring school principals.  Admission of non-white learners were subject to their previous academic performance (for which the school reserved the right to test any prospective learner), the ability to pay school fees, their place of residence, and their acceptance of the school policies, particularly language policies. The admission policy of Bay View High School served as a barrier, aimed at preventing an influx of poor non-white learners who lived in adjacent informal settlements, thereby attempting to preserve its existing Afrikaner functional orientation and putting its Afrikaner constituents at ease.

The first non-white learner to enrol at Bay View High was a coloured boy named Norman Garries.  Ms Grewe, the school librarian, remembers Norman in conversation. He was the son of a domestic worker who lived in the school's neighbourhood where he and his mother stayed in a wendyhouse (wooden house) in the backyard of her employers.  Ms Grewe described how Norman spent the majority of his time in the school's library.  She explained that whenever she encouraged him to go and join the other learners on the playground during a break, he would hesitantly respond that he enjoyed the books and preferred to stay in the library.  Ms Grewe suggested that this could not be the case as she remembered that Norman was not very good at reading and never took any interest in the library books during his time in the library.  The second non-white learner who enrolled at Bay View High School was John Mollie.  John was the son of a farm worker at a neighbouring farm. He enrolled in Standard 7 (Grade 9).  His academic form was described by Ms

Grewe as poor, and at the end of his Standard 7 year he left the school to become a truck driver.

The admission policy as set by the SGB ensured that the number of non-white students enrolling at Bay View High School remained low.  In the first two years since integration, there were no more than five to six students per grade.  Measures that ensured the low enrolment numbers in the initial years of integration included school fees of which the first payment had to be paid up front.  In order for black learners to enrol at Bay View High School, parents had to provide proof that they were able to pay school fees.  The school also gave preference to learners from within the school's historic feeder area.  The school set high academic requirements for enrolments from learners outside the school's feeder area.  The majority of non-white students who enrolled at Bay View High School were the children of domestic workers from the neighbourhood, or they came from neighbouring farms or they have moved into the area after the abolition of the Group Areas Act.

John Stevens (2015), a Bay View High School learner, remembered this period in the school's history clearly.  He described the atmosphere amongst learners and parents to be one of uncertainty.  He had never interacted with black people besides the ones that had worked in his parents' house or in the garden.  At home and among friends and family whenever reference was made to black people, it involved negative stereotypes and included derogatory words that were now supposedly inappropriate to use when referring to black and coloured people. John stated that the attitude of white learners towards black learners at school varied.   A conversation with Dieter Bezuidenthout, another learner at the school during this time, confirmed this. Dieter remembered how the new, black learners seemed to be 'loners' who, according to him, kept to themselves during breaks.  The white learners showed varied responses to the presence of the black learners at school of which some, including Dieter, ignored the presence of the these learners.  There was however a number of learners who showed their disapproval with sharing their school with blacks. Some bullied the black children, called them names, refused to sit next to them in class or to interact with them at any level.  According to Dieter, this type of behaviour was not accepted or encouraged by teachers at the school, but he

could not recall any disciplinary action taken against white learners who had taken part in such aggressive and racist behaviour.

The new situation presented the teachers and governing body members with a number of challenges.  They did not have any model that the school could base their actions on. The teachers were unsure what impact the imminent changes would have on their professional roles as teachers.  Messrs Bester and Smit, however, insisted that the school had, despite the unfamiliarity, done everything within their knowledge and experience to ensure that the integration of non-white learners into Bay View High School was smooth and without incident.  As teachers they insisted that the school merely required the new learners to fit into the school's normal practices.  They had to obey the school rules, respect their teachers, do their schoolwork and take part in school activities like all the other learners do and have done in the past.  Learners did not receive any special treatment from the teachers. Mr Bester explained that the view among teachers was that if non-white students chose to attend former whites only schools, they had to expect to be treated the same as all the white children.

The views of teachers such as Bester and Smit highlight the school's attitude towards the integration of learners from different racial and cultural backgrounds into Bay View High School.  Their views show that it was mainly the responsibility of the learners to adapt to the rules and practices that were in place at Bay View High School.  Their view does not show any malicious intent, but highlights the level of ignorance that was prevalent among white educators regarding the challenges that black learners faced upon entry into this 'foreign' school environment.  The school accepted that black learners would have to be integrated into the existing environment, but the onus to adapt was placed on the incoming learners, which amounted to what Soudien (2004:105) describes as cultural assimilation.  In the theoretical language adopted in the study, such assimilation of non-white students into the existing Afrikaner identity of Bay View High School can be regarded as founded on the misrecognition of their cultural capital, backgrounds and identities. Such misrecognition played a formative role in the unfolding educational and cultural assimilation practices that schools such as these adopted in the face of the changing demographic representation of the students who were now coming through its gates.

**3.5 Implementing the South African Schools Act (SASA) at Bay View High School**

Throughout the early 1990s, the ANC and its political allies were engaged in concerted policy discussions about a new South African education system.  The focus of these discussions reflected particular goals of the ANC at the time, namely to introduce those values (primarily equality, non-racialism and non-sexism) into the education system that had previously been denied by apartheid (Sayed *et al.*, 2013:71).

During the early 1990s, in accordance with prevailing international discourse, decentralisation was touted by the NP in its Educational Renewal Strategy (1992), as a policy approach to address school governance and control.  Decentralised school governance implies the devolution of power from the central level of government down through the system to district and school level.  Decentralised school governance is generally based on the premise that the State alone should not control schools, but that it should share its power with other stakeholders, particularly those closer to the school on a partnership basis.  Decentralisation is therefore often associated with democracy, because it allows decisions to be taken 'closer to the people'.  Literature on decentralisation of education distinguishes between three different forms of decentralisation.  Karlsson *et al.* (2001:140-141) list the following forms of decentralisation:

- Deconcentration.  This involves a shift of responsibility by a central authority of regional or local offices.  Thus, decisions are made by officials who are directly responsible to the central authority and not to the local population.
- Delegation.  This involves the transfer of decision-making power to the regional office of local bodies - without actually transferring power.  The central authority can withdraw delegated power without having to promulgate new laws.
- Devolution.  Here power is transferred to local bodies - provincial or local government, or even schools.  Withdrawal of devolved power can only be done through legislative change (Grant-Marcus & Motala, 2004:122).

Discourses of educational decentralisation in the South African context found communication and support in the policies of the ruling ANC government and the opposition, the NP, which was for a period of time a member of the Government of National Unity (GNU). Two inter-related, though potentially contradictory forces, seeped into the discourses of educational decentralisation in South Africa. The previous ruling NP and the opposition anti-apartheid movement shared a commitment to some form of educational decentralisation, albeit for very different political and ideological reasons (Sayed, 2008). For the NP, the clearest expression of a commitment to educational decentralisation was in its Educational Renewal Strategy (1992). This strategy suggested a single, uniform education system for the country, with management councils in each school on which parents would be given greater power than teachers.  The Educational Renewal Strategy was put into practice during 1992 via the Minister of Education, Piet Clase's Models. By 1993, about 96 percent of white schools had chosen the Model C option (Karlsson *et al.*, 2004).  The school management councils would come to be known as the SGBs.  In these regulations, the NP argued that educational decentralisation allowed for greater control of schooling by those who had to pay and that it would enhance efficiency, effectiveness and quality.

Pampallis (2002) suggests that the NP's commitment to educational decentralisation prioritised individual and group rights in matters of social service provision. The commitment of the progressive anti-apartheid forces' support for policies of educational decentralisation was, by contrast, rooted in the trajectory of resistance politics. Such politics were underpinned by an oppositional discourse which drew upon local community support and participation. Grassroots mobilisation and struggle were the basis for resistance. It thus constituted itself in a call for 'community control', and 'grassroots control'. In the educational sphere, an illustration of this notion was the call for 'structures of dual power' in the discourses of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) and the formation of Parent, Teacher and Student Associations (PTSAs) which were conceived as vehicles of community expression.

By the time that the SASA (1996) had been adopted, ownership of the physical property of the formerly all-white schools had already been transferred to the parents

in these schools, granting them significant authority to run their own affairs (Fisk & Ladd, 2004:63).  This step had given the school greater freedom to manage its own affairs as Mr Grewe explains.  Furthermore, proposed cuts in government funding had made it important for the school to find alternative ways in which to supplement its income.  This was of even greater importance given the financial standing of the community that the Bay View High School served.  To supplement its funding the school had in the ensuing years received an income from an advertising agency for erecting advertising boards on the school grounds, built a clubhouse which it rents out to the community, rented the school hall to a number of churches and also the sport fields for a number of events.

Grant-Marcus and Motala (2004:117) suggest that the emergence of the SGBs as a vehicle for the decentralisation of power was an outcome of the macroeconomic policy shifts and their global influences, as well as a contestation between old and new orders in the education policy process.  In South Africa, two traditions borne different political traditions, i.e. the democratic movement of the PTSAs and the NP's Model C schools for white communities, set public expectations and framed discussions regarding new school governance structures for a democratic South Africa.  In former black, Indian and Coloured schools, management councils were formed with parent representatives, but these councils were advisory only and lacked legitimacy as the members served at the pleasure of the principal (Pampallis, 2002).  As dissatisfaction with the apartheid schooling system grew during the 1980s, the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), the body that coordinated educational resistance among black opposition groups, called for the establishment of PTSAs with broad-based representation, including parents, teachers and learners.  Local participation in school governance remained a key element as the NECC further defined its vision of governance in the National Education Policy Investigation report on governance and administration (NEPI, 1992).

The discussions towards establishing a new inclusive education system culminated when in August 1996, the SASA no 84 (Republic of South Africa, 1996a) was processed and accepted by Parliament.  This Act specifically repealed and replaced much of the education legislation that was instituted during apartheid (Hartshorne, 1999:113).  This Act provides for the democratic transformation of schools in South

Africa to redress past injustices, and to provide high quality education to all learners. In addition, it forms the legal foundation for schools in the country.  Its aim is to bring about 'the development of all our people's talents and capabilities, advance the transformation of society, combat racism and sexism and all other forms of discrimination and intolerance'.  This Act served to promote the basic principles enshrined within the new South African Constitution as adopted in 1996.  The basic principles enshrined in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights comprises principles and values of Mr Smit's dignity, equality, individual freedom and non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex or creed.  Everybody is entitled to receive basic education. Section 9 of the constitution protects learners from any unfair exclusion from schooling on the grounds of race, language or religion (Republic of South Africa, 1996b).  While the SASA (Republic of South Africa, 1996a) did away with Model C schools as such, Hartshorne (1999:114) notes that much of the legislation concerned with governance and funding contained within this Act now gave all public schools similar powers to those enjoyed previously by Model C schools.

The National Education Policy Act of 1996 emphasises five core values to frame educational transformation, namely democracy, freedom, equality, justice and peace. With the introduction of the new education system in South Africa after 1994, an attempt was made to break with the separate, discriminatory and suppressive systems of apartheid and to create a system for the whole nation based on democratic principles (Booyse & Le Roux, 2010:59).

## 3.6 Establishing a School Governing Body

Once in power, the ANC and its allies soon recognised that there would be insufficient public funds to equalise public funding of schools to be anywhere near the level needed to provide the quality of education to all students that had previously been available to white students.  With whites in 1993 accounting for only 17 percent of the total population of South Africa, any redistribution of funds from the former white schools to the rest of the schools across the country would be spread so thinly that it would do little to enhance the education available to the historically disadvantaged schools. In recent decades there has been a global tendency towards community participation in school governance, which many see as one of the rights of members of a democratic society.  The underlying principle of participatory school

governance is based on the acceptance of decentralised control.  Of importance are the composition of the governing structure, the representation of the different groups on this structure and the range of issues which may be dealt with (Pampallis 2002).

The 1995 White Paper on Education and Training (Republic of South Africa ,1995) was the first policy statement issued by the first democratic government of South Africa to argue for the establishment of SGBs, with membership drawn from the school community and with attention to race and gender representation.

Section 23 of the  SASA (Republic of South Africa, 1996a) stipulates that parents must constitute the majority in the SGB. The parent body in each Model C school elected a governing body. Elected members of SGBs in South Africa should comprise individuals from the following categories:  the school principal, parents of learners at the school, educators at the school, members of staff who are not educators, and learners in the eighth grade or higher of the school (Van Wyk, 2004:209).

The state transferred title of schools' fixed property and equipment to the school itself, administered by the governing body. The schools became a 'juristic person' with the right to enter into contracts and to sue and be sued. They gained a high degree of autonomy, including the right to charge compulsory school fees and to determine their own admissions policy. The reasons for this change in the status of schools appear to have been twofold. First, the state was increasingly unable to provide the same level of financial support to schools as previously. This was due both to the slow economic growth the country experienced from the late 1970s into the 1980s and 1990s, and the changing political climate that obliged government to move to greater equality in spending for all groups. The NP government, for example, realised that largely white communities would have to contribute substantially if conditions in their schools were to be maintained (Karlsson, Pampallis & Sithole, 1996).

Van Wyk (2004:52) asserts that once put in place, it is the duty of the SGB to act on behalf of the school.  The SGB has to act in the best interest of its school and in accordance with the laws governing its functioning.  All governing bodies are

required by Section 20 of the SASA (Republic of South Africa, 1996a) to fulfil a range of responsibilities.

Van Wyk (2010:210) explains some responsibilities of the SGBs.  As part of its responsibilities, the SGB of a school is required to develop a vision and mission statement for the school.  This responsibility therefore now lies in the hands of a representative body that is elected by parents, and not exclusively with school management.  The school's vision statement is representative of a vision of what the school could and should look like, while the mission statement captures the character, identity and reason for the school's existence.  South Africa's new democracy had brought about significant changes in the racial and cultural composition of learners at schools.  The SGB of Bay View High School was required to develop a vision and mission statement that was inclusive of its new student population.  The vision and mission statement of Bay View High could no longer reflect that of an Afrikaner, Christian school.  In addition to developing the vision and mission statement of the school, the SGB as representative body  now has the responsibility of compiling and adopting a code of conduct for learners and teachers.  This duty has proved to be particularly problematic.  Bay View High now has a diverse student population, and therefore the code of conduct had to take into account the different cultures, religions and value systems that are represented within this diversity.

This role of the SGB in the functioning of a school also reaches into the appointment of teachers.  The SGB recommends the provincial department of education as to the appointment of teachers at a school.  In executing this role, the SGB now has the power to determine the composition of the teaching corps at a school.  It has also become the duty of the SGB to supplement the resources supplied by the State to improve the quality of education provided by the school.  In this regard parents may be asked to pay school fees as determined by the SGB.  School fees are also to be administered by the governing body.

Governing bodies may also apply to their provincial education department to be allocated additional functions (Van Wyk, 2010:210). These could include, but are not restricted to, the right to maintain and improve the school's property, buildings and

grounds, to determine extra-curricular activities, and choosing the subject options offered at the school.

To date, these powers are exercised extensively by former white and middle-class schools whose governing bodies usually include skilled professionals and managers. Illiteracy and widespread poverty have limited parent involvement on SGBs in township schools.  Within these communities many parents lack the knowledge, time or funds to serve on schools' SGBs.  Lacking the additional skills and knowledge that is often found on the SGB of a former Model C school, these functions have remained with the provincial education department.

In executing its duties the SGB must ensure that all policies adopted by the SGB are in line with the Constitution and other relevant laws of the country, and cannot unfairly discriminate on the basis of sex, race, religion, language or socioeconomic position.  Given the scope of responsibilities and duties that fall upon the SGB, representation on this body may prove to be essential in ensuring that the needs of all the constituents are to be considered equally.  A SGB dominated by one grouping from the community may render the other members of the community voiceless in forums where important decisions regarding the education of learners are made.

## 3.7 Functioning of the Bay View High School Governing Body

Since its founding, Bay View High School has had a parent committee.  This committee was not a statutory body, but merely served as an advisory body in support of school management structures.  Under the SASA (Republic of South Africa, 1996a), Bay View High School, like all government schools, was obliged to put an SGB in place that complied with the stipulations set out in the Act.  Parents who serve on the SGB do so without any remuneration and were required to make themselves available for a SGB meeting one evening per month.  It was important for the school to ensure that the parents that served on the SGB shared the vision that the school's existing management structures had for the school going forward. Based on the knowledge of their school constituency, the principal together with senior staff members approached prominent community members to make themselves available for election onto the SGB.  Such chosen community members were actively involved in the schooling of their children.  As parents they were also

often seen at school events and were familiar with the school and community.  The first SGB included a local Dutch Reformed minister, an entrepreneur, a housewife and the commander of the local police station (Smit, 2015).  Mr Smit explains that members of the SGB bring skills to the SGB that are not found within the members of staff.  These members play an advisory role to assist school management in maintaining high levels of functionality at Bay View High School.

