

https://dspace.org/

Outsourcing transformation: the social justice impact of diversity interventions in privileged South African schools

Willand, Julia

2022
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/35567

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

Outsourcing Transformation:
The Social Justice Impact of Diversity Interventions in Privileged South African Schools

by

Julia Willand

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of
MA in the field of Critical Diversity Studies
Wits Centre for Diversity Studies
School of Social Sciences
University of Witwatersrand

© Copyright by Julia Willand (2021)

Outsourcing Transformation:
The Social Justice Impact of Diversity Interventions in Privileged South African Schools

MA Critical Diversity Studies 2021

Julia Willand

WITS Centre for Diversity Studies

University of Witwatersrand

Abstract

The apartheid-legislated racial inequality enforced through the Bantu education system lives on today with privileged schools still being untransformed, inadequately geared towards the needs of Black learners and representing sites of daily violence against them. Inspired by the student protests which started in 2015, schools have increasingly been called out for their lack of transformation, and a number of them have started engaging diversity consultants. By examining participants' perceptions and applying critical race and critical diversity theoretical lenses, this qualitative study explores the schools' rationale and expectations of diversity consultants, the risks and possibilities that diversity interventions hold for transformational social justice at these schools, and the ways in which hegemonic power structures are disrupted or kept in place. The findings expose how interventions allow schools to merely perform transformation and exacerbate certain harm, but also illuminate how interventions can help untangle (albeit at a glacial pace) the thick webs of violent White ignorance and strategies of resistance.

The #FeesMustFall and #BlackLivesMatter protests and related social media storms both conscientized learners and placed pressure on the schools. In combination with facilitated interventions this allowed for more critical and racially literate language across stakeholders, enabling a more robust and effective

engagement with questions of race, power and transformational social justice. Through this, learners and alumni are found to have achieved a partial reversal of the privatization of diversity, turning the discourse around race back towards a more civil rights-based one in the "public sphere" and enabling transparent societal debate. The study further finds that the pressure of protests and the power of social media have allowed (and required) Black learners/alumni to step into the role of educators, bringing about what might be the start of an incremental counter-hegemonic power shift along the lines of race, intra-system position and seniority, in which the terms of who does transformation, and how, are no longer solely determined by White people in authority.

Acknowledgements

This thesis was only possible because of the many wonderful people around me throughout the journey. Thank you to my brilliant supervisor Melissa Steyn for your encouragement, wisdom and gentle guidance. It has been an honour and pleasure to have walked this path with you by my side.

Thank you to the participants for gifting me with your time and your personal and raw reflections, for showing up my own blind spots and inadequacies yet inspiring me to do better, for your activist spirits and for your openness for critical scrutiny and painful truths. Keep going. Each of your contributions to this project and to the larger work are deeply valued.

Thank you to my Dialogue Thing people. Without you, I would not have ventured here. Your criticality, love and unwavering support mean the world to me.

Thank you to the courageous and brilliant students, learners and others who have taken on the risk and labour to protest (on and offline) and continue to do so. Your sacrifices bring about shifts that are felt more than you know.

Finally, a huge thank you goes to many other friends who have supported me on this journey and to my family - most of all to my beautiful teenagers Luki and Lina and my awesome partner Stef - for the love and inspiration, the hours of listening, holding, consoling and encouraging, for your faith in me, for holding the fort throughout the many days and nights, for putting up with me at my worst, and for shaking me back into lightness and joy when I really needed it.

CONTENTS **PAGE**

1. INTRODUCTION ..... ……8

1.1 The Research Problem. 10

1.2 The Purpose of the Study. 11

1.3 Scope and Limitations 12

1.4 Research Questions. 13

1.5 Summary and Overview 13

2. LITERATURE REVIEW 15

2.1 Evolution of Injustice 15

2.2. Social Justice and Critical Pedagogy 19

2.3 Pressure to Transform 20

2.4 Interventions in Education for Social Justice and Transformation 23

2.5 Why Outsource 25

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 27

3.1 Critical Theory 27

3.2 Critical Race Theory 28

3.3 Critical Whiteness Theory 28

3.4 Critical Diversity Literacy 29

3.5 Participatory Parity……30

4. METHODOLOGY 32

4.1 Research Design and Researcher's Positionality 32

4.2 Data sources 36

4.2.1 Interviews 37

4.2.2 Documentary, Media and Archival Sources 39

4.3 Data collection techniques 40

4.3.1 Interviews 40

4.3.2 Documentary and Archival Materials 41

4.4 Data analysis and interpretation 42

4.5 Ethical considerations 45
4.5.1 Confidentiality and Anonymity 46
4.5.2 Informed consent 46
4.5.3 Conflict of Interest 47

5. RATIONALE FOR DIVERSITY INTERVENTIONS 48
5.1 Introduction 48
5.2 Why "diversity", and why now? 48
5.3 Why consultants? 51
5.4 What are consultants engaged to do? 52
5.5 Summary 56

6. DIVERSITY INTERVENTIONS AS RISK FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE 58
6.1 Introduction 58
6.2 Power Asserting Itself in Resistance 58
6.2.1 And the Head of Everything Must Still be White 58
6.2.2 Economic Exclusion 61
6.2.3 Active Survival Ignorance 62
6.3 New Risk Arising From Diversity Interventions 63
6.3.1 Performed Transformation 63
6.3.2 The "Right Blacks" and Other Constructions of Loyalty 65
6.3.3 Whiteness At Work 66
6.4 Harm Caused in the Wake of Diversity Interventions 67
6.4.1 Well-Intentioned Lay Teachers Making Classrooms Less Safe 67
6.4.2 The Violent Quest for Insider Status 68
6.4.3 Silence Compounded by Assumed Closure and Backlash 69
6.4.4 Black Labour and Tokenisation 70
6.4.5 One-Sided Optionality 72
6.5 Summary 73

7. THE SOCIAL JUSTICE POTENTIAL OF DIVERSITY INTERVENTIONS 74
7.1 Introduction 74

7.2 Who Makes Things Happen? 74
7.2.1 Leadership – Crucial, but Rare 74
7.2.2 Teachers – Stirring Underground 75
7.2.3 Parents – An Untapped Source of Influence 76
7.2.4 Alumni – Game Changers 77
7.3 Learners as Educators: Role Reversal at the Intersection of Race, Seniority and Position 78
7.4 Perceptions of Transformational Change Towards Social Justice 80
7.4.1 Voice 80
7.4.2 Belonging 81
7.4.3 Structural Changes 82
7.5 Power Incrementally Shifting 84
7.5.1 Consultant Profiles and Content of Interventions 84
7.5.2 TDEI Leader Profiles 86
7.5.3 Integrated TDEI Structures 87
7.5.4 Institutionalised Alumni Participation 88
7.6 Summary 89

8. CONCLUDING THOUGHTS 90
8.1 Introduction 90
8.2 Reflections 90
8.3 What does it take? 93
8.4 Possibilities for further research 94

9. REFERENCES 95

Appendices 118

Outsourcing Transformation:

Diversity Interventions in Privileged South African Schools

1. Introduction

South Africa's violent history of slavery, colonialism and apartheid has left its society deeply traumatized. Whilst social and personal lives are still largely segregated along racial lines, South African schools are amongst the few sites of sustained contact and interaction across race and class. This creates potential for underlying conflicts to erupt, but also an entry point for efforts aiming at social change and transformation.

The apartheid-legislated racial inequality enforced through the Bantu education system lives on today. Historically White[1] private (or independent) and some semi-private schools (so-called "former Model-C schools" who are partially funded by their school governing bodies) offer excellent infrastructure and levels of education (These elite schools are in the following called "privileged schools"). At the same time, the large part of public schools are inadequate in terms of facilities, materials, teacher training and teacher-student ratios (Department of Justice, 2019; Franklin et al., 2017), as the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on their Matric results have shown (Le Cordeur, 2021). Those who can afford to - and even those who cannot (Memela, 2015) - therefore send their children to privileged schools. These well-resourced schools continue to have predominantly White teaching staff and (particularly the independent schools) a vast over-representation of White learners (Epstein, 2014; Jansen & Kriger, 2020). They have largely remained unchanged since the fall of apartheid in terms of their Euro-centric policies, curricula[2], methods and rules.

[1] I capitalise terms such as Black and White in an acknowledgement of 'race' being a social construct. The term Black is used inclusively in a Black Consciousness meaning and includes anyone racialized as not White.

[2] Former Model C schools, falling under legislation applying to public schools, have had to adapt their curricula more than independent schools.

What does it mean for Black families who can afford the best possible education for their children, or whose children are talented enough to earn bursaries, to be forced to send them to these White-dominated environments? And what does it mean for these young Black people to undergo their schooling there?

The challenges of attending White-centric schools have been highlighted by some Black "born-free's"[3] (Chigumadzi, 2015; Malinga, 2018; Ngcaweni, 2019) who have shared their trauma of going through the "Model C" schooling system, the persistent racial segregation in and outside the classroom and the self-denial it took to succeed in such environments. Sparked by the #BlackLivesMatter movement and #BlackoutTuesday protests of 2 June 2020 in response to the brutal murder of George Floyd and other Black men by police officers in the US, a recent wave of social media accounts by Black learners and alumni of privileged schools in South Africa has richly added to this body of knowledge (@bhstories, 2020; Geach, 2020; Khanyile, 2020; *#racisminsahighschools*, 2020; @yousilenceweamplify, 2020).

White teachers and management have not had to undergo any form of formal training to unlearn racist thinking post-apartheid. This leaves learners and their parents vulnerable, exposed and at the mercy of White teachers whose unchecked racism lets them, without flinching, ask learners to design an advertisement for a slave auction as a "fun activity" with a slab of chocolate as a reward (Hlati, 2020), who threaten them with placing a knee on their necks like the policeman who killed George Floyd in the US in this way only weeks earlier (Makhetha, 2020), who claim that "there will never be a black Miss SA because black girls fall pregnant at 13" (Guzula, 2020), or who flippantly remark that it is no wonder Black learners do not succeed as "their mothers are prostitutes and drug dealers, their fathers in jail, and their brothers gangsters" (Meyer, 2021).

Thus, not only are privileged South African schools inadequately geared towards the needs of Black learners and unable to offer the same level of support and motivation that White learners are afforded, but they are also sites of daily violence against them. Black families are forced to sacrifice their children's emotional and mental well-being if they want them to receive a high-quality education. This deeply unjust system is insufficiently acknowledged and addressed.

Whilst Black learners are by far the ones who are most violated by this situation, it is not only them who are harmed. By continuing to be socialized into a racist system, White learners leave the privileged bubble

[3] The term "born-free" is widely used in South Africa for young people born after the end of apartheid.

of their elite schools psychologically damaged and unequipped for constructively and meaningfully contributing to the country's transformation objectives once they enter more diverse university and work environments. This "epistemic injustice" (Fricker, 2007; Leonardo, 2009) leads to generations of White learners leaving the elite school system with an unchallenged White supremacist[4] worldview and hence incompetent for navigating today's diverse societies.

Privileged schools are tasked with training many of South Africa's future political, academic and economic leaders, some of whom will take deciding roles in determining this country's future approach to transformation and social justice. Thus, these schools' importance in shaping their learners' thinking and attitudes towards race, class and other social markers of privilege and oppression cannot be under-estimated. As argued by scholars in relation to tertiary institutions (Tjabane & Pillay, 2011; Waghid, 2008), privileged schools play an important and increasingly urgent civic role and hold significant potential for the promotion of social justice (Cappy, 2016), particularly in South Africa as a developing democracy (Moloi, 2014; Reygan, 2016; Waghid, 2008). With racial tensions high and existing solutions to education inequality ineffective (Christie, 2020), South Africa is in dire need of a new generation of leaders who will approach questions of social justice and transformation with a fresh and critical mindset that might allow for a deeper understanding and the co-forging of solutions across difference. School environments, being microcosms of greater society, have the potential to develop, model and practice new ways of being with each other across racial and other difference that will allow such fresh thinking, with the possibility of filtering through to the learners' families and greater networks.

1.1. The Research Problem

In recent years and spurred on by the student protests started as #RhodesMustFall (RMF) and later known as #FeesMustFall (FMF) (Gillespie & Naidoo, 2019; Godsell et al., 2016) which commenced in 2015, a number of privileged schools in South Africa have started engaging with questions of diversity and transformation. When institutions honestly reflect on their state of transformation, this necessarily touches on historical and inter-generational trauma and responsibility, and usually brings up uncomfortable and difficult questions of White supremacy, racialized class privilege and racism. It is thus no surprise that

[4] The terms "White supremacy" and "White supremacist" are used to describe not an individualized condition, but a "social system that upholds, reifies, and reinforces the superiority of whites" (Leonardo, 2009, p. 144).

steps taken by some schools in this direction are regularly met with strong resistance (Steyn & Davis, 2012). Not only traditional and conservative, but also privileged schools identifying as "progressive" or "liberal" tend to experience significant resistance from within their communities against calls for self-reflection and change to their policies and practices. Despite this, some schools have undergone externally facilitated processes of varying intensity and duration addressing these questions.

What is it that drives these schools, seemingly counter-intuitively, to engage with questions that threaten to disrupt their status quo? What do the origins of such impulses tell us about the status of our schools' journey towards transformation and greater social justice, and how do they shape the outcomes? What are the reasons and implications of diversity programmes in privileged pockets of education being increasingly privatized and outsourced? This study will provide some insight into these and other questions.

By critically examining some of the existing efforts to change the current picture in the form of externally facilitated diversity trainings at privileged schools, this research intends to explore the risks and possibilities that such interventions hold for the project of social justice and transformation in South Africa's education system.

1.2. The Purpose of the Study

With transformation and social justice both in South Africa's education and society at large still being distant goals, one could argue that any intervention aiming at greater historico-social and political consciousness, particularly on the part of the privileged, should be welcome. As long as broader government policies are not effectively implemented (Francis & Hemson, 2007), one might think that individual schools' investments in this area are worthy of support. After all, they might produce the next cohort of high school graduates who become change-makers and support initiatives such as the RMF and FMF student movements.

However, skepticism is in order. As will be argued in this study, whiteness has historically been adept at finding ways to conceal itself and distract whilst maintaining its supremacist status quo. Following this tradition, are diversity programmes in privileged schools merely clever public relations moves, distractions and tick-box exercises which attempt to ameliorate rather than transform (Clowes, 2017;

Fraser et al., 2003; Keddie, 2012)? Do they understand and promote diversity as a mere numbers game (Ahmed, 2012a; Steyn & Kelly, 2010) or "cuddly concept" (Ahmed, 2012b) that serves to maintain the status quo? Does this form of diversity training, in fact, help the schools and their privileged members build capacity and resilience against accusations of racism, by allowing the performance of social awareness and antiracist self-reflection, as evidenced by some schools' recent reactions to being named and shamed for racism (Ngwenya, 2020), thereby reducing the urgency to make transformational structural or systemic changes? Through teaching correct language and symbols, are diversity programmes equipping schools to adopt what Douthat (2018), in the corporate context, describes as "woke capitalism" where "brands will gravitate toward low-cost, high-noise signals as a substitute for genuine reform, to ensure their survival" and that "is actively impeding the cause, siphoning off energy, and deluding us into thinking that change is happening faster and deeper than it really is" (Lewis, 2020, para. 23)? And what might be pockets, if any, of critical transformation (Cannella & Lincoln, 2016) and structural and systemic changes at these schools that would amount to radical social justice (Tjabane & Pillay, 2011)?

This research intends to contribute to the rich body of work on social justice in education by offering insights into the risks and the potential for transformation that externally facilitated diversity interventions in privileged South African schools hold. This study will potentially be useful to policy makers, activists, school leaderships and training providers in better understanding the impact of their decisions and efforts around diversity and transformation.

Furthermore, this study is also a personal project. As an alumna of a privileged school, and a mother of children currently attending a privileged school where I have been actively engaged in efforts aimed at transformation and social justice, I hope with this study to be able to serve the important work that is done there.

1.3. Scope and Limitations

The study focuses on privileged secondary schools in South Africa only and, based on findings that short-term diversity programs are not effective (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016, 2018a; Steyn & Kelly, 2010), on those schools who have undergone interventions that are designed for long-term application. Being a case study of mainly three elite, single-gender schools in the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape, it is not

representative of all elite schools in South Africa. Due to the time and space limitations, impact is not measured against formal indicators such as racial and gender representivity over time amongst staff or other stakeholders, as done by Dobbin and Kalev in their 30-year study in the US (2016), or through a national comparative study of diversity interventions as conducted by Steyn and Kelly (2010) over 5 years. Focusing on varied and diverse stakeholder perceptions, I identified trends and themes emerging within the selected school systems and their peripheries, as well as possibilities for true transformation.

1.4. Research Question

This study intends to answer the following question:

What are stakeholder perceptions of externally facilitated diversity interventions in privileged South African schools regarding their risks, and their potential, for transformation and social justice?

With the sub-questions:

- *What is schools' rationale for engaging external facilitators for their diversity and transformation processes, and what do they hope to achieve with such interventions?*
- *What are the underlying risks of diversity interventions, and how do they exacerbate harm?*
- *In what way is power disrupted and potential for transformational social justice opened up?*

1.5. Summary and Overview

This chapter has outlined the foundation of my project, situating it within current questions around diversity in White hegemonic privileged South African schools. In Chapter 2, I review literature that focuses on pedagogical and other interventions aimed at social justice in schools. I start out by framing the study in its historical context, go on to review scholarship around social justice and critical pedagogy as applied in schools and university contexts both locally and internationally, continue by providing the structural and societal influences on the ways that schools engage with diversity and social justice, and end with an exploration of methodologies and theories applied in interventions in schools.

In Chapter 3, I provide insight into the theoretical frameworks that guided this project, situating it within critical race theory, critical whiteness theory and critical diversity literacy theory. Chapter 4 outlines the methodologies applied in my research study, describes the way I designed my research, the sources I used, which were primarily interviews, and the data collection techniques I applied. The chapter ends with my ethical considerations around the study.

As the first of three analytical chapters, Chapter 5 - Rationale for Diversity Interventions – discusses my findings around the reasons why privileged schools engage in questions of diversity and social justice (specifically during the period between 2015 and 2021 that followed student protests and social media activism both in South Africa and abroad), why they engage external consultants for this purpose, and what it is they expect those interventions to achieve.

In Chapter 6 – Diversity Interventions as Risk for Social Justice – I highlight the challenges for transformation and social justice that diversity interventions bring to the fore, intensify or create. I begin with existing strategies of resistance within the school systems that interventions merely keep in place or reinforce, and argue that keeping White people in charge is used as active strategy against social justice. I go on to explore new risks that are generated through the interventions and end off by theorising some of the harm that is done in the process.

In the last analytical chapter, Chapter 7 – The Social Justice Potential of Diversity Interventions – I venture into exploring possible potential for a disruption of hegemonic power relations within schools that may lie in diversity interventions. My exploration begins with a sensing into the sources of energy and support, identifying a role reversal between mostly Black learners and White teachers and school leadership. Informed by Nancy Fraser's model of participatory parity, I present structural changes that participants perceived in the schools. I end off with discussing areas of perceived incremental counter-hegemonic shifts in power.

Finally, in Chapter 8, I reflect on my findings and what they may contribute and, drawing on my findings, provide some recommendations for education policy and law makers, school leaderships and alumni.

2. Literature Review

In the following, some of the relevant literature will be discussed which informs the contextual rationale for this study. This literature review provides a historically contextualized overview of knowledge and research available on the topic of externally facilitated diversity interventions in privileged South African schools.

2.1. Evolution of Injustice

South Africa's history of slavery, colonialism, apartheid and the post-1994 transition into democracy forms the context for this research and has heavily influenced South African schooling and the calls for its transformation and decolonization. Displacing pre-colonial indigenous educational practices of the Khoi, San and Bantu-speaking people of South Africa (Seroto, 2011), racial injustice in South Africa's education started with the first formal schools founded in 1658 by the early Christian settlers to the Cape Colony, and from 1799 onwards by the British missionaries (SAHO, 2011). It is important to note that many of the formerly Whites only schools in operation today were founded during colonialism and built by slaves on appropriated land. Their mandate was to educate the European settler children and to enforce social control over indigenous people and slaves. Over the following 150 years, most public funds (according to Hunter (2019), up to 20 times more) were spent on the education of the minority of White children, whilst African children received inferior education (Moloi, 2014).

The apartheid government translated its racist ideology into education policy with the Bantu Education Act of 1953, strictly separating education by "race" and offering vastly unequal schooling facilities, teaching and content to ensure preparedness for the different roles in society that were reserved for each racialized group[5]. The apartheid government's violent response to the peaceful student protest of 16 June 1976 against Afrikaans as a compulsory language of instruction led to countless deaths and to the Soweto Uprisings. The topic of language in school, both as means of instruction and of communication outside of the classroom, is therefore an explosive one to this day.

[5] In the context of the United Kingdom, Paul Willis (1981) has highlighted this type of intentional social and cultural reproduction that serves to feed the capitalist need for cheap mass labour.

From the mid-1970's, formerly White private and religious schools started opening their doors to small numbers of Black learners in what Hunter (2019) calls "marketised assimilation", and after the formal end of apartheid through the South African Schools Act of 1996, schools were finally placed under one administration, but 25 years later, the legislated racial inequality enforced through the Bantu education system lives on (Teeger, 2015). South Africa's much-lamented education crisis (Wright, 2012) is a painful symptom of largely unchanged inequality in schooling (Motala et al., 2009; Soudien, 2004; van der Berg, 2007; Van der Berg et al., 2002), which leaves the majority of Black learners who attend under-resourced public schools with sub-standard facilities, infrastructure and materials, and with poorly trained and overwhelmed teachers in overcrowded classrooms (Christie, 2020; Moloi, 2014; Reygan, 2016). Overall 50% of students do not graduate from secondary school (Bloch, 2009; Jansen, 2009). At the same time, historically White privileged schools enjoy state-of-the-art facilities and compare to their respected counterparts internationally both in terms of their academic standards and their infrastructure. Without these top 20% of schools, South Africa's education statistics would look much bleaker than they already do (Jansen, 2013; Reygan, 2016). In light of such stark discrepancies in education statistics, it can be no surprise that South Africa remains amongst the most unequal countries in the world (Christie, 2008, 2020; World Bank, 2020).

De-segregation in South African schools post-1994 was approached with a policy of assimilation (Carrim & Soudien, 1999; Hunter, 2019; McKinney, 2010; Moletsane, 1999; Searle, 2006; Soudien, 2004) where Black learners and their families have been expected to fit into existing institutions which were not created with them in mind. Especially young people born after the end of apartheid and widely called "born-free's" have commonly been perceived to be untainted by the country's burdensome history and to be able to meet each other on equal footing. In this neo-liberal and post-racial[6] paradigm of meritocracy (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Meghji & Saini, 2018), the solution to South Africa's racialized inequality is seen in colour-blindness (Gallagher, 2003; Mayorga-Gallo, 2019; Moletsane et al., 2004; Moletsane, 1999). Those subscribing to this framework assume that South Africa's young people, irrespective of their skin colour, socio-economic circumstances, language or cultural backgrounds, when attending the same institution for their schooling, will not only be equally equipped for their tasks and rewarded for their work, but also receive the same opportunities in life. Much unlike their parents, they will also be deeply familiar and

[6] I use the term "post-racial" here to mean the neo-liberal ideological conviction that race no longer has an effect in society (Goldberg, 2015; Titley, 2016), as opposed to its meaning as an anti-racist ideal that is linked to the radical use of the term "nonracialism" by Steve Biko and the Unity Movement in South Africa (Gillespie, 2010; Harris, 2017).

comfortable with each other across racial and class lines. Reality, of course, presents a vastly different picture.