By approaching members of the local Afrikaner community to serve on the SGB, the school's management ensured that they would retain strategic control of all decision making processes at school.  Parents on the SGB do so in particular portfolios.  These portfolios include finance, policy, discipline and other school matters.  Members from the SGB were selected to serve in a particular portfolio in accordance with their expertise within a specific field.  The community members who had made themselves eligible for election to the SGB were allies of the school management.  To further comply with the SASA (Republic of South Africa, 1996a), two members of the teaching staff, one member of the administrative personnel and one member of the Learner Representative Council (LRC) complete the SGB.

Mr Grewe (2015), a teacher, explained that it has throughout the years proved to be difficult to fill the two teacher positions on the SGB.  Teachers were reluctant to serve on the SGB as the time commitments placed on members of the SGB acted as a deterrent for teachers to serve on the SGB.  At Bay View High School the principal has therefore throughout the years approached educators to serve on the SGB.  These teachers had a strong allegiance with the principal.

Since the convocation of the first SBG, a SGB meeting was held once a month in accordance with the requirements set out within the SASA (Republic of South Africa, 1996a).  The SGB meetings of Bay View High School were always held in the evening to ensure that all members serving on the SGB are able to attend without it interfering with their professional commitments.  The racial and cultural composition of the student-parent community of the school has changed.  The neighbourhood within which Bay View High School is located no longer serves exclusively as the school's feeder area.  Learners from various geographic locations now attend this school.  In spite of the changes to the school's constituents, the functioning of the

SGB have however remained unchanged.  Van Wyk (2010:213) reports that by convening the SGB meetings in the evening have prevented the parents of poor children, particularly black children, from serving and participating on SGBs.  They often do not have transport, cannot afford public transport, and work irregular or long hours.  Mr Smit believes that these reasons, along with the lack of expertise, have contributed to the low representation of parents of the new student body on the SGB.

The agenda of monthly SGBs has, since its establishment, been dominated by financial considerations.  The new government model of school funding has placed the responsibility of supplementing school income on the SGB.  This is done primarily by means of school fees.  The SGB determines the school fees based on the operational requirements of the school.  Mr Smit (2015) explains that the school has ten teachers and two members of the administrative staff that are employed by the SGB.  He further remarks that it is necessary for Bay View High School to employ additional teachers to ensure that the teacher-learner ratio at Bay View High School remains lower than 1:30.  Additional teachers are also needed to ensure that the school maintains a subject offering that compares favourably with neighbouring schools.  It is Mr Smit's belief that if the school fails in these objectives, learners would go to neighbouring schools with better teacher-learner ratios and greater subject offerings.

Aside from ensuring that the school's income is in sound order through establishing and collecting school fees, the SGB serves to ratify the allocation of funds that serves to maintain the existing functional status of Bay View High School.  Yearly budgets are submitted to the SGB by the principal, administrative staff and educators whom are responsible for all curricular and extra-curricular activities that are offered at Bay View High School.  Once budgets are submitted to the SGB, it becomes the responsibility of the SGB to evaluate the needs of the school and allocate funds in accordance thereto.

Teachers, parents and learners have the opportunity to raise concerns and make suggestions to the SGB, which they believe would serve to improve the school.  Mr Smit explained that that suggestions made to the SGB have been 1) to expand the subject offering of Bay View High School, 2) amend the school rules (most notably

rules that relate to learners' uniform and appearance), and enquiries that relate to the extra-curricular activities offered at Bay View High School.  All reasonable requests are placed on the agenda and discussed at the monthly SGB meetings.  Mr Van Wyk, a previous the chairperson of the SGB, explained that it is the duty of the SGB to consider all requests and to then make a decision that is in the best interest of the school.  While the SGB has to be aware of the changes in society, their decisions are made to ensure that the good reputation that the school has built throughout the years is kept intact.  According to Mr Van Wyk, the primary reason for not adopting new suggestions placed before the SGB, relates to school funds.  As funds are allocated in yearly budgets, no changes to curricular or extra-curricular activities can take place in a current financial year. If changes are accepted it can only be implemented in the following financial year if the budget allows it (personal communication, 2015).

The SGB, as the representative body of parents, has since its original formation been dominated by parents from the white parent body who represent the original constituents of Bay View High School.  Members of the SGB make decisions according to what they believe to be in the best interest of the school and its learners.  With the SGB being dominated by white, Afrikaans speaking parents since its initial years, the culture of the predominantly white working-class community remained intact at Bay View High School.  This is evident in the school's Afrikaans Christian ethos, its code of conduct, and curricular activities.  In protecting Bay View High School's cultural identity, the school, by means of its SGB, maintains an identity that does not reflect the cultural identities of its new incoming non-white learners.

### 3.8 Changes at classroom-level

The functional identity of Bay View High School excludes the cultural identity and capital of its new student population.  This exclusion is established in the composition and functioning of the SGB.  The exclusion of the cultural identity and capital of the new student population at Bay View High School is however not restricted to the governance of the school. It repeats itself in the engagement with learners through the pedagogical practices of teachers and in relation to the implementation of new curricula at the school.

With the demise of the apartheid state on the horizon it became obvious to all stakeholders that a new school curriculum serving a new and radically different purpose would replace the then system of the CNE.  The CNE, the curriculum that served to divide races and prepare different groups for dominant and subordinate positions in social, political and economic life, would be replaced with a curriculum that will strive to unite all citizens as equals in a new democratic South Africa (Harley & Wedekind, 2004:195).

The democratically elected government that was installed in 1994 inherited a complex education system consisting of 18 education departments catering for different provinces, homelands and population groups.  The curriculum reforms initiated with the advent of democracy followed a number of clear steps.  The first changes after the 1994 elections were to eliminate variations in the curriculum used by the different education departments.  In addition, presented as an emergency intervention while new curriculum policy was being developed, the then existing apartheid based curriculum (i.e. syllabi) was cleansed of all racially offensive, sexist and outdated content.  The third wave of reform shifted the focus away from content and onto assessment, with the introduction of continuous assessment (CASS) in schools in 1996.

These initial changes did not have a meaningful impact on the educational activities that was taking place at Bay View High School.  Mr Smit describes these changes as being minor and insignificant and that the teachers had already become sensitive towards learners of other races as it has become the norm in society.  The biggest cause of concern to Bay View High School teachers during this period  was the implementation of what is described by Harley and Wedekind (2004:196) as the master plan. Curriculum 2005 (C2005), the new curriculum which was to replace the CNE, was launched in March 1997, with implementation in Grade 1 scheduled for 1998, and Grade 7 in 1999.  C2005 was to be phased in progressively so that it would cover all sectors of schooling by 2005.

The new curriculum had three design features.  Firstly, it was outcomes-based, and this feature was positioned so centrally that outcomes-based education (OBE) became synonymous with C2005.  An integrated knowledge system was the second

design feature with eight learning areas introduced for Grades 1 to 9.  The third dimension of curriculum reform was the promotion of learner-centred pedagogy.

Before it landed at school, the new curriculum already had a bad reputation.  The teachers at Bay View High School had taken note of the negative public sentiment (particularly within the white community) that surrounded OBE.  The negative publicity that OBE received within the digital and printed media brought forth uncertainty within the teaching staff, school management and community as to the credibility of OBE.  As a result, there was little confidence in the success of OBE from teachers, the community and learners prior to its implementation.

The negative sentiment that surrounded OBE was further accentuated during the swift introduction of OBE.  Given the short period between finalisation of the curriculum and its implementation, the national Department of Education and its various provincial counterparts had no choice but to provide crash-course training for teachers.  Ms Miller (interview 2014), an experienced teacher at the time, recalls that all teachers at Bay View High had to attend a training course before the implementation of OBE.  The training sessions were held after school and during the school holidays at a neighbouring high school.  The timing of the training she says, merely served to enhance already negative sentiment amongst the teachers of Bay View High School.

Due to the swift introduction of OBE, the quality of training provided by the department, its various sub-contractors and NGOs were often uneven.  Complex issues of pedagogy with major implications for teachers' personal and professional identity were reduced to simplistic dichotomies such as 'teacher-centred' practise, the old practise associated with the CNE, and 'learner-centred' practise, the new and desired practise.  Ms Miller recalls that she, like a number of her colleagues, has left the training confused and filled with reservations.  The initial problems experienced by teachers during this period are well documented (Dolby, 2001; Weber, 2006; Vandeyar & Jansen, 2008).  Jansen and Christie (1999) confirm that there was much confusion amongst teachers particularly surrounding the implications of OBE on their teaching practices.  Learner-centeredness quickly became one of the teachers' defining features of the new curriculum.  Group work as a learner-centred teaching

practice became a major symbolic identifier of the new curriculum and for many teachers implementing group work it was the core pedagogical shift required of them by C2005.

Messrs Bester and Grewe, as well as Ms Miller (teachers at the school), all comment with similar disregard on the topic of group work.  It is their opinion that group work is not a practical teaching method and could not be done with productive results at Bay View High School.  They ascribe this view directly to the lack of self-discipline among the learners and believe that group work would only serve to break down the well-established school discipline.  They further explain that group work is a skill that neither the learners had and the teachers were not adept at using as part of their teaching.

As a consequence of the prevailing confusion amongst teaching staff, Mr Kotze, the principal between 1988 and 1996, showed some degree of leniency towards teachers and the implementation of OBE.  Mr Kotze himself was a teacher with vast experience and his teaching style was what is often referred to as 'talk and chalk'.  This refers to his use of the chalk board and the lecturing teaching style.  Mr Kotze was not unique in his teaching style, in fact, the majority of teachers' teaching styles under the CNE could be described in this way.

Having taught for thirty one year's using a particular method, it comes as no surprise that Mr Kotze was reluctant to change his method of teaching or that he did not show a significant confidence in the 'learner-centred' teaching practices associated with OBE.  As the principal it was however Mr Kotze's duty to ensure that educators implement the curriculum as prescribed by the SASA (Republic of South Africa, 1996a).  In this regard Mr Kotze required teachers to comply with the administrative requirements of the new curriculum (Smit, 2015).

At classroom-level, the new democratic dispensation had brought little change in the educational engagement practices of teachers.  The introduction of OBE as a stipulation of the SASA (Republic of South Africa, 1996a) had merely increased the administrative loads of educators at Bay View High School.  Mr Grewe (2015) confirms that his teaching practice did not change with the introduction of OBE.  The

fact that the learners in the class represented different races and cultures also did not sway him to change his teaching style.  Mr Grewe explains that he has always achieved good results and as it was the choice of new learners to enrol at Bay View High School, it was their duty to adapt to the school and the way that it functioned. He explains that the school had achieved good results and maintained a reputation as a well-functioning school.  It is this reputation that, according to Mr Grewe, motivated parents to enrol their children at Bay View High School (Grewe, 2015). This, according to Mr Grewe, served as an endorsement of the teachers and their teaching practices.

At Bay View High School it was expected from the new incoming learners to adapt to the existing functional identity of the school.  In the classroom, in spite of the introduction of a new curriculum that required a new pedagogical approach from teachers, teachers continued presenting the curriculum using pedagogical practices that served them well throughout their teaching careers.  Assessment of learner progress continued by means of exams and testing regimes similar to which parents that were schooled under the CNE were exposed to.

The reluctance of teachers to embrace change has therefore created an environment in which new learners are expected to adapt to the teaching style and practices that have served their teachers for years.  This equates to what has been described as assimilation.  Learners have been included into Bay View High School with a particular functional identity.  The mere assimilation of the new learners into this environment implies the exclusion of the cultural identity and capital that these new learners have brought with them into this schooling environment.  In failing to recognise the diverse cultural capital that now confronts teachers, the engagement practises of teachers in the classroom are now misaligned with the new diverse students whilst remaining in sync with that of learners who come from the historic constituency of Bay View High School.

### 3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the multitude of changes at Bay View High School, the community that it served, and what its educators, school management and learners were confronted with as part of a society experiencing radical democratic changes.

This chapter aimed to portray and the experiences of stakeholders of Bay View High School during a period of transition.  It provided an overview of how Bay View High positioned itself in relation to new legislation, and how it went about integrating learners of different races into an existing school culture whilst ensuring that its Afrikaner orientation remains intact.  This chapter served to make apparent the disposition of the school and community in relation to the changes associated with South Africa's transformation into a democratic society.

In its desire to maintain the school's functional identity, the school resorted to assimilation practices which place an expectation on the new incoming learners to adapt to the existing culture and practices of Bay View High School.  The school opened its doors to learners from different races and cultures, but in maintaining its functional identity failed to recognise the cultural identity and capital that these learners brought with them into the school.

**Chapter 4: A purposeful engagement with the 'informal' curriculum**

**4.1 Introduction**

Chapter 2 provided  a contextual background within which Bay View High School functions.  Chapter 3 provided insight into the extent to which Bay View High School responded to the social, political and policy changes brought about by South Africa's democratic transition.  It discussed how Bay View High has struggled to recognise and respond to cultural backgrounds and requirements of the newly incoming non-white learners after 1994.

Having established the school's desire to maintain its existing functional identity in the new context, Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the continuation of an established functional culture, albeit mediated by the new politics associated with the democratic period and changed student demography in the school.  These two chapters discuss how the continuation of the functional culture of Bay View High School was achieved and sustained through the interactions of the school with its student population via its broad curriculum mediations.  This would allow for establishing how Bay View High School has gone about aligning, or struggling to align, its functional culture to the cultural capitals of its new diverse student body.  These two chapters show the extent to which Bay View High School has gone about laying a curriculum platform to service the aspirations of its changed student body, while at the same time attempting to maintain the school's 'functional' success based largely on older orientations that are resonant with its apartheid acquired cultural identity.

Chapter 4 (this chapter) discusses the school's engagement practices with its student body in relation to what can be described as the school's informal curriculum.  In Chapters 4 and 5, a distinction is made between the 'formal' and 'informal' curriculum. This distinction will be used as a means of understanding how the school receives, socialises and engages its students within two distinctly different, though related, terrains of engagement, situated in the same field.

This chapter will show how one particular school, Bay View High School, has within a democratic dispensation, endorsed the principle that all students should be

75

provided with equal opportunity to excel in a number of school-based activities.  The school provides opportunities by encouraging participation and rewarding achievement.  Failure to do so by learners is viewed as the inevitable result of variations in the learners' own ability and motivation.  The belief is that the school makes decisions based on the needs of the community and it is therefore viewed to be fair and just.  Critics have however suggested that beneath this façade of fairness and equality lays a system which reproduces and legitimates existing inequalities (Bowels & Gintis, 1976:103).

The focus of this chapter will therefore be on showing how learners are inducted, socialised and 'policed' by means of the informal curriculum of Bay View High School to conform to an established cultural ethos.

## 4.2 Conceptualising the 'informal' curriculum

In all human societies, children are initiated into particular modes of making sense of their experience and the world around them, and also into a set of norms, knowledge, and skills which the society requires for its continuance.  Schooling is one of the activities in which children partake where this initiation takes place.  Schools make use of a curriculum to ensconce children into particular modes of sense making of their experience and the world around them, and to teach them the norms, knowledge, and skills which society requires from them.  This curriculum is frequently enshrined in myths, rituals, and immemorial practices, which have absolute authority (Egan, 1978).

In the literature there appears to be no generally agreed upon definition of curriculum.  It is however clear that a definition of a curriculum must offer much more than a statement about content knowledge or merely the subjects which a school is to teach.  Evidence of this is found in how influential definitions of a curriculum combine various elements to describe a curriculum.  Kerr (1968) cited by Kelly (2009:12), defines the term curriculum as "all the learning which is planned and guided by the school, whether it is carried on in groups or individually, inside or outside of school". Caswell and Campbell (1935) viewed curriculum as "all experiences children have under the guidance of teachers". This definition is shared

76

by Tyler (1959) when he defined curriculum as "all the learning experiences planned and directed by the school to attain its educational goals."

The learning experiences planned and directed by the school happen within various learning environments.  To distinguish between where and when particular learning experiences take place, the curriculum is divided into two aspects, namely the formal curriculum and the informal curriculum.  Separating the curriculum in such a way allows deeper analysis of the educational engagement processes and learning experiences that occur at Bay View High School.