As starkly illuminated by the continued racial tensions across all sectors of society, and specifically the social and traditional media storm of mid-2020 around graduates of privileged South African schools, these schools continue to be environments where learners are alienated and disadvantaged based on their socio-economic status, race, language, nationality, sexuality, gender identity and ability (@bhstories, 2020; Chigumadzi, 2015; Malinga, 2018; Nandimsezane, 2020; Ngcaweni, 2019; *#racisminsahighschools*, 2020; @yousilenceweamplify, 2020). In the context of Black civil servants in the UK, Puwar describes such alienation as feelings of being "bodies out of place" (Puwar, 2001) or "Space Invaders" (Puwar, 2004), whilst Ahmed (2012a, 2012b) speaks of being made to feel a stranger, "the one who does not belong". Gillespie & Naidoo (2019) argue that Black students entering educational institutions that were designed for Whites amounts to "epistemic and ontological violence". As Memela (2015) puts it, "equality and justice will always mean black access to white privilege". Structural, systemic and overt racism and micro-aggressions are as present in these schools as in any other sphere of South African society (Joorst, 2019). Being fed – explicit or implicit - narratives of not deserving to be in these spaces impacts on Black learners' self-esteem and academic performance (Kessi & Cornell, 2015), and "symbolic exclusion" (Boonzaier & Mhkize, 2018) leads to their feeling alienated, while their ability to overcome such obstacles and assimilate determines their success in these spaces (Boonzaier & Mhkize, 2018), reminding of the state of permanently living in two worlds that W.E.B. du Bois (2006, 2008) termed "double consciousness".

An historically grounded feature of South Africa's privileged schools is their corporatization, which inhibits and classes access and disguises racialized exclusion. The introduction of fees for public Model-C schools was the late apartheid government's attempt to "prolong white minority rule" (Hunter, 2019) through financially limiting their intake of Black learners. Privileged schools today charge anything from high to exorbitant fees. Although most offer bursaries, this dual system of fee-paying and (mostly Black) bursaried learners exacerbates power disparities and bursaried learners' sense of conditional belonging. In this "racialised market", raced (and gendered) cultural symbols such as schools' performance in rugby, their policing of "Black" hair and their ability to convey a "White accent" and demeanor (Epstein, 2014) contribute to their appeal to parents (including the Black parents) who, according to Hunter (2019), move their children out of schools when these become "too Black".

Privileged schools have largely remained unchanged since the fall of apartheid in terms of their Euro-centric cultures, policies, curricula[7], methods and rules, and importantly, in terms of their teachers' racial representivity. They have often merely "added some Black" to their student bodies, and a little less Black to their staff rooms. It is a well-established fact that learners perform significantly better when they share a racial identity with their teacher (Kruglanski, 1983; The Graide Network, 2018). As Fricker (2007) reminds us when describing social and identity power within social positionalities, our stereotypes determine how we hear, and therefore the lack of Black teachers at privileged schools leads to what she calls "credibility deficit" (versus the "credibility surplus") and thus to "epistemic dysfunction" in exchanges across difference, a phenomenon which she terms "testimonial injustice".

White learners, on the other hand, continue to be programmed to perform ignorance of their racial and other privileges. With the (often unconscious) aim of maintaining unequal power relations, social regulation and control are achieved through contracting learners into ignorance (Leonardo, 2013; Mills, 1997; Steyn, 2012). As a consequence, White learners are stunted in their emotional and ethical development and denied key skills for relational and civic life.

In summary, generation after generation of graduates continue to leave privileged schools divided along racial lines, either traumatised by an untransformed system or with an untransformed mindset, ready to perpetuate unequal power relations in the tertiary education, work or other environments they enter. Little scholarly reflection has taken place on the structural and systemic injustice enacted on learners in this way on a daily basis, particularly taking into account their lack of alternatives for quality education in South Africa.

[7] Although as public schools, former Model C schools are subject to government policies and legislation and have had to adapt their curricula more than independent schools, participants' perceptions were largely aligned between the two.

2.2. Social Justice and Critical Pedagogy

After the first democratic elections in 1994 and based on the constitutional right to equal education, educational authorities called for "new education and training policies to address the legacies of under-development and provide learning opportunities for all" (Department of Education, 1995). Initiatives aimed at transforming education were looking at redress, equity, democracy, quality and the transmission of values (Christie, 2008; Schäfer & Wilmot, 2012) and were intended to achieve social justice mainly through a more equitable distribution of resources and goods. As shown in the previous section, these efforts have achieved scant success (Subreenduth, 2013), which is partly due to a lack of commitment to change (Moletsane et al., 2004), but may also result from a lack of consensus on what precisely wants to be achieved[8] (Steyn & Kelly, 2010). In looking for a social justice understanding that is relevant in the South African education context, it is helpful to draw on Tjabane and Pillay's (2011) conceptualisation of three social justice traditions, and particularly the radical social justice tradition. Leaning on Habermas (1989), Freire (2004), Young (2000) and Gewirtz and Cribb (2002), they argue that radical social justice is a transformative one that includes questions of redistribution of material goods and resources as mentioned above, but also equal recognition and valuing of difference and cultural identity, empowerment and absolute freedom from oppression. Although South African secondary education is only tentatively moving away from a liberal tradition of social justice that works within an unchallenged capitalist framework, Tjabane and Pillay (2011) assume "that higher education is a valuable mechanism for social justice" in its radical sense. It is this latter understanding of social justice that this study applies.

Basing their arguments on a radical understanding of both social justice and pedagogy, a number of scholars (Tjabane & Pillay, 2011; Waghid, 2008) see tertiary institutions, particularly in a developing democracy (Waghid, 2008), and privileged schools as holding important potential for greater social justice (Cappy, 2016). According to Francis and Hemson's (2007) analysis, South African policy makers gradually moved away from an understanding of diversity that served the preservation of white supremacy, towards a more social justice-oriented one. This trend can thus be understood as a tentative move from a conservative/liberal to a more radical social justice approach as defined above. With the methodologies of socially just pedagogy (Agherdien & Pillay, 2018) or anti-oppressive education and

[8] An example of the differences in understanding of what transformation requires is the comparison between the independent schools body ISASA's 2018 Guide to Transformation and Diversity Management (ISASA, 2018) and the recommendations made in the 2010 INCUDISA consolidated report of diversity intervention case studies (M. E. Steyn & Kelly, 2010).

pedagogy (Reygan, 2016), scholars have picked up on international trends and proposed for the South African context a way for teachers to be sensitized to historicosocial power dynamics, oppressions, inequalities and injustices along various axes of difference (Adams et al., 2007; hooks, 1994; Moletsane et al., 2004).

This sensitization can be seen as an application of Freire's (1970) liberatory and critical approach to education and pedagogy, which aims at a conscientisation around social dynamics of power and oppression through critical literacy and dialogue. It has been widely used as a means towards greater social justice (hooks, 1994) as far as it requires autonomy and responsibility on the part of the oppressed and the liberation of both the oppressed and oppressors (Freire, 1970). Countries with violent and shameful histories like Germany (KMK, 1997) have shown how a nation can attempt to proactively face and address its past through basic education (albeit insufficiently, as Marmer and Sow (2015) have critiqued), how its epistemological bases of teaching can be interrogated and pro-active inquiry and engagement across different identity groups encouraged.

The growing call for decolonizing education (Heleta, 2016), propelled into public view by the RMF and FMF student movements and by now echoed in national policy (Department of Justice, 2019), asks of scholars and policy makers a new depth and quality of interrogation. With decolonization being understood as the interrogation of Eurocentric power structures, thinking and knowledge production and the ways in which these influence society and keep injustice in place today (Zembylas & Keet, 2019), and decolonizing pedagogy being "distinct from other civil and human rights-based social justice projects" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 2), critical pedagogy is having to be reimagined (Zembylas, 2018a; Zembylas & Keet, 2019).

2.3. Pressure to Transform

The concept of transformation holds different contextualized meanings. In post-apartheid South Africa, it is widely accepted as referring to the process of correcting unjust apartheid policies, practices and values, addressing past injustices suffered by oppressed groups under apartheid, and ensuring non-discrimination, equality and the protection of human rights, with a key focus on racial justice (ISASA, 2018; Reygan, 2016). Organisations are legally obligated to put in place deliberate steps towards these goals in terms of

section 9 of the Constitution and employment equity and anti-discrimination legislation (EEA, 1998; PEPUDA, 2000). The degree to which privileged schools are bound to these rules depends on the size of their staff complement, and the persistent dominance of white teachers in their staff rooms suggests that existing laws and policies remain ineffective.

Prominent cases of convictions for racism (Marais, 2017; Mitchley, 2018; S. Naidoo, 2020) help to build pressure on those in leadership roles to start engaging with racism and racial inequality in their organisations. A progressive-sounding national policy adopted in 2019, the National Action Plan to Combat Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (Department of Justice, 2019), goes further and acknowledges the enormous challenges of racism and inequality in schools, and the great discrepancy between independent schools, public schools fully funded by government, and public schools partially funded by their governing bodies (former Model C schools) in terms of teacher-learner ratios, facilities, resources and affordability. It calls for an incorporation of anti-racism training into the curriculum, and for curriculum revision to include an active engagement with the country's painful past with the aim of "decolonizing the minds" and deconstructing deeply rooted White supremacist thinking (Department of Justice, 2019). Without specifying whether these will be conducted by external providers or included in schools' curricula and processes, anti-racism programmes are to be rolled out in all schools by 2024.

Government and independent schools body ISASA's policies require private member schools to create safe, caring, supportive and non-discriminatory environments that actively promote transformation (Department of Basic Education, 2014; ISASA, 2018), but hands-on support to schools for implementing such values such as the Integrated Guide to Principals and Teachers (Department of Basic Education, 2001) have thus far fallen short of having a felt impact (Reygan & Steyn, 2017), and it remains to be seen whether the more recent policies, workshops and guidelines (Department of Justice, 2019; ISASA, 2018, 2020) will meet the same destiny. In any event, patience for awaiting their results seems to have run out.

With the majority of schools transformationally stagnant and change-resistant, the student protests known as #FeesMustFall or FMF (Gillespie & Naidoo, 2019; Godsell et al., 2016) which started as #RhodesMustFall in 2015, sparked a heightened awareness not only of the lack of transformation in higher education (Gillespie & Naidoo, 2019; Le Grange, 2016), but of the urgency to progress in the much wider, structural and systemic project of decolonization in the entire education system (Christie, 2020;

Department of Justice, 2019; Ngcaweni, 2019; Staff Writer, 2019). Systemic racism and coloniality in structure, policies, procedures and culture, previously invisibilised, were named and challenged (Booysen et al., 2016; Xaba, 2017), and institutions of learning were forced to rethink their essence - from curricula to funding, access and labour practices. It was not only formerly Whites-only tertiary institutions, but also historically White schools who started feeling the pressure to introspect and transform.

Since the Arab Spring and the Occupy Movement, scholars have engaged with the role that social media plays for social movements and other forms of social justice activism, and its importance for exerting power to help achieve social goals is uncontested (Bosch, 2017; De Choudhury et al., 2016; Freelon et al., 2018; Fullam, 2017; Ngidi et al., 2016). The combination of the FMF movement with the accessibility and speed of digital and social media resulted in an increasingly empowered and mobilized Black citizenry and in an elevation in mainstream media of personal accounts attesting to, as well as protests staged (Ebrahim, 2017) against, prevailing racism, racial inequality and coloniality in privileged schools. With media attention on incidents of racism at Pretoria Girls High (Kubheka, 2016), Curro (Monama, 2015; Sapa, 2015), Sans Souci Girls' High School (Hendricks & Groundup Staff, 2016), Laerskool Schweizer-Reineke (Busby, 2019), Hoërskool Stilfontein (Pijoos, 2019) and more recently DSG St. Mary's School for Girls (Ngobeni, 2020), South Africa College Schools (Dayimani, 2020), the German International School in Cape Town (Meyer, 2021) and many others, privileged schools have been kicked into action, and they increasingly engage professionals to assist them with questions of racism and transformation at their institutions.

The wave of personal accounts shared on social media by former and current learners of privileged South African schools during 2020 has confirmed how prevalent racial, gender and other forms of oppression still are at these schools, and how dire and urgent the need for change. The South African movement was sparked by the re-emergence of the international #BlackLivesMatter or #BLM movement (*Black Lives Matter*, n.d.) in response to the brutal murder of George Floyd (following those of Ahmaud Arbery and Breonna Taylor earlier in 2020) by police officers in the US. Floyd's murder reminded South Africans of the death of Kollins Khosa at the hands of South African Defence Force soldiers for violating lockdown regulations only months earlier (Ngoepe & Wa Afrika, 2020). South Africans' solidarity with the #BLM movement took the form of posting a black square under a social media trend widely called #blackouttuesday on 2 June 2020 (Sinanan, 2020), by "taking the knee" in South African sports (Hain & Odendaal, 2020), or by dedicating South Africa's Youth Day of June 16 to the BLM movement and

demanding that schools challenge white supremacy (Pikoli, 2020). Like their peers in the US (Lorenz & Rosman, 2020), South African students primarily of privileged schools created social media accounts dedicated to reporting and calling out racism and other discrimination at schools. The Instagram page @yousilenceweamplify (@yousilenceweamplify, 2020) is followed by over 11 000 people and contains hundreds of accounts of racism in privileged schools (Geach, 2020; Khanyile, 2020). The Twitter handle #racisminSAhigschools shows similar discussions, pleas and personal accounts, and numerous schools have received online petitions and demands by current and former learners (Bhengu, 2020; Geach, 2020; Khanyile, 2020; Tshala, 2020). The growing body of Black parents at these school is increasingly impatient with the lack of transformation at privileged schools (ISASA, 2018).

2.4. Interventions in Education for Social Justice and Transformation

Both internationally and in South Africa, pedagogical approaches and school interventions for social justice and transformation have been theorized and debated for decades (Allport et al., 1954; Freire, 1970; Fullan, 2010; Moloi, 2014; November & Alexander, 2010). Freire's (1970) liberatory critical pedagogy framework was directed at adult students oppressed by class. His concept of "conscientisation" was since adapted to include other axes of oppression, particularly those of race and ethnicity. Influenced by Critical Multiculturalism (Francis & Hemson, 2007; Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2009), Critical Race Theory (Du Bois, 1903, 2006; Leonardo, 2009, 2013; Taylor et al., 2009) and Critical Whiteness studies (Kincheloe et al., 2000), scholars developed various models aimed at the conscientisation of learners who hold different positionalities of power, including those privileged by the structural oppression of others, for instance Pedagogy for the Privileged (Curry-Stevens, 2007, 2010), Pedagogy of Discomfort (Boler & Zembylas, 2003; Zembylas, 2018b), Pedagogy for the Oppressor (Davis, 2012), Courageous Conversations (Singleton & Hays, 2008) or critical pedagogy for privileged students (Allen, 2002; Tanner, 2020). Whilst there seems to be wide consensus on the need to conscientise privileged students, there are divergent views on the approach to be taken, particularly in diverse classroom settings. Post-conflict theorists promote an approach of forgiveness and universalizing of pain (Jansen, 2009), and of placing "the needs of the privileged learners on par with (and occasionally above) those who are oppressed" (Curry-Stevens, 2007, p.53) in order to overcome resistance and thus promote transformation. Proponents of critical theory (Davis & Steyn, 2012; DiAngelo, 2011, 2018; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002) and critical

pedagogy (hooks, 1994; Kincheloe et al., 2011), on the other hand, see great risks in a universalizing of oppression leading to learning on the part of the privileged taking place on the backs and at the expense of the oppressed learners (Walls et al., 2010), and to a "rush to complexity", a "race to innocence" (Fellows & Razack, 1997) or an "oppression Olympics" (Hancock, 2007; Kendall, 2012), all of which allow for an avoidance of engaging with uncomfortable truths. They instead promote a centering of the experience of the oppressed in a mixed classroom in order to counter the perpetuation of silencing of the non-dominant perspectives and in the interest of disrupting hegemonic power dynamics.

A vast amount of research has been done primarily in the US around teacher training models and interventions in schools for social justice (Cockrell et al., 1999; Keenan et al., 2016; Lawrence & Tatum, 1998; Shah & Coles, 2020; Sleeter, 2001). In the South African context, most academic research on transformation in schools refers to under-resourced schools and efforts to improve them (Cappy, 2016; Christie, 2008, 2020; Fleisch, 2018; November & Alexander, 2010) or to the higher education context (Agherdien & Pillay, 2018; Francis & Hemson, 2007). Change initiatives in education initiated by government have often been seen to fail due to not sufficiently considering and involving the teachers during each step in the process (Moloi, 2014). The focus of most of the debates mentioned in this literature review has therefore been on the training of, or approaches attempted by, educators (Brandon, 2003; Curry-Stevens, 2007, 2010; Davis & Steyn, 2012; Francis & Hemson, 2007; Jansen, 2009; Singleton & Hays, 2008; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Walls et al., 2010). Scholars and practitioners have examined curricula (Kivel, 2017; Marmer & Sow, 2015), policies and school resources (Christie, 2020; Fullan, 2010; Hunter, 2019; Moloi, 2014), but scant literature exists on private or privileged (elite) schools as sites of hegemonic practices of neo-liberalism (in the form of meritocracy, colour-blindness and individualism as critiqued by Biko (1978)), and therefore of their perpetuation of racial and social injustice (Tanner, 2020, p. 2), nor on externally facilitated interventions within such schools (Fullan, 2016; November & Alexander, 2010; Wray et al., 2018).

Similar to the corporate world, privileged schools' engagement with questions of transformation and social justice regularly happens under the banner of "diversity". In this context, the concept of diversity as it is widely used both in business and education requires some historical context. In the US, the concept evolved as a backlash to employment equity (EE) laws of the 1960's that were seen as too restrictive of corporations' freedoms (Kersten, 2000) and a subsequent rejection of the very notion of "protected groups" (Litvin, 2006). This led to an approach to racial equity in organisations under the term "diversity"

that shifted it from a civil-rights-based, legislated and externally monitored system to a voluntary, benevolent, "private" one outside of external control. In this process, organisations managed to self-identify as "private sphere", as opposed to what Habermas (1989) conceptualized as the public sphere. Situated within the private, corporations were largely immune to public discourse, accountability and intervention (Kersten & Sidky, 1997) beyond the limited scope and enforcement of EE legislation. Making it appear on paper that they had diversity covered, the pressure to enact or enforce legislation was reduced. When the concept of "diversity intervention" or "diversity management" in the workplace was first introduced, it was intended to empower marginalized groups and bring them to a position of equality with the (White) privileged groups (Prasad, 2006). Until today, their purported aim is generally to create inclusive, equitable workplaces (Litvin, 2006). According to Wheeler (1994), the widely accepted objectives of diversity training in corporations is, on a macro level, culture change, greater retention and improved productivity, and on a micro level, imparting knowledge and changing behaviour. Failing to articulate the objectives to be achieved through diversity training often diminishes its effectiveness (Wheeler, 1994). Developments in South Africa around diversity management were strongly informed by the US, and many higher and basic education institutions adopted corporate strategies (Steyn & Kelly, 2010), feeding a burgeoning diversity training industry. However, no research has been done specifically on diversity training in private or semi-private schools in South Africa.

This research aims to contribute to filling this gap, to adding a perspective that goes beyond the pedagogical to include the greater school community as a potential site of societal change (Reygan & Steyn, 2017; Zembylas, 2018b), and to establish links between theory and practice by analyzing stakeholders perceptions of diversity interventions' transformative limitations and potential.

2.5. Why Outsource

An important component of the student movement that started in South Africa in 2015, in addition to calls for decolonization and free education, was its solidarity with workers in the fight against higher education institutions' practice of outsourcing support services like cleaning, catering, security, transport, waste, grounds and landscaping, a trend that was seen as an expression of a capitalist system leaving workers with pitiful incomes and without labour law protection, and excluding them from social benefits (Booysen et al., 2016; Hlatshwayo, 2020; Xaba, 2017). Although diversity providers are generally well-compensated

for their efforts and do not fall within the group of vulnerable and exploited workers, certain parallels can be drawn. Outsourcing (or choosing not to insource) is a way of distancing an organization from the service provider, a reluctance to commit and bind the organization to that person or team, a deflection of responsibility for them and their contribution to the organization, keeping them expendable and replaceable. Organisations that choose to outsource often do so to save costs and secure highly specialized services whilst being able to focus on their core competencies (Raiborn et al., 2009). The cost saving is often only achieved if services are delivered over a limited period of time, and thus a decision to outsource points to a short-term perspective regarding the services being delivered. Seeing that outsourcing can pose risks to an organisation's relations with its clients and staff (Raiborn et al., 2009), a decision for it expresses the organization not seeing those services as a critical part of its core competencies that need to be kept in-house in order to achieve organisational goals. In summary, keeping diversity interventions outsourced points to a school not committing to its diversity processes and not valuing these processes highly, and this study looks at the ways in which this is an expression of the management resistance that Steyn and Kelly (2010) found to be a key inhibiting factor to transformation in organisations.

3. Theoretical Framework

The exploration of risks and possibilities posed for transformation and social justice by outsourced diversity interventions in privileged South African schools required a theoretical framework that was able to hold complex and intersecting dynamics of race, class, gender and coloniality in a postcolonial and post-apartheid society. This research was thus largely guided by a poststructuralist reading of critical race, critical whiteness and critical diversity theories. With an awareness of the social constructedness of taken-for-granted social categories and concepts, I applied a critical approach to questions of enduring racial and social injustice as perpetuated in and by privileged secondary schools, and to efforts made and strategies employed to address them, with the intention of highlighting the power relations and interests embedded within these dynamics. In the following, I provide more detail on the chosen frameworks which shaped this research.

3.1. Critical Theory

According to Cannella & Lincoln (2016), critical theory relates to research that recognizes power and holds the potential for greater justice. Foucault's productive concept of power not as binary but rather as a complex web of relations which we all take a part in upholding (Smart, 2002), informs this study and, by applying it in an educational context, will help to interrogate the way in which all stakeholders in a school system contribute to or resist transformation or the perpetuation of social injustice. Recognizing Foucault's concept of schools as instruments of governmentality and disciplinary systems of power and social regulation (1982), and considering that education is historically a conservative sector where teachers reproduce given hierarchical norms (Bourdieu, 1976), this research looks at the ways in which such systems are upheld and disrupted through diversity interventions. Whilst "diversity" can be understood in a "rainbow nation", "salad-bowl" celebratory way that works to entrench existing power systems (Reygan & Steyn, 2017), it is in this research defined as the recognition of difference as it impacts on power and oppression (Ely & Thomas, 2001; Steyn, 2015). Critical theory was particularly helpful in identifying both the ways in which power asserts itself in resistance against diversity interventions, and how power incrementally shifts towards non-dominant members of the system as a result of those interventions.

3.2. Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory has its root amongst progressive legal scholars in the US in the late 1970s who sought a way to counter the stalling of and backlash against the civil rights movement of the 1960's, whilst racism continued to be endemic in US society.

> *"New approaches were necessary to cope with the more subtle forms of institutional and unconscious racism that were emerging and a public newly indifferent ('colour blind') to matters of race."* (Delgado in Gillborn, 2008)

Critical race theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; duBois, 2006, 2008; Gordon, 1999; Hall, 2002; Mills, 1997) recognizes race as a social construct which plays a central role in organizing relations of power in society. Interrupting narratives of colour-blindness and meritocracy, critical race theory has been found to be a key analytical tool in research around race, privilege and power dynamics in schools (E. Taylor et al., 2009) and helps to recognize the ways in which race shapes relations of power in schools (Leonardo, 2009). The concept was thus an indispensable lens in a post-apartheid South Africa that is still significantly divided along racial lines. As suggested by Solorzano and Yosso (2002), I applied critical race theory to inform a critical race methodology that challenges racism and classism in schools by centering the experiences of "people of colour" and thus countering stories of deficit in social science research. I referred to centering the experiences of the marginalized not to return to a Freirian focus on the oppressed as the main subjects of study, but as a counter-hegemonic anchoring perspective from which to uncover hidden power relations and firmly keep the gaze on the dominant positionalities within the school system.

3.3. Critical Whiteness Theory

Critical whiteness studies emerged during the 1990's from the field of critical race theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Giroux, 1997; Steyn, 2001), and highlights the ways in which whiteness is invisibilized and normalized and in which "colour-blind racism" (Bonilla-Silva, 2006), privilege-blindness (Ferber, 2012) and what Steyn (2012) terms the "epistemology of ignorance" are being upheld. Steyn's concept of the "ignorance contract" (Steyn, 2012) as a sub-clause to Charles Mill's "racial contract" (1997) was helpful in this research in the way that it dissects the various strategies employed by Whiteness to remain invisible and maintain the status quo, including the ways in which Black people enter the ignorance

contract and the varied reasons for this (often broadly termed internalized racism). Both have helped critically read the data gathered in this research and understand mostly White people's insidious and varied modes of resistance against transformation.

It is more recently that critical race theory and critical whiteness theory are being applied to formal education policy. David Gillborn's (2008) in-depth analysis of the UK education system has found that racial inequality is not accidental, and his work forms part of the discourse of white supremacy not as an individualized condition, but a "social system that upholds, reifies, and reinforces the superiority of whites" (Leonardo, 2009, p. 144). The focus on whiteness and the invisibilised ways in which it works to maintain itself is particularly important for this study because it is situated in privileged school environments which remain white-dominated in terms of teacher and learner numbers as well as general culture, and which are situated in a post-colonial and post-apartheid society that continues to be deeply divided along racial lines.

3.4. Critical Diversity Literacy

In order to fully understand the varied and complex ways in which different axes of power and oppression intersect in the identities and positionalities of the stakeholders interviewed for this research, intersectionality theory (Collins & Bilge, 2020; Crenshaw, 1990; Yuval-Davis, 2006a, 2006b) was applied in this research. Although the axes of race and class are closely intertwined dominant factors in post-apartheid South Africa's social relations, gender, religion, sexuality and gender identity play significant roles in a society that is negotiating its inheritance of colonial and apartheid patriarchy, hetero- and Christo-normativity (Ferber, 2012).

Lather (1991) calls for a theory that is capable of grasping the complexities of people and cultures "outside of binary logics of certainty, non-contradiction, totality and linearity" (p.xvi), and Critical Diversity Literacies or CDL, as developed by Melissa Steyn (2015), responds to this need to consider intersectionality and identity fluidity whilst interrogating power and privilege, and is thus an appropriate framework for studying formerly Whites only schools in a post-apartheid educational setting (Reygan & Steyn, 2017). Critical Diversity Literacy (CDL) seeks to "critique and not just to understand or explain society. The goal is a more socially just world." (Steyn, 2015, p. 381). Apart from the "macro axes of

social power" (Yuval-Davis, 2006b) that are race, class and gender, the research acknowledges the intersection of these historically most dominant categories with other social identifiers relevant to the privileged school environments that will be observed, including area of residence, language, culture, religion, nationality, immigration status, as well as sexual and gender identity.

> *"'Critical diversity literacy' can be regarded as an informed analytical orientation that enables a person to 'read' prevailing social relations as one would a text, recognizing the ways in which possibilities are being opened up or closed down for those differently positioned within the unfolding dynamics of specific social contexts."*(Steyn, 2015, p. 381)

Applying a CDL theoretical framework allowed for the uncovering and naming of power dynamics and hegemonic interest in a school system, exposing normalized relations of oppression and privilege which reproduce and perpetuate an unequal distribution of access and benefits.

Apart from an awareness of the role of power in constructing difference, CDL recognizes the "unequal symbolic and material value" (Steyn, 2015, p. 382) of social location such as race, gender, sexual and gender identity, class and ability, acknowledges hegemonic positionalities, and provides an analytic tool for unpacking the ways they intersect whilst being directed towards transformational change and greater social justice. This research analysed historically White schools built on heteropatriarchal, Christo-normative and racially oppressive systems of colonialism and apartheid, as sites of upholding and disrupting ignorances to achieve a degree of transformation. Applying a CDL framework allowed for a critical understanding of the range of themes emerging from the data along the axes of those social locations.

3.5. Participatory Parity

The political philosopher Nancy Fraser (2003) has conceptualised as "participatory parity" her understanding of social justice as a state where all can participate as equals in society. Her theories are not specifically focused on education, but increasingly drawn on by scholars engaging in questions of social justice in higher education in South Africa and abroad (Clowes, 2017; Keddie, 2012). According to Fraser (2003), participatory parity is achieved through addressing three dimensions of social justice that are interwoven and overlapping (Clowes, 2017). The economic dimension addresses class inequalities and

the distribution of resources, the cultural dimension speaks to institutionalised cultural hierarchies, value and recognition, and the political sphere to representation and voice. Fraser's (2003) understanding of social justice informed the discussion of moments of progress and success of diversity interventions in privileged schools.

4. Methodology

Understanding why privileged South African schools increasingly hire external experts on diversity and the ways in which transformational social justice is achieved or hindered through them, forms the focus of this research. The project was thus designed to provide empirical data which allow insight into the intentions, processes and effects of hiring diversity practitioners, as well as to illuminate the underlying interests and power relations and the ways these are affected by, or alongside, the interventions. The data further allowed theoretical considerations of how discourses on transformation and social justice in schools relate to and contradict their practical applications.

The following sections will describe the research method and design of this study, the data sources, data collection techniques and data analysis processes. I further consider ethical issues that this study raises.

4.1. Research Design

Considerations around how best the research questions can be answered in a way that reduces violence, furthers social justice and shifts hegemonic power structures, have to start with the research design. This research is a qualitative case study informed by critical race theory and critical whiteness studies and applying critical diversity methods, which foreground hierarchical power relations along various axes of socially constructed difference, and the interests and injustices flowing from them.

A qualitative research design has been applied because it best serves this study's aim to deeper understand a very specific and contextualized issue, which is the emerging trend of privileged South African schools engaging external facilitators to support their diversity and transformation work, as it is perceived by diverse stakeholders in those school systems. According to Creswell and Poth (2016), qualitative research allows for participants' stories to be shared and for silenced voices to be heard. As alluded to above, Black and other marginalized voices are often silenced in White-dominated school systems. Speaking up against oppressive and unfair practices and structures bears great risks for those on the margins of the system, as they face insidious consequences such as sidelining, victimization and bullying, and factual consequences like the loss of bursaries or one's position as a teacher. When measures and steps by a school are ostensibly taken for the benefit of precisely such groups (as is the case with the diversity interventions under study),

critique of such measures can lead to a backlash and a reversing of transformational progress made. By providing vulnerable stakeholders in the school system the opportunity to openly reflect on the school's state of transformation and the impact of diversity interventions on it, this research made space for the "sharing of stories" and for silenced voices to be heard.

Qualitative research further allows for problems to be explored in all their complexity, with participants' socio-political, historical and cultural context in mind, and for sensitivity regarding the ways in which identity markers such as race, gender or socioeconomic status influence participants' experience of an issue (Creswell & Poth, 2016). It is therefore suited for capturing multiply diverse perspectives in the school systems in post-apartheid South Africa in this post-FMF and BLM moment. Cannella and Lincoln (2016) have highlighted how qualitative research, with researchers who are "informed reflexive" (2016, p. 25) members of the communities under research and who explore the range of interconnected social structures within it, is the only appropriate approach for critical social purposes. Qualitative research was successfully applied by Agherdien and Pillay (2018) to investigate tensions arising when introducing a deliberative socially just approach of critical pedagogy in higher education.

In line with Cannella and Lincoln (2016), I argue that most critical research can best be performed with qualitative methods and using a constructivist paradigm, which recognizes that there are not one or several certain truths, but that everything is constructed. This allows for an approach that is open to what emerges instead of focused on predetermined ideas around expected outcomes. Certainly, my research questions which are aimed at disrupting whiteness and hegemonic power structures, can only be answered by using qualitative methods. Qualitative research further allows for collaborative research models between researcher and participants that counter usual power disparities between them (Creswell & Poth, 2016), as applied through co-creating interview questions with participants.

Following Cannella and Lincoln (2016) and Lather's (1991) calls for researchers to increase accessibility, impact on social justice and wider dissemination of critical theory and research, I have adopted the decolonial practise of using accessible language and of maintaining a focus on the practical use of my work.

Researcher's Positionality

> *"…reflection without action is mere verbalism. Action without reflection is pure activism"* (Freire, 1970, p. 87).

My positionality and social location as a White, middle class, German-South African researcher and mother of children attending a privileged school in South Africa, the power that comes with this, and how it impacts on the entire research process (Kobayashi, 1994; Mason, 2002; Moya, 2011; Roberts, 2013), including the data I seek and receive as well as the way I interpret it, was held in awareness throughout.

> *"Critical reflexivity is a crucial aspect of any research using a critical methodology. Reflexivity is an ongoing and relational process which requires active and continuous engagement from the researcher. This process allows the researcher to unveil their biases and assumptions, negotiate unique socio-cultural and political contexts, and uncover various power dynamics within the research design"* (Mao et al., 2016, p. 1).

As a White person socialized into obscuring my Whiteness and protecting the privileges that come with it (Steyn, 2012), I take very seriously Lather's (1991) push to remain vigilant as a researcher of unconsciously perpetuating that which I critique, and to regularly check my position towards and investment in transformation and social justice at privileged schools. In my choice of focus and analytical frameworks I worked to counter the risk of becoming another White researcher writing about Black lives, and I aimed to produce results that would justify my ask for Black labour in the research process. Although contrary to my conscious and stated intention, I could not trust myself to not be unconsciously working towards preserving the status quo – of a restored positive self-image and sense of belonging without having to give up my privileges (Steyn, 2001, 2012). In order to mitigate this risk, I kept a reflexive journal and exercised an ongoing reflective praxis, regularly returning to this intention and checking myself for unconscious moves towards inventing new versions of "technolog(ies) of regulation and surveillance" (Lather, 1991, p. 15) that would keep me in control and thus re-create existing systems of power and oppression. In a similar fashion as modeled by Tanner (2020), I regularly consulted with critical peers for signs of such tendencies. This assisted me especially during times where my compassion with some White participants who invest much of their lives into the work of diversity and transformation, sometimes at great personal cost, threatened to cloud my critical lens.

Freire's famous statement relating to "reflection without action and action without reflection" speaks to the ongoing tension I have felt throughout this project between theoretical and ideological understandings of what is required in order to achieve transformation, social justice and decoloniality in privileged South African schools, and the day-to-day challenges of attempting to apply any of it. It is sometimes difficult not to despair at the worlds that lie between what progressive and radical thinkers deem necessary to effect change, and what school systems and wider society are capable or willing to engage with, an expression of what Lather (1991) describes as a kind of hubris, an estrangement by critical theory from those it intends to serve. For instance, I have found that basic understandings of diversity required by organisations in order to effect social justice, as proposed by Critical Diversity Literacy (Steyn, 2015; Steyn & Kelly, 2010), although amongst the more practical and concrete concepts available, in practice require years of ongoing and persistent work and various strategies to even begin to be achieved throughout an organization. When experiencing the intensity of resistance by White systems on the micro-level and its damaging impact on lives and people, I take courage from Lather's (1991) concept of praxis as an "interruptor strategy", and her finding merit in persistence by saying, "The goal is to keep things in process, to disrupt, to keep the system in play, to set up procedures to continuously demystify the realities we create" (p. 13).

My positionality as an actively engaged parent at a privileged school has heavily influenced my thinking about this project and its execution. In spite of that school's specific historical, colonial and geopolitical position in South Africa's education system, the dynamics highlighted in the schools under research here exist similarly at my children's school, and the relations of power and hegemony discussed in this study are embedded there, too. Although my own experience from being involved in various groups, initiatives and projects around diversity and transformation at that school does not form the focus of this research, my personal reflections (and frustrations) have guided my questions and where I directed them. This is not an autoethnographic study. However, my experiences with the school's major stakeholder groups over the past ten years have added context and depth to the stories told to me by and about the participants (Ellis, 2004). As is typical for autoethnography (Ellis et al., 2011), but also a feature of critical reflexivity (Mao et al., 2016), whilst focusing on the participants' stories, I actively and continuously engaged with the feelings and thoughts I had whilst conducting and analyzing the interviews, which arose from my own knowledge of the topics discussed. At the end of the interview process which mirrored back to me the dynamics at my children's school, a deep exhaustion and sadness overcame me:

I am done. Hopeless. Drained.

The reminder of how we shift responsibility and labour to the youth and shy away from facing our demons. It's just not right.

Hearing over and over the stories of pain and hurt, of our (as white people, as parents, as "activists") inadequacy and blatant insufficiency and even obstructiveness of our efforts, and of the vastness of difference in perception of the progress being made. It all really seems insurmountable right now. (Reflexive Journal)

During the analysis, the two worlds of this project and the practical work at my children's school felt particularly intertwined. I regularly strained to intellectually and emotionally separate them, to pull back from jumping into facilitator or solution mode and allow myself to be the observer. Including my own experiences of applied antiracist and anti-oppressive practices, I hope I can present a bridge into the practical application of anti-oppressive and critical diversity theory, help dilute the binaries of thinker versus doer and the artificial divorcing of knowledge and reality - the dichotomy of theory and practice which Freire and others have critiqued.

4.2. Data Sources

I have used multiple sources, primarily interviews, and including a research journal, documents and various media. Recent developments in South Africa around racism in privileged schools and the mass sharing of personal experiences by current and former learners on social media platforms have greatly informed the study. This research is based on the recognition that such daily racism and other oppression exists in these schools, and it is not aimed at proving this to be true or assuming such proof to be necessary. Despite this, the sudden and large-scale availability of current and first-hand data provided a heightened awareness around racism in schools that allowed for a more forthright approach with participants and enabled more frank and critical conversations than originally anticipated.

4.2.1. Interviews.

In response to the social media developments regarding racism in private schools of mid-2020, I changed the planned flow of interviews. Instead of basing the research on conversations with two diversity practitioners and snowballing from there, I started out by speaking with recently graduated alumni, and only interviewed the adults in a second round. I selected alumni who had been vocal during the social media furore, or who were recommended to me as particularly active in matters of transformation and social justice. Out of conversations with them, I identified two schools that had undergone long-term, multi-stakeholder diversity interventions in the past. Both schools are single-gender elite schools, one a former Model C school and one an independent school, situated in affluent suburbs in the Western Cape. Following a snowball system from there, the second round of interviews was conducted with selected stakeholders from within the chosen schools. I included a third, single-gender elite school situated in the Eastern Cape, that I was referred to by a diversity consultant because of its intensive work around transformation.

Drawing on participants from within management, teachers and one school's parent community, who identify variously regarding their race, gender and other social markers, diverse perspectives were obtained on the intentions, risks and potential of the diversity interventions. Recently graduated alumni were selected to provide learner perspectives rather than current learners, in order to improve the probability of open and critical sharing and to reduce the influence of power hierarchical factors on the data. When quoting them, I named alumni "learners" both because they represent learner views and because the term "learner" (as opposed to "alumnus" or "alumna") is gender-neutral and disclosing the alumni's genders would impact on the single gender schools' identifiability.

In a last round of interviews, I spoke to three practitioners who have delivered some form of diversity interventions to the three schools under study. The interviews with these practitioners, who hold different social locations, rounded off my data gathering and served several purposes. They provided expert perspectives and insight into some key factors in each school's context that may have influenced the data gathered. Due to their depth of collective experience with a wide range of privileged schools around all of South Africa, they were able to richly add to the data. Importantly, their responses to the research questions showed that in their planning, conducting and evaluation of interventions, these practitioners themselves have had to engage with questions of power dynamics and their interventions' impact.

When asked their age and how they identified, participants placed themselves along various axes of socially constructed difference as follows:

Age	*18-20: 4* *21-35: 4* *36-50: 4*
Gender	*Female: 11* *Male: 1*
Race	*Black: 5* *White: 4* *POC: 3*
Sexuality	*Bisexual 2* *Heterosexual 8*
Class	*Middle class 6* *Working to middle class 2*
Religion	*Muslim 1* *Christian 3*
Role in School (some hold dual roles)	*Recently graduated learners: 4* *Teachers: 4* *Parents: 2* *School leadership: 2* *Practitioners: 3*
Nationality	*South Africa 2* *Namibia 1*

The twelve interviews were conducted with four (recently graduated) learners all of whom identify as Black or of colour, one White parent, two teachers identifying as Black and of colour, respectively, two White school leaders and three consultants, two of whom identify as Black and one as White. When interviewing participants who are White and or otherwise hold power in the school system or society at large, I did so with a stance that Moya, quoting Lugones, calls a "resistant intentionality" in order to "challenge them enough to break through their intellectual complacence as well as their (often unconscious) sense of (…) superiority" (Moya, 2011, p. 89). Here, I deliberately inquired into questions

of Whiteness and White supremacy, but also into structural and systemic power, patriarchy, hetero-normativity and other "routine relations of power and privilege" which usually go unnoticed (Pascale, 2010, p. 158). Such approach is aligned with Cannella and Lincoln's (2016) proposition for researchers to declare their progressive political agenda so that usually invisibilised, normative political agendas are illuminated. Judging from the emotions exhibited by some White participants, this approach successfully challenged them in their subjectivities and how they positioned themselves within the schools' systemic injustice.

I expected to not necessarily be trusted by stakeholders from non-dominant groups in the school system and especially by Black participants. Expressly naming my embodied positionality as a White, middle-class, middle-aged, able-bodied woman, and sharing my theoretical approach and intention for the project as self-critically disrupting White hegemony and uncovering hidden power dynamics, assisted with building trust. It is not only what is said, but also that which remains unsaid that informs a critical research (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Joffe, 2012), and I held this awareness when listening to the participants and analyzing the interviews. These conversations aimed to give a platform to marginalized voices in systems of power (Reyes Cruz, 2008).

Clarifying questions were asked and resolved via email where necessary. All interviews were transcribed into text. In line with my commitment to transparency and collaboration, and not without trepidation, all participants were sent their direct quotes and the draft report for comment. Eight participants responded positively. One provided further context on a number of points and queried having been quoted out of context on one occasion. I removed the relevant quote. Two participants did not respond to the email. One participant found the timeframe originally provided too short and did not respond to an extension thereof.

4.2.2. Documentary, Media and Archival Sources.

An important source was social media posts by current and former learners of privileged South African schools and the social media debates ensuing from them, as well as the published reactions by some schools. The very different reactions from the various schools were read also in relation to the degree to which such schools had undergone externally facilitated diversity interventions.

Further sources for this research included government and school policies relevant to diversity and

transformation, the respective schools' websites and marketing materials, various transformation and diversity-specific materials published or used by the schools, training materials, as well as other internal and external school communication as it related to diversity and transformation (newsletters, parent briefs, emails, photos, videos etc.). This data was not analysed but provided a foundation and both historical and contextual frame for the analysis and supplemented the data gathered during the interviews.

Lastly, the reflexive journal kept throughout the research provided an additional source of data.

4.3. Data Collection Techniques

4.3.1. Interviews.

This research made use of one-on-one rather than focus group interviews due to fact that participants had very different perspectives and opinions on the matters under research and thus might have felt inhibited in openly expressing them in a group. Adding to this, issues of social justice, inequality and overt or insidious power disparities and dynamics are sensitive matters which require trust and maximum anonymity. Further, focus group interviews are more suited to groups whose members are cooperative with each other (Creswell & Poth, 2016), which was not always the case for the participants that were chosen for this research.

Data from semi-structured interviews are suitable for thematic analysis (Joffe, 2012), which was applied in this study. I subscribe to the belief that people think best when given little to no directional prompting and instead a conducive environment that includes deep, attentive listening (Kline, 2009). I therefore started out the interviews with an open approach, letting participants speak freely, and resorted to prompting and questions when requested or required to ensure that key issues were spoken to. The back-up questions were peer reviewed by critical race theorist academics within my network.

Restrictions to social contact due to the Covid-19 pandemic had been lifted sufficiently at the time of the interviews to allow for a choice of in-person interviews at the participants' places of choice, or via electronic media. Three interviews were conducted in person, and nine via electronic media. Video calls were conducted using Zoom, and participants were familiar and comfortable with this medium. As a precaution against Covid-19 infection, two out of the three in-person interviews were conducted outdoors,

which impacted on the sound quality of the recordings, but could be worked around to ensure accuracy of data. All interviews were recorded with two devices simultaneously to counter any technological faults.

In inviting the participants, I considered Harvey's (2003) decolonial concept of Guesthood borrowed from the Maori people of New Zealand, giving priority or "prestige" to the host (i.e. the participant) as the one who holds the knowledge which I as a researcher require, and practising transparency about my objectives. In line with what these scholars and Fitzpatrick (2013) suggest, I was clear with participants about the objectives of this research, about their perspectives' value to the study, what they could gain from it and about my position as a critical race and CDL researcher. This built trust amongst those critical of the relevant school's state of transformation and the impact of the diversity intervention, and prompted participants who viewed these issues more favourably, to do some critical reflection.

By choosing one-on-one interviews, I aimed to provide as safe and confidential a space to Black and otherwise marginalised participants in the school systems, whilst with participants from dominant groups being able to inquire into their positionalities within power without risking them absencing themselves from the process in order not to be exposed before others. It needs to be noted here that in analysing data, whilst focusing on race, I considered intersecting positionalities on various axes of power and oppression.

4.3.2. Documentary and archival materials.

Most documentary and archival materials were openly available and accessible online. As far as they were not openly available, access was gained through the participants.

4.4. Data Analysis and Interpretation Techniques

This study critically interrogates racialized power dynamics in privileged South African schools and the risks and potential of externally facilitated diversity interventions in the context of much needed social justice and transformation. Thematic Analysis (TA) and Critical Diversity Literacy (CDL) (Steyn, 2015) analysis methodologies within a social constructionist epistemology (Gergen, 1999) were seen to be most suited for analyzing the transcripts from interviews with diversity practitioners and various stakeholders from three such schools, as well as relevant documents and archival materials.

This approach allowed for an examination of the ways in which notions of transformation and diversity at the schools in question are the results of multiple discourses in society, and for a probing of what is perceived to be "reality" (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For my use of critical race, critical whiteness and critical diversity literacy theory, TA was both accessible and flexible enough to explore ways of disrupting the circulation of power and the perpetuation of an epistemology of ignorance (Pascale, 2010) through unconsciously helping to keep in place that which I was hoping to uncover and disrupt (Boonzaier, 2017).

Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that a thematic researcher should be clear and transparent about their epistemological approach. My research did not attempt to identify an existing singular, valid and universal truth, but rather, in seeing realities as social constructions, to highlight the "multiplicity of interrelated, subjective and often oppositional understanding, each with their own inherent validity" (Taylor & Ussher, 2001, p. 295). Whilst concepts like race, gender and class are seen as social constructions, the research applies critical race, critical whiteness and critical diversity literacy theory in seeking to explore the ways in which such constructions impact on power relations in specific school systems and how these are shaped or shifted by diversity interventions. Such "theoretical" thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was guided by the theoretical frameworks used and aimed to provide a more detailed analysis of certain aspects of the data, rather than a comprehensive overall analysis. In order to manage this complexity, a theoretically guided, focused selection of issues was appropriate for answering my research questions due to the width of the topics of "diversity" and "transformation" and the multiplicity of issues that arose from their discussion, without precluding additional aspects that were salient in the data. Although Braun & Clarke (2006) argue that TA applied with a constructionist epistemology cannot focus on motivation or psychological reasons, but is rather to keep its focus on socio-cultural context and conditions, my exploration of the participants' intentions behind, and hopes for, diversity interventions provided insight

into existing barriers to transformation and into the extent to which declared goals diverged from unconscious or unspoken intentions. In this way and applying the CDL approach discussed below, I explored intentions and motivations not to understand the individuals expressing them, but as expressions of collective systemic and structural positions.

Thematic Analysis is an accessible approach to finding and analyzing patterns of meaning in qualitative data, which is open to a variety of theoretical frameworks (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Joffe, 2012). It could therefore be applied with the critical race, critical whiteness and critical diversity literacy theoretical approach that I took in this research. It is a method that "can capture latent meaning while remaining systematic" (Joffe, 2012, p. 216), seeks to uncover a text's salient themes on various levels (Attride-Stirling, 2001) and goes beyond the semantic to explore underlying assumptions, ideas and ideologies that inform the semantic data content (Braun & Clarke, 2006). These constellations of meaning emerging from a dataset can include affective (Ahmed, 2004), cognitive and symbolic dimensions (Joffe, 2012). Irrespective of where in the web of intersecting sociocultural power relations participants were positioned, questions of race and other diversity-related injustice, and of the need for and status of transformation and redress, brought up emotional responses in them` around historical trauma and guilt, sociohistorical power disparities and the need for redress. Due to the sensitive nature of these topics and the increasing pressure to appropriately address them, participants did not always feel free to share their thoughts in full. Hence, it was important to be able to consider the tacit and implicit meaning in the data, the emotions evoked during and around the interviews, and the symbols consciously or unconsciously used by participants, without losing the systematic process and rigor, and TA offered this. Joffe (2012) posits that, whilst identifying themes in data is a fundamental and almost generic element of any qualitative analysis (Holloway & Todres, 2003), TA's strength is that it goes about such process systematically and transparently without losing depth.

TA is grounded in the much older and originally quantitative method of content analysis, which drew its conclusions purely from the frequency of a particular issue or theme being mentioned in text or discourse (Joffe, 2012). TA was later developed to extend analysis beyond the immediately observable data and to include the implicit and often unconscious themes contained in them (Merton, 1975), allowing for the consideration of context, and therefore a more complex and rich analysis (Joffe, 2012), which was required for this research. In applying TA to a study on the perception of obesity, Cain, Donaghue and Ditchburn (2017) found this method to be useful for detecting trends and themes within conflicting perspectives on

the research topic. Similarly to this study which explores the perceptions of differently positioned individuals in a school system, their research deliberately drew on a wide spectrum of perspectives ranging from more conservative to more social justice oriented. The systematic approach to TA in the form of "thematic networks" suggested by Attride-Stirling (2001) provided a structuring and visualization of themes. Its foundations lie in Toulmin's (1958) argumentation theory that reminds of methods used in law (a linear process from data to warrants to claims, considering backings, rebuttals, qualifiers and alternative claims) and was therefore appealing in their familiarity to me as a trained attorney.

The theoretical thematic analysis is supplemented by a critical diversity literacy (CDL) approach that is particularly relevant in the context of post-apartheid South Africa and its search for transformation and greater social justice. CDL is "an ethical sociopolitical stance in a world increasingly characterized by heterogenous spaces" (Steyn, 2015, p. 379). Rather than merely understanding certain phenomena or relations in society, the CDL approach seeks to critique them by focusing on the unequal power relations contained in or informing them (Steyn, 2015), which is the intention of this study. Being particularly geared towards uncovering underlying or invisibilised power dynamics, CDL served me well in my analysis of data from and about dominant members of the school systems and the ways in which they maintain the status quo whilst appearing to be supporting change.

Whilst all ten elements that make up CDL (Steyn, 2015) speak to this research, the following were most deliberately drawn on as a method. In line with my social constructivist epistemological stance, I focused on "the role of power in constructing difference" in my analysis, recognizing racism and other oppressive systems of domination "as current social problems" rather than historical ones, and people's different social locations as holding "unequal symbolic and material value". As outlined above I considered "the role of emotions" and affect in my analysis (also highlighted by Roberts, 2013), and lastly, I attempted to ""translate" (see through) and interpret coded hegemonic practices" for the benefit of participants, audience and myself as the researcher.

Applying the above, I performed a line-by-line analysis of the interview transcripts, teasing out those recurring themes that were relevant in terms of CDL and the other theoretical frameworks used, repeatedly going back and forth between interview transcripts and various versions of mind maps to create a logical flow and grouping of themes and, following my goal of practical applicability, intentionally ending on a constructive and hopeful note. I selected those themes that were most prominent in the data, but also most

reflected in the wider societal (online) discussions. Quotes were chosen for their most succinctly, sharply or critically expressing narratives and themes.

4.5. Ethical Considerations

In planning to conduct research relating to schools on topics as sensitive and emotionally charged as transformation, diversity and inclusion, several ethical aspects needed to be considered. In contemporary South Africa, the way that organisations and individuals engage with questions of race, racialized historical injustice and reparations, can impact heavily on their reputations and even lead to criminal charges against them[9]. The schools at which the diversity interventions which form the focus of this study took place, have been somewhat proactive in instructing diversity consultants to assist them with navigating this terrain. Whilst the aim of the study included the uncovering of continued oppressive power dynamics underneath external efforts to transform, I needed to balance this objective with the ethical imperative of holding confidentiality and anonymity, bearing in mind the organizational and personal risks participants take when speaking to me openly. Considering the strong hierarchies based on race, class, language, culture and other factors that exist in privileged schools, participants belonging to non-dominant or marginalised groups who dare to critique the school's status of transformation or the ways in which diversity and inclusion are dealt with, not only put their emotional safety on the line, but also risk jobs, bursaries, academic careers and the support of social or professional networks. Furthermore and importantly, I needed to be aware of the risk of re-traumatising Black participants by encouraging them to recall offensive or hurtful moments. Confidentiality and informed consent were therefore critical in this context. Ethics clearance was sought and obtained from the University of Witwatersrand's ethics committee with protocol number DIV2104260.

[9] See the case of Vicki Momberg who was sentenced to 3 years in prison for crimen injuria after her racist rant against a police officer (Mitchley, 2018).

1.

4.5.1. Confidentiality and Anonymity.

During the data collection process, participants' anonymity could not be guaranteed because interviews were arranged in advance, necessitating direct contact over the phone. Confidentiality of participants' and their institutions' identities, however, was protected during the entire research process. Due to interviews being conducted one-on-one, participants' identities are only known to me and not shared with anyone throughout the research process. I used neutral titles for the participants so that their identities are protected and anonymity in the research report is ensured. Any identifying information is stored on password protected devices and is only accessible to me and my supervisor. Through the snowball sampling system that has led me to the stakeholder participants, some participants knew (of) each other, but I did and will not disclose to either the referrer or the referred persons the identities of those eventually being part of the research.

Because the market of practitioners working with schools on matters of diversity is relatively small in South Africa, there is the possibility that participating practitioners may be identifiable by readers familiar with the industry and work, based on certain pieces of information about their backgrounds or the methods they use. I made the participating practitioners aware of this fact before entering into the research. To mitigate the risk and as proposed by Squire (2008), I excluded from the report data that would have identified them, even if this led to a loss of data richness.

4.5.2. Informed Consent.

For any research that involves humans, informed consent must be a key consideration. Because no minors were involved in the research as learners and alumni were over 18 years old, all participants had the right and ability to consent to their participation. They signed, or gave their consent via email to, an Information Sheet which contained the broad aims and critical angle of the study, information on the expected structure, form and length of the interviews, my contact details and those of my supervisor (Consent Form and Information Sheet included here as Appendices A and B). It highlighted the voluntary nature of their participation, participants' right to anonymity, to opt out of any part or the entire interview and research at any point without having to fear any consequences to their safety or dignity. No remuneration in any form was provided for participation in the study. No costs were incurred.

4.5.3. Conflict of Interest.

No conflict of interest exists from the side of the University of Witwatersrand.

A conflict of interest could be seen in the fact that I as a researcher have an interest in exploring possibilities for furthering transformation and social justice in schools, and that I hold a vague possibility of offering advice or services in this regard in the future. I could therefore be seen to be exploiting information gained during the research, including practitioners' professional experiences, for my own professional gains. However, I was transparent about these ideas and, based on previous interactions I have had with the practitioners, the information shared by them did not go beyond what they would share with me outside of a research project. Further, I believe in professional collaboration and expect that the findings of this research will support and inform their professional work as much as it enriches mine.

5. Rationale For Diversity Interventions: Why Diversity, Why Consultants, Why Now?

5.1. Introduction

In the following analytical chapter, I discuss my findings around the reasons why privileged schools engage in questions of diversity and social justice specifically during the period between 2015 and 2021 that followed student protests and social media activism both in South Africa and abroad. I explore why these schools engage external consultants for this purpose, and what it is they expect the interventions to achieve. Up until about 2015, privileged schools did not have much incentive for introspecting and interrogating the ways in which they represent and reproduce White hegemonic power relations. How and why did this change for many privileged South African schools in the six years that followed? In light of research attesting to diversity training not reducing bias or making organisations more diverse, why did schools engage consultants to deliver training interventions? And what did they expect them to achieve?

5.2. Why "Diversity", and Why Now?

It is common cause that the nationwide student protests that started as #RhodesMustFall or #RMF in 2015 and were later named #FeesMustFall or #FMF were a historical moment (SAHO, 2021) that presented wider society with a mirror for somewhat deeper reflection on the status of our country and its institutions and the ways in which they continue to benefit Whites and disadvantage Black people. A critical race theoretical and radical political conscientization took place not only amongst university students (Xaba, 2017), but spread to high school learners and other parts of society through the help of social media platforms like Twitter, Instagram or Facebook, triggering a wave of high school student protests.

Most participants of this study named the FMF student movement and subsequent high school protests (and specifically the protest started by Zulaikha Patel at Pretoria Girls High School in 2016; BBC News, 2016) as key triggers to the schools they were part of starting the process of introspection.

As one consultant puts it:

> *Pretoria Girls' was the seismic moment – that really forced a lot of these schools to take note […]Fees Must Fall and Rhodes Must Fall laid a foundation for Pretoria Girls' and others to speak up. […]they didn't want to be on social media, they didn't want to be Pretoria Girls'. They definitely weren't thinking about it much before[…] in fact very few of the schools[…] were doing anything else before. (Consultant A)*

In the schools under study, the wave of protests started off by Pretoria Girls High School triggered a first serious engagement with questions of diversity and race relations. After setting off a flurry of activity including the engagement of external consultants, the effects of this wave at all the schools under study seemed to subside after some years, and the attention given to questions of diversity and transformation was quickly diverted to less controversial topics such as mental health or sexuality. In this phase of complacency, it was the very distinct second wave of protests and social media action of 2020 that all participants agreed was also causing a second wave of action around diversity and transformation at the schools they had exposure to. In solidarity with the international BLM movement, current and former learners of mainly privileged South African schools had created social media platforms for reporting of racism at elite South African schools (Geach, 2020; Karrim, 2020; Khanyile, 2020). The accounts posted on social media (@bhstories, 2020; Chigumadzi, 2015; Joorst, 2019; Malinga, 2018; Memela, 2015; Nandimsezane, 2020; Ngcaweni, 2019; *#racisminsahighschools*, 2020; @yousilenceweamplify, 2020), which were largely echoed by participating learners, present a picture of generations of elite school graduates having left their schools with unresolved injury and trauma. Participant learners describe oppressive classroom dynamics and the challenges of cultural adjustment to a hostile-feeling White-dominated environment that expects the assimilation that Soudien (2004), Gillespie and Naidoo (2019), Hunter (2019) and McKinney (2010) critique. They name tokenization and being made to feel like foreigners in their own country, echoing Ahmed's (2012a, 2012b) sentiments of alienation and Puwar's (2004) concept of "bodies out of place" as applied to the South African university space by Boonzaier and Mkhize (2018). They express sentiments conceptualized by Kessi and Cornell (2015) around the harm caused by racializing discourses around Black students lacking competence and not deserving their places at academic institutions. In the learners' words:

> *[They] made us explain like our existence essentially. (Learner A)*

Especially the boarders and the black girls were walking on eggshells all the time. (Learner B)

Constantly proving ourselves in that space, that we were worthy. (Learner C)

This second wave had a more intense impact, demonstrated by participating leaders describing it as more pressing, "incredibly hard" and "traumatizing" for them. All of the schools under study, and many of the schools that participants had exposure to, were directly named and implicated in this social media action, which according to one school leader was intensified by South Africa's lockdown in response to the Covid-19 pandemic, by leading to the closing of schools and giving learners an opportunity to reflect and shift their attention from the physical school to the online space. Consultant A and Leader A express this:

And then the big earthquake happened again with Black Lives Matter and kids finding their voice on Instagram again[...] Black Lives movement has been another event that has forced schools for whatever reason to look inward. (Consultant A)

What was good about Black Lives [Matter], […]is that it did kind of give us the kick that we needed to do things better and faster […]in terms of putting money where our mouth is […]it's easier to persuade them to put money into it when that kind of thing is happening in the school space. (Leader A)

Consultant B shares how the demand for professional diversity support shot up due to the social media storm, *"[…]this year has been a lot of crisis responding."*

Whilst the Pretoria Girls High School protest was mentioned most frequently as an external pressure, internal pressure was being felt from individual or groups of Black learners increasingly raising the issue of racism through internal channels. This highlights how instrumental learners have been in schools' transformation efforts:

The watershed moment that saw our first round of consultants come in was a protest by Black [learners] (in early 2016) who denounced racism in the school. (Teacher A)

She matriculated in 2016, and she really pushed for this to happen, and they were basically saying thanks to her this would happen. (Learner C)

Whilst participating leaders expressed "the need to change" or wanting to make learners "feel they belong", all other participants were convinced that the primary impulse for starting TDEI[10] interventions, particularly after the first wave of protests, was to save face and guard the schools against public criticism and reputational damage:

> *Cynically, I think they didn't want bad press. (Parent A)*
>
> *A part of me still has trouble believing that they actually care about it. (Learner C)*
>
> *They really just want to calm the waters[…]and protect the image of the school[…]. (Consultant C)*

When I asked Consultant C whether she was under any illusion that schools actually wanted change, she replied, *"I am under no illusion."*

> *For some[…] it's a moral duty[…] I can't leave this school like this[…] we really messed up and it's my fault[…] It's horrendous that we've done this to kids. (Consultant B)*

The above offhand observation from one consultant echoes my personal experience in another school in expressing that important impulses for organizational change can sometimes come from school leaders who are close to retirement or to leaving a school and who are concerned about their legacy (a phenomenon that could possibly be harnessed more).

5.3. Why Consultants?

Given the fact that most studies, both international (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016, 2018b; Kirkland, 2017; Pandey, 2020) and local (Steyn & Kelly, 2010), come to the conclusion that diversity trainings and workshops do little to nothing for diversity, or against bias, one may wonder why so many privileged schools in South Africa take the route of hiring diversity consultants. Little, if any, scholarly research has been done in this regard. In their 5-year cross-sectoral study of diversity interventions in South Africa,

[10] Most schools use combinations of all or some of the terms transformation, diversity, equity, belonging and inclusion to label their engagement with questions of civil and human rights and social justice. The acronym TDEI is used as a generic term to include them all.

Steyn and Kelly (2010) have found a widespread lack of urgency and management buy-in, which made it necessary to build a business case for diversity. In their in-depth study of diversity programs in American companies, Dobbin and Kalev (2016) point to the activation of "social accountability", the need to look good, as an important tool towards achieving greater diversity. My findings suggest that the waves of protests laid out in the previous section helped build the business case for TDEI and raised the need for social accountability by creating serious reputational, and with that financial, risks for the schools under study. As is the case with corporations and universities abroad who face "public relations crises, campus intolerance and slow progress on diversifying the executive and faculty ranks" (Dobbin & Kalev, 2018b, p. 49), the schools under study identified diversity training as their go-to solution.

Across the board, participants felt that external consultants were being engaged for TDEI interventions because of the lack of in-house expertise. The predominantly White in-house drivers of TDEI felt unequipped to deal with Black learners' discontent, and there was a general acknowledgement that transformation required specialized knowledge. One learner cynically names the added advantage of non-committal and having a scapegoat if needed, echoed by a consultant who highlighted the high turnover of consultants at most schools. Choosing an outsourced solution therefore allowed school leaderships to hand over responsibility for something perceived to be explosive and potentially reputation-damaging and to change to the next provider as soon as resistance was felt. The responses further suggest that the schools saw consultants as the only available option for addressing the pressing issues brought to them.

5.4. What Are Consultants Engaged to Do?

> *"Diversity training offers the minimum possible disruption to your power structures: Don't change the board; just get your existing employees to sit through a seminar."* (Iris Bohnet, quoted in Douthat, 2018)

> *They often think that they [know what they expect] but they don't. Precisely, because they themselves don't know what the work entails[…] in terms of[…] what actual transformation work should mean[…] They just want the nice testimonials. (Consultant C)*

In their study of the transformation "industry" in South Africa, Steyn and Kelly (2010) were the first to assess diversity programmes and interventions and found that, at the time, most had little transformational

potential. They observed that there were no regulatory frameworks for practitioners, leading to vastly different quality between interventions and practically no professional standards to monitor and evaluate them against. These findings echo research conducted in America which showed that the lack of clear articulation of diversity programmes' overall objectives often leads to their failure (Anand & Winters, 2008; Wheeler, 1994) and that practitioners' stated objectives often do not correlate with measurable macro and micro-level goals. My findings within privileged schools in South Africa confirm these results in that participating consultants have no concrete or standardized deliverables to be measured against by the schools that engage them.

In reflecting back, the participating leaders and one teacher admit that in 2015 and 2016, they were "clueless". They mention substantial learning over the past years and feel they now understand the learners' concerns around racial and social justice, and what it takes to address them, much better. They perceive themselves as now having much clearer expectations of consultants. During the first wave, the leaders describe the brief to consultants as not more than a call for help with the added goal of own learning on their part. In the perceived absence of guidance from authorities or best-case scenarios from other South African schools, leaders feel they were left to experiment with what emerged to only be the tip of the transformation iceberg, as Leader A recounts:

> *None of us have any expertise in this. It's just a desire to want to change.*

Teacher A recalls interventions during the first wave as being haphazard:

> *A lot of our interventions were very reactive, and so it's hard to say what we thought, what we imagined the objectives to be, and what we thought success would look like.*

Several participants noted that during the second wave of interventions, the schools approached the engagement of external providers with greater clarity of the support they required, as Leader B's response to my question about expectations from the consultants demonstrates:

> *[We were] not clear at all. We didn't even know what we needed at that point[…] So it's different this time around.*

The express demands made by current and former learners during the second wave and subsequent engagements with them (at times even specifying the preferred consultants) inadvertently prescribed to

leaders what they had to ask of consultants. Also, having experienced unbroken learner and alumni discontent even after sets of interventions over several years, leaders realised that the work of transformation is a long-term, even lifelong, task, as Leader A conveys:

> *This journey is never going to be finished, not in our lifetimes, and we're going to keep hitting road bumps.*

During the first wave of protests, diversity interventions in schools were (some might argue, had to be) focused much on anti-bias and what participants call "heart work", the attempt to change White people's hearts and minds and open them up to the reality of their own unearned privilege and the racially unjust system they are part of and contribute to upholding. It is common for organisations to hold the unstated goal that diversity training will alter beliefs and values, bring about epiphanies and make people "get it". Admitting their limited powers, some practitioners question whether it is a realistic or appropriate expectation to have (Anand & Winters, 2008). The three participants most closely involved in driving the interventions at their schools all use the language of heart and describe their work as having to convince others:

> *The first round of interventions…were very much heart-oriented, so let's try and educate people about issues that exist and leave it to their consciences to do the good and right thing[…] clearly we haven't been very successful. (Teacher A)*

> *Initially the focus of the work was very much on convincing white people that this was necessary. (Leader B)*

> *You can change policies[…] but[…] the harder work is changing people's minds and their hearts[…] So it was about creating space for conversation. (Leader A)*

Aligned with post-conflict theorists (Jansen, 2009), much emphasis was put on forgiveness and White people's learning whilst protecting their innocence and keeping their sense of self intact. The practice of the approach of the heart centers privileged group members' needs in the way that it has been critiqued by scholars (DiAngelo, 2018; hooks, 1994; Kincheloe et al., 2011; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Steyn & Davis, 2012), keeping their engagement entirely optional. Its harmful effect on Black learners and teachers is described by one teacher:

That took a lot from people of color[…] no accountability […] it's important to do heart work, but we can't solely focus on heart work, we need to0 do systemic work and not just rely on the goodness of humans to transform" (Teacher A)

Unsurprisingly, the approach on its own was seen by participants as ineffective because it did not bring about tangible changes for the learners. This confirms that addressing White discomfort through pedagogy and not decoloniality poses the risk of stagnation, as Zembylas (2018b) warns.

My findings show that the role that external consultants are taking or being asked to take towards school leadership, has changed from trusted, gentle advisors who help them protect their schools and feel better about themselves whilst doing so, towards that of consultants mandated by (largely Black) current and former learners and prescribing clear goals and expectations for structural and systemic change. One participating consultant's description of what she perceives as the approach of this moment, I see as responding directly to calls by critical theorists relating to social justice education (Steyn & Davis, 2012). In describing her work, this Black consultant alludes to actively engaging resistance, aiming at a workable discomfort amongst learners rather than what is traditionally perceived as safety (for whom?), and using personal stories and dialogue with caution and only combined with challenging any problematic reactions by learners from dominant positionalities "in firm yet tender ways "(Steyn & Davis, 2012, p. 35). Her popularity with schools and alumni groups could be read as a critical social justice approach gaining momentum in privileged schools.

As an effect of societal discourses and continued interaction with Black learners and colleagues over time, and the second wave of protests in 2020 which put much-needed pressure on the schools' leaderships and governing bodies, several participants note that internal TDEI drivers developed a more critical theoretical understanding and willingness to engage with uncomfortable truths as offered by Steyn and Davis (2012) and other critical theorists, and now take a stronger stance in support of necessary systemic and structural changes. Rather than carefully convincing Whites at the expense of Blacks, they increasingly centered the experience of those affected by oppressive dynamics and started naming problematics of privilege and oppression within the schools. Although much focus continues to be placed on educating, conscientising and strategically convincing White people of necessary change, the portion of the work that is dedicated to advising on structural and systemic areas of change like policies and employment equity, has increased.

One school under study published a list of action points that included policy reviews, employment equity and the appointment of a director in charge of TDEI. This leader remarks:

> *[Consultant] will be at some point doing more than just the conversations[…] looking at policies and advising there. I think [the] approach is far more high level, so like racial literacy[…] a total kind of shift. (Leader A)*

Consultants described their approaches as follows:

> *We have become a little bit bolder[…] to say unless this is going to end up in implementation in a year's time[…]. (Consultant A)*

> *I'm not afraid to engage white fragility and[…] I insist on coaching spaces for the leaders. (Consultant B)*

These statements show how external facilitators were able to address and name sensitive matters of White privilege, White supremacy and racism much more clearly and place conditions on their work with schools.