The formal curriculum, which is also the official curriculum, is used to describe all the activities that take place at school and are accommodated for in regular school hours.  The formal curriculum will therefore include all the activities for which the official school time table have made provision for by allocating teaching time to it.  The formal curriculum therefore refers to the curriculum, pedagogical- and learning activities that take place in the classroom, and can be regarded as the formally 'taught' curriculum in the classroom that involves set texts, knowledge transfer by teachers, student learning and assessment.

In contrast, the informal curriculum includes all the activities or interactions that transpire between learners, as well as interactions between learners and teachers outside of regular school hours.  These activities may occur during breaks, after school, and sometimes over weekends.  These activities are also sources of learning and may be unplanned or planned by the school.  The informal curriculum that is planned by the school is also referred to as extra-curricular or co-curricular activities.

Curriculum as a concept relating to what is taught at schools within the formal- and informal curriculum, have in the literature been subdivided into different types of curricula.  Smith (1996), Dewey (2013) and Kelly (2009) have identified four particular curriculum types: First, is the explicit curriculum which is the overt curriculum in reference to the written understandings and directions given by an educational institution as to what subjects will be taught and the knowledge and skills that the school expects students to show in order to be successful.  Second, is the implicit curriculum which points to that which is learnt from the required behaviours,

attitudes and expectations that the school places on learners.  Third, is the hidden curriculum which are the things that students learn, "because of the way in which the work of the school is planned and organized but which are not in themselves overtly included in the planning or even in the consciousness of those responsible for the school arrangements" (Kelly, 2009).  Longstreet and Shane (1993) offer an additional definition for the hidden or covert curriculum by contextualising it as  "the kinds of learning children derive from the very nature and organisational design of the public school, as well as the behaviours and attitudes of teachers and administrators".  The hidden curriculum would therefore include organisational requirements such as students getting and standing in line silently, students raising their hands to be called on, and the competition for grades accompanied by the rewarding thereof.  The hidden curriculum furthermore includes expectations about how to act in public (standing in line), how to interact with non-parental authority figures, and messages about social hierarchies (i.e. who can be ridiculed, what it means to get different grades), and so on. The hidden curriculum relates to the manner in which children were prepared through the experiences of schooling for life beyond the fences of the school.  It is found in the particular value systems and practices in schools, which were communicated implicitly or explicitly, and in a manner which was intentional or unintentional.  Examples of the hidden curriculum are endless and the manifestations thereof will form an integral part of Chapters 4 and 5.

The fourth and final type of curriculum described is the excluded curriculum, often referred to as the null curriculum (Eisner, 1985).  The excluded curriculum includes that which is not taught at school.  By excluding content students are given the impression that these elements are not important for their education or within society.

The four curriculum types described above provide the required boundaries for the description of what is taught, where it is taught, and how it is taught at Bay View High School.

Through the course of Chapter 4, the discussion will deal with the role of the informal curriculum in conveying the unspoken and unofficial norms, behaviours, and values

that learners are expected to honour at Bay View High School in addition to the official curriculum of math, reading, science etc.  The informal curriculum, in particular extra-curricular activities, is intended to supplement the academic aspect of the school experience.  Examples of school-planned extra-curricular programs include sports, academic clubs and performing arts.  Although extra-curricular activities do not form part of the explicit curriculum of a school, it provides an opportunity for learning to take place.  During extra-curricular activities, there are interactions between learners and teachers.  It is therefore conceivable that the implicit curriculum, hidden curriculum, and the excluded curriculum, are active during these interactions.

Deeper analysis into the nature of the informal curriculum at Bay View High School will reveal the extent to which this school has established a curricular platform meant to engage all of the students that currently attend Bay View High the school.  Christie (1990) provides a broad analysis of ways in which the hidden curriculum impacted on children's experiences of schooling.  For example, the division of the school system according to race, developed awareness among children of difference rather than similarity.  Drawing on the work of Bowles and Gintis (1976), Christie (1990) has shown how the authority structures of schools and their internal organisations prepare children for life in the broader society and, in particular the world of work. Similar messages are conveyed through the content and structure of school syllabuses, textbooks and examinations.

Coleman, Graham-Jolly and Midddlewood (2003:7) indicate that, despite the demise of apartheid, many of its legacies remain in the school system.  It is within this context that the concept of a hidden curriculum becomes crucial to meaningfully analyse the interactions that take place within schools. Many formerly white schools such as Bay View High School might have an excluding hidden curriculum around things that include the power of leadership, the pragmatism of Afrikaans communities, school ethos and culture, as well as the working-class character of the school. According to Chisholm (2004:217), anecdotal evidence suggests that many schools classify learners officially on the grounds of language, but unofficially on the basis of race and class. Some schools exercise a more benign form of assimilation, but nonetheless expect learners to adapt to the cultural norms and practices of the

schools, which were established under apartheid.  The assumption here is that if learners want to attend these schools, they must abide by their rules and regulations, which often include hidden forms of discrimination against learners who do not share the school's linguistic, class and/or cultural norms (Chisholm, 2004:217).

Against the background elaborated upon above, the implementation of an extra-curricular program at Bay View High School will be discussed.  Chapter 4 shows the role of the SGB and school management in determining the scope and scale of the extra-curricular activities that are offered at this school.  Based on interviews with members of the SGB and school staff, the chapter sheds light on the rationale that lies behind the choice of the education socialisation opportunities that the school provides its learners outside regular school hours.  The chapter therefore discusses how learners are now inducted, socialised and policed by means of the informal curriculum of Bay View High School to conform to an established cultural ethos.

## 4.3 Constructing the cultural ethos of Bay View High School's informal curriculum

In Chapter 2 the functional identity of Bay View High School was identified as an Afrikaner identity.  The established cultural ethos of Bay View High School is one that reflects the Afrikaner culture.  The informal curriculum at Bay View High School was therefore organised to be in line with the needs of the predominantly Afrikaner community.  The sporting codes in which Bay View High School competed were all supported by the Afrikaner community.  The boys competed in rugby, cricket and athletics while the girls competed in netball, tennis and athletics.  The cultural activities that formed part of the informal curriculum consisted of activities such as choir singing, participating in Eisteddfod, school concerts and oratory.  Field trips that the school organised, which formed part of the informal curriculum of Bay View High School, also reflected the Afrikaner ethos of the school and aimed to develop the learners' knowledge of Afrikaner heritage by visiting museums and cultural events that celebrated the Afrikaner culture.

Through the course of Chapter 3, I argued that Bay View High School struggled to recognise and respond to cultural backgrounds and requirements of the newly incoming non-white learners during the period of change from the 1990s. In this

chapter, the discussion will focus on how this particular school utilised the informal curriculum to socialise its now diverse student population into its established cultural identity.

### 4.3.1 Determining extra-curricular activities

The concept of culture has become increasingly significant in education since the 1970s and into the twenty-first century.  Culture relates to the informal aspects of organisations rather than official elements.  It focuses on the values, beliefs and norms of individuals in the organisation and how these individual perceptions coalesce into shared meanings.  Culture is manifested by symbols and rituals rather than through the formal structure of the organisation (Bush & Middlewood, 1997). This would suggest that the informal curriculum of schools will contribute most significantly to the culture and ethos of the school.  The extra-curricular offering of Bay View High School and its organisation may therefore provide a vision of the values, culture and ethos that the school management of Bay View High School aims to preserve.

Prior to the existence of SGBs, it was the duty of the school and its management, in conjunction with the parent body and the Department of Education, who determined the nature and extent of the informal curriculum presented at a government school such as Bay View High School.  Once SGBs came into being by means of the SASA (Republic of South Africa, 1996), the responsibility of determining the extent and scope of the informal curriculum was transferred to this representative body.  In principle, the decision of which extra-curricular activities to present at school to supplement the learning experience of students are now in the hands of the governing body, of which parents are supposed to be the dominant stakeholder.

Mr Smit (2015) emphasizes that there are a number of factors that determine what extra-curricular activities are presented at Bay View High School.  He explains that in the past it used to be easy to decide which activities to offer.  The needs and interest of the community determined what sporting activities the school would compete in. In a predominantly Afrikaans community the school therefore adopted extra-curricular activities that were representative of the Afrikaner culture.  Mr Smit (2015) describes this as expected practice for any school to look after the needs of the

community.  Bay View High School competed in rugby, cricket, athletics, netball and tennis.  Cultural activities included the school choir, school concerts, debating and oratory. The planning and organisation of each of the extra-curricular activities offered at Bay View High School were overseen by the school's management and the parent committee to ensure that all the activities would contribute to the school's identity as a well-functioning school.

Mr Smit (2015) explains that in determining the extra-curricular activities, there are currently a number of additional factors to consider.  According to his explanation, the biggest determinant in changing the current mix of extra-curricular activities at Bay View High School is finances.  He elucidates that the high cost of equipment and transport prevents the school from including additional activities. The school, according to Mr Smit, can also only accommodate particular sport and cultural activities as the school's buildings, playtime areas and sport fields, for example, was designed with particular activities in mind.  In addition, when determining the extra-curricular activities, the school and management must also consider what staff members can offer in this regard.  Bay View High School does not employ coaches for extra-curricular activities.  The teachers are solely responsible for the coaching and training required for sporting or cultural activities.

While appreciating the financial challenges, traditions and customs of the school, the duty of determining the scope of the informal curriculum of Bay View High School now lies with the SGB.  As a representative body of the parents, teachers, and learners, the SGB determines what activities will be offered at the school.  Learners and parents may approach the SGB to suggest additional or alternative activities in which they wish to participate.  More often than not, these requests are turned down. The reasons offered were that there are no funds, the school does not have the facilities, and that the school does not have teachers with the required skills to organise and / or coach these activities.  Soccer is one example of a sport that was requested by parents and learners to be introduced into Bay View High School to become part of the extra-curricular offering at the school. This was turned down. Lack of appropriate facilities (soccer fields), resources and coaches were given as reasons for this decision.  However, during the same period the school did introduce hockey, softball (only for girls), hiking and golf, all with varying levels of success.

Mr Grewe (2015) explains that the introduction of a new sport such as soccer is often accompanied by financial expenses.  He also indicates that the changes in sporting codes that the school experimented with were primarily driven by particular teachers who have a passion for this sport and not by school management itself.  Soccer was eventually introduced into Bay View High School in the late 90s.  Soccer was driven by Mr Marcus who was a member of the school's senior management team.  He received very little support from the school management, with a number of staff members openly opposed to the introduction of soccer at the school.  There was concern amongst some teachers, and particularly the rugby coaches, that the introduction of football would negatively affect the established sporting codes that already exist at Bay View High School.  School management decided that given the existence of an established football club in the neighbourhood, the school would not invest any financial resources in football.  Under the guidance of Mr Marcus, a successful football team that competed with neighbouring schools was formed.  After two years, Mr Marcus however resigned and soccer at the school disappeared.

Hockey and softball are the only sporting codes that have successfully been introduced as a school sport at Bay View High School since the 1990s.  This can be attributed to the fact that it does not compete with existing sporting codes, allowing the traditional sporting codes to continue its existence at Bay View High School.

Sporting activities at Bay View High School, as in all schools, are separated into winter and summer sport.  Initially when Bay View High was founded, it was expected that all learners would participate in one winter sport and one summer sport.  Mr Bester explains that this was required from learners at all schools and served to ensure that learners remained active.  Taking into account the number of learners at Bay View High School, the compulsory participation in one winter and one summer sport also ensured that the school remained competitive in the sporting codes that it participated in.  The compulsory participation of learners in one winter sport and one summer sport is however not part of official school policy anymore.

Competitive sport is highly visible as extra-curricular activities of schools.  The way in which learners carry themselves, compete and achieve in competitive sport, have become a reflection of the school, its culture, values and the ethos it holds dear.

Great value is attached to achievement in extra-curricular activities, whether it is sporting activities or cultural activities.  Being successful at any of these activities, according to Mr Grewe, shines a positive light on Bay View High School.  It provides an opportunity for the school to promote itself to the community.  For this reason the school and educators sacrifice time and resources to ensure that participants in extra-curricular activities are well prepared for any competition.  Yearly inter-school sport days and derby days versus neighbouring schools have become an institution and are coupled with a build-up that involves all learners, teachers and parents each year.  In the same light as success, school management insists that learners carry themselves with distinction when they represent the school in any extra-curricular activity.  Learners are expected to behave themselves faultlessly and ensure that their appearance is unquestionably good when participating in any school activity.

### 4.3.2 The extra-curricular program of Bay View High School

The extra-curricular program of Bay View High School includes a number of sporting codes, cultural events and academic activities.  The extra-curricular program forms part of the informal curriculum, it is organised and planned by the school and its management, but is offered outside of regular schooling hours.

To determine the extent to which Bay View High School has, via its extra-curricular program, established a curricular program that engages with all learners that now attend the school, prominent extra-curricular activities will be expanded upon under the categories of sport, culture and academics.

### 4.3.2.1 Sport

Sport currently represents the most important component of the extra-curricular program at Bay View High School.  The importance of sport is evident in its allocation of financial resources.  The largest portion of the school budget is allocated towards extra-curricular activities.  The resources are spent on purchasing equipment, renting transport to compete against other schools and maintaining the sports fields.

Bay View High School views participation in extra-curricular activities, in particular sport, as an important part of a learner's schooling.  The importance of sport is

highlighted in the learner's application to Bay View High School.  Learners are required to indicate the sporting codes in which they intend to participate when attending the school.  Mr Grewe indicates that this has in the past played a decisive role in accepting learners to the school when only a limited number of spaces remained.  When learners sign up for a particular sport at the start of a season, they are expected to remain committed until the end of the season.  Learners are not allowed to quit during the season as this will let down the team and coach.  Learners who do not attend sport practices or quit during the course of the season are punished with detention.

Learners who participate in sport are expected to comply with particular minimum requirements when representing the school.  Mr Bester (2015) explains that when learners represent the school they have to look immaculate.  Learners who do not wear the correct school uniform or whose hair is not compliant with the school rules are not allowed to represent Bay View High School in any sporting code.  Mr Bester says that the appearance of Bay View High School learners remains one of the determining factors for parents when making a final decision as to which school they choose to enrol their children.  It is therefore deemed important that learners from Bay View High School portray the school in a proper fashion when the school is hosting another school or travelling to another school.

*Athletics*

Historically Bay View High School was known to be particularly competitive in athletics.  Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the school produced a number of Springbok athletes (prior to political reform, all South African sport teams were called Springboks).  Producing a 'Springbok' was and remains a great source of pride for a school such as Bay View High School.  Learners who achieved such an honour became the heroes of the school.  Organisational culture assumes the existence of heroes and heroines who embody the values and beliefs of the organisation.  These honoured members typify the ideal behaviour associated with the institution.  Campbell-Evans (1993:106) stresses that heroes are those whose achievements match the culture, that choice and recognition of heroes occur within the cultural boundaries, and that heroes are compatible with the cultural emphasis of the institution.  This feature is evident in South Africa, where the huge interest in school

sport means that sporting heroes are identified and celebrated.  Learners achieving great sporting fetes are idolized, they become the heroes with their pictures and sport blazers proudly displayed in the clubhouse where visiting schools are received on sports days, as proof of the school's sporting excellence.  In celebrating the achievements of the school's sporting heroes, the school's management seeks to emphasise the centrality of sporting achievement to the culture and ethos of the school.

Athletics remains the only sport at Bay View High School where mass participation remains compulsory once a year. The annual inter house athletics day is filled with rituals and traditions that stem from the early years of Bay View High School's existence.  All the learners are divided into three different colour houses named after three previous principals of the school.  Learners are grouped according to their surnames.  The practise of dividing learners into teams according to their surname, have created yearly arguments amongst teachers since the racial profile of Bay View High have become dominated by black learners.  With a great number of black surnames starting with M and N, the yellow team are now predominantly black. According to Mr Breedt (personal communication, 2015), the sports organiser, this has been a source of concern for two reasons, namely that the black learners have in recent years performed better at athletics than white learners, which resulted in the yellow team winning the sports almost every year prompting some teachers to call the system unfair.  Additionally, although not official school policy, the management of Bay View High School at all times attempt to ensure that no activities at the school are dominated by black learners.   As part of the history and traditions that accompany athletics, all learners participate in 'sing-songs'.  The three different colour houses compete against each other singing songs in order to motivate the athletes representing their colour house under the guidance of pre-elected cheerleaders.  At the end of the athletics meeting the spirit cup is awarded to the colour house that was adjudged to have best supported their athletes.  This would require spectators to show discipline by remaining in their designated seating areas, sing the loudest, display the best sportsmanship and keep their designated seating area the tidiest to win the spirit cup.