5.5. Summary

As laid out in this chapter, privileged schools were jumped to engage their racism and lack of transformation by two waves of student and learner protests, as well as related social media pressure, during 2015/2016 and 2020 when their learners openly echoed public accounts of racialised oppression, and some of the schools were directly implicated on social media. Against their leaders' stated intention of wanting to reduce harm and bring about change, most participants felt that bringing in diversity consultants was an exercise of managing risk and self-protecting. Experts were needed to address topics that White school leadership felt incompetent to deal with. With no organisational expertise or experience specifically during the first wave of protests and interventions, schools lacked clarity on what was expected from the consultants and handed themselves over to them in blind faith. In 2020, leaders are clearer both about their expectations of consultants (also due to clear demands from their alumni) and their own areas of incompetence. Some school leaders now feel less safe handing over the reigns to consultants whom, due to the pressure from alumni, they are not entirely free to choose. The approach taken by

consultants has moved from a primarily White-centric focus on changing “hearts” towards one that tentatively centers Black learners’ needs and includes critical theory and racial literacy education.

6. Diversity Interventions as Risk for Social Justice

6.1. Introduction

Resistance is a function of power being challenged and a natural reaction to willful ignorance being disrupted (Steyn, 2012), and thus its prevalence in participants' narratives comes as no surprise. What are the risks of tackling questions of TDEI through diversity interventions for the project of social justice within the schools? The unspoken, invisibilised relations of power (Bourdieu, 1976; Foucault, 1982), as they play out in these school systems, are kept in place through strategies that may be structural or inter-personal. They take various forms of active, passive, overt and covert resistance to change, whilst at the same time and in an effort to self-protect, performing a will to change (Green et al., 2007). Whilst certain strategies of resistance may merely remain unbroken or be intensified due to the threat of disruption and challenge to the hegemonic order, there are others that may only arise as a result of the TDEI interventions. The chapter ends with highlighting some of the harm that can be caused in the process, as told by participants or contained in their stories.

6.2. Power Asserting Itself in Resistance

Three intersecting and mutually reinforcing ways of asserting or intensifying existing power relations as a consequence of diversity interventions were identified, being strategies of keeping White people in charge, financial exclusion, and active survival ignorance (Steyn, 2012).

6.2.1. "And the head of everything must still be white." (Learner A).

> *I don't think it will really feel like the school has changed or transformed until the staff body is more significantly diverse. I think that's the key, the key factor to transformation. (Leader B)*

Much of the critique levelled against diversity interventions in organisations (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016; Douthat, 2018; Kirkland, 2017; Lewis, 2020) goes to the fact that they do not achieve greater diversity. Participants' responses suggest that the first wave of interventions at the schools indeed failed to effect improved staff diversity. Moreover, and whilst acknowledging that market-led recruitment processes are

by nature exclusionary and subject to different sorts of dynamics, findings indicate that the lack of staff transformation in the schools under study is not only an indicator of failure of interventions, but even an intentional strategy employed to resist change. Scholars (Ahmed, 2012a; Steyn & Kelly, 2010) have critiqued that organisations tend to reduce their understanding of diversity to employment equity (EE) or a numbers game. According to the findings of this study, rather than a reduction of diversity to EE, it was a disregard or an evasion of EE legislation that was perceived at the schools under study as a central obstacle to transformational change. Throughout this research, participants problematised the lack of racial diversity in schools' teaching staff and management bodies, and the diversity interventions employed over a number of years have not changed this perception. Several participants expressed this demographic imbalance:

> *Most of the time black teachers are silenced[…] they will learn[…] when to speak up, who to speak up to, when it's worth a fight[…] - it's a very suffocating environment. (Consultant A)*

> *This is the same space that I feel completely denies my humanity. (Consultant C, quoting Black teachers).*

> *White people get to decide for you and that's how it is and if that does not scream apartheid, then I don't know what[…] though they have no real empathy collectively and certainly very little to no understanding. (Teacher B)*

Teachers, learners and consultants expressed a lack of faith in school leaderships' genuine interest to change the school's demographic make-up, and even one leader admitted that her superiors' focus had not been on diversifying the leadership. Labour laws are seen not only as ineffective in forcing schools to achieve demographic change, but also as protecting racist White teachers. In one of the schools that were part of the research, a teacher was not removed in spite of learners repeatedly and over a number of years reporting her racist behaviour and calling for her dismissal. By "following procedure" (blaming the constraints of labour laws) and failing to put in place alternative ways of disciplining, re-positioning or training the teacher, even schools who were expressly fighting racism, effectively made the teacher untouchable and thus condoned further injury to Black learners.

At the same school, recruitment processes are felt by a teacher to lack strategy and expertise in Black talent acquisition into an overwhelmingly White environment, hampering the school's efforts at racial

diversification. This placed undue responsibility on existing Black staff who are expected to fill the gaps. One teacher shares how she refused this expectation to step into a new role to fit the school's transformation objectives:

> *I treated myself as a white person and I said, if I were a white person and I didn't want this job, I wouldn't apply, because I don't want this job. (Teacher B)*

In another school, a teacher observes the predominantly White team put in charge of employment equity as working to circumvent EE laws rather than applying them with a transformative vision:

> *[The employment equity group] is not a place where we are engaging with issues robustly, it often looks like we are looking for loopholes[…] this is a tool that is meant to be helping us and pushing us, and our response to it is kind of[…], Where are the caveats? (Teacher A)*

Across the schools, and in spite of years of diversity interventions, senior leadership appointments up until 2019 were almost exclusively White and mostly male. Participating White leaders expressed their wholehearted support for transformation in principle but failed to take responsibility for it. Although having taken on the custodianship of TDEI at the schools and having benefitted from the trainings, interventions and exposure to topics of social justice, they failed, in the one case, to lobby for Black appointments during a critical time, and in the other, to go the full length of transformational recruitment procedures. One leader struggles to own up to the ineffective recruitment process:

> *So unfortunately, we didn't have enough people of colour applying[…] we could have not maybe interviewed, and said we need more people to apply, but the bigger question is, why didn't they apply in the first place? (Leader A)*

A teacher expressed the damage to carefully built trust that was done through this failed transformation exercise:

> *The disappointment of that[…] puts all that we've done for the last three years, to absolute shame. (Teacher B)*

Other mechanisms subtly work towards keeping White people in authority through school governing bodies. One parent raised how voting processes and requirements for office represent hurdles for parents wishing to participate in school leadership, who live far from the school, have no independent transport

or work full-time. This, she notes, disproportionately affected Black parents, and ensured that the governing body continues to be run by a majority of conservative White parents with traditional interests of academic and sporting excellence and no sensitivity for TDEI.

> *On some boards and councils[…] there will be people[…] driving transformation but they're in the minority and they are often then parents of colour[…] And then it's also people who are legacy families[…] The school's not serving the public, it's their school that they've let other people into. (Consultant B)*

Adding to this picture, the above describes the power of conservative families in governing bodies at many schools.

6.2.2. Economic Exclusion.

A further gatekeeper of White ownership of the schools under study, according to one consultant, are admissions and fees policies where not only the financial barriers, but also tone and hidden messages work to deter financially vulnerable families[11]. In another subliminal version of exclusion based on class, the compulsory use of expensive and complex electronic equipment, as highlighted by a learner, serves to exclude mainly Black families and maintain predominantly White middle to upper-class student bodies.

Several participants name another powerful tool for keeping the status quo in place, the perceived overarching threat of "white flight", a phenomenon observed when schools "become too black" and White families leave (Christie, 2020; Department of Justice, 2019; Hunter, 2019):

> *[The principal] said if we change it too much all the white people will leave. (Consultant A)*

White families leaving is seen as problematic due to the perception that a) only they can secure the school's financial sustainability, and b) that White staff, learner bodies and culture convey prestige, quality and advantages on the labour market (Hunter, 2019). In combination, the intersecting dynamics of race and class serve to entrench White hegemonic power at the schools under study.

[11] These strategies were perceived in all schools under study, despite private schools being freer in their financial decisions than former Model C schools.

6.2.3. Active Survival Ignorance.

Although seemingly counter-intuitive, Black parents' reasons for non-resistance or even support of the schools' White-centric and White-dominant status quo are multiple and contradictory. The concepts offered by Steyn (2012) for Black people who do not resist or even support White supremacy are helpful here. In reversed versions of White people's ignorance as a learnt and intentional behaviour rather than a lack of knowledge, Steyn speaks of "survival ignorance" (2012, p. 21) and "protective ignorance" (2012, p. 19), which allow Black people to cope in a White supremacist system. One participant shared a Black mother's sentiment that seemed to exhibit "protective ignorance". She was devastated to see disappointed her (perhaps blind) faith in the school that it would offer her children a less oppressive environment than she had experienced under apartheid. Other participants commented on some Black parents resisting staff transformation and other social justice causes in what Steyn might term "aspirational ignorance" (2012, p. 20) or Hunter (2019) a buying into Whiteness as a currency.

Ultimately, in their current constellations and despite all diversity interventions made over the last years, school leaderships continue to have multiple tactics for resisting transformational change:

> *There are endless possibilities to disrupt or delay, based on timetables, money, etc[…] if leadership goes along, but not out of own conviction, but rather because they're being pressurized to do so[…] there'll be a sort of passive dragging of feet. (Leader B)*

> *Sometimes with the schools it's quite clear[…] this is who we are[…] you can play around and do whatever you want but the core and the essence of this place is staying intact.(Consultant C)*

As these statements confirm, strategies range from active deferment to unspoken messages to surveillance.

6.3. New Risk Arising from Diversity Interventions

> *If you are not allocating resources – time, money – to something, then don't tell me you're transforming. (Parent A)*

Risks specifically arising from diversity interventions are conceptualized here as performed transformation, the "right Blacks" and other constructions of loyalty, and Whiteness at work.

6.3.1. Performed Transformation.

What presents itself as a dangerous aspect for the project of social justice in privileged schools are the ways in which there is an overt express support for TDEI interventions and the changes they bring about, whilst at the same time change is actively blocked. An example of this tactic are school leaderships' purported efforts for greater equity and inclusion whilst an analysis of the schools' budgets and spending histories shows no corresponding commitment. A parent laments how millions are often spent on ever more sophisticated sports facilities, but budgets are tight when it comes to costs related to TDEI, such as teachers and classrooms for African language subjects, sports that are typically taken up by Black learners, bursaries, or appropriate compensation for teachers working in TDEI. Especially keeping TDEI work voluntary and informal by withholding systemic support and funding, whilst publicly supporting it, was a successful tactic used across the schools, denying social justice efforts authority and weakening their impact. In the schools under study, it led to TDEI work relying on individuals' passion and dedication, burning its drivers out whilst selling their progress to critics to avoid change (Douthat, 2018):

> *I was burning out very fast[…] this little committee on the side[…] that had no real authority[…] There was no sort of addition to salary or anything like that[…] But it became[…] timewise, the biggest part of my job. (Leader B)*

Pseudo-democratic learner participation in leadership was another performative tactic successfully applied by schools. It serves to rein in outspoken learners and appease them:

> *They would put you in a position just to like keep you quiet and keep you loyal. (Learner D)*

Yes, we could speak about a lot of things[…] but when we tried to bring up certain things that they deemed out of context, that was kind of shut down. (Learner A)

Performed openness for critique was an effective tool to derail transformation and equity efforts at the schools. As empowering as it initially felt to the learners to be offered fora to speak and be heard by the adults in authority, drawn-out bureaucratic processes and summoning of values and traditions left the activist learners exhausted and frustrated:

They eventually make you forget that you even brought that up as a problem. (Learner A)

They make you seem like you're making it up and then you sort of like doubt yourself. (Learner C)

Although in response to diversity interventions a number of schools have formed teams of volunteering teachers to drive TDEI, narratives reveal that these bodies are often not formalised, recognized or compensated, have no clear mandate, performance indicators or authority, and therefore end up overloaded and ineffective. In the persistent under-playing of the task of transforming from our colonial and apartheid history and what that entails, the pattern followed by the schools under study when it comes to people or groups associated with TDEI, is to overload them with the expectation to perform a multitude of functions, including social worker and psychologist for the learners and black teachers, consultants, mediators, policy drafters, M&E experts, lobbyists, motivational speakers, watchdogs and judges, all the while having to remain loyal to leadership and keeping the core of the institution intact. This teacher serving on one such committees, raises the challenges and toxic effect of holding the contradictory roles of confidant and representative on the one hand, and person of authority and discipline on the other:

Being both the good cop[...] and the bad cop[...] of transformation has bred a bit of mistrust, apprehension and even contempt. (Teacher A)

A recent trend that can be observed at many privileged schools across South Africa is to in-source TDEI expertise and employ a Black senior manager to drive transformation and equity efforts. These schools seem to follow corporations that increasingly create "Chief Diversity Director" and similar roles as a way to integrate diversity into their overall business strategies (Anand & Winters, 2008). Although seen by some participants as a positive signal of the schools' commitment to transformation, this model has its own challenges. As this consultant critiques, the managers enter hostile environments informed by

centuries of White-centric and supremacist tradition and face unrealistic expectations by school leadership, ultimately setting them up for failure:

> *One black person to receive all the vitriol that will come from your community[...]whether it's the HR issue on race[...] a student discipline issue[...] a curriculum matter that's racial[...] and that's not fair[...] make sure that this space is ready for them, that you've put in the right systems[...] that your community is ready to receive that. (Consultant B)*

The strategies discussed in this section all serve to perform progressiveness and a commitment to transformation which conceal the schools' underlying resistance and sabotaging of the process.

6.3.2. The "Right Blacks" and Other Constructions of Loyalty.

Various constructions of group membership serve to silence dissent in the schools under study. Just as one learner noted how the concept of "school spirit" was instrumentalised, the notion of being a "family" was used at another school to harness loyalty, counter dissent, negate differences of experience, silence and preserve a false sense of integrity. By creating a culture of benign silencing[12], both mechanisms are expressions of Bourdieu's concepts of schools as means of social control (1976) and of symbolic or gentle violence (Bourdieu, 2001):

> *There had been a racist incident[…] at the school and how [black teachers] were affected by that thing was very different to how their white colleagues were affected[…] they were feeling torn between[…] this whole "we are a family" thing, but[…] that could have been me! That could have been my child. But there is no space to address that because we are all family and there's no way that we are racist here and would do any of this. (Consultant C)*

Feeding into this constructed sense of loyalty, the Black people within the schools, according to the teachers, a Black consultant and a learner, are both carefully selected and managed to assimilate and comply with the schools' hegemony:

[12] I borrow the term from Soudien's concept of "benign assimilation" as it relates to Black learners in formerly White schools (Soudien, 2004).

You know it inherently[…] that this is not your game. You are being invited to sit on the sidelines or to throw the ball a couple of times, but you are not the main players here. (Teacher B)

Oh no, you girls should just be grateful that you are able to even come to a school like this, you know? (Learner A, quoting a teacher)

I looked around the room and I went, Oh, they hire the quiet ones. (Teacher B, observing Black colleagues)

But I also come in because you know I've got the right accent. So I sort of meet the criteria of the nice, well spoken, educated black. So I make quite the nice co-facilitator[…] the black providers[…] I do know, they also fit that criteria. (Consultant C)

Part of the tension of being the black person that is consistently in some key meetings and key points of decision-making[…], am I only here because I am soft?[…] I feel like I am a convenient black person to have. (Teacher A)

Black teachers, learners and consultants receive the underlying message that their presence and contributions are conditional on their palatability to White people and on them knowing and keeping their place on the receiving end of power and control.

6.3.3. Whiteness at Work.

One of the more complicated risks to social justice is TDEI in the schools under study being driven by leaders who are White. The narratives suggest that their impact was limited by a number of factors relating to their positionality and subjectivity as Whites. Although all participants unanimously acknowledged the participating leaders as fundamental and critical drivers of TDEI at the respective schools, most participants noted how White leaders' true intentions were not being trusted. Both leaders revealed a tension very familiar to this researcher, of working in and, in one case, her children benefitting from, privileged schools in the face and despite the injustice reproduced and perpetuated there. This tension, echoed also by the participating parent, represented one of the key drivers for their engagement with TDEI (they both named their faith as another) and points to their underlying intention being to restore their positive self-image rather than effect radical change. Their stated goal was to make the schools more

welcoming for all (reminding of a liberal social justice tradition (Tjabane & Pillay, 2011)), and their responses suggest that they only theoretically challenged the system at its core. Their objectives were therefore likely what Nancy Fraser describes as ameliorative rather than transformative (Clowes, 2017; Fraser et al., 2003; Keddie, 2012), posing a risk for the project of transformative social justice due to remaining unacknowledged and unspoken and therefore inaccessible to interrogation.

A further risk for the continuity of social justice work at schools is White leaders, when challenged in their racial positionality in this role, retreating from their activism for social justice due to a lack of racial stamina (DiAngelo, 2018), as one leader's narrative suggested. Other risks arise when, despite their stated intentions to the contrary, White leaders exhibit an unconscious loyalty to White colleagues and learners and defend their fragility and racism, as exhibited by another leader, and commented on by a parent.

6.4. Harm Caused in the Wake of Diversity Interventions

6.4.1. Well-Intentioned Lay Teachers Making Classrooms Less Safe.

Most diversity interventions in schools focus on teacher training (Brandon, 2003; Curry-Stevens, 2007, 2010; Francis & Hemson, 2007; Jansen, 2013; Singleton & Hays, 2008; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Steyn & Davis, 2012; Walls et al., 2010) and getting teachers to convey socially just knowledge and values in and through their classrooms. The same is the case in two of the schools under study and, according to one consultant, in most schools where there are some teachers who volunteer to be pioneers of TDEI interventions. Even after substantial diversity training, as the participating Black teachers, the parent and some learners lament, most White teachers, due to their "unexamined areas of self" (Francis & Hemson, 2007, p. 107) and relative racial isolation (DiAngelo, 2018; Kivel, 2017), lack sufficient experience, expertise and confidence to adequately address emotive questions of racism, White supremacy and racial injustice in the classroom. They hardly ever possess the insight to manage dialogue and personal story sharing in the way that Steyn and Davis (2012) propose in order to protect Black learners from exploitation for the benefit of White learning, and from further harm[13]. Despite their best intentions and with marked exceptions, most are ill-equipped to lead young people in such conversations and end up causing

[13] Few have gone through their own process of what Steyn calls "hybridization" (2001, p. 168), an adaptive re-definition of their White identity in line with post-apartheid societal changes. They have not yet dealt with the guilt and shame of becoming aware of their own unconscious complicity in past and present racial injustice.

tremendous hurt and confusion on the part of Black learners, as several Black learners divulged. One parent concedes after remarking on the poor quality of facilitation by some of the teachers:

> *And maybe one expects too much of them[...] You have to be like facilitator, social worker, diversity expert. I mean, it's a big ask. (Parent A)*

It takes the average White facilitator years of training and self-reflection to lead conversations about race and power in diverse groups in a way that is safe for Black group members. This kind of work is thus a tall order on teachers that appears to be under-estimated or under-valued by schools.

6.4.2. The Violent Quest for Insider Status.

As a result of the diversity interventions, White learners were perceived by participants to increasingly seek cross-racial contact. Green, Sonn and Matsebula (2007) have critically delineated the phenomenon of White people separating themselves from racism by seeking "insider status" and unproblematic solidarity with their Black peers. Aiming at learning and a restored sense of self, they position themselves as the "good Whites" without self-reflection or challenging their own power (Green et al., 2007). The call for tolerance resulting in minoritized groups being positioned as "helpless objects that the dominant group can choose to protect and be charitable towards" (Green et al., 2007, p. 406) is reflected in one learner relating her sense of suddenly being pitied by her seemingly well-intentioned White peers. Their misguided attempts at presenting themselves as non-racist only work to expose their refusal to address their own racism, and their racial isolation (DiAngelo, 2018) is uncovered when their only cross-racial reference points are the people working in their homes. Learner C's insistence on self-reflection and behavioural change on their part, and her irritation at some of their statements, expresses her understanding of "the oppressive power of whiteness underlying these discourses and actions" (Green et al., 2007, p. 407):

> *Now all of a sudden there's like that level of pity now… I was speaking to my friend in Xhosa … all of a sudden, she'd be like, "Oh my gosh guys, you know, I definitely should learn,"… and I'd be like, "Sure". And then she'd be like, "Oh and my domestic worker would -" and it would just be weird things man. … so now what am I supposed to do? …now they are trying to force relations … to make it seem as if … everything is fine… I'm not against unity but it's like, can we actually*

deal with the problem first?… The intention is for you to unlearn your implicit bias or whatever racism – whatever prejudice you may or may not have. Try and unlearn that and try and be aware of like how it comes out like when you speak and how you act around people in the school first. (Learner C)

Learner C's exasperation at having to negotiate her White peers' offenses demonstrates how the interventions were not only unable to sufficiently conscientize some White people to reduce day to day harm, but actually proliferated these harmful interactions through encouraging unfiltered, un-reflected contact. One leader was concerned about the "destructive" dynamic between White and Black learners that had developed, admitting that the interventions had opened up generational traumas and deep-seated issues that the school was not equipped to safely hold.

6.4.3. Silence Compounded by Assumed Closure and Backlash.

Participants raised many cases where racist behaviour was not addressed (at times under the banner of a larger strategy), where engagement with race and oppression was allowed to remain theoretical and at arm's length (echoing Steyn and Kelly's (2010) findings), and where no critical self-reflection was enforced. Narratives demonstrate how this led to minoritized voices in the schools being further silenced and /or burdened with stepping into the difficult role of educating peers and teachers, or of managing the latter's emotional responses to their racial innocence being challenged. This learner shares:

Everyone was like, "Oh, but you know, this isn't our fault," and stuff. "We feel like we're being punished"…"We are being made to feel embarrassed or feel bad for being white"… I don't know what I'm supposed to say to that. (Learner C)

Learner A notes that teachers, too, would respond to interventions with little understanding and discourage Black learners from speaking about the injustice they experienced:

Our own teachers...were almost oblivious…. So their response was almost like, why did we even have to bring it up? Don't scratch where it doesn't itch kind of thing. (Learner A)

One Black consultant names the backlash of White fragility that Black teachers face once the consultants leave the schools, which can come in the form of anger and retaliation, vulnerability and overwhelm or

retreat from their colleagues. All these emotions, according to the consultant, which Black teachers are implicitly held accountable for, lead to them having to "walk on eggshells" around their colleagues. Another Black consultant addresses the same phenomenon in relation to Black learners being "targeted" in the aftermath of interventions. She also highlights how the schools and some teachers use the facilitated trainings and dialogues to silence learners with the message that racism has now been dealt with and there being no cause for further complaints.