The hidden curriculum thus becomes evident in learners' participation in athletics. Learners have to behave in a particular way in order for it to be considered good sportsmanship and act in a particular way to show support and good team spirit.

The success that Bay View High School achieved in athletics did not carry through to the 1990s and onward. The growing popularity of rugby, cricket and football driven by mass media and the hope of becoming rich and famous sport stars, have gradually reduced athletics to a minor sport at Bay View High School. The continued participation of the school in competitive athletics would suggest that the school is reluctant to let go of the rituals and traditions that accompanies the sport. Athletics has now merely become an opportunity for the rugby, cricket and netball coaches at Bay View High to identify talented learners for their respective sport codes.

*Rugby*

Rugby in particular continues to hold a dominant place in the extra-curricular offering to the male learners at Bay View High School. In white schools, rugby served to promote a sense of group identity and sublimated individualism. South African schools became the training grounds for white boys to learn about the virtues of masculine sport. Soccer was historically regarded as a black game. Thus, rugby and soccer were discursively designated as 'white' and 'black' sports respectively, each promoting particular cultural values of the groups who played them. To play rugby was to play a so-called civilized sport, one that denoted difference from blacks who preferred soccer. It is the extramural activity that receives the greatest portion of the sport budget and also the sport that draws the most interest from within the community when gauged according to the attendance of spectators on match days. To ensure the continued success of Bay View High rugby teams, potential rugby players would be identified as early as when they enrol in their Grade 7 year. Mr Grewe remarks that big, strong boys, who indicate that they play rugby on their application forms, do hold an advantage above other boys who do not participate in rugby. It is Mr Smit's view that the 'new' incoming black learners have from the initial years of racial integration taken well to rugby and in fact excelled at rugby. Since the number of black learners playing rugby has increased so significantly, the school was able to also introduce hockey for boys without any concern that there would not be a sufficient number of boys to fill all the rugby teams.

Rugby however remains the premier sport at Bay View High School and it draws participation from all racial groupings that now attend the school.  Bay View High School typically plays between ten and fifteen competitive rugby matches per year against neighbouring schools of similar size.  The matches between schools from the area are competitive, particularly the derby days against the historically English neighbouring schools. The rivalry stems from the historical cultural difference between the Afrikaans and English schools.  Achieving success on the rugby field is important at Bay View High. Mr Bester believes that the morale of the learners appear to be lifted whenever the school's rugby teams, particularly the first team, does well (Bester, 2015).

To achieve success on the rugby field requires hard work.  From as early as February each year, the rugby players start preparing for the season.  Each team is assigned a coach with the most experienced coaches assuming the responsibility of coaching the first team.  Rugby practice often appears militaristic. The success of the school relies heavily on the fitness of the players as evident in the military style physical training that players are put through at the start of the season.  It is within this environment that the strong bonds develop between players and coaches.  It is the duty of the coaches to teach new players the rules of the game and the necessary skills required to become a good player.

At practice and before matches the players are reminded of the importance of rugby to the school.  It is made clear to players that it is a privilege to represent the school on the sports field, especially its rugby teams.

*Cricket*
Cricket is a summer team sport steeped in rituals and traditions in which boys participate.  This sport experienced an extra-ordinary decline at Bay View High School.  Cricket, known as the gentlemen's game, also assumes this identity as a school sport.  As part of participating in cricket, learners are made aware what the appropriate behaviour of a cricket player should be.  Important to cricket is the players' appearance.  Learners who participate in cricket are required to purchase the required white shirt and trousers.  The school supplies basic cricketing equipment.  Part of coaching cricket includes teaching learners how to behave on

the field.  Learners are taught not to question the authority of the umpire (usually a school teacher) and not to question the decision of the umpire when they know they are 'out', as this is good sportsmanship.  On the field learners may not follow the example of sledging (insulting the opposition with the purpose of distracting them) that is often seen on television, but are required to respect their opposition and to always play fair.

Mr Steenkamp, the first team coach, is of the opinion that the lengthening of schooldays has reduced the time available for practise, leading to poor results (personal communication, 2015).  The time constraints that cricket matches and practices place on teachers, who also act as coaches, have diminished their enthusiasm.  Cricket games often last beyond six o'clock in the evening resulting in players and coaches getting home late in the evening depending on the mode of transport which they rely on.  Despite this decline, the school continues to enter four teams into the school league and to compete in inter-schools cricket competitions yearly.

*Hockey*

Hockey is one of the newer sporting codes offered at Bay View High School.  Initially, only girls participated in hockey.  In the late 1990s, the learner numbers at Bay View High School recovered from the decline it experienced after the opening of two new neighbouring schools early in the 1990s.  The recovery in learner numbers allowed the school to also introduce boys hockey as an alternative team sport in which learners could participate.  According to Mr Smit, the introduction of hockey in the school's extra-curricular offering was a natural decision as the school already had hockey fields for the girls.  The school also had teachers who were able to coach hockey.

Hockey has become popular.  As a sport it does not discriminate against players based on size.  Learners who participate in hockey at Bay View High School are often smaller in stature than the boys who play rugby.  Boys who play hockey are often ridiculed.  They are often referred to as 'softies' or even 'moffies' (homosexual men) for not playing rugby, which is a physical sport in which the boys can display their masculinity.

The success of boys hockey has however been limited.  Neighbouring primary schools who act as feeder schools for Bay View High School do not participate in hockey.  Coaches are expected to teach and develop the game from a zero base. Neighbouring high schools have also in recent years invested in expensive, artificial hockey fields prompting the appointment of professional coaches at these school which have made it difficult for Bay View High School to be truly competitive at hockey.

*Other notable sports*

Netball is to the girls what rugby is to the boys of Bay View High School.  Netball is the sporting code for girls with the greatest number of participants. It represents an opportunity for girls to participate in a team sport.  Taking part in a team sport provides the girls with the opportunity to learn how to interact with girls with whom they would not necessarily socialise outside of the context of sport.  Although netball is as competitive a sport as rugby, girls are taught and expected to behave in a ladylike manner.  Like rugby, representing the first netball team is considered to be the pinnacle of any school girl's sporting career.  Like other sports, girls are expected to practice twice a week.  Unlike the sports in which boys compete, girls compete against neighbouring schools during the week and not over weekends.  This allows the coaches (female teachers) to attend to their household responsibilities.

The newest sporting code to be included into the extra-curricular program of Bay View High School is softball.  Softball has been introduced exclusively for girls as a summer sport.  A team for boys was not included as it is believed that this would compete with cricket and the availability of a well-established baseball club in close proximity.  As softball is a new sport, the focus of the sport is mostly on participation and not victory/success.

All of the sporting codes that form part of Bay View High School's extra-curricular programme are organised on a similar basis.  The principle of good sportsmanship is emphasised, learners are taught to be honest, and to respect their opposition, teammates and the referee.  Learners are taught to be proud and loyal to their teammates and most importantly to their school.

**4.3.2 Culture**

The cultural component of the extra-curricular offering at Bay View High School has declined.  Of the variety of cultural activities offered in the early years of Bay View High's existence (see Chapter 2) only a handful remains.  Mr Smit regards cultural activities as important to Bay View High School and explains that not all learners are talented or interested in sport and that it is the duty of the school to also provide these learners with opportunities that may enrich their lives (personal communication, 2015).

Mr Smit ascribes the decline in cultural activities at Bay View High School to a number of factors.  He believes that cultural activities today have to compete with the number of new interests that now attract the attention of learners and that there is a greater number of sporting activities that is now offered to girls (girls have always been more active participants in cultural activities at Bay View High School).

According to Mr Smit, the changed learner composition of Bay View High School played no particular role in the decline of cultural activities at this school aside from the fact that the black learners have shown less interest in particular cultural activities compared to the white learners.  He also explains that there is a greater number of learners who now attend Bay View High School that make use of public transport to travel home, which prevents these learners from participating in extra-curricular activities.  The majority of cultural activities that remain at Bay View High School do not require extensive time commitment.

*Eisteddfod, Oratory and Debating*

In the course of the past twenty years (since 1994), the cultural activities and the learners participating in cultural activities have gradually decreased.  Eisteddfod, oratory and debating are three of the cultural activities that have remained a yearly fixture at Bay View High School. Learners who participate in these activities are identified by language teachers on grounds of their academic achievement in Afrikaans or English.  Learners who meet the requirements set by the language department are then coached by the teacher that coordinates the school's participation in these events.  The coaching forms an important part of this activity as it contributes to the success of learners who take part.  The coaching ensures that

the work delivered by the learners is at a required standard.  This standard is set by the school to ensure that the school is reflected in a positive light when the pieces are judged.

Participation in Eisteddfod, oratory and debating is dominated by white learners.  Ms Miller, who coordinates the school's participation in the Eisteddfod, puts this down to 'mere coincidence' and the academic ability of learners.  She does however remark that a barrier that she has identified in the participation of black learners in the Eisteddfod is that for the majority of black learners at Bay View High School, English is a second language.  With language ability and academic performance forming two crucial components for participation in all three these events, it has become evident that it is the same learners who participate in all three events.

Oratory and debating activities are organised by the school.  Oratory and debating evenings are held in the school hall.  During these evenings, teachers and members from the community are invited to act as judges.  Following these evenings, learners who perform the best are selected to represent the school in the annual inter-schools competition.

*Revue*

The yearly school concert continues to be a highlight on the calendar at Bay View High School.  The concert is the single most important cultural event at the school.  Mr Smit, the school principal, following in his predecessors' path, has continued to insist that a production is put together yearly, giving the learners of Bay View High School the opportunity to show off their talents.  Putting together a production requires long hours of commitment from both teachers and learners.  According to Ms Jansen, it typically takes her up to seven or eight months to produce one show from start to finish.  The first point of call when putting together such a production is to decide on the theme and nature of the show.  In the recent past, the themes of the concerts put together at Bay View High School have centred around the prescribed literary work of the learners, particularly that of William Shakespeare.

Once the script of the play is finalised, learners are invited to audition for the show.  To provide opportunity for a variety of talents, the productions typically include

singing, dancing and acting.  Regardless of talent, learners who wish to participate in the school concert are required to commit to a strenuous rehearsal schedule that would normally include long hours over weekends, during school holidays and weekdays into the evening.  Learners who are not able to commit to these hours are excluded from the concert.   Learners who do commit to the schedule and miss a maximum of two rehearsals are also removed from the cast.  This practice has been put in place to, according to Ms Jansen, ensure that the production which is eventually put forward adheres to her expectations.  She insists that her reputation is on the line every year that she produces a concert and will not compromise on the quality of the production.  Similar to other cultural activities, the limitations that is placed on participation in the revue, results in that it is the same learners who participate in the revue year after year.

Although Mr Smit has indicated that culture is important to the school and has insisted on the yearly show, school management does, according to Ms Jansen, make a reasonable budget available for the production of a top quality show.  Ms Jansen explains that the rental of lighting and sound equipment comes at a premium and the cost of renting this equipment has to be covered by ticket sales for the show. The problem however, as Ms Jansen indicates, is that years of doing the show have indicated that the learners and community is price sensitive, meaning that the cost of tickets have to remain low.  To meet the needs of learners and the community, Ms Jansen has to compromise on the quality of sound and lighting which has a negative impact on the quality of the show and detracts from the experience of the audience.

In spite of the show limitations and the concerns that Ms Jansen harbours, it is apparent from the number of tickets sold for the yearly revue in the recent past, that this is a popular event amongst the learners, parents and members of the community.  Ms Jansen believes that it shows that there is a need amongst the learners for more cultural activities.

*Matric ball*

The matric ball is regarded as the highlight of a learner's high school career.  At Bay View High School all effort is made to ensure that this event is an evening to remember for the learners and staff of the school.  The lavish event stands in stark

93

contrast to the financial struggles that the majority of learners from Bay View High School experience daily.

Over the past ten years, the matric ball has developed into an event that both parents and teachers have described as exorbitant.  Ms Marx, who has arranged the majority of matric balls in the recent past, describes how the event has developed from a formal dinner and dance in the school hall into a major event that is now held at an exclusive private venue.  Ms Marx believes that the school has followed the lead set by neighbouring schools.  As the organiser of this event her mandate has always been to ensure that the matric ball is as good as, or better than, that of the neighbouring schools.  To achieve this requires finances and planning.

Learners are informed of the cost of the event six months in advance.  This allows parents and guardians to plan for this expense.  It has also become a tradition at Bay View High School that it is the duty of the matric learners to raise funds which pays for the teachers and their partners, the governing body, and school guests, to attend the matric ball at no cost.  The money is raised exclusively by means of cake sales.  Matric learners are expected to sell cake which they bring from home once a month until enough money is raised to cover these expenses.

The evening itself is usually based on a theme.  Ms Marx explains that she tries her best to please everybody, but admits it is not always possible.  To be impartial amongst a diverse group of learners she typically selects a theme for the matric ball based on a popular movie.  Food comes as a buffet where 'traditional' dishes (roast beef, lamb, roast potatoes, vegetables etc.) are served.  The most contentious arrangement to be made for the matric ball, as Ms Marx explains it, is the selection of a disk jockey (the person who plays the music).  The diversity of the student population means that their taste of music varies from Afrikaans to pop music, rap and traditional African music.  To avoid conflict amongst learners, Ms Marx as the main organiser of the event, hires the services of an external disk jockey.  His duty is to ensure that the learners enjoy the evening, taking into consideration that the teachers, their partners and school guests are also in attendance.

## 4.4 The deployment of the 'informal' curriculum

The informal curriculum of Bay View High School includes a variety of extra-curricular activities.  This research study has shown that the activities, and how they are run, have remained largely unchanged from its roots in disregard of the changing needs of the new student population that now attend Bay View High School.  The 'new' learners who have entered Bay View High School have from their arrival participated in the extra-curricular activities offered at the school, allowing them to be socialised into the cultural ethos of the school.

Bay View High School has put into place measures to facilitate the socialisation of learners into the cultural ethos of the school.  This process is initiated as early as the application process of new learners into the school.  When applying to Bay View High School, learners are asked to indicate the extra-curricular activities in which they plan to participate.  This is confirmed with learners and their parents during individual interviews conducted by the principal and vice-principal prior to acceptance into the school.  Given the limited number of schools within the area causes nervousness among learners and their parents about securing a place at the high school.  Learners have indicated their willingness to participate in a number of activities in order for their application to be successful.  Given the school's known preference for particular activities such as rugby, netball and hockey, a selection of one of these serves to strengthen the application of potential learners.

Once in school, the school puts into place modes of motivation to motivate learners to participate in extra-curricular activities.  The simplest form of motivation is to reward learners with merits for their participation in extra-curricular activities.  Bay View High School uses a merit and demerit system as a system of reward and discipline.  By taking part in extra-curricular activities learners have the opportunity to gain merit points which mitigates them from sitting detention when they are involved in a disciplinary infraction.  Other learners compete for merits and learners who accumulate merits are rewarded.  Rewards include cash, cell phone vouchers and printing credits.

Learners' desire for recognition serves as further motivation for learners to participate in extra-curricular activities. Learners who participate in extra-curricular activities are recognised for their contribution toward the school. Monday morning assembly includes a segment dedicated to sports results. Here teams are congratulated by the school's management for their achievement, and individual performances are recognised with medals. Exceptional performances in extra-curricular activities are also rewarded with half-colours or full-colours at the yearly prestigious prize giving ceremony.

Apart from the mechanisms that the school has put in place to motivate learners to participate in extra-curricular activities, are the teachers. Teachers play an important role in encouraging learners to participate in sports or cultural activities. Mr Bester has throughout the years identified a number of potential athletes in his class that would never have participated in any sport had it not been for his motivation. As such, it has become the duty of every sports coach to identify learners in class who do not participate in any sport and encourage them to do so.

The different forms of motivation serve to ensure learner participation in extra-curricular activities. Learner participation in various activities ensures the continued existence and success of Bay View High School in these activities. Learner participation in the informal curriculum provides the school with the opportunity to teach learners the values and rituals of the school and thereby ensures that the existing cultural ethos of this school remains in place.

This chapter have shown how the informal curriculum of Bay View High School is organised in such a way that the established cultural ethos of the school remains in place. Mr Smit explains that all decisions made regarding the informal curriculum at Bay View High School, currently takes place in a context of schools competing for desired learners. These learners are typically the ones who consistently pay school fees, have good behavioural records and pose a low failure risk.

The number of activities offered at the school, coupled with the performance of the school in extra-curricular activities, has an impact on the number of learner enrolments at the school. It is Mr Smit's belief that if the school fails to participate in

what he describes as the traditional sporting codes (rugby, cricket, netball, and athletics) the number of enrolments will decline in favour of the neighbouring schools.  In addition, the inclusion of sport such as soccer, would lead to a decline in the established sporting codes at Bay View High School, making it impossible to compete against neighbouring schools at these sports. Mr Smit fears that this would also lead to lower enrolments from learners who pay school fees and a greater number of enrolments from learners who do not pay their school fees.

## 4.5 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter was on the construction and deployment of Bay View High School's 'informal curriculum' to socialise the 'new' learners at the school into a functioning school culture that both engages and miss-engages students at the same time.  Bay View High School's assimilationist ethos is unable to 'see' exactly who the new students are, and thus misses key elements of working productively with them. Throughout the course of Chapter 4, it was  illustrated how the school's engagement with its changed student population via its informal curriculum, is organised towards ensuring the continuation of the school's historically established functional culture.

Chapter 4 highlighted the fact that the school management of Bay View High School makes calculated decisions aimed at conserving the school's status quo, i.e. being a functional school.  This reputation depends on the school's continued participation in extra-curricular activities linked to the cultural/functional identity that was established while the school served an Afrikaner community in the Apartheid era.

Chapter 4 has also shown that the induction and socialisation of learners into the functional ethos of Bay View High School via the 'informal' curriculum are crucial for this school.  The hidden curriculum entwined within the 'informal' curriculum ensures that learners are taught the customs and behaviours that the school requires from its students.  The customs and behaviours that the school inculcates in its learners are based on the beliefs of the school, teachers and the community as to what constitutes a functional school.  The customs and behaviour that the school requires of learners to comply with were however established in an era where the school served an Afrikaner community as opposed to the diverse composition of its current student body.  The chapter therefore argues that the school has failed to align its

97

functional culture to the cultural capital of its new diverse student body, relying on the informal curriculum to assimilate new learners into the school's existing functional culture, which is still maintaining firm connections with the school's 'cultural past', albeit it is in a formally deracialised democratic dispensation.

# Chapter 5:  Preserving the functional identity of Bay View High School via the delivery of the 'formal' curriculum

## 5.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 will focus on the continuation of an established functional culture through the enactment of Bay View High School's formal curriculum mediated by the new politics associated with the democratic period and changed student demography. This chapter focuses on  the enactment of the formal curriculum. The chapter furthermore discusses how the operationalising of the functional culture of Bay View High is achieved and sustained via the formal curriculum as opposed to the informal curriculum which has been dealt with in Chapter 4.  The way in which the school receives and interacts with its diverse body of students that have gained accessed to the school after 1994 will be investigated in Chapter 5. This will show the extent to which Bay View High School has gone about laying a curriculum platform, in the classroom, to service the aspirations of its changed student body, while at the same time attempting to maintain the school's 'functional' success based largely on older orientations that are resonant with its apartheid-acquired cultural identity.

In Chapter 4 a distinction was made between the 'formal' and 'informal' curriculum. Chapter 5  will build on this distinction to explain Bay View High School's engagement practices in relation to what has been described in Chapter 4 as the 'formal' curriculum.  Focusing on  this school's engagement practices via the 'formal' curriculum, this research study aims to highlight the extent to which the particular school is able to recognise and adapt to the cultural capitals of its  learners.  Chapter 5 further describes how the school engages with its now diverse student population through the 'formal' curriculum.  It shows how student engagement is governed by the organisation and delivery of the curriculum to not only achieve a particular notion of success that upholds the functional identity of Bay View High School, but also to socialise the 'new' learners into a functional school culture that was acquired while the school served an Afrikaner community since the 1970s.  Albeit attenuated, this culture is still prevalent, in the school.

The description of the nature of the school's formal curriculum engagement practices will transpire from the vantage point provided by Bourdieu.  Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital is used to consider the nature of Bay View High School's practices with a student body that now comprises learners from diverse socio-economic standing and divergent cultural backgrounds.  Isserles and Dalmage (2000:160) describe Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital as a set of tools and skills that individuals acquire through experiences. Bourdieu, cited by Isserles and Dalmage (2000) defines school success by the amount and type of cultural capital inherited from the family milieu rather than by measures of individual talent or achievement. Cultural capital includes one's language, etiquette, preferences, and taste. This chapter will therefore focus on how Bay View High School goes about producing and maintaining in its functional identity via its engagement with all its learners through the execution of the formal curriculum.

## 5.2 The formal curriculum

In Chapter 4 a distinction was made between the 'formal' and 'informal' curriculum. As discussed in Chapter 4, learning experiences provided through schooling happen inside and outside the confines of a school building, during and after school hours. The 'informal' curriculum was focused on in Chapter 4 to describe the learning experiences provided for by the school, outside regular school hours.  These learning opportunities included extra-curricular or co-curricular activities, particularly sporting and cultural activities.  In contrast to the 'informal' curriculum, the 'formal' curriculum, as it is regarded for the purpose of this study, includes the entire curriculum, pedagogical and learning opportunities provided by the school and that comes to pass within the regular hours of school, and for which provision has been made in the official timetable of the school.  Wilson (2005) expands the description of the formal curriculum by explaining that "it is simply that which is written as part of formal instruction of schooling experiences. It may refer to a curriculum document, texts, films, and supportive teaching materials that are overtly chosen to support the intentional instructional agenda of a school". Thus, the formal curriculum can also be described as the overt curriculum which is usually confined to those written understandings and directions formally designated and reviewed by administrators, curriculum directors and teachers. The formal curriculum therefore embodies the

learning activities that are planned, organized and implemented within regular school hours.

The description of the term "curriculum" in Chapter 4 has brought to the fore the existence of the hidden curriculum.  The hidden curriculum, as described in Chapter 4, refers to the things that students learn "because of the way in which the work of the school is planned and organised but which are not in themselves overtly included in the planning or even the consciousness of those responsible for the school planning" (Kelly, 2009).  The hidden curriculum and the 'formal' curriculum cannot exist in isolation from each other.  Both complement each other and are essential for the academic and social development of learners. The formal approach stresses academics within prescribed hours, while the hidden curriculum emphasizes students forming social transient relationships and the acquisition of societal norms, values and beliefs. This is largely due to the unintended social modalities impressed upon them during the teaching and learning process. Pinar (1975) indicates that researchers argue that the hidden curriculum elevates and perpetuates the culture of the dominant class - a process termed cultural reproduction. Chapter 5 serves to describe how Bay View High School engages with its diverse student population via the 'formal' curriculum.

## 5.3 The 'formal' curriculum of Bay View High School

The changing student population of Bay View High School over the past 25 years is discussed throughout this research study.  In contrast with Chapter 4 that focuses on what happens outside the boundaries of the classroom, Chapter 5 draws the attention to inside the classroom to describe how Bay View High School has gone about organising its curriculum for delivery to its diverse 'new' student population. This study aims to provide a comprehensive description of how Bay View High School goes about organising and delivering the 'formal' curriculum in the light of the struggles that the school have experienced in adapting to changes associated with South Africa's transition into a democracy (see Chapter 3).  The description of Bay View High School's engagement with its 'new' learner population follows the organisational tasks the school faces in delivering the curriculum to learners chronologically (from the beginning of one academic year to the end).  The description focuses on how learners are socialised into the functional culture of Bay

View High School, examining the manner in which learners are organised into classes, the narrow delivery of the prescribed subject curriculum, assessment practices and the school's enactment of progression and promotion prescriptions.

### 5.3.1 Organisation of learners for curriculum delivery.

Prior to the start of an academic year, the school management is faced with the organisational challenge of organising learners into different classes. This task is performed by designated grade heads under the supervision of the school principal. This is a task that Ms Jansen describes as one that requires some experience in teaching, particularly in an environment such as that of Bay View High School. Organising junior learners (Grades 8 and 9) into their respective classes poses a different challenge compared to organising senior learners (Grades 10, 11 and 12) into their respective classes.

The junior grades receive all their lessons as one class, for this reason it is essential that the learner mix of each individual class promotes an environment within which teaching and learning can take place. School management has particular requirements as to what such an environment at Bay View High School should be. Bay View High School is a dual-medium school and each grade group (Grades 8 to 12) has five register classes. Afrikaans speaking learners make up the smallest number of learners in each grade group, hence they are grouped together in one class regardless of the number of learners. The number of learners in this class has fluctuated in recent years from fifteen learners one year to thirty learners in another. English speaking learners are divided into the remaining four classes with class sizes reaching up to forty two learners depending on the number of enrolments and number of learners repeating in a particular year.

Dividing learners into their particular classes is done according to academic performance, behaviour records, gender and race. Learners with the best academic achievements are placed into one class. This class is referred to by learners and teachers as the 'clever' class. By grouping learners with similar academic ability together, school management believes that teaching and learning can take place more smoothly as learners with similar ability learn at a similar pace. Ms Jansen adds that by grouping the academically stronger learners into one class, the school

102

is able to protect these learners from the behavioural problems experienced in some classes which allow them to focus on their schoolwork without distraction.  Once the 'clever' class has been identified, the remaining learners are grouped into their classes.  From these learners another class is created primarily on their previous academic results.  These learners are not considered to be in threat of failing and may have the potential to be in the clever class in the next academic year.  Once this class have been identified, the remaining learners are divided evenly into the last two classes.  These three classes are commonly referred to by teachers and learners as the 'naughty' or even 'weak' classes.  This method of sorting learner into the register classes represents the first layer of sorting that takes place when organising junior learners into their particular classes.

The second layer of sorting that takes place is based purely on race and gender.  School management requires that all classes have to be 'balanced' in terms of race and gender.  White learners have to be equally represented across all four English speaking classes.  After an even spread of white learners is achieved across all four English speaking classes, it is ensured that there is also an even distribution of male and female learners across the classes.  Finally, learners repeating the grade will be divided equally amongst the three 'weaker' classes.  Ms Jansen explains that this is done to ensure that classes are not over represented by one sex or race as experience have shown school management that classes that are over represented by one race or sex have displayed behavioural problems in the past.  The school argues that their experience have also shown that classes with 'too many' black learners are 'too loud' making it difficult for teachers to teach which limit the quality of learning in such classes.

The senior grades are divided into their particular register classes using the same guidelines as that of the junior grades.  This, however, becomes more complicated as the constraints of the time table now also have to be considered.  Learner subject choice becomes the determining factor as to which register class a learner will be placed in.  Regardless of this practical constraint, school management insists that there has to be one academically stronger class per grade and that classes with only black learners should be avoided.  Once the school principal has approved the

103

respective register classes, learners will remain in these classes for the duration of one academic year.

### 5.3.2 Organising teachers for curriculum delivery

Chapters 2 and 3 provided a description of the teaching staff at Bay View High School.  The school currently have a teaching staff complement of 31 teachers.  Of the 31 members of the teaching staff, 13 are men and 18 are women.  The ages of the teachers vary from 23 to 64 with some teachers being first year teachers whilst the most experienced teachers have up to forty years of teaching experience.  Of the 31 teachers at Bay View High School three are English first language speakers and two are non-white.  The teachers, particularly the Afrikaans speaking teachers, all reside in neighbourhoods historically considered as 'Afrikaans'.  A number of the teachers who have been teaching at Bay View High School for longer than 20 years have at some stage lived in the community.  Two of these, the deputy principal and Mr Grewe, a member of the Senior Management Team (SMT), have lived in this community for the same period that they have taught at Bay View High School (20 years plus).  They have become involved in the community and the local Dutch Reformed Church that serves the community.  Both have an interest in the community and its residents and thus also in Bay View High School.

Christie *et al.* (2007) argues that the good results that schools produce are the result of the commitment of principals and teachers.  At Bay View High School Mr Smit, the principal, never fails to underscore the importance of the teaching staff in the school's success.  At prize-giving ceremonies, parent evenings and welcoming evenings, Mr Smit highlights the fact that he handpicked each of the teachers and that he has all the confidence in their ability.  Mr Smit also points to the fact that the teachers of Bay View High School possess outstanding subject knowledge and also have the best interest of each learner at heart (Interview 2015).  He further highlights that teachers of Bay View High School will without fail go the extra mile for their learners.  This resembles the characteristics of teachers that 'work' as Christie *et al.* (2007) has pointed out in their report named 'Schools that work'.  They indicate in this report that at each school that formed part of this study, the importance of teacher 'dedication', 'commitment' and work ethic was stressed by the principal.

This highly regarded group of teachers is tasked with delivering the 'formal' curriculum to the learners at Bay View High School.

## 5.4 Management of the 'formal' curriculum delivery

Christie *et al.* (2007) pointed out in their report that the organisation of the curriculum and the monitoring of progress throughout the year differs from school to school. School management, i.e. the principal and the SMT consisting of all the Heads of Departments (HODs) of Bay View High School, are responsible for the internal organisation and delivery of the 'formal' curriculum.  Each one of these entities have a particular role to play at the school to ensure that curriculum delivery takes place in such a way that ensures the continuance of the school's functional culture.

The members of the SMT, whom are all the heads of different departments, have particular responsibilities to fulfil in ensuring that the 'formal' curriculum is delivered to the learners of Bay View High School.  These duties commence at the start of each academic year when the HODs allocate classes to each one of the teachers in their particular department.  Classes are allocated according to the experience of teachers and also their particular area of experience.  The more experienced teachers are allocated Grade 12 classes as these classes require experienced teachers who have good subject knowledge to complete the workload in what is considered to be a short period of time.  Some subject areas only have one teacher in the school and therefore this teacher will be required to take all the classes in that particular subject area regardless of the grade.  In allocating classes to teachers for a particular academic year, the HOD allocates classes in such a way that each teacher receives at least one of the 'clever' classes across all five grades to teach for the year.   An important part of the initial organisation that takes place for the effective delivery of the 'formal' curriculum includes allocating particular duties to teachers that relate to curriculum delivery.  The HOD decides with the input of teachers which teacher will be responsible for the subject planning for each grade and who will set up which assessments and question papers for exams.

The HOD is also responsible for conducting subject meetings.  These meetings, as Ms Roets, a HOD, explains, are required by the Western Cape Education Department (WCED), but they are also serving to ensure that all the teachers remain

on track as far as curriculum delivery is concerned (personal communication, 2015). Ms Roets explains that in some subject areas there might be as much as three, sometimes four, teachers teaching the same subject to the same grade and therefore subject meetings are crucial to ensure that all classes work at the same pace.  Working at the same pace is important for the assessment of learners.  If all the classes do not work at the same pace learners complain and it becomes difficult to prepare assessments.

It is furthermore the duty of the HOD to check and moderate all papers and tasks set for assessment of learner progress.  HODs must ensure that all assessments are set on time to fit into the assessment schedule of the school and complies with the requirements of the prescribed curriculum documents provided by the authorities for each individual subject.  Aside from departmental requirements, school management has its own requirements for all written assessments.  Assessments must reflect a high level of professionalism that school management requires from the teachers. The setting of assessments such as tests, assignments and examinations has to be faultless and impeccably presented.  Ms Roets explains that aside from the fact that these are basic requirements, the school is very aware of the fact that task and question papers are read by parents and other people outside the school and that these tasks and question papers are a reflection of the quality of the school and its teachers.

Subject meetings are also the time where learner progress and results are discussed.  During subject meetings, subject teams (all teachers teaching the same subject) discuss the progress of learners, identify weak learners and strategize as to how to improve results.  HODs make use of these opportunities to check current results and to compare these results with previous year to establish whether learners' results are consistent with previous years.

All HODs and senior members of staff at Bay View High School are expected to act as mentors to the younger, less experienced teachers at the school.  They are also responsible for inducting new teachers into the school.  This induction entails that new teachers are guided through all the practicalities at school to fulfil their task as teacher, are provided guidance as to the accepted behaviour for teachers, as well as

supported in dealing with learners.  HODs assist in monitoring the implementation of the 'formal' curriculum.  As part of this duty they are required by the principal to monitor the school's hallways and passages whenever they do not have classes to ensure that teaching and learning takes place at all times.  They are also required to do classroom visits and lesson observations.  Ms Roets explains that classroom visits and lesson observations are not there for school management to police teachers, but it is rather an opportunity during which the senior teachers can assist less experienced teachers in classroom management, give advice on pedagogy and observe the delivery of the curriculum.