6.4.4. Black Labour and Tokenisation.

Some of the risks that arise out of diversity interventions in privileged schools for the Black teachers overlap with those for the Black learners, and some are distinct. In search of support and, as one leader puts it, integrity for herself in her role, White leaders of TDEI pulled in Black colleagues. One Black teacher who was brought in to be present in all the major meetings and engagements around the school's TDEI work, felt burdened by the dual roles of being a novice teacher and a driver of transformation, and inadequate for not being sufficiently diversity literate. Although leadership were aware of her deep discomfort and self-doubt over many years, she was not released from this duty and felt unable to refuse the role:

> *Is my blackness black enough if I'm not seeing pain and problems in the black experience at [school]? Is my woman-ness woman enough if I'm not seeing pain in a woman's experience at [school]? (Teacher A)*

Green et al. (2007) remind us that within antiracism practice, Black people are considered "interested parties" (Green et al., 2007, p. 405) whose contributions are expected and understood as a neutral norm, whilst White people continue to hold the position of determining what racism means and how it is to be addressed. It was oftentimes on Black teachers and learners in the schools under study to speak out about social/racial injustice. When they did, they were expected to come up with and drive solutions, as expressed by this learner and White leader:

> *It was on our shoulders[...] if we didn't say anything, no discussion was going to happen[...] Then these [diversity interventions] which I thought were good and I wanted to happen, but[...] all of a*

sudden, I'm supposed to, you know, have all the answers also on like how this should happen, and what. (Learner C)

It's hard[...] When everything is fairly "peaceful" to not become complacent. (Leader B).

A similar phenomenon has been found in universities where Black faculty and students are called to serve on diversity committees that do not effect structural change, but drain their time and energy (Ahmed, 2012b). Learner D retells this experience being shared amongst learners across different schools:

Asking learners to do the labour for the school, unpaid labour[...] the amount of work and effort that you put in to try and make it better while not seeing the results. (Learner D)

Apart from the reproduction of unequal distribution of labour, such expectation shows a lack of appreciation for how emotionally taxing and socially and professionally risky it is for Black people in a White-dominated environment to speak up about racial/social injustice. This Black teacher's refusal to be interpellated into the work of educating her White colleagues in racial/social justice matters is an attitude that I found in several of the Black participants:

I can't take on a 40-year-old's baggage[...] The staff are responsible for themselves. We have to secure the children. (Teacher B)

Repeatedly having to share their personal experiences for the benefit of White peers' learning and without their White counterparts reciprocating the offering of vulnerability, Black teachers and learners were left feeling fatigued, as this teacher vocalises:

So that was an exhaustion that I witnessed in staff of color and also girls of color, that we are constantly having to rehash our pain in the space, and sometimes[...] to a person[...] who couldn't be bothered to be in the room. (Teacher A)

It is on the grounds of this harmful effect that Steyn and Davis (2012) have problematized the methodology of storytelling when it is not critically facilitated by challenging White comfort.

6.4.5. One-Sided Optionality.

In White-dominated environments with limited legislative, policy or other external pressure, trainings and interventions around social justice are usually framed in optionality. White people can choose to opt in or out of these conversations or processes at will (Green et al., 2007). They are free in their response to such interventions and can choose any reaction including disengagement and silence or active blocking, silencing and resistance, seemingly without repercussion. Black participants speak with clarity and certainty when naming the unwritten rule that White people are not to be pushed beyond a certain point:

> *If you push too hard, they don't have to[…] They're white. They're safe[…] I would still receive more judgment as a person of colour for speaking out, than I will as a white person sitting back and being quiet, even though that might be the more damaging thing in this white space. (Teacher B)*

> *The default in these schools is the white child cries and you stop, hey. You don't make white kids cry. (Consultant B)*

How White people get to determine what racism is, and how racism is externalized (Green et al., 2007) and kept at a theoretical distance without acknowledging it in the issues at hand in the classroom and school environment, is another expression of optionality and highlighted by a Black consultant:

> *(We) talk about all of this stuff that is happening out there and these hypothetical situations. But we never want to work with what is present here, right here in this moment. (Consultant C)*

In contrast, Black learners' activism is never voluntary.

> *You're in this position, but you can't do anything[...] And that stings because you trying, but other people don't realize how bad [it is]. (Learner A)*

> *It was us almost feeling trapped because there is only so much we can do, as students. (Learner C)*

> *And then you feel guilty almost if you feel like you haven't done enough. (Learner D)*

Once conscientized to the racial/social injustice existing within their schools, Black learners felt compelled to take up leadership positions out of a sense of responsibility for their marginalized peers but were left feeling powerless and struggling to negotiate their activism and being accountable to their Black peers, with their own survival and success.

6.5. Summary

The above chapter sought to highlight some of the risks arising when privileged schools conduct diversity trainings, workshops and dialogues. Versions of resistance highlighted by participants were intensified efforts to keep White people in leadership, using class and economic power relations to correct hegemonic disruption, and what I argue are variations of survival ignorance by Black parents and teachers. New obstacles emerging from the diversity interventions to the project of social justice in the schools are performed support for transformation, which works to divert and obfuscate, breeding a culture of "right" Blackness and constructions of loyalty, as well as White drivers of TDEI unconsciously stifling radical social justice efforts. The chapter ends with theorising some of the largely unacknowledged and unaddressed ways in which these mechanisms cause harm to Black learners and teachers. Against this sobering background, the following chapter will focus on the potential for social justice opened up by diversity interventions.

7. The Social Justice Potential of Diversity Interventions

Transformation: "The rebalancing of past injustices and (to) the full participation in South African life of previously disadvantaged groups." (Reygan, 2016, p. 181)

7.1. Introduction

The bleak picture painted by the preceding chapters cannot be sugarcoated. Privileged schools are put under pressure to introspect and call on professional support that has little prospect of success and ends up causing further harm to Black people, while at the same time providing defenses and allowing schools to build resilience against their critics. Against this backdrop, what might be pockets of transformational change perceived by participants? What might be sites of potential for social justice? This chapter lays out where within privileged schools energy for change seems to originate, goes on to name the achievements made by and within the schools during the last six years, highlights a reversal of roles observed between educators and learners, and ends with deliberations on shifted power.

7.2. Who Makes Things Happen?

Within the context of substantial pressure exerted on privileged schools both through learner protests around the country, learners increasingly voicing their dissatisfaction through internal channels, and through learners, alumni and others using the power of social media to expose persistent racism and schools' lack of transformation, where do the various stakeholders in a school system take on an enabling role in transformational change?

7.2.1. Leadership – Crucial, but Rare.

The school principal should lead transformation with genuine conviction and managerial courage, relying on a compelling business case in order to achieve key stakeholder buy-in and support. This role does not belong to an external consultant or some school committee, but is the key

responsibility of the principal. If the principal is not convinced and convincing, then the staff and parents will not be convinced either. (ISASA guide 2018)

Due to their decision-making power within the school systems, an aligned school leadership team that has the support from the school governing body and authority with the staff, is considered by the participating diversity consultants the most effective driver of transformation.

When those people are driving the process, oh my word, it's lifechanging. (Consultant B)

In one of the schools, participants reported about substantial financial, time and capacity investment into teacher training, extensive and widely consultative policy development, a strategic teacher intern programme aimed at diversifying the staff, an EE committee, and the introduction of dialogue opportunities for learners, amongst other measures. According to the leader and teacher involved in these processes, the achievements were made possible through an extraordinarily committed head of the school driving them and the head of the governing body being in full support. In most other schools that participants had exposure to, this kind of broad support on senior level does not exist, and the consultant's emphatic tone above suggests how rare such a constellation is.

7.2.2. Teachers - Stirring Underground.

"Teachers have an important and central role to play in the transformation of South African society." (Department of Basic Education, 2014, p. 16).

National policy increasingly asks of teachers to be socially just educators (Department of Justice, 2019; Reygan & Steyn, 2017). This is certainly not the case across the board (Moloi, 2014), and as demonstrated in the previous chapter, most White teachers due to their subjectivity and relative racial isolation (DiAngelo, 2018; Kivel, 2017), have limited expertise and training for driving diversity at the schools in a way that does not put Black learners and colleagues at risk.

A marked exception for one learner was a progressive White teacher who took on a more covert and subversive role by conscientizing learners around socially unjust dynamics in the school, empowering them to speak up against them:

> *She was very undercover but she was very, very effective in terms of transformation and diversity[...] she helped me in[...] being a voice for the rest of the student body or the minorities of the student body. (Learner B)*

Given the small pool of Black teachers and the precarity of their positions in the assimilationist culture at the schools under study (Hunter, 2019; McKinney, 2010; Soudien, 2004), most Black teachers were perceived by participants as taking the (likewise important) role of silent confidants, with Black teachers openly conscientizing learners and encouraging dissent being the exception.

7.2.3. Parents – An Untapped Source of Influence.

> *Where are the parents? (Teacher B)*

Despite their substantial economic power and potential influence in private and semi-private schools, findings suggest that parents at the schools under study take a subordinate role in schools' transformation efforts. With marked exceptions, the schools have no organized parent bodies promoting TDEI. The comparatively progressive White parent participating in the study largely takes on the role of observer and "gentle activist". Again familiar to this researcher, the intention appeared to be a full inclusion of "others" into an otherwise stable system that leaves one's own children's privileges largely intact. Some Black parents, shaken up from their "protective ignorance" (Steyn, 2012, p. 19) by the protests and recent social media action, are increasingly and successfully applying pressure on schools, as one Black consultant comments.

7.2.4. Alumni - Game Changers.

> *Watching white school leaders and educators listen to white alumni saying, "Y'all didn't prepare us for the world[...] How dare you take all of our money and send us into South Africa, making us think that this is normal and then we get to university and we are like 5%, and this is not normal." (Consultant B)*

A central source of impetus and support for privileged schools' transformation are their former learners. They feature prominently both on relevant social media platforms and in participants' perceptions of what moves the work of social justice and transformation forward. Driven by the Black alumni and at times in collaboration with current learners, they increasingly organize and make concrete demands on schools. The schools under study and many others responded to this trend by inviting alumni to public or closed conversations. One of the schools has created consultation structures in which mostly Black alumni take a formalised advisory role. Alumni have also been instrumental in forcing schools to engage diversity consultants who are Black and who will openly challenge the schools' White leaderships. Some schools go as far as taking "briefs" from alumni groups:

> *It was a very strong call from our [alumni] that we need external consultants to do a thorough [transformation] audit[...], to assist us in developing a strategic plan for going forward and [in its] initial implementation[...]. That's the brief. (Leader B)*

What both leaders described as immensely difficult, even traumatic, engagements with alumni during 2020, in their perception brought about significant shifts in those schools, as related by one leader:

> *There is far more of a commitment now[...] in terms of employment equity, and I think part of that is[...] the input of the [alumni][...] that is an external pressure that is going to be very helpful going forward. (Leader B)*

The learners themselves were found across narratives to have decisive influence on how schools engaged with TDEI and will be discussed in the following section.

7.3. Learners as Educators: Role Reversal at the Intersection of Race, Seniority and Position

> *"Black students became the new educators of a dishonest university institution, in so doing creating themselves as the more compelling intellectuals of the moment."* (L.-A. Naidoo, 2020, p. 2)

In the wake of the RMF and FMF student movements that started in 2015, learners of privileged schools have developed increasingly powerful strategies of resistance against racism and the lack of transformation in their schools. Following the example of their university peers (Bosch, 2017; L.-A. Naidoo, 2020; Ngidi et al., 2016; Xaba, 2017) and global movements like BlackLivesMatter (De Choudhury et al., 2016; Freelon et al., 2018), they identified social media as an effective tool to have their voices heard and in this way re-positioned diversity and social justice, formerly privatized by organisations to avoid accountability (Kersten & Sidky, 1997), back into the public sphere (Habermas, 1989) allowing transparent societal debate:

> *In terms of actual changes, it really does depend on how much noise you can make[…] that's when things start to really happen because that's kind of where it hurts I guess. (Learner D)*

Using the limitless capacities of social media, learners developed a culture of racial literacy and critical dialogue and collectively took on board elements of critical race theory and black consciousness, empowering themselves and others to name social injustices in their schools and to stand up against them (De Choudhury et al., 2016). By taking critical education beyond the schools in this way, one may argue they made strides towards the societal pedagogisation that Zembylas (2018b) proposes as a decolonial project. One consultant describes the learners' power through social media as game changing:

> *The kid's voice[…] in this world of Instagram[…] was once contained within a school[…] It's no longer there, it's public now and so that gives kids a lot more voice and it's only growing and getting stronger and getting wiser and getting cleverer and getting more legal[…] that[…] may be a new[…] force that might move directions quicker[…] kids are watching now and they are reporting now and they're speaking now. (Consultant A)*

In their call for a type of training for teachers and learners that speaks clearly to racial and social injustice, whether or not they name it as such, learners across many privileged schools in South Africa are asking for racial literacy to be advanced across schools. Steyn and Kelly (2010) found a common language of

critical diversity literacy amongst stakeholders to be one of two fundamental components in organisational diversity work that aims at social justice. I suggest that learners taking the lead in calling on schools to build a system-wide critical capacity is an important step in this direction that demonstrates how young learners are taking more and more leadership in driving transformation in schools.

When White school leaders are charged with the project of transformation, the lines of hierarchy between adult-child and teacher/principal-learner are somewhat disrupted. In a blurring and, at times, reversal of roles, participating learners all recounted moments where they were consulted by adults on questions of race or stepped into a vacuum left by White adults who did not possess the competencies to appropriately manage racialized dynamics. The learners recall having had to educate peers and teachers in critically reading statements and interactions, or in devising appropriate responses and relevant procedures for them. One learner relates how it was on her even to console peers whose complaints, in spite of her lobbying for them, were not adequately addressed by school leadership. Adeptly naming the challenge of being made to hold conflicting roles of educator and learner, this Black learner who recalls having been called to school leadership frequently for this purpose, painfully remembers:

> *Sometimes I would get overwhelmed because[...] all of a sudden, I'm supposed to[...] have all the answers[...] and it's very difficult because[...] I'm 17, and 40-something year olds are asking me to educate them on something they should easily be able to educate themselves about, if they were serious about what they were doing. (Learner C)*

The more training and dialogue had been conducted at a school, the more White leaders were aware of their limitations in cross-racial competence and passed authority and responsibility to the minors in their care. In what continues to be an experimental and unregulated space, schools failed to procure the necessary expertise from professionals, and instead placed the bulk of the burden on the young, mostly Black learners. Leigh-Ann Naidoo convincingly conceptualized how during the RMF protests at the University of Cape Town and in a similar reversal of roles, the Black students became the educators and the more compelling intellectuals (L.-A. Naidoo, 2020). Students as educators and intellectuals may hold potential for social justice and raise hopes for a new generation of fresh and critical minds who model new ways of being with each other across racialised difference. However, in the schools under study where students are minors, such reversal of roles sharpens questions of dereliction of duty on the part of the adults and of undue, and uncompensated, emotional and intellectual labour for the Black learners, who

typically are the most vulnerable members of the school system, and whose activism is never entirely voluntary.

7.4. Perceptions of transformational change towards social justice

Within this study's overwhelming narrative of perceived stagnation of social justice efforts and failure of diversity interventions, Nancy Fraser's (2003) understanding of social justice informs the following discussion of moments of progress and success that were named by participants. Fraser's (2003) concept of "participatory parity" defines social justice as a state where all can participate as equals in society. It is achieved through addressing three overlapping dimensions of social justice (Clowes, 2017), where the economic dimension addresses class inequalities and the distribution of resources, the cultural dimension speaks to institutionalised cultural hierarchies, value and recognition, and the political sphere to representation and voice. Participants' perceptions speak to each of the dimensions.

7.4.1. Voice.

This study has found ample evidence for the silencing atmosphere that exists in White-dominated privileged South African schools. In this context, it seems important that across the narratives provided by participants, there were accounts of Black learners and teachers, as a consequence of the diversity interventions and of their experiences being validated and receiving airtime, having "more of a voice", which effect I suggest is located within Fraser's (2003) political dimension of representation. All schools under study have incorporated into the school days regular dedicated times and spaces for learner engagement on topics of TDEI, be it in the form of invited speakers, dialogues, workshops or else. When asked about diversity interventions' success, participants shared:

> *Black learners feeling like they could speak up and fight back. (Consultant C)*

> *A few years ago – there is no way they would have explained their disgust straight away in a staff setting, with everyone staring at them. Absolutely no way. (Teacher B)*

More students feeling comfortable to come forward and raise complaints[...] a spike in complaints[...] confident to come forward and feel confident that something's going to be done about what they bring up. (Consultant B)

At least more people are being equipped with language to speak about the things[...] a comfort with calling things out[...] for what they are. (Parent A)

Definitely there was a jump[...] people were becoming more vocal. (Learner A)

The responses attest to a raising of awareness and consciousness being felt across participant groups, leading to an atmosphere that allowed more dissent and robust discussion.

7.4.2. Belonging.

Similarly situated on an individual level, most participants tell of a more welcoming feeling for Black learners and teachers, and some speak of a sense of greater safety in the schools as a consequence of diversity interventions:

The black [learners]... feeling that it's not just the expectation that they assimilate...that they can remain who they are and bring more of who they are into the school space...a feeling that the school is more welcoming of diversity. (Leader B, quoting Black learners)

The place is more welcoming...just marginally...and many of them will say that. (Teacher B)

When girls relate experiences of discrimination, it feels to me like 70% of the time, it's old hurt… yes, we are generating new hurt, but perhaps not at the same rate as previously. (Teacher A)

When black educators feel a shift in the environment[...] not just safe for the kids but also safe for black educators who often are very disempowered in these spaces. (Consultant B)

[When] this kind of intervention at least provides some kind of an opening or a space where black people in the space feel like their experiences are being reflected in a way that speaks to them and there are no repercussions for them. (Consultant C)

I suggest that the above are expressions of Fraser's (2003) cultural dimension of recognition by feeling seen in one's fullness and recognized for who one is in all or more of one's facets.

7.4.3. Structural Changes.

Points of success in the economic dimension attributed by participants to diversity interventions, included one school's re-allocation of sports scholarship funds to bursaries based on economic needs, and abolishing the practice of having one majority White, privileged primary school as automatic feeder school.

Various other structural changes named by participants can be positioned within the cultural sphere, such as the abolishment of a colonial school hymn, changes to the dress code to accommodate different gender expressions, body and hair types, the creation of a prayer room open for all expressions of faith, the founding of a pride society, the incorporation of more African content in the curriculum, the replacing of colonial iconography with one that affirms Black learners, and one school financially supporting its first ever Black caucus meeting of teachers. One school implemented a racism policy with a thorough restorative process.

In the political and representative dimension of social justice, structural changes referred to mostly by leaders and one teacher largely relate to employment equity and attempts to diversify staff and leadership. Adopting a transformation policy, creating an employment equity committee, introducing internship and mentorship programmes and normalizing EE language in the recruitment process, are examples of measures taken by the schools under study and highlighted by participants as reflecting change. Against the background of all participants having named the lack of racial representivity in staff and leadership as a central challenge, these expressions of progress must be understood as efforts that, albeit important, have thus far had limited effect on participants' perceptions of the schools' state of transformation.

One may find encouragement in one teacher's recollection of a newly employed Black colleague consoling her:

> *I can hear how tired you are, but I would not be here if you hadn't been doing what you did. (Teacher B)*

A structural change that mirrors what Anand and Winters (2008) call a key shift from previous diversity efforts in corporations, is presented in one school's attempt to integrate diversity into all areas of operation. By changing its management structures to include TDEI deliverables in each department, the school aims at a deeper embeddedness of social justice work in the school system. Although commendable in principle, its impact will have to be measured by scholars in the future.

Beyond challenging injustices within the three dimensions of distribution, recognition and representation, Fraser (2003) insists on a critical interrogation of the ways in which they are addressed, differentiating between ameliorative or affirmative and transformational approaches (Clowes, 2017). Whilst within this framework transformative approaches deconstruct the underlying social structures that create the injustices in a way that reminds of understandings of decolonization (Mignolo, 2011), ameliorative approaches work only to correct the outcomes of unjust social arrangements and can even reify binary and oppositional relations of exclusion (Clowes, 2017). With most of the positive outcomes named in this section being ameliorative, I suggest that a transformative potential lies within the tentative shifting of power set out in the following section. It is here that I believe there may be cause for hope in the quest for transformational social justice.

7.5. Power Incrementally Shifting

> *The constant dialogue is starting to redress that[...] power issues in general[...] more people are more aware now. [...]they've not really been able to look away as much[...] historically, there's not a lot of trust in management[...] it's more balanced than it's probably been in the history of the school. Of course[...] it doesn't feel safe yet. It doesn't feel comfortable yet, but it's way better. (Teacher B)*

When considering the ways in which participants' narratives suggest a shifting of power and authority between stakeholder groups in privileged schools, it is helpful to remember Foucault's productive concept of power as a complex web of relations rather than as a binary, linear relationship (Smart, 2002). Applying it in an educational context, it reminds us of the ways in which all stakeholders in a school system take a role in contributing to or resisting transformation and social justice. The context of student protests and social media activism and the tremendous pressure to address questions of racism and transformation on schools, informs the developments set out below, support for and resistance against which are both situated across stakeholder groups within the school systems.

7.5.1. Consultant Profiles and Content of Interventions.

As a consequence of direct pressure from their current and former learners, all the schools under study have shifted from being supported by White-led teams of consultants to engaging Black-led teams of practitioners. Informed by the RMF movement's challenge to the colonial university and particularly its use of Black Consciousness (Biko, 1978) concepts and principles, and emboldened by the 2020 BLM movement, current and former learners of the schools under study brought into discourse and challenged the role of Whites in TDEI work. White people's lack of understanding of racism through their racial isolation was brought into question, and their inherent blind spots and unconscious strategies of diversion and protecting the status quo (DiAngelo, 2018; Saad, 2020) were being named as obstacles in the fight against their racialized oppression.

Consultant C relays how White facilitators may not be able to grasp the full range of Black people's experience and thus to appropriately support them:

> *These are the dynamics sometimes that I think white people miss[...] that black people are also socialized[...] we know how to feed into the thing to make our lives easier in the space[...] what you might get out of a conversation, is not necessarily what I'm going to get out of a conversation[...] there are some things[...] that won't come to you because of your positionality.*

Most participants confirm that during the second wave of protests, White facilitators were seen to be soft on White people and to protect Whiteness and the status quo, whilst Black facilitators were seen to be needed to clearly articulate structural and systemic issues and thus effect change.

> *A lot of schools that are saying we need to have a black person do this work for us. Because the alumni are saying [so][...] The alumni specifically said that's the person we want[...] we want people that will be able to like say it as it is. And it's got to come from a black person. (Consultant A)*

> *I'm able to say incredibly difficult things in the most directly gentle way[...] With other [White] colleagues in the space[...] I've sat in some sessions where[...] we've never said white and we've never said white supremacy and we've never named fragility. (Consultant B)*

As several participants and communication published by schools across the country attest, Black consultants whose methodology is more closely aligned with critical theorists (hooks, 1994; Kincheloe et al., 2011; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Steyn & Davis, 2012), are greatly gaining popularity. Their approaches involve openly challenging White supremacist hegemony and a centering of Black knowledge and experience, turning the lens on White people whilst extending a hand to them. One consultant highlights that, for many Whites in privileged schools, the experience of being led and educated by a competent Black woman is, in itself, novel and change-inducing. Especially as this stands in contrast to findings 20 years ago (Francis et al., 2003) that antiracist training is best received when delivered by a white, middle-class man, I suggest that the above presents a noticeable shift in power relations within the schools under study. Representation on a strategic level of the system was forced onto school leaderships, reducing their autonomy and ability to retain the status quo.