The SMT plays an important role in monitoring how and whether the formal curriculum of Bay View High School is delivered as desired by school management. The principal is held responsible by SGB, parents, and the community for the success or failure of learners of Bay View High School.  Given this responsibility, Mr Smit has since becoming principal followed the example of his predecessors and maintained what he describes as a hands-on approach in monitoring curriculum delivery at the school.  Aside from Mr Smit's personal approach to school management, he has particular duties prescribed to him by the WCED and he complies with the duties and prescriptions in a pragmatic way.

As the curriculum leader of Bay View High School, Mr Smit ensures that the 'formal' curriculum is firstly delivered according to the prescriptions of the official curriculum, and secondly to ensure that the functional culture of the school remains intact.

Although Mr Smit delegates some duties to the SMT, any decision made by SMT members ultimately has to be approved by him.  Mr Smit's direct involvement in the monitoring of curriculum delivery starts at the beginning of the academic year by means of inspecting the subject files of all teachers.  Although teacher files are a departmental requirement for all teachers, it also serves as the first instance where school management can preserve the functional culture of Bay View High School through ensuring that all teachers are prepared for the task at hand.

Mr Smit ensures that the delivery of the 'formal' curriculum is policed at classroom-level.  When he is not able to do this himself, he delegates this duty to his deputy

and members of the SMT.  Micro-level policing of curriculum delivery takes place by means of patrolling passages, scheduled -, and unscheduled classroom visits.  These actions serve a number of purposes of which the policing of curriculum delivery is only one.  During patrols in the passages and classroom visits, Mr Smit and the school management ensure that learners obey school rules.  School rules are designed to socialise all the learners into particular modes of behaviour, behaviour that resonates with the school's established functional culture.  During the patrols in the passages, Mr Smit and his management team ensure that learners walk quietly, quickly, and on the left side of the passage when moving between classes.  The SMT ensures that teachers demand learners to line up outside of their classrooms and that they only allow learners to enter classes once learners are quiet and in a neat line.  Teachers have often complained about this regimented procedures as they believe that it wastes valuable teaching time, but Mr Smit (2015) argues that these rules have not changed in all his years at the school (since 1985), because they establish order in the school's passages and inside the classrooms.

Learners are expected to behave in a particular manner inside the classroom.  Although not written, the expected custom is that learners rise from their chairs when the principal enters the classroom in respectful recognition of his authority.  During classroom visits, Mr Smit and members of the SMT observe the delivery of the 'formal' curriculum by teachers.  As part of a classroom visit, learners' workbooks are inspected.  Producing evidence of learners' work is regarded as proof that curriculum delivery takes place at Bay View High School.  Teachers are encouraged to ensure that learners work in writing books.  To ensure that learners produce evidence of curriculum delivery, they are expected to do homework daily and teachers are expected to check learners' workbooks regularly. Proof of teachers checking the learners' books must be evident to whoever inspects these workbooks.  In this way, school management is able to police both the learners and the teachers in the delivery of the 'formal' curriculum.

As curriculum leader of Bay View High School, Mr Smit oversees all aspects of curriculum delivery, for example, all examination papers have to been seen and approved by him.  This is a practical arrangement to ensure that all teachers submit the papers on the pre-arranged deadlines in order for examinations to run smoothly.

Herewith he also wishes to ensure that all examination papers adhere to the technical requirements and reflect the standards that he expects from members of his staff.

Mr Smit's contribution to maintaining the functional culture of Bay View High School will become more evident in further discussions that relate to how the school management of Bay View High School manages the promotion and progression of learners from one grade to another.  This will be elaborated upon after discussing 'formal' curriculum delivery in the classroom at Bay View High School.

### 5.5 'Formal' curriculum delivery in the classroom

Maintaining core aspects of the functional culture that Bay View High School has acquired during the apartheid-era relies on careful management and organisation of curriculum delivery.  This careful organisation of the 'informal' curriculum aimed at socialising the entire student population into the school's functional culture of Bay View High, formed the focus of Chapter 4.  Chapter 5 focuses on how the socialisation of learners is carried into the classroom via the delivery of the 'formal' curriculum.

A description is provided on how learners are organised into classes that ease their socialisation into the functional culture of Bay View High.  Before any teaching and learning takes place, learners are subjected to a one week orientation process that serves to induct them into the culture of the school..  This induction takes place when learners enter the school in Grade 8.  During this induction, led by the Grade 8 grade heads, learners are guided through the school rules.  This period is designed to allow for a smooth transition of new learners into their new schooling environment. Mr Grewe explains that learners are taught the school rules, how to behave themselves both inside and outside of the classroom, how they must talk, walk and apply themselves in their schoolwork.  During this induction period, the school's disciplinary system is explained to the learner, as well as the consequences that learners face if they fail to comply with the school rules.  The principal and each member of the SMT have an opportunity to address the learners and share information that they need to know to be successful at school.  Learners are informed about basic procedures that they are required to follow, procedures that are

designed to make the school 'run smoothly' such as the rules regarding bathroom breaks during school hours, the areas considered out-of-bounds for learners, etc. Throughout the course of this induction period, Grade 8 learners are not allowed to interact with the rest of the school, they receive their induction in the hall and have breaks in an area separated from the rest of the school.  At the end of the induction period, a welcoming evening for their parents is arranged where the learners receive a certificate to welcome them on becoming learners at Bay View High School.  This evening is concluded with the singing of the school song which the learners had to learn during their week of orientation.

### 5.5.1 Socialising learners into the school culture through classroom rules

Upon the conclusion of their induction/orientation learners integrate with the remainder of the learners and schooling commences.  School management relies on the effective implementation of a basic set of classroom rules by all teachers to ensure that the curriculum is delivered with the minimum amount of disruption. Learners are required to line up in-front of their classes allowing them to settle down before they enter the classroom.  Inside the classroom learners have to be seated in alphabetical order. Mr Bester explains that this allows teachers to learn the names of learners quicker and knowing the names of learners make it easier to teach them. After entering the classroom, learners are required to stand next to their desks and are only allowed to take their seats after been greeted by the teacher and been given permission to sit down.

Inside the classroom learners' behaviour is further guided by the standardised set of classroom rules provided by school management.  The classroom rules state that learners are not allowed to speak during lessons, and when they have a question they have to raise their hands and may only speak once the teacher has acknowledged them.  Learners are not allowed to leave their desks and may not share desks with another learner.  These rules, Mr Bester explains, have been formulated over a number of years and are the result of years of teaching experience.  School management requires all teachers to implement them consistently and without exception.  Mr Bester (2015) stresses that if all teachers do not implement the rules consistently, the discipline of the school will collapse and thereby influence the results and functional identity of the school.

The classroom rules are enforced by the teacher.  For any transgression of the rules leaners receive a demerit which is a type of marker that indicates bad behaviour. A demerit is accumulated for a transgression.  Six demerits result in a Friday detention. Severe disruption of teaching may also result in a learner being sent to time-out where he would spend the remainder of the period followed by a 45-minute detention after school on the same day.  Mr Bester (2015) explains that the teacher have different levels of tolerance towards the behaviour of the learners and believes that it is predominantly the younger, less experienced teacher who make use of the time-out system.  This system however remains a strong tool that teachers can use to regulate the behaviour of learners in the classroom.

### 5.5.2 Narrow delivery of the 'formal' curriculum

Bay View High School has limited control over the composition of the 'formal' curriculum offered to learners in Grades 8 and 9. The government's policy pertaining to the programme and promotion requirements of the national curriculum statement provides the guidelines to schools as to the composition of the 'formal' curriculum to be offered to learners in each grade.  This policy document states that the learning programme of the school must include:

a) Two official languages of which at least one must be offered on the Home language level and the other language on either Home Language or First Additional Language level.
b) Mathematics
c) Natural Sciences
d) Life Orientation
e) Social Sciences
f) Technology
g) Arts and Culture
h) Economic and Management Sciences

The two official languages offered at Bay View High School are English and Afrikaans, both at Home Language and First Additional Language level.  All other noted subjects form part of the learning programme, which constitutes the 'formal' curriculum of the school.

At the FET band (Grades 10-12) the school has greater control over the learning programme offered at Bay View High School.  Subjects in the FET band are divided into three groups.  Learners have to select four subjects form Group A which comprises of:

   a) Two official languages of which at least one must be offered on the Home language level and the other language on either Home Language or First Additional Language level.
   b) Mathematics or Mathematical Literacy
   c) Life Orientation

In addition to the subject selection from Group A above, learners must select a minimum of three subjects from Group B containing in excess of fifty different subjects.  Of the subjects in Group B, Bay View High School offers nine subjects (Accounting, Business Studies, Economics, History, Computer Application Technology, Life Sciences, Physical Sciences, Consumer Studies and Tourism) from which learners have to select a minimum of three subjects.

Mr Smit (2015) explains that the subjects offered at Bay View High School have not changed significantly during the past ten years.  The changes that have taken place were not determined by the school itself, but are rather the result of changes in the curriculum.  These changes include Typing as a subject being replaced by Computer Application Technology (CAT), in line with the technological advances that have taken place, Consumer Studies have replaced Home Economics, and Metalwork was discontinued as a subject whilst Geography was replaced by Tourism due to low learner numbers in this subject.  Mr Smit continues to explain that there are a number of factors that influence the subjects that are offered at Bay View High School.  At the top of these factors he places finances.  An increase in the subject offering will mean that the SGB would have to appoint additional teachers, something that the school cannot afford.  The current subject offerings, according to Mr Smit, serve the needs of the learners, the community and the school.

The limited number of subjects offered have resulted in some subjects being oversubscribed whilst other subject are undersubscribed.  The over- and under

subscription of certain subject can be attributed to learners being streamed into particular subject choices under the guidance of school management.  In protecting its functional identity, learners who fail to achieve marks of 50% or higher for mathematics in Grade 9 is not allowed to continue with Mathematics in the FET phase, they have to select Mathematical Literacy.  Mr Grewe, a Mathematics and Mathematical Literacy teacher, justifies this practice by explaining that experience have taught the school that learners who fail to achieve 50% or higher for Mathematics in Grade 9 ,are more often than not unsuccessful in Mathematics in the Grade 12 examination.  The school has a limited number of spaces for learners taking Mathematics as the school only has two teachers who teach Mathematics in the FET phase.  Mr Grewe explains that if there are too many learners in the Mathematics classes, it is merely to the disadvantage of the learners who have the potential to be successful in Mathematics (Interview 2015) .

Parents have however become aware of the sifting of learners taking mathematics when making the switch from Grade 9 to Grade 10.  A greater number of parents now insist on their children taking mathematics in Grade 10 due to the promise of a wider selection of career opportunities which learners may pursue after school.  This have in recent years lead to overcrowded mathematics classes.  The result of overcrowded Grade 10 mathematics classes is poor academic achievement coupled with a high number of failures.  Once learners fail a term the option of changing to mathematical literacy becomes more viable.  It is apparent that proportionally, by the time learners reach Grade 12, the demographic composition of learners taking mathematics is skewed towards white, Afrikaans or English first language speakers.

Learners who do not have Mathematics as a subject are not allowed to do Accounting or Physical Science.  Ms Jansen, the Accountancy teacher, explains that she has throughout the years noticed that learners who do not have Mathematics as a subject, struggle with, and are often unsuccessful at Accounting.  Similarly, leaners that do not have Mathematics are also not allowed to select Physical Sciences as a subject.  The streaming of learners into Mathematical Literacy first takes place when learners are required to select subjects at the end of Grade 9.  This practice however continues into Grades 10 and 11 as learners who fail Mathematics, Physical Science or Accounting during promotion examinations are given subject change forms with

their results at the end of the academic year.  Streaming learners out of Mathematics to Mathematical Literacy have resulted in Accounting, Mathematics and Physical Sciences being undersubscribed by the time learners reach Grade 12.  The number of learners enrolled for the exit examination at the end of Grade 12 in each of these subject areas have not been greater than 20 in recent years.  The low number of learners in these subject areas has created a 'protected' environment where the 'high value' learners who were identified in Grades 8 and 9 as learners who have the potential to achieve high marks, possibly subject distinctions or even an A aggregate (aggregate of 80% or higher) receive levels of individual attention that is unmatched in other subject areas.

Limiting access to Mathematics, Accounting and Physical Science have resulted in the oversubscription of leaners particularly in subjects such as Business Studies, Economics and Tourism (the number of learners that take CAT and Consumer Studies are also limited by resources, i.e. computers and stoves respectively).  It is not uncommon to see a class in excess of forty learners in these subject areas, forcing learners to share desks, creating an environment that is less conducive to efficient teaching and learning.

Through limiting access to Mathematics, Accounting and Physical Science by streaming learners into subjects such as Business Studies, Economics and Tourism have created an environment where a limited number of learners (white, Afrikaans or English first language speakers) receive their tuition in small classes with personal attention.  This environment is conducive to greater levels of academic achievement which ensures that the school is able to sustain its functional identity.

Mr Smit (2015) acknowledges that it is not ideal to have big classes, and adds that this is something that is foreign to the school, but insists that the school does not have the resources to appoint more teachers.  Replacing the undersubscribed subjects is not a consideration.  It is important that Bay View High School continues to offer these subjects.  Mr Smit furthermore explains that undersubscribed subjects are 'gateway subjects' (subjects needed for acceptance into Universities), and without these subjects Bay View High School would not be able to attract learners

with high academic ambitions, previously been described as 'desired learners' i.e. learners from the white Afrikaans group (see Chapter 3).

## 5.6 'Formal' curriculum delivery at classroom-level

To determine how Bay View High School has gone about laying a curriculum and pedagogical engagement platform to engage all students in education, it is necessary to describe the nature of 'formal' curriculum delivery as an 'educational engagement' process.  A greater understanding of the nature of the 'educational engagement' processes that take place in the classroom will show how this school has gone about producing a notion of 'functional' success at the school.

The 'educational engagement' processes that occur in the classroom centres around the delivery of the 'formal' curriculum.  The nature of the 'educational engagement' processes is determined by the curriculum documents, prescriptions of school management, and the pedagogical practices of the teacher.

Members of the management of Bay View High School indicated that they have confidence in the ability of the teachers at the school to deliver the 'formal' curriculum to the learners.  In spite of this confidence, school management, through its curriculum leader the principal, Mr Smit, prescribes to the teaching staff how teaching should take place at the school.  School management expects teachers to be prepared for the task at hand, delivering the curriculum.  This is tightly policed as has been noted previously, by inspecting teacher files containing proof of planning, patrolling passages to ensure teaching take place, and classroom visits by Mr Smit and the SMT.

The school's management insists that teachers adhere strictly to the prescriptions of each subject according to official curriculum documentation.  School management furthermore insists on the use of textbooks that are provided by the school and they expect learners to work in their writing books daily.  Ms Roets (personal communication, 2015), a member of the SMT, explains that this is merely to protect the school and the teacher as the work in learners' books serve as evidence of curriculum delivery.  Teachers are further encouraged to ensure that learners are given homework according to the learning programme requirements on a regular

base.  In addition, school management provides guidelines on classroom management and learner behaviour during curriculum delivery.  Learners are required to be seated alphabetically at all times, one learner per desk, and if space allows it, not next to each other.  The learners are not allowed to speak and teaching may not interrupt other classes.  The teaching and learning environment created by implementing these measures represents a functional school environment to the management of Bay View High School.  Mr Smit and the schools management regard this functional teaching and learning environment as one of the primary reasons why the parents enrol their children at the school.

The tightly regulated manner in which teachers are required to deliver the curriculum has caused the teachers to adopt uniform teaching approaches.  This, for example, includes teachers that teach strictly according to the prescribed curriculum policy requirements of each subject and as it is set out in official curriculum documents and learning programme guidelines for their subjects.  Textbooks represent the primary resource used by teachers in support of their pedagogy with limited additional resources being used to enrich the curriculum.  The preferred method of transferring knowledge from the textbook to the learner is by presenting the information on ther basis of a didactic transfer approach, or present lecture type lessons which offer very little opportunity for the learners to ask questions or engage with the lesson content. I observed that after completion of lessons, learners are required to complete an activity in their writing books by following the guidelines that the teacher provides to ensure that all books are the same.  Guidelines may include that learners have to write the date at the start of each activity, on a particular side of the page, left or right etc.  Learners may be required to write in pen or pencil or leave lines open between questions.  The regimental nature in which the 'formal' curriculum is delivered to the learners, coupled with the pedantic manner in which learners are expected to complete their tasks, point to a narrow form of curriculum delivery that is prevalent at the school.

The narrow delivery of the curriculum devoid of rich contextualised examples or learner participation, fails to recognise the diverse student population that now attend Bay View High School.  Curriculum organisation and delivery are managed with the aim of maintaining an older functional identity of the school. Very little effort is made

to understand how the school and its teachers might more adequately connect with, and engage, the learners in the classroom.  In other words, the learners' backgrounds, identities, literacies and knowledges are simply ignored in the classroom.  In striving towards protecting the school's functional identity, one defined narrowly by exam results, the school fails to recognise the diversity amongst its student population.  The teachers in their constricted delivery of the 'formal' curriculum do not acknowledge the cultural capital of the 'new' learners that now attend Bay View High School.  In failing to acknowledge the diversity amongst the learners, the school fails to create a pedagogical platform that engages all students in their learning.

Once learners have been divided into their respective classes, classes are allocated to teachers.  Great care is taken to ensure that all teachers are allocated at least one 'clever' class within their personal timetable, a situation that has according to Ms Jansen, often been the source of great tension between educators.  Ms Jansen explains that the teachers enjoy teaching the 'clever' class as they achieve much higher marks in test and examinations and their behaviour is better than that of other classes, making it easier to teach them.

### 5.6.1 Assessment practices

Assessment refers to the process of gathering information of what students know, understand, and can do with their knowledge as a result of their education using multiple and diverse sources.  Gardiner (1998:77) describes assessment as being essential not only to guide the development of students, but also to monitor and improve the curriculum.  Assessment further provides feedback to learners, teachers, parents and policymakers, as well as the public about the effectiveness of educational services (Glaser, Chudowsky & Pellegrino, 2001).

Assessment forms an important part of the official curriculum, providing learners and teachers the opportunity to reflect on what learners know and understand.  The feedback that learners and their parents receive as the result of assessment, gives learners the tools needed to improve their measured performance.  The purpose of assessing learners are to determine what students know and understand, to monitor

learner progress, to provide feedback to learners, teachers and parents,  as well as to guide the professional development of teachers.

Teachers have a range of assessment strategies that may be used to determine whether learners have reached the required levels to be promoted to the next grade. These assessment strategies may include the following:

*Diagnostic assessment*

Diagnostic assessment is often undertaken at the beginning of an academic year to assess the existing levels of knowledge and understanding of individual learners, a class or a grade group as a whole.  Diagnostic assessments establish a baseline or starting point from where 'formal' curriculum delivery can take place.

*Summative assessment*

Summative assessment typically takes place by means of written examinations and is used to make judgements about student achievement at a certain points of the academic year (e.g. end of the term or year).

*Formative assessment*

Formative assessment involves the practice of building a cumulative record of student achievement over a period of time.  At school, formative assessment takes place throughout the year by means of School-based Assessment (SBA) tasks.  The purpose of formative assessments is to provide immediate, meaningful feedback to learners and parents of learner progress whilst helping teachers to modify and adapt their pedagogy to the needs of learners.

*Informal assessment*

The systematic observation and monitoring of learners during learning and teaching activities in the classroom is described as informal assessment.  Informal assessment further involves the interactions between teachers and learners that lead to a deeper understanding of what learners know and understand.

*Formal assessment*

Formal assessment refers to specific assessment strategies used to determine the degree to which learners have gained the knowledge and understanding required for progress to the following grade.  Formal assessment strategies include examinations, tests, projects and essays.

The assessment of learners at Bay View High School has to take place in accordance with the requirements as set out in relevant policy documents.  The *National Protocol for Assessment Grades R -12* and the CAPS now provide the guidelines to which assessment must conform to.  As with all other administrative requirements, Bay View High School and it teachers, actively guided by its principal, ensures that it meets these policy requirements very closely.  The principal (Mr Smit) and the SMT police the assessment of learners to ensure that all assignments, tests and examinations conform to the relevant assessment policies.  Assessment of learners at Bay View High School ensures that learners acquire the stipulated knowledge to qualify for promotion to the next level or grade. Within each of the subject areas the teachers, in conjunction with the relevant SMT member for the particular department, decide who will be responsible for the program of assessment for each subject area in each grade.  Each teacher is required to prepare the assessments for which he or she is responsible and distribute these to all teachers in his/her subject team before they are approved by a SMT member and the principal.

All forms of formative assessment, which include all SBA tasks, take place at school.  Ms Roets explains that teachers do not give any tasks to learners to complete at home.  All SBA tasks are completed at school to ensure that learners complete the tasks under the supervision of their teachers. Ms Roets further explains that this is part of the school's strategy to ensure that learners have the best possible chance to meet promotion requirements.  In the past teachers had great difficulty in getting learners to hand-in SBA tasks on time or at all.  As departmental recording sheets for assessments do not allow for zero marks, the onus rested on the teacher to ensure that learners handed in their projects or assignments.  Ms Roets describes how some teachers resorted to giving learners empty folio paper to write their names and the assessment's date on, which they would then 'mark' in order to serve as evidence of the learners' work.  Mr Smit (2015) explains that SBA tasks are school-

based and should therefore be done at school.  He explains that the home environments of many of the learners who attend Bay View High School are not conducive to doing schoolwork and therefore it is to the advantage of the learners to complete their SBA tasks at school.  Ms Jansen, however, objects to learners having to complete their SBA task at school.  She is of the opinion that there is too little time to do SBA tasks in the class given the 'packed' curriculum.

Formal assessment (examinations and tests) of learners are rigorously planned at Bay View High School.  The planning appears to focus on the needs and requirements of the teachers.  Mr Grewe, who has for years been responsible for setting examination time tables, explains the main considerations when setting up the time table (Grewe, 2015). He suggests that only one paper per grade may be written per day, and that subjects with bigger workloads (particularly 'gateway' subjects) should not be written in consecutive days where possible, because learners receive their report cards at the end of each term (some schools only give report cards at the beginning of a new term).  It is important to be aware of which subjects are to be scheduled late in the time table giving teachers enough time for marking and moderation of scripts.

The success of learners during the examinations is a crucial element of the school's identity. Mr Smit insists that prior to formal examinations, subject teachers should provide a summary of the material that should be studied for the examination.  The summary should contain the topics and page numbers from the prescribed textbook that learners must study for their test or examination.  Mr Smit ensures that all learners and parents receive a printed copy of this summary.  Mr Smit explains that this is to protect the school and teachers and that it serves as proof that learners were informed about the content of the exam and that it also provides parents with the required tools to support their children in their studies (interview 2014).  By providing learners with this information ensures that learners have a greater chance to achieve good marks and thereby enhances the functional identity of Bay View High School.

As an additional measure to ensure learners' success during formal assessment, the examination time table provides an opportunity for learners to study daily prior to writing their exam paper.  During these 'study periods' learners may not speak to each other.  They are required to study under the supervision of the invigilator on duty.  Learners who do not study or disturb this 'study period' are removed from the class and as punishment write the exam paper after school.

On completion of the formal assessment, all scripts are marked and moderated in accordance with the relevant policy documents.  The results of learner assessments are used to compile a report which leaners at Bay View High School receive on the final day of each term. Providing learners with progress reports at the end of a term have become an increasingly uncommon practice with a number of schools electing to give reports to learners at the start of a new term.  Giving learner reports at the start of a new term eases pressure on the examination time table and allows teachers to mark scripts and finalize marks during the school holidays.  The school management of Bay View High School however persists with the practice of finalising learner reports before school holidays. Mr Smit points out that this is done to allow teachers a period of rest; it is also a reflection of the hard work and dedication of the teachers at Bay View High School.

Learner reports serve as feedback to learners and parents of learner progress.  After assessment, at the start of each new school term, parent evenings are held where parents have the opportunity to discuss the learners' performance with their respective subject teachers.  Parent evenings have historically been poorly attended at Bay View High School.  Mr Smit puts the poor attendance at parent evenings down to the fact that many parents work in the evenings, they do not have anybody to look after young children at home or they do not have transport to get to the school (Smit, 2015). Most parents who do attend parent evenings live in the neighborhood where the school is situated, therefore mostly the parents of white learners.  In spite of the contextual factors that contribute to the low attendance of parent evenings, a number of teachers harbor the belief that the low attendance of parents can be ascribed to a lack of interest from parents.  Despite the often poor attendance of parent evenings, school management insists that parent evenings assist in protecting the school as it serves as proof of intervention for poor

performing learners.  Mr Smit explains that this proof may be required in cases where parents choose to appeal when a child is not successful at the end of the year.

Parent evenings, which serve as an opportunity for parents to get feedback regarding their children's academic progress, only occur twice a year and is always held during the evening.  Parents who do not live in the neighborhood and have no means of transport, or parents who work during the evening, are therefore denied the opportunity to receive feedback on their child's academic progress.  These parents are mostly the parents of the school's 'new' student population, the black learners.

The purpose of assessment, whatever type it may be, is to determine whether learners have acquired the levels of knowing and understanding required to be promoted to the next grade.  Because the pass rate of learners is an important indicator of school functioning to government and society, Bay View High School goes to great lengths to manage the promotion of learners from one grade to the next in such a way that its functional identity remains intact.

The importance of learners' success in assessment to maintain the functional identity of Bay View High School is further exemplified by Mr Steenkamp, a mathematics teacher, who indicates in an informal conversation that he had previously, at the instruction of his HOD, adjusted the final marks of all the Grade 8 learners by up to ten percent to ensure a higher pass rate amongst these learners and also to reflect better on the mathematics department and the school as a whole.

Bay View High School complies with the regimental assessment regime as required by education authorities.  The school plans and executes its assessment program to suit the need of teachers and provide leaners with the best opportunity to achieve success.  At the completion of assessments the school provides learners with written reports indicating learner progress and furthermore schedules parent evenings where parents have the opportunity to consult one-on-one with each of their children's respective teachers.  In executing and reporting on assessment, the Bay View High School strives to preserve its functional culture.

**5.7 How Bay View High manages promotion and progression of learners**

The pass rate of schools has become an important indicator for judging the quality and functionality of schools.  As Bay View High School attempts to remain the school of choice within its historical feeder area, it has become increasingly important for school management to manage the progression and promotion of learners from one grade to the next.  This section describes how the school goes about managing this important function of the school to ensure that the school achieves high yearly pass rates in Grade 12 in spite of poor pass rates in the junior grades.

Learners are promoted from one grade to the next if they have reached the minimum levels of achievement per subject in a particular grade.  Learners who do not meet the required levels of achievement for a particular grade are required to repeat the grade given that they have not previously repeated a grade in the particular phase. Learners who have already repeated a year in a particular phase, stand the chance to be progressed.  Progression refers to the movement of a learner from one grade to the next in order to prevent a learner from remaining in one phase for a period exceeding four years as stipulated in the *Admission policy for ordinary public schools* published as *Government Notice 2432* in the *Government Gazette (1998)*.

Mr Smit explains that the public judges a school by its matric pass rate.  He reports that parents send their children to schools that they believe will provide their children with the best chance of being successful, and the matric pass rate of the school serves as one of the primary considerations when making this decision.  If Bay View High School is to attract the more 'desired' learners that it wishes, it is of importance to the school to maintain a high pass rate.

Bay View High School has maintained a National Senior Certificate (NSC) pass rate of above 95%.  Mr Smit (2015) puts the high pass rate that the school achieves down to a number of factors of which the most prominent is the quality and commitment of the school's teachers. Mr Smit has the highest regard for the teachers of Bay View High School and credits the success of the school to the hard work of the teachers.  According to him, his teachers have excellent subject knowledge, the required experience to work with the learners of Bay View High School, and come to school prepared to do the job they were employed to do.  Mr

Smit continues to explain that school management and the support structures put in place by the WCED have played an important role in assisting Bay View High School in maintaining its high levels of success.  With the assistance of the on-site school psychologist, the school management of Bay View High School have been able to identify learners with learning difficulties and have been able to assist them to gain entrance into FET colleges that better fit the educational requirements of these learners.  Christie *et al.* (2007) confirm the practice of counselling learners to leave school and pursue different options of education outside of school, and suggests that this practice is a way of working towards achieving a 100% pass rate.  The number of learners that the school is able to refer to FET colleges is however limited to learners over the legal school going age and learners with the financial means to attend these institutions.

It is Mr Smit's opinion that the academic achievement of learners at Bay View High School have deteriorated in recent years.  This decline is particularly evident in the lower grades (Grades 8 and 9).

From learner results it is apparent that poor academic results and failure are not exclusive to any race.  Regardless of the advantage that Afrikaans and English first language speakers hold over the rest of the students at Bay View High School, a large number of these learners are unsuccessful in their schooling.  This confirms the schools admissions policy as discussed in Chapter 3.  At Bay View High School white, and particularly Afrikaans speaking white learners, are accepted into the school without much consideration of the previous academic achievement. Whitelearners with poor academic histories are accepted into the school to ensure that the school maintains a visible white component.  This extends to Afrikaans speaking learners whom the school depend on to maintain its cultural identity.

The academic results of learners show that the top achievers in the school across all grades are predominantly white learners.  This would suggest that the white learners are achieving better quality passes at Bay View High School.  What is further evident from the top achievers at Bay View High School is that 90 percent are either Afrikaans or English first language speakers.  Afrikaans and English first language

124

speakers constitute less than 50 percent of the student body that now attend Bay View High School.

Mr Smit places the responsibility for the decline in academic achievement at the feet of OBE, adding that learners are not adequately prepared for the academic requirements of high school.  This has for him become more evident in recent years with the switch from OBE to CAPS, the change from a curriculum where progression of learners from one grade to another was determined by outcomes to a curriculum (CAPS) that now requires learners to show evidence of content knowledge by means of continuous formal assessments.

Poor academic results, coupled with the progression and promotion prescriptions from the NDE requires that the school manages the progression and promotion of learners with care to ensure that by the time the learners reach Grade 12, the school is confident that they will pass.

Teachers acting as grade heads play an integral role in the management of promotion and progression of learners from one grade to another at Bay View High School.  Grade heads take responsibility for the management of learners of a particular grade, they often also teach a number of classes to the grade for which they act as grade head ensuring that they become familiar with the learners and also with their academic progress.  Mr Kok, a teacher that has acted as grade head to a number of grades, describes how the promotion and progression of learners are managed at Bay View High School by stating that "at the end of each year following the completion of the final promotion examination, a promotion report is generated for each grade.  This report would typically contain up to fifty learners failing in each of the junior grades (Grades 8 and 9) and anything up to twenty to thirty learners in Grades 10 and 11.  From this list of failures the learners who have to be progressed to the following grade due to the number of years already in the particular phase (the General Education and Training Phase, referring to grades 0 to 9 or FET, grades 10 to 11) ,or alternatively due to their age, are identified and progressed to the following grade.  From the remaining learners who failed the year, learners who require three percent or less in only one subject are identified, and a professional judgement is made by the grade head together with the school management as to the prospect of

125

the particular learner passing the following year.  If it is agreed that the learner possesses the potential, learners are given the marks required to promote them to the following year.  This process is repeated if the number of failures in each grade is still higher than the school's acceptable threshold of failures.  Mr Kok describes the acceptable threshold of failures as a guideline that the Educational District Office uses for schools.  According to the guidelines, the number of failures per grade may not show an increase of greater than five percent on the previous year.  Schools are required to present their results to their local Educational District Office for approval at the end of each academic year.  Mr Kok suggests that there is an understanding that when schools take their results for approval to the district offices, all decisions regarding the promotion of learners will have been taken by the school.  The message is clear from the district office that they do not want to make decisions about whether learners should be promoted or not.

Given the requirements of the district office, the school is now obliged to manage the number of failures.  If the school fails to manage its promotions, it leaves the officials of the district office with the responsibility of determining the merits of each failure.  Mr Kok describes this to be an undesirable outcome considering that the district office do not know the learner as opposed to the school and its teachers who have knowledge of the learner's academic performance and behaviour in the classroom and within the greater school context.  The school therefore accepts the responsibility of managing the promotion and progression of learners to ensure that it remains in control of which learners are promoted from one year to another.  In addition to managing the number of failures to comply with the requirements of the education authorities, Bay View High School has to also consider the number of learners that has enrolled into the school to start Grade 8 in the following year.  The number of failures has to be managed to ensure that the school is able to limit the number of learners in each class in the following year.  Maintaining classrooms with low teacher-pupil ratios is essential for the school to portray an image of functionality.