7.5.2. TDEI Leader Profiles.

Learners and alumni did not stop short at the external consultants in their critique of Whites leading TDEI work but challenged school-internal drivers of TDEI in their positionality. Although the drivers of TDEI are typically amongst the more progressive Whites in the school systems and, in theory, understand the importance of racial representivity in positions of leadership and authority, their narratives suggest that they had felt well positioned to be driving TDEI at their schools and thought it sufficient to have a Black colleague informally assisting them. They were seemingly unaware of, or unwilling to acknowledge, how their positionalities in this structure reproduced and modelled to the school community hegemonic power relations. Participants aptly describe White leaders' limitations as a deficiency:

> *You can't get beyond a certain point in terms of them trying to understand what you're saying. (Learner A)*

> *I was just shocked that they had even thought this was okay. (Teacher B)*

> *I think he understands that there's pain, but not at the expense of actually changing this "great" school. (Consultant A)*

Leaders recall how their stance on their own positionality changed through being challenged in their roles during the second wave of protests:

> *That has changed over time[...] it hadn't really been an issue in my mind[...] it's white people that need to do the work[...] this year for the first time, it's been sort of publicly challenged, the fact that I'm a white woman doing this work. (Leader B)*

> *Initially, it was in some ways important that it was a white woman who would do that[...] a white woman has that voice in that space[...]I think [now] it's important that it is a person of colour[...] because when the Black Lives Matter unfolded[...] [current and former learners] also felt it was important. (Leader A)*

With an increased sensitivity towards learners' perception of their positional limitations and inadequacy in their roles, it is with a sense of acceptance and even relief that participating White leaders are handing over the reins to Black counterparts.

It doesn't really matter[...] who's driving it. I think it matters to the kids that it's a person of colour and I will[...] keep doing what I am doing but I think it's important for their sake to see someone like them in that position. (Leader A)

In many ways, it feels like I don't have a legitimate voice in the space anymore...I've come to question my own ability to work in the space in a meaningful way[...] And so there's almost a very willing handing over to other experts who know better, and who have legitimacy and credibility and can lead the work. (Leader B)

The accounts above not only point to an important self-reflection forced onto leaders, but also to a relinquishing of power and authority as a result of the critique received by learners and alumni.

7.5.3. Integrated TDEI Structures.

The recent trend of creating a role in charge of TDEI within senior management that was observed in privileged schools across South Africa, was discussed in a previous section. As observed there, these schools seem to take guidance from corporations locally and abroad who increasingly create Chief Diversity Director and similar roles as a way to integrate diversity into their overall business strategies (Anand & Winters, 2008). Although this model, if not prepared and structurally embedded appropriately, may easily fail, schools' attempt at it is seen by some participants as a positive signal of the schools' commitment to transformation, with one teacher calling it "exciting". Again, this trend plays into the representation dimension of social justice and, although ameliorative in its approach, may put in motion more disruptive action.

7.5.4. Institutionalised Alumni Participation.

The final shifting of power that I suggest is discernible within the schools under study, is an increasingly formalized, and in one school by now institutionalized, consultative relationship with mostly Black alumni specifically around topics of transformation and social justice. The alumni's influence on action taken by the schools under study emerges from the leaders', two consultants' and one teacher's narratives. Leader B's account of how the choice of new consultants is critically influenced by alumni, relates how TDEI interventions no longer happen solely on school leadership's, but increasingly on alumni's terms. This signals a significant power shift where transformation work is no longer comfortable and "safe" for the White people who drive and support it:

> *I think the biggest shift is in the nature of the relationship[…] this is a business relationship[…] now[…] before, it was more of[…], let's just figure this out together[…] Now, it feels very much like these outside people are gonna come in and tell us what to do, and we're gonna have to do [it] […] we're almost handing over expertship.*
>
> *It sounds like a handing over of power.*
>
> *It does feel a little bit like that.*

Recognizing Foucault's (1982) concept of schools as instruments of governmentality and as disciplinary systems of power and social regulation, some of the developments observed in the schools under study appear remarkable and indicative of transformational potential. Remaining largely within Fraser's (2003) political dimension of representation, the question of whether these incremental and counter-hierarchical shifts of power along the intersecting axes of race and seniority are symptoms of a true disruption of the underlying social structures that bring about social injustice, remains to be answered in the future.

7.6. Summary

In this final analytical chapter, I have ventured into looking within participants' narratives at sites of potential for social justice and transformation in schools. Starting out with naming sources of energy and support and the ways in which they are being, or could be, used, I go on to suggest that learners are becoming the "more compelling" educators of the time whilst warning about the burden this places on them. I go on to present along the model of participatory parity (Fraser et al., 2003) what I see in participants' reflections as sites of change towards economic, cultural and political social justice, and I end the chapter with my interpretation of a critical site of possible disruptive and therefore transformational change – incremental power shifts along the axes of race and seniority.

8. Concluding Thoughts

And if this is our educational model, of like excellent schools, then we're screwed, we are in deep trouble. (Teacher B)

What the students are saying is that nothing has changed, and I mean I don't know what would be a better[...] measure than those voices. (Consultant C)

8.1. Introduction

In this last chapter, I discuss my project in relation to my research questions and present my concluding thoughts based on the literature review and findings. I provide some recommendations and end with naming the limitations of the project and directions for possible future research.

8.2. Reflections

We have to shake and shake well because their lives depend on it. And if they turn into us then we've failed. (Teacher B)

I set out in this project to assess how those who are involved in or affected by diversity interventions in privileged schools, perceive their impact. I applied an understanding of social justice that leans on Tjabane et al.'s (2011) conceptualization of "radical social justice" and on Fraser's idea of participatory parity and looked through a critical race theory and critical diversity literacy lens. I sought to gain insight into the ways in which such externally facilitated interventions might help fill the gap left by insufficient government policy and implementation, and into the way interventions instead stifle progress and cause further harm.

Critics of diversity training in corporations, government, higher and secondary education have warned against the varied ways in which diversity interventions work to uphold the status quo and to drain and distract those working for social change whilst making the organisations look better in the public eye and thus more resilient against critique (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016, 2018b; Douthat, 2018; Kirkland, 2017, 2017; Lewis, 2020; Pandey, 2020; Steyn & Kelly, 2010). My findings confirm these risks, as I have sought to

lay out in Chapter 6. The deep exhaustion discernible especially in Black participants points both to everyday racism and to historical, inter-generational and collective trauma that cannot quickly be workshopped away. This is juxtaposed with thick webs of violent White ignorance and strategies of resistance that, through various factors including the interventions, are being untangled, but at a glacial pace. Narratives show Black learners', teachers', alumni's and parents' overwhelming perception that after years of diversity interventions at privileged South African schools "nothing has changed". Their accounts of systemic resistance, of setbacks, of the lack of accountability, of being let down by White "allies", of change being performative and not filtering through to their day-to-day experience, are devastating. To make matters worse, diversity interventions were seen to take the edge off urgency, kept schools and White egos protected and left Black learners to bear the brunt of the backlash. On their own, I therefore concur with those who claim that diversity trainings and workshops do little to nothing for diversity, or against bias.

Some critical scholars (Ahmed, 2012a; Steyn & Kelly, 2010) propose that diversity interventions fail also due to overly focusing on "numbers" or employment equity (EE) without preparing the organizational environments for more diversity. My findings suggest that in the sphere of privileged South African schools (largely free from EE constraints), the focus has primarily been away from EE and on diversity as a "heart" matter or even "cuddly concept" (Ahmed, 2012b). Considering that all participants raised the lack of diversity in staff and leadership as a central obstacle to transformational social justice and bearing in mind the risk of tokenization laid out in an earlier chapter, privileged schools need more, not less, focus on EE and diversity in the staff room and leadership so that a critical mass can be reached that will tilt the power balance towards transformative social justice.

For the progress that has been felt at the schools over the past six years, participants named as triggers the two waves of student protests and social media activism laid out in Chapter 5 on the one hand, and the diversity interventions on the other. Positively noted were various structural and cultural improvements that resulted in Black school members feeling more welcome and less silenced. More importantly and, one may argue transformative in effect, the language shared across stakeholders has become more critical and racially literate in alignment with critical race theorists (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; duBois, 2008; Gordon, 1999; Hall, 2002; Mills, 1997), critical diversity theorists (Steyn, 2015) and Black Consciousness (Biko, 1978). This has allowed a more robust and effective engagement with questions of race, power and transformational social justice, as was predicted by Steyn and Kelly (2010) as an outcome of a shared

critical language across organisations. By using this language and taking their grievances into social media during 2020, putting tremendous pressure on the schools, I argue that learners and alumni achieved a partial reversal of the privatization of diversity (Kersten & Sidky, 1997), turning the discourse around race back towards a more civil-rights based one in the "public sphere" (Habermas, 1989) and enabling transparent societal debate. I also argue that the pressure of protests and the power of social media have allowed (and required) Black learners/alumni to step into the role of educators, bringing about what might be the start of an incremental counter-hegemonic power shift along the lines of race, intra-system position and seniority, in which the terms of who does transformation, and how, are no longer solely determined by White people in authority.

In this current moment, narratives suggest that some possibilities for social justice have opened up. With Whiteness and power (Bourdieu, 1976, 2001; duBois, 2006, 2008; Fanon, 1970) being as malleable and adept at surviving as they are, and with the tremendous burden of emotional and intellectual labour resting on the mostly Black young learners and alumni as laid out in Chapter 6.4, the gaping void that has hovered over this project remains government (Christie, 2020; Francis & Hemson, 2007; Hunter, 2019; Moloi, 2014; November & Alexander, 2010). Leaving it to privileged schools and the White people leading them, to undo their own cultures and reinvent themselves in accordance with wonderful-sounding policies (Department of Justice, 2019) without much political or legal pressure, is doing injury to the Black learners and adults and effectively maintains White dominance in these schools. In the absence of strategic and professional guidance and enforcement from the side of politics, government and law, it remains for all those within and around privileged schools to strengthen and support the processes that have begun and the new structures that are forming. In the following section, I will highlight a few of them.

8.3. What Does It Take?

> *We can't confront what we are unable to name, and we can't liberate ourselves from what we can't name. (Consultant B)*

When aiming to decolonize privileged schools, as has been demanded by university students in higher education (Booysen et al., 2016; Xaba, 2017), one will have to consider more radical interventions than have been observed in the schools under study. Little evidence was found for progress that is not entirely ameliorative (Clowes, 2017; Fraser et al., 2003; Keddie, 2012), but transformative and therefore supportive of a radical social justice framework (Tjabane & Pillay, 2011) or of transformative social justice (Fraser et al., 2003).

In the previous section, I have named the interplay of some factors as promoting of social justice in privileged schools. The external pressure from protests and social media action, in conjunction with internal work supported by consultants, can lead to a mainstreamed critical language of racial literacy and to new structures and processes (including EE) that support transformational social justice. To undergird and strengthen these, I propose four immediate steps, of which two are aimed at law and policy makers, and two at school leaderships:

1) Critical Race Theory and Critical Diversity Literacy as a job entry requirement for school leadership, paired with ongoing coaching. This upskilling of leadership must be coupled with ongoing training and TDEI deliverables and performance indicators for teachers. With school leaders being named as instrumental in promoting or blocking change, their upskilling needs to take priority, immediately followed by the teachers, in order to reduce harm to Black learners.
2) Strategic long-term transformation plans with implementation guidelines (e.g. anti-racism policies and procedures) and effective enforcement by education authorities, as well as more ambitious EE targets and stronger enforcement of EE laws to prevent circumvention by schools.
3) Independent, Black-led teams of consultants to audit, advise and monitor transformation progress and social justice status.
4) Institutionalised (embedded in policy, funded) Black alumni structures for consultation and participation in decision-making.

8.4. Possibilities for further research

The study's focus was limited to mainly three privileged secondary schools in South Africa which have gone through substantial externally facilitated interventions over a period of several years. Due to time and space limitations, impact of interventions was not measured against formal indicators, but based on stakeholder perceptions. Also, not every stakeholder group of each of the three schools was represented, and representatives were unequally distributed across the schools. All participants were chosen due to their proximity to diversity processes at the schools, and findings therefore do not reflect the average or majority of attitudes towards diversity and race. The schools are located in two South African provinces only and therefore some of the data collected is not representative of privileged schools in all of South Africa. Future research may be useful in filling these gaps.

9. References

Adams, M. E., Bell, L. A. E., & Griffin, P. E. (2007). *Teaching for diversity and social justice*. Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Agherdien, N., & Pillay, R. (2018). Enabling transformation through socially just critical pedagogies in a health and wellbeing course: A South African case study. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, *28*(3), 338–354. https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2017.1423252

Ahmed, S. (2004). Affective Economies. *Social Text*, *22*(2), 117–139.

Ahmed, S. (2012a). Diversity: Problems and Paradoxes for Black Feminists. In Y. Taylor (Ed.), *Educational Diversity: The Subject of Difference and Different Subjects* (pp. 203–218). Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137271129_11

Ahmed, S. (2012b). *On being included: Racism and diversity in institutional life*. Duke University Press. https://www.seattleu.edu/media/office-of-institutional-inclusion/On-being-Included---FINAL.pdf

Allen, R. L. (2002). *Pedagogy of the Oppressor: What Was Freire's Theory for Transforming the Privileged and Powerful?* American Educational Research Association. ERIC.

Allport, G. W., Clark, K., & Pettigrew, T. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Addison-Wesley Reading, MA.

Anand, R., & Winters, M.-F. (2008). A Retrospective View of Corporate Diversity Training from 1964 to the Present. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, *7*(3), 356–372.

Attride-Stirling, J. (2001). Thematic networks: An analytic tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, *1*(3), 385–405.

BBC News. (2016, August 30). "Racist school hair rules" suspended at SA's Pretoria Girls High. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-37219471

Bhengu, C. (2020, June 11). *BLM: Here's how SA pupils and alumni have called out racism & taken a stand*. TimesLIVE. https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-06-11-blm-heres-how-sa-pupils-and-alumni-have-called-out-racism-taken-a-stand/

@bhstories. (2020, June 5). *Brackenfell High Stories* [Social media]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/bhstories/

Biko, S. (1978). *I write what I like, edited by A. Stubbs*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Black Lives Matter. (n.d.). Black Lives Matter. Retrieved February 4, 2021, from https://blacklivesmatter.com/about/

Bloch, G. (2009). Policy Space and Intervention: The Education Roadmap in South Africa. *KM Africa, Dakar*.

Boler, M., & Zembylas, M. (2003). Discomforting truths: The emotional terrain of understanding difference. In *Pedagogies of difference* (pp. 115–138). Routledge.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Boonzaier, F. (2017). The Life and death of Anene Booysen: Colonial discourse, gender-based violence and media representations. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *47*(4), 470–481.

Boonzaier, F., & Mhkize, L. (2018). Bodies out of place: Black queer students negotiating identity at the University of Cape Town. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 32*(3). https://doi.org/10.20853/32-3-2514

Booysen, S., Godsell, G., Chikane, R., Mpofu-Walsh, S., Ntshingila, O., & Lepere, R. (2016). *Fees must fall: Student revolt, decolonisation and governance in South Africa*. Wits University Press.

Bosch, T. (2017). Twitter activism and youth in South Africa: The case of #RhodesMustFall. *Information, Communication & Society*, *20*(2), 221–232. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1162829

Bourdieu, P. (1976). The school as a conservative force: Scholastic and cultural inequalities. In R. Dale, G. Esland, & M. MacDonald (Eds.), *Schooling and capitalism: A sociological reader* (pp. 110–117). Taylor & Francis.

Bourdieu, P. (2001). *Masculine domination*. Stanford University Press.

Brandon, W. W. (2003). Toward a white teachers' guide to playing fair: Exploring the cultural politics of multicultural teaching. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *16*(1), 31–50.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Busby, E. (2019, January 10). *Demonstrations outside South African school accused of separating black and white pupils*. The Independent. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/south-africa-school-segregation-black-white-racism-teacher-pupils-laerskool-schweize-reneke-a8721111.html

Cain, P., Donaghue, N., & Ditchburn, G. (2017). Concerns, culprits, counsel, and conflict: A thematic analysis of "obesity" and fat discourse in digital news media. *Fat Studies*, *6*(2), 170–188.

Cannella, G. S., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2016). CHAPTER 2: Deploying Qualitative Methods for Critical Social Purposes. *Counterpoints*, *433*, 17–26. https://doi.org/10.2307/45157348

Cappy, C. L. (2016). Shifting the future? Teachers as agents of social change in South African secondary schools. *Education as Change*, *20*(3). https://doi.org/10.17159/1947-9417/2016/1314

Carrim, N., & Soudien, C. (1999). Critical antiracism in South Africa. In *Critical multiculturalism: Rethinking multicultural and antiracist education* (pp. 153–171). Routledge New York.

Chigumadzi, P. (2015). *Why I call myself a "coconut" to claim my place in post-apartheid South Africa*. Ruth First Memorial Lecture. http://wits.journalism.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Ruth-First-Lecture-by-Panashe-Chigumadzi-2015.pdf

Christie, P. (2008). *Opening the doors of learning: Changing schools in South Africa* (1st ed). Heinemann.

Christie, P. (2020). *Decolonising Schools in South Africa: The Impossible Dream?* Routledge.

Clowes, L. (2017). Participating unequally: Student experiences at UWC. *Education as Change*, *21*(2), 86–108. https://doi.org/10.17159/1947-9417/2017/2029

Cockrell, K. S., Placier, P. L., Cockrell, D. H., & Middleton, J. N. (1999). Coming to terms with "diversity" and "multiculturalism" in teacher education: Learning about our students, changing our practice. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *15*(4), 351–366.

Collins, P. H., & Bilge, S. (2020). *Intersectionality*. John Wiley & Sons.

Crenshaw, K. (1990). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*, 1241–1299.

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage publications.

Curry-Stevens, A. (2007). New Forms of Transformative Education: Pedagogy for the Privileged. *Journal of Transformative Education*, *5*(1), 33–58.

Curry-Stevens, A. (2010). *Journeying Toward Humility: Complexities in Advancing Pedagogy for the Privileged. 16*(1), 61–72.

Davis, D. (2012). *The Case for a Pedagogy for the Oppressor: Race and Social Justice Education in the Context of Post-Apartheid South Africa* [Master's Thesis]. University of Cape Town.

Davis, D., & Steyn, M. (2012). Teaching social justice: Reframing some common pedagogical assumptions. *Perspectives in Education, 30*, 29–38.

Dayimani, M. (2020, August 3). *Cape Town school SACS hit by discrimination claims from former pupils*. News24. https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/cape-town-school-sacs-hit-by-discrimination-claims-from-former-pupils-20200803

De Choudhury, M., Jhaver, S., Sugar, B., & Weber, I. (2016). Social media participation in an activist movement for racial equality. *Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media*, *10*(1).

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory: An introduction* (Vol. 20). NYU Press.

Department of Basic Education. (2001). *Education for our common future: Building Schools for an Integrated Society*. Author.

Department of Basic Education. (2014). *Safer Schools for All: Challenging Homophobic Bullying in Schools*. Government Printer. https://www.education.gov.za/Portals/0/Documents/Publications/Homophobic%20Bullying%20in%20Schools.pdf?ver=2016-02-19-133822-337

Department of Education. (1995). *White paper on Education and Training*. Government Printer, South Africa.

Department of Justice. (2019). *National Action Plan to Combat Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia*. Government Printer.

DiAngelo, R. (2011). White fragility. *International Journal of Critical Pedagogy*, *3*(3), 54–70.

DiAngelo, R. (2018). *White fragility: Why it's so hard for white people to talk about racism*. Beacon Press.

Dobbin, F., & Kalev, A. (2016). DIVERSITY why diversity programs fail and what works better. *Harvard Business Review*, *94*(7–8), 52–60.

Dobbin, F., & Kalev, A. (2018a). Why Doesn't Diversity Training Work? The Challenge for Industry and Academia. *Anthropology Now*, *10*(2), 48–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/19428200.2018.1493182

Dobbin, F., & Kalev, A. (2018b). Why Doesn't Diversity Training Work? The Challenge for Industry and Academia. *Anthropology Now*, *10*(2), 48–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/19428200.2018.1493182

Douthat, R. (2018, February 28). Opinion | The Rise of Woke Capital. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/28/opinion/corporate-america-activism.html

duBois, W. E. B. (2006). Double-consciousness and the veil. In *Social class and stratification: Classic statements and theoretical debates* (pp. 203–210). R.F. Levine.

duBois, W. E. B. (2008). *The souls of black folk* (original work published in 1903). Oxford University Press.

Ebrahim, S. (2017, August 1). Pressure to transform grows at St. John's College. *The Daily Vox.* https://www.thedailyvox.co.za/pressure-to-transform-grows-at-st-johns-college-shaazia-ebrahim/

Ellis, C. (2004). *The ethnographic I: A methodological novel about autoethnography* (Vol. 13). Rowman Altamira.

Ellis, C., Adams, T. E., & Bochner, A. P. (2011). Autoethnography: An overview. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, 273–290.

Ely, R. J., & Thomas, D. A. (2001). Cultural diversity at work: The effects of diversity perspectives on work group processes and outcomes. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *46*(2), 229–273.

Epstein, D. (2014). Race-ing class ladies: Lineages of privilege in an elite South African school. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 12*(2), 244–261. https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2014.890887

Fanon, F. (1970). *Black skin, white masks* (Nachdr.). Paladin.

Fellows, M. L., & Razack, S. (1997). The race to innocence: Confronting hierarchical relations among women. *Journal of Gender Race & Justice, 1*(2), 335–352.

Ferber, A. L. (2012). The culture of privilege: Color-blindness, postfeminism, and christonormativity. *Journal of Social Issues*, *68*(1), 63–77.

Fitzpatrick, K. (2013). Ethics, Power, Representation, and Socially Just Research. *Counterpoints*, *432*, 53–72.

Fleisch, B. (2018). *The education triple cocktail: System-wide instructional reform in South Africa*. UCT Press/Juta and Company (Pty) Ltd.

Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. *Critical Inquiry*, *8*(4), 777–795.

Francis, D., & Hemson, C. (2007). Rainbow's end: Consciousness and enactment in social justice education. *Perspectives in Education*, *25*, 12.

Francis, D., Hemson, C., Mphambukeli, T., & Quin, J. (2003). Who are we? Naming ourselves as facilitators. *Journal of Education*, *31*, 137–151.

Franklin, S., Veriava, F., Thom, A., & Hodgson, T. (2017). Education Rights in independent schools. *Basic Education Rights Handbook: Education Rights in South Africa*, 353–372.

Fraser, N., Honneth, A., & Golb, J. (2003). *Redistribution or recognition?: A political-philosophical exchange*. Verso.

Freelon, D., McIlwain, C., & Clark, M. (2018). Quantifying the power and consequences of social media protest. *New Media & Society, 20*(3), 990–1011. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444816676646

Freire, P. (1970). Pedagogy of the oppressed (M. B. Ramos, Trans.). *New York: Continuum*, *2007*.

Freire, P., & Freire, A. M. A. (2004). *Pedagogy of hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the oppressed (New ed.)*. Continuum.

Fricker, M. (2007). *Epistemic injustice: Power and the ethics of knowing*. Oxford University Press.

Fullam, J. (2017). Becoming a youth activist in the internet age: A case study on social media activism and identity development. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *30*(4), 406–422. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2016.1250176

Fullan, M. (2010). The Big Ideas behind Whole System Reform. *Education Canada*, *50*(3), n3.

Fullan, M. (2016). The elusive nature of whole system improvement in education. *Journal of Educational Change*, *17*(4), 539–544.

Gallagher, C. A. (2003). Color-Blind Privilege: The Social and Political Functions of Erasing the Color Line in Post Race America. *Race, Gender & Class*, *10*(4), 22–37. JSTOR.

Geach, C. (2020, June). *Pupils use social media to expose rampant racism at top Cape schools*. IOL Independent Online. https://www.iol.co.za/weekend-argus/news/pupils-use-social-media-to-expose-rampant-racism-at-top-cape-schools-49042942

Gergen, K. J. (1999). *An invitation to social construction*. Sage.

Gewirtz, S., & Cribb, A. (2002). Plural conceptions of social justice: Implications for policy sociology. *Journal of Education Policy*, *17*(5), 499–509. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680930210158285

Gillborn, D. (2008). *Racism and education: Coincidence or conspiracy?* Routledge.

Gillespie, K. (2010). Reclaiming nonracialism: Reading The Threat of Race from South Africa. *Patterns of Prejudice*, *44*(1), 61–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/00313220903507636

Gillespie, K., & Naidoo, L.-A. (2019). Between the Cold War and the Fire. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, *118*(1), 226–239. https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-7281744

Giroux, H. A. (1997). Racial politics and the pedagogy of whiteness. *Whiteness: A Critical Reader*, 294–315.

Godsell, G., Chikane, R., & Mpofu-Walsh, S. (2016). *Fees Must Fall: Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa*. NYU Press.

Goldberg, D. T. (2015). *Are we all postracial yet?* John Wiley & Sons.

Gordon, L. R. (1999). A short history of the 'critical' in critical race theory. *American Philosophy Association Newsletter*, *98*(2), 1.

Employment Equity Act, No.55, Pub. L. No. No.55 of 1998 (1998). https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201409/a55-980.pdf

Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, 4 26 (2000).

Green, M. J., Sonn, C. C., & Matsebula, J. (2007). Reviewing Whiteness: Theory, Research, and Possibilities. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *37*(3), 389–419. https://doi.org/10.1177/008124630703700301

Guzula, T. (2020, June 7). *Comment on Xolisa Guzula's Facebook page* [Comment]. Facebook.

Habermas, J. (1989). *Reason and the Rationalization of Society* (Vol. 1). Beacon Press.

Hain, P., & Odendaal, A. (2020, November 21). How Black Lives Matter exposed old wounds in South African cricket. *The Observer*. https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2020/nov/21/how-black-lives-matter-exposed-old-wounds-in-south-african-cricket

Hall, S. (2002). Race, Articulation and Societies Structured in Dominance. In P. Essed & D. T. Goldberg (Eds.), *Race Critical Theories*. Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Hancock, A.-M. (2007). Intersectionality as a normative and empirical paradigm. *Politics & Gender*, *3*(2), 248–254.

Harris, K. A. (2017). Steve Biko and the Liberatory Potential of Non-Racialism and Post-Racialism. *Critical Philosophy of Race*, *5*(2), 223–242. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.5325/critphilrace.5.2.0223

Harvey, G. (2003). Guesthood as Ethical Decolonising Research Method. *Numen*, *50*(2), 125–146. https://doi.org/10.1163/156852703321506132

Heleta, S. (2016). Decolonisation of higher education: Dismantling epistemic violence and Eurocentrism in South Africa. *Transformation in Higher Education*, *1*(1). https://doi.org/10.4102/the.v1i1.9

Hendricks, A. & Groundup Staff. (2016, September 3). *Sans Souci pupils call for principal to step down over racism claims*. News24. https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/sans-souci-pupils-call-for-principal-to-step-down-over-racism-claims-20160903

Hlati, O. (2020, June 10). *Parklands College forced to redraft apology over "fun" slave trade assignment*. Independent Online. https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/news/parklands-college-forced-to-redraft-apology-over-fun-slave-trade-assignment-49193287

Hlatshwayo, M. (2020). Solidarity During the 'Outsourcing Must Fall' Campaign: The Role of Different Players in Ending Outsourcing at South African Universities. *Politikon*, *47*(3), 305–320.

Holloway, I., & Todres, L. (2003). The status of method: Flexibility, consistency and coherence. *Qualitative Research*, *3*(3), 345–357.

hooks, bell. (1994). *Teaching to transgress*. Routledge.

Hunter, M. (2019). *Race for Education: Gender, White Tone, and Schooling in South Africa*. Cambridge University Press. https://antipodeonline.org/2019/07/20/race-for-education/

ISASA. (2018). *ISASA Guide to Transformation and Diversity Management*. ISASA. https://www.isasa.org/policy-database/

ISASA. (2020, September 4). *Workshop on Transformation and Diversity*. ISASA. https://www.isasa.org/workshop-on-transformation-and-diversity/

Jansen, J. D. (2009). *Knowledge in the blood: Confronting race and the apartheid past*. Stanford University Press.

Jansen, J. D. (2013). *We need to talk*. Bookstorm.

Jansen, J. D., & Kriger, S. (2020). *Who Gets in and Why?* JUTA. /catalogue/who-gets-in-and-why_28236/

Joffe, H. (2012). Thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research Methods in Mental Health and Psychotherapy, 1*.

Joorst, J. (2019, January 24). *Racism is still rife in South Africa's schools. What can be done about it*. The Conversation. http://theconversation.com/racism-is-still-rife-in-south-africas-schools-what-can-be-done-about-it-110195

Karrim, A. (2020, June 7). *SA schools react as pupils detail experiences of racism*. News24. https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/sa-schools-react-as-pupils-detail-experiences-of-racism-20200607

Keddie, A. (2012). Schooling and social justice through the lenses of Nancy Fraser. *Critical Studies in Education, 53*(3), 263–279. https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2012.709185

Keenan, C., Connolly, P., & Stevenson, C. (2016). *Universal preschool-and school-based education programmes for reducing ethnic prejudice and promoting respect for diversity among children aged 3-11: A systematic review and meta-analysis*. Campbell Collaboration.

Kendall, F. (2012). *Understanding white privilege: Creating pathways to authentic relationships across race*. Routledge.

Kersten, A., & Sidky, M. (1997). Keep off! Private! Enter at your own risk! (De-) Constructing the organization as private sphere. *Current Topics in Management, 2*, 287–304.

Kessi, S., & Cornell, J. (2015). Coming to UCT: Black students, transformation and discourses of race. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, *3*(2), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.14426/jsaa.v3i2.132

Khanyile, N. (2020, June 10). *Racism furore engulfs KZN's top private schools*. News24. https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/racism-furore-engulfs-private-schools-20200610

Kincheloe, J. L., McLaren, P., & Steinberg, S. R. (2011). Critical pedagogy and qualitative research. *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 163–177.

Kincheloe, J. L., Steinberg, S. R., Rodriguez, N. M., & Chennault, R. E. (2000). *White reign: Deploying whiteness in America*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Kirkland, R. (2017). *Focusing on what works for workplace diversity*. McKinsey&Company. https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/gender-equality/focusing-on-what-works-for-work-place-diversity

Kivel, P. (2017). *Uprooting Racism - 4th Edition: How White People Can Work for Racial Justice*. New Society Publishers.

Kline, N. (2009). *More time to think: A way of being in the world*. Fisher King Publishing.

KMK. (1997). *On the Treatment of the Holocaust at School*. Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. https://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/Dateien/veroeffentlichungen_beschluesse/1997/1997_00_00_Auseinandersetzung_m_d_Holocaust.pdf

Kobayashi, A. (1994). Coloring the field: Gender, "race," and the politics of fieldwork. *The Professional Geographer*, *46*(1), 73–80.

Kruglanski, A. W. (1983). The Freezing and Unfreezing of Lay-Inferences: Effects on Impressional Primacy, Ethnic Stereotyping, and Numerical Anchoring. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 19*(5), 448–468.

Kubheka, T. (2016, December 3). *Pretoria High School for Girls found guilty of racial practices on black pupils*. Eyewitness News. https://ewn.co.za/2016/12/03/pretoria-high-school-for-girls-found-guilty-of-racial-practices-on-black-pupils

Lather, P. (1991). *Getting smart: Feminist research and pedagogy with/in the postmodern*. Routledge.

Lawrence, S. M., & Tatum, B. D. (1998). White racial identity and anti-racist education: A catalyst for change. *Beyond Heroes and Holidays: A Practical Guide to k-12 Anti-Racist, Multicultural Education, and Staff Development*, 217–229.

Le Cordeur, M. (2021, February 28). *OPINIONISTA: Matric results highlight unequal schooling in South Africa – and the dedication of our teaching corps*. Daily Maverick. https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2021-02-28-matric-results-highlight-unequal-schooling-in-south-africa-and-the-dedication-of-our-teaching-corps/

Le Grange, L. (2016). Decolonising the university curriculum: Leading article. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 30*(2), 1–12.

Leonardo, Z. (2009). *Race, whiteness, and education*. Routledge.

Leonardo, Z. (2013). The story of schooling: Critical race theory and the educational racial contract. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *34*(4), 599–610. https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2013.822624

Lewis, H. (2020, July 14). How Capitalism Drives Cancel Culture. *The Atlantic*. https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2020/07/cancel-culture-and-problem-woke-capitalism/614086/?utm_source=facebook&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=share

Lorenz, T., & Rosman, K. (2020, June 16). High School Students and Alumni Are Using Social Media to Expose Racism. *The New York Times*, 4.

Makhetha, T. (2020, June 5). *Parents want white teacher who threatened to kneel on students' necks fired*. SowetanLIVE. https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-06-05-ill-do-a-floyd-on-you-says-white-teacher/

Malinga, S. (2018, March 13). *Seeking Difference*. https://www.aschoolwhereibe-long.com/blog/2018/3/13/seeking-difference

Mao, L., Mian Akram, A., Chovanec, D., & Underwood, M. L. (2016). Embracing the Spiral: Researcher Reflexivity in Diverse Critical Methodologies. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *15*(1), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406916681005

Marais, M. E. (2017). A constitutional perspective on the Sparrow judgements. *Journal for Juridical Science*, *42*(2), 25–64.

Marmer, E., & Sow, P. (2015). Wie Rassismus aus Schulbüchern spricht. *Kritische Auseinandersetzungmit» Afrika «-Bildern Und Schwarz-Weiß-Konstruktionen in Der Schule–Ursachen, Auswirkungen Und Handlungsansätze Für Die Pädagogische Praxis, Wienheim: Beltz*.

Mason, J. (2002). Qualitative researching. *University of Manchester, UK: Sage Publishing*.

Mayorga-Gallo, S. (2019). The White-Centering Logic of Diversity Ideology. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 000276421984261. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764219842619

McKinney, C. (2010). Schooling in black and white: Assimilationist discourses and subversive identity performances in a desegregated South African girls' school. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *13*(2), 191–207. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613321003726876

Meghji, A., & Saini, R. (2018). Rationalising Racial Inequality: Ideology, Hegemony and Post-Racialism among the Black and South Asian Middle-Classes. *Sociology*, *52*(4), 671–687. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038517726645

Memela, S. (2015, February 18). Access to white privilege equals freedom? *Mail& Guardian Thought Leader*. https://thoughtleader.co.za/sandilememela/2015/02/18/access-to-white-privilege-equals-freedom/

Merton, R. K. (1975). Thematic Analysis in Science: Notes on Holton's Concept. *Science*, *188*(4186), 335–338. JSTOR.

Meyer, D. (2021, June 15). *"Prostitutes and drug dealers": German School racism exposed by students*. The South African. https://www.thesouthafrican.com/news/german-international-school-cape-town-dsk-racism-teacher-latest-news-what-happened-tuesday-15-june/

Mignolo, W. (2011). *The darker side of western modernity: Global futures, decolonial options*. Duke University Press.

Mills, C. W. (1997). *The Racial Contract*. Cornell University Press.

Mitchley, A. (2018, April 4). *The Vicki Momberg case: Equality Court vs Criminal Court*. South African Human Rights Commission. https://www.sahrc.org.za/index.php/sahrc-media/news/item/1289-the-vicki-momberg-case-equality-court-vs-criminal-court

Moletsane, R. (1999). Beyond desegregation: Multicultural education in South African schools. *Perspectives in Education*, *18*(2), 31–42.

Moletsane, R., Hemson, C., & Muthukrishna, A. (2004). Educating South African teachers for the challenge of school integration: Towards a teaching and research agenda. *Reflections on School Integration: Colloquium Proceedings*, 61–77.

Moloi, K. C. (2014). The complexity of dealing with change in the South African schooling system: 20 years into democracy. *African Identities*, *12*(3–4), 264–282. https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2015.1009619

Monama, T. (2015, May 15). *Curro school found guilty of racism*. IOL Independent Online. https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/curro-school-found-guilty-of-racism-1858792

Motala, S., Dieltiens, V., & Sayed, Y. (2009). Physical access to schooling in South Africa: Mapping dropout, repetition and age-grade progression in two districts. *Comparative Education*, *45*(2), 251–263.

Moya, P. M. (2011). Who we are and from where we speak. *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World*, *1*(2), 79–94.

Naidoo, L.-A. (2020). *Black student intellectuals and the complexity of entailment in the #RhodesMust-Fall movement* [Doctoral Thesis]. University of Witwatersrand.

Naidoo, S. (2020, February 13). *Convicted racist Catzavelos pleads for forgiveness*. SABC News. https://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/convicted-racist-catzavelos-pleads-for-forgiveness/

Nandimsezane. (2020, June 4). Being Black in a White School in South Africa. *Feminist Loveletter*. https://feministloveletter821092940.wordpress.com/2020/06/05/being-black-in-a-white-school-in-south-africa/

Ngcaweni, W. M. (2019, April 29). Twenty-five years later: A youth no longer at ease. *Daily Maverick Opinionista*. https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2019-04-30-twenty-five-years-later-a-youth-no-longer-at-ease/

Ngidi, N., Mtshixa, C., Diga, K., Mbarathi, N., & May, J. (2016). *"Asijiki" and the capacity to aspire through social media: The #feesmustfall movement as an anti-poverty activism in South Africa* (p. 11). https://doi.org/10.1145/2909609.2909654

Ngobeni, L. (2020, June 25). *Parents at St Mary's Diocesan School for Girls protest against racism*. IOL Independent Online. https://www.iol.co.za/pretoria-news/parents-at-st-marys-diocesan-school-for-girls-protest-against-racism-49909011

Ngoepe, K., & Wa Afrika, M. (2020, June 7). *SANDF report on the death of Collins Khosa 'a sham.'* IOL Independent Online. https://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/news/sandf-report-on-the-death-of-collins-khosa-a-sham-49083492

Ngwenya, M. (2020, June 8). *Open letter from St Cyprian's head girl: Time for brushing aside racism has passed*. News24 - OPINION. https://www.news24.com/news24/columnists/guestcolumn/opinion-open-letter-from-st-cyprians-head-girl-time-for-brushing-aside-racism-has-passed-20200608

November, I., & Alexander, G. (2010). Do principal-educators have the ability to transform schools?: A South African perspective. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 10.

Pandey, E. (2020, June 30). *Why diversity training fails to put a dent in workplace racism*. Axios. https://www.axios.com/corporate-america-racism-diversity-training-d5fe4180-2c2f-41ed-a846-8aad11970d42.html

Pascale, C.-M. (2010). Epistemology and the politics of knowledge. *The Sociological Review, 58*, 154–165.

Pijoos, I. (2019, January 15). *Another North West school rocked by allegations of racism*. TimesLIVE. https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-01-15-another-north-west-school-rocked-by-allegations-of-racism/

Pikoli, Z. (2020, June 16). *JUNE 16: South African Youth act for #BlackLivesMatter*. Daily Maverick. https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-06-17-south-african-youth-act-for-blacklivesmatter/

Puwar, N. (2001). The racialised somatic norm and the senior civil service. *Sociology*, *35*(3), 651–670.

Puwar, N. (2004). *Space invaders: Race, gender and bodies out of place*. Berg.

#racisminsahighschools. (2020, June 2). Twitter. https://twitter.com/hashtag/racisminsahighschools, https://twitter.com/hashtag/racisminsahighschools

Raiborn, C. A., Butler, J. B., & Massoud, M. F. (2009). Outsourcing support functions: Identifying and managing the good, the bad, and the ugly. *Business Horizons*, *52*(4), 347–356.

Reyes Cruz, M. (2008). What If I Just Cite Graciela? Working Toward Decolonizing Knowledge Through a Critical Ethnography. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *14*(4), 651–658. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800408314346

Reygan, F. (2016). Making schools safer in South Africa: An antihomophobic bullying educational resource. *Journal of LGBT Youth*, *13*(1–2), 173–191. https://doi.org/10.1080/19361653.2015.1088814

Reygan, F., & Steyn, M. (2017). Diversity in Basic Education in South Africa: Intersectionality and Critical Diversity Literacy. *Africa Education Review*, *14*(2), 68–81. https://doi.org/10.1080/18146627.2017.1280374

Roberts, L. (2013). Becoming a black researcher: Reflections on racialised identity and knowledge production. *International Review of Qualitative Research*, *6*(3), 337–359.

Saad, L. (2020). *Me and white supremacy: How to recognise your privilege, combat racism and change the world*. Hachette UK.

SAHO. (2011, 2019). *Amersfoort Legacy Timeline 1658-present*. South African History Online. https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/amersfoort-legacy-timeline-1658-present

SAHO. (2021, February 4). *Student protests in democratic South Africa*. South African History Online. https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/student-protests-democratic-south-africa

Sapa. (2015, February 2). *Curro to stop segregating classrooms in Pretoria*. The Mail & Guardian. https://mg.co.za/article/2015-02-02-curro-to-stop-segregating-classrooms-in-pretoria/

Schäfer, M., & Wilmot, D. (2012). Teacher education in post-apartheid South Africa: Navigating a way through competing state and global imperatives for change. *Prospects*, *42*(1), 41–54.

Searle, C. A. (2006). *An exploration of the coping strategies of black minority high school learners at a German speaking school environment and the support structures available to them* [PhD Thesis]. University of Cape Town.

Seroto, J. (2011). Indigenous education during the pre-colonial period in southern Africa. *Indilinga African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, *10*(1), 77–88.

Shah, N., & Coles, J. A. (2020). Preparing Teachers to Notice Race in Classrooms: Contextualizing the Competencies of Preservice Teachers With Antiracist Inclinations. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 002248711990020. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487119900204

Sinanan, J. (2020, June 4). *Blackout Tuesday: The black square is a symbol of online activism for non-activists*. The Conversation. http://theconversation.com/blackout-tuesday-the-black-square-is-a-symbol-of-online-activism-for-non-activists-139982

Singleton, G. E., & Hays, C. (2008). Beginning Courageous Conversations about Race. *Everyday Anti-racism: Getting Real about Race in School*, 18–23.

Sleeter, C. E. (2001). Preparing Teachers for Culturally Diverse Schools: Research and the Overwhelming Presence of Whiteness. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *52*(2), 94–106. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487101052002002

Smart, B. (2002). Subjects of power, objects of knowledge. In *Michel Foucault* (pp. 72–120). Routlege.

Solórzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2002). Critical race methodology: Counter-storytelling as an analytical framework for education research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *8*(1), 23–44.

Soudien, C. (2004). 'Constituting the class': An analysis of the process of 'integration' in South African schools. *Changing Class: Education and Social Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, 89–114.

Squire, C. (2008). Experience-centred and culturally-oriented approaches to narrative. *Doing Narrative Research*, *1*, 41–63.

Staff Writer. (2019, January 22). *Minister wants to 'decolonise' education in South Africa*. Businesstech. https://businesstech.co.za/news/lifestyle/294654/minister-wants-to-decolonise-education-in-south-africa/

Steinberg, S. R., & Kincheloe, J. (2009). Smoke and mirrors: More than one way to be diverse and multicultural. *Diversity and Multiculturalism: A Reader*, 3–22.

Steyn, M. (2001). *Whiteness Just Isn't What It Used To Be: White Identity in a Changing South Africa*. SUNY Press.

Steyn, M. (2012). The ignorance contract: Recollections of apartheid childhoods and the construction of epistemologies of ignorance. *Identities*, *19*(1), 8–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2012.672840

Steyn, M. (2015). Critical diversity literacy. In *Routledge International Handbook of Diversity Studies* (pp. 379–389). Routledge.

Steyn, M., & Davis, D. (2012). Teaching social justice: Reframing some common pedagogical assumptions. *Perspectives in Education*, *30*(4), 29–38.

Steyn, M. E., & Kelly, C. (2010). *Consolidated report of DEISA case studies. Widening circles: Case studies in transformation* (Vol. 5). INCUDISA, University of Cape Town.

Subreenduth, S. (2013). Theorizing Social Justice Ambiguities in an Era of Neoliberalism: The Case of Postapartheid South Africa. *Educational Theory*, *63*(6), 581–600. https://doi.org/10.1111/edth.12043

Tanner, S. J. (2020). Playing with whiteness: Toward a second wave of critical whiteness pedagogy. *Teaching Education*, *31*(2), 230–244.

Taylor, E., Gillborn, D., & Ladson-Billings, G. (Eds.). (2009). *Foundations of critical race theory in education*. Routledge.

Taylor, G. W., & Ussher, J. M. (2001). Making sense of S&M: A discourse analytic account. *Sexualities*, *4*(3), 293–314.

Teeger, C. (2015). Ruptures in the rainbow nation: How desegregated South African schools deal with interpersonal and structural racism. *Sociology of Education*, *88*(3), 226–243.

The Graide Network. (2018, August 27). *Teacher Bias: The Elephant in the Classroom*. The Graide Network. https://www.thegraidenetwork.com/blog-all/2018/8/1/teacher-bias-the-elephant-in-the-classroom

Titley, G. (2016). On *Are we all postracial yet* ? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *39*(13), 2269–2277. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2016.1202434

Tjabane, M., & Pillay, V. (2011). Doing justice to social justice in South African higher education. *Perspectives in Education*, *29*, 9.

Toulmin, S. E. (1958). *The uses of argument* (2003rd ed.). Cambridge university press.

Tshala, E. (2020, June). *Herschel Girls School: End institutionalized racism at Herschel Girls School* [Petition]. Change.Org. https://www.change.org/p/herschel-girls-school-end-institutionalized-racism-at-herschel-girls-school?use_react=false

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *1*(1), 1–40.

van der Berg, S. (2007). Apartheid's Enduring Legacy: Inequalities in Education. *Journal of African Economies*, *16*(5), 849–880. https://doi.org/10.1093/jae/ejm017

Van der Berg, S., Wood, L., & Le Roux, N. (2002). Differentiation in black education. *Development Southern Africa, 19*(2), 289–306.

Waghid, Y. (2008). The public role of the university reconsidered. *Perspectives in Education, 26*(1), 19–24.

Walls, N. E., Roll, S., Sprague, L., & Griffin, R. (2010). *Teaching About Privilege: A Model Combining Intergroup Dialogue and Single Identity Caucusing*. *1*(1), 32.

Wheeler, M. L. (1994). *Diversity training*.

Willis, P. (1981). *Learning to labor: How working class kids get working class jobs*. Columbia University Press.

World Bank. (2020, April). *Poverty & Equity Brief Sub-Saharan Africa: South Africa*. World Bank Group. https://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/poverty/33EF03BB-9722-4AE2-ABC7-AA2972D68AFE/Global_POVEQ_ZAF.pdf

Wray, D., Hellenberg, R., & Jansen, J. D. (2018). *A School Where I Belong: Creating Transformed and Inclusive South African Schools*. Bookstorm.

Wright, L. (2012). *South Africa's education crisis: Views from the Eastern Cape*. NISC Grahamstown.

Xaba, W. (2017). Challenging Fanon: A Black radical feminist perspective on violence and the Fees Must Fall movement. *Agenda, 31*(3–4), 96–104. https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2017.1392786

Young, I. (2000). Five faces of oppression. In M. Adams, W. J. Blumenfeld, R. Castaneda, H. W. Hackman, M. L. Peters, & X. Zuniga (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice*. Psychology