When considering which learners will be assisted with marks to progress to the following grade, school management takes into account the language composition of each grade.  To justify the continuance of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at

Bay View High School, school management must ensure that each grade (8-12) has a viable number of Afrikaans speaking learners.  As such, the progression of Afrikaans learners who failed is done taking into consideration the number of Afrikaans learners enrolled into each grade.  As the majority of Afrikaans speaking learners is predominantly white, this practice leads to a greater number of non-white, non-Afrikaans speaking learners repeating an academic year.

The promotion of learners in the FET phase is done with the same amount of care, if not more than the promotion of learners in the junior grades.  As learners enter the FET phase the stakes increase.  The school (management and teachers) has to ensure that it manages the promotion of learners in such a manner that by the time they reach Grade 12, there is no doubt whether the learner will pass, ensuring that the school maintains its functional identity by maintaining a high matric pass rate.

The promotion of learners in the FET phase is done following the same processes as promotion in the GET phase.  Learners who fail either Grade 10 or Grade 11 during the promotion examination because of what is considered to be wrong subject choices, are given an ultimatum to change their subject choices or to repeat the year.  This choice is given to the parents of these learners.  The school principal contacts the parents of learners who have failed because of subject choice, offering them the opportunity to change the learner's subject choice enabling the learner to be promoted.  These decisions most commonly have to be made for learners who failed Mathematics and Physical Sciences.

By the time learners reach Grade 12, the school, by means of its management practices, have ensured that most learners at risk of failing Grade 12 have been 'weeded' out to FET colleges or streamed into subjects that are 'easier' (Mathematical Literacy, Tourism, and Computer Application Technology and Business Studies).  There are, however, learners who remain in the system that have been progressed from one grade to the following as a result of age or the number of years spent in a particular phase.  These learners are carefully monitored throughout their matric year and given additional support to enhance their prospect of passing Grade 12.  Grade 12 learners who fail in the March examinations are given an ultimatum to pass Mid-year exams or face the prospect of being excluded

from the Matric farewell.  These learners are also required to attend focussed additional classes during the April and July holidays to enhance their chances of passing the NSC at the end of the year.

Christie *et al.* (2007) reported on some practices that schools resort to in order to ensure higher NSC pass rates.  It has been reported that schools register learners who they regard as unlikely to pass as 'private' candidates, although these learners are school-going as all others at the school.  Mr Kok states in conversation that he is aware of neighbouring schools that engage in this practice, but that it is not policy at Bay View High School to register any of its students as private candidates.  The measures that Bay View High School have implemented to ensure that learners are successful, combined with the school's focussed management of the promotion of learners form one grade to the following, have proved to be sufficient to ensure that Bay View High School maintains its high Matric pass rate and with it its functional identity.

## 5.8 Conclusion

This chapter 5 provides insight into how an Afrikaner-orientated former Model C high school in Cape Town has gone about establishing a formal curriculum platform that engages, or more appropriately, failed to engage the wide diversity of its learners. This chapter focused on how Bay View High School engages with its learners via the curriculum platform it established to maintain its functional identity.

This chapter elaborates upon how the school organised learners into classes for the delivery of its 'formal' curriculum offering.  In this organisation the management of the school allocates value to learners.  This is evident in how the school created an environment in which certain learners are given a learning environment that is conducive to their continued success.  This practice is an example of how a school contributes to social reproduction.  The white learners with cultural capitals that are closer aligned to the middleclass knowledge-based curriculum are valued, because their academic achievements enhance the functional identity that the school strives to protect and preserve.

Chapter 5 further provided context to how Bay View High School's engagement with its learners via the 'formal' curriculum is continuously driven by the desire of school management to protect and preserve its functional identity.  This was illustrated in the description of how the school's curriculum organisation, its delivery of the 'formal' curriculum, as well as the assessment of the curriculum, serve to preserve the established functional identity of Bay View High School.  Where the organisation, delivery and assessment of the curriculum fail to ensure the continuance of the school's functional identity, the school management manages the promotion and progression of learners so that the academic achievement of learners do not detract from the image that the school wishes to portray to the community and prospective parents of learners who may attend Bay View High School.  The school, in its pursuit to maintain its functional identity, organises its functioning to remain closely aligned to the cultural capitals of the white middle-class community which it serves whilst it simultaneously fails to engage with the educational needs of the 'new' student body that now attends the school.

**Chapter 6:  Summary and Conclusion**

This study has set out to describe the nature of the 'educational engagement' processes at a former Model C high school in Cape Town.  This study illustrates the challenges faced by a former Model C school to adapt its apartheid era institutional functioning in service of white children to the vastly different racial- and classed contexts of the students who now attend this school.  The purpose of this study was to provide an analysis of the ways in which one former Model C high school went about adapting its functional platform in light of the changing class and racial composition of students in the post-apartheid period.

In this concluding chapter, key aspects pertaining to the research will be re-visited. The key research objective of this study were to gain an understanding into the way educational institutions, with specific reference to a former Model C high school in Cape Town, go about establishing their institutional identities in the post-apartheid period, to investigate the nature of the curriculum and pedagogical platform that the school has established in light of the cultural identities of its 'new' diverse student body, and to understand the adaptations that this school embarked to establish its 'functional culture' in respect of their diverse student body.

Given these objectives, this qualitative case study investigated how a former Model C high school has gone about laying an institutional and functional culture platform in light of the students' demographic composition. The research study therefore represents an analysis of what can be described as the 'alignment' practices of a former Model C high school. This is a Bourdieu-inspired concept that is used within the ambit of this research study to refer to the functional and pedagogical adaptations of an institution in light of its deracialised student composition, which this study suggests is now largely out of sync with both the Afrikaner-base that the school was originally intended to serve, and the 'new' student body that attend this school.

From the onset the purpose of this study was not to form an opinion of a particular school, neither was it to judge the actions of the management and teachers of Bay View High School.  The purpose of this study was solely to establish the nature of

130

the 'educational engagement' processes of an Afrikaner-orientated former Model C high school.

This study set out to answer the primary research question:  What is the nature of the 'educational engagement' processes at a former Model C high school during the post-apartheid period?  In the quest to answer this question, the case study was designed to answer three sub-questions that serves to bring the nature of this former Model C school's 'educational engagement' processes to light:

1.      How has the school gone about aligning its functional culture to the cultural capitals of a diverse student body?

2.      How has the school gone about laying a curriculum and pedagogical engagement platform to engage all students in their education?

3.      How has this school gone about producing its notion of 'functional' success in light of its educational engagement processes during the post-apartheid period?

In order to answer the primary research question and the subsequent sub-questions, data was gleaned from semi-structured interviews, historical documents, observations and informal conversations.

## 6.2 The role of theory in this study

The analytical tool used to describe the nature of the 'education alignment' processes Bay View High School is provided by Bourdieu.  This research used Bourdieu's concepts of '*habitus*', '*capital*' and '*field*' as the theoretical foundation to this research study.  In this study, Bay View High School represents what Bourdieu describes as a *field*.  Bourdieu describes a field as an environment where social interactions take place (Grenfell, 2008).  Thomson (2008:67) suggests that in order to understand social interactions it is insufficient to merely look at what was said, it is necessary to examine the particular social space within which the interactions had taken place.

This study constitutes an examination of Bay View High School as a social space.  It examined the field within which interactions take place across three significant periods of Bay View High School's existence.  Chapter 2 describes the formation of

this *field*, the conditions within which social interactions come to pass, and sets out the position of each of the participants within this particular social space.  Chapter 3 highlights changes to the conditions within which social interactions occur within this *field.*  The *field* now includes a number of participants that has previously been excluded.  The difficulties experienced by Bay View High School in adapting to the new conditions within which it now functions, is highlighted in Chapters 4 and 5.  These chapters demonstrate how the social interactions that occur at Bay View High School between the school, school management, the learners and the community, continues to exist following the guidelines within which the school was established.

Thomson (2008:68) further explains that the way in which an individual will act, think, feel and respond within a *field,* will depend on his position within that particular *field,* which in turn is dependent on the value of the *capitals* that the individual holds.  Whist the school continues to uphold the cultural identity which it established during its apartheid-era existence, it also continues to value the *capitals* required to interact within this social space.  The *capitals* of the 'new' incoming learners have little or no value in this social space and they are therefore required to acquire the *capitals* and adapt their *habitus* to execute the desired practice within the *field* that the 'new' learners find themselves.  Bay View High School, as shown in this study, opened its doors to learners who were previously excluded on the basis of their skin colour.  The school has thus included the 'new' learners, but in its continued functioning according to the *field* conditions that was established during its apartheid era existence, fails to productively engage with its 'new' learners.

To allow for a greater understanding of the 'educational engagement' processes undertaken at Bay View High School in post-Apartheid South Africa, Chapter 2 provides an historical background of Bay View High School and discusses the school's history since its founding in 1971 until 1991.  During this period, Bay View High School had developed a distinctly Afrikaner cultural identity.  Chapter 2 illustrates how the school geared itself to establish its cultural identity.  By operationalizing the prescriptions of the CNE, the school's management and governance structures succeeded in establishing an Afrikaner culture at Bay View High School.  This provided the school a distinct, ideologically informed Afrikaner functional identity that was consonant with the cultural orientations of Afrikaner

nationalism.  It could therefore be argued that Bay View High School moved into the democratic era with a strong functional identity that was primarily geared towards sustaining an Afrikaner culture.  This school functioned to influence and facilitate middleclass mobility to the Afrikaner working -class community that the school served.

Against the backdrop of its Afrikaner-orientated functional identity, Chapter 3 highlights the multitude of changes that Bay View High School, the community that it served, its educators, school management and learners were confronted with as part of a society experiencing socio-political changes ushered in by the onset of democracy during the 1990s.  Chapter 3 expands upon the feelings experienced by stakeholders of Bay View High School during South Africa's transition into a democratic society.  The positioning of Bay View High School in relation to new legislation and how this school went about integrating learners of different races into an existing school culture whilst ensuring that its Afrikaner orientation and some minor adaptations remains intact, are expanded upon in Chapter 3.  Through the course of this chapter the disposition of the school and community in relation to the changes associated with South Africa's transformation into a democratic society became apparent.  In its desire to maintain the school's functional identity, the school resorted to assimilation practices which place an expectation on the new incoming learners to adapt or assimilate into the existing culture and practices of Bay View High School.  The research illustrates that while the school opened its doors to learners from different races and cultures, by maintaining its functional, largely Afrikaner cultural identity, the school failed to recognise and adapt its functional registers to the cultural identities and capitals that the diverse body of learners brought with them to the school.

Chapter 4 highlights the construction and deployment of the school's 'informal curriculum' to socialise the 'new' learners into the cultural/functional identity of Bay View High School. This chapter provides a discussion of the school's informal curriculum, i.e. all the activities or interactions that happen between learners and learners and teachers, outside of regular school hours, in other words, the school's extra-curricular activities which occur during breaks, after school and sometimes over weekends.  This chapter identifies Bay View High School's assimilationist ethos

as an ethos that is unable to see exactly who the 'new' students are, and thus misses key elements of working productively with these learners.  The chapter discusses the manner in which the school has gone to great lengths to justify its continued participation in particular extra-curricular activities while disregarding the cultural composition of Bay View High School's current student body.  Chapter 4 shows that the school management of Bay View High makes calculated decisions aimed at conserving the school's status quo, i.e. being a functional school.  The reputation of being a functional school is shown in this chapter as being depending on the school's continued participation in extra-curricular activities linked to the cultural/functional identity that was established at this school serving an Afrikaner community in the Apartheid era.

The induction and socialisation of learners into the functional ethos of Bay View High via the 'informal' curriculum is presented in Chapter 4 and has been found to be crucial for the school.  The hidden curriculum entwined within the 'informal' curriculum ensures that learners are taught the customs and behaviours that the school requires from its students.  These customs and behaviours that the school inculcates in its learners are based on the beliefs of the school, teachers, and the community as to what constitutes a functional school.  The customs and behaviour that the school requires of learners to comply with, however, are  those established in an era where the school served an Afrikaner community as opposed to the diverse composition of its current student body.  Chapter 4 confirms that Bay View High School maintains its cultural/functional identity via the organisation and implementation of its 'informal' curriculum.  It illustrates how the 'new' learners are inducted and socialised into the cultural ethos of Bay View High School through their participation in extra-curricular activities.

Chapter 5 describes how this Afrikaner-orientated former Model C high school went about establishing a curriculum platform meant to engage all its learners.  The chapter aims to illustrate the nature of the curriculum platform from which the school engages with its student body.  The curriculum platform is constructed on the basis of the school's need to maintain its apartheid-era acquired functional identity.  The school goes about organising learners into classes for curriculum delivery, based on the possible contribution that these learners can make towards the preservation of

the school's functional identity.  Learners who have displayed high levels of academic aptitude are grouped together in one class to create an environment that is conducive to their continued academic success.  Chapter 5 further explains how learners who do not achieve high marks are streamed out of subjects that require higher levels of academic ability.  The school therefore favours learners who have shown their 'capitals' to be closely matched with the capitals required by the middle-class knowledge-orientated curriculum.  These learners are referred to as 'high value' learners, who by means of their academic achievements allow the school to maintain and preserve its functional identity.

Chapter 5 shows how the development of a curriculum platform using markers of the school's functional identity and academic achievement of learners, plays out in relation to the race of learners that attend Bay View High School.  In favouring learners whose capitals are closely matched to the middle-class knowledge-based curriculum, the school fails to productively engage with the learners whose capitals can best be describes as working-class capitals.  At Bay View High School the majority of learners who possesses the middle-class capitals required by the curriculum are Afrikaans-, or English speaking white learners.  The majority of black learners from working-class communities'/settlements' working-class capitals do not promote their ability to be successful in this school environment given the curriculum platform that the school constructs.

Given the inability of Bay View High School to engage productively with its entire student population, the school contributes to the reproduction of a society where those with the desired capitals (the white middle-class) have greater access to opportunities that lead to a high standard of living, as opposed to those who do not have the desired capitals (the black working-class).

## 6.3 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to explore the nature of the 'educational engagement' processes of a former Afrikaner orientated Model C high school.  Bay View High School does not exist in isolation. As an educational institution the school functions within a macro environment that governs its functioning, as well as a micro environment namely the community which it serves.  The school therefore

represents a Bourdusian '*field*' that overlaps with a number of other '*fields*'.  At a macro level, government guided by a neo-liberalist discourse is responsible for education policies that schools through their SGB have to decode and enact.  At micro level, in the light of decentralised government policies that relate to school governance, financing and curriculum, Bay View High School had to ensure that it fulfils the promise of a better future for learners through education.

Bay View High is loyal to its historical constituents and teachers.  To ensure its continued existence, school management have identified the need to attract high value learners, learners who achieve academically, participate in extra-curricular activities and pay school fees, to maintain its function identity.

In the pursuit of maintaining and preserving its functional identity the 'educational engagement' processes at this Afrikaner-oriented former Model C high school,  in essence, has a strong assimilationist cultural ethos.  Bay View High School has, in line with the socio-political changes that have taken place in South Africa, accepted 'new' learners from various races and cultures.  The school however expects the 'new' learners to adapt to its apartheid-era acquired  culture if they are to be successful in their schooling. The school has included 'new' learners into its existing functional culture.  The school makes use of its 'informal' curriculum to induct and socialise the 'new' learners in this schooling environment into an existing school culture that fails to recognise the diversity amongst its new student body.  Bay View High School has been struggling to adapt its cultural and functional register to accommodate and engage with its 'new' students in their education.  The failure to adapt to the cultural registers of the school's diverse student body has given rise to what can only be described as capital misalignment - the gap between the school's functional culture and the cultural identities of the students - which at Bay View High School is enormous.  The consequence of this misalignment is the school's inability to properly recognise and engage the children who daily come through its gates, and, more importantly, the school's failure to provide a quality educational platform for their learning and educational becoming at the school.

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# Appendices

Annexure A:  Ethics approval

UNIVERSITEIT·STELLENBOSCH·UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

**Approval Notice**

**Stipulated documents/requirements**

17-Nov-2014

BARTLETT, Hilton

**Proposal #: HS1126/2014**

**Title: Exploring the 'educational engagement' practices at a former Model-C high school in Cape Town.**

Dear Mr Hilton BARTLETT,

Your stipulated documents/requirements received on 06-Nov-2014, was reviewed by members of the Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities) via Expedited review procedures on 17-Nov-2014 and was approved.

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham
REC Coordinator
Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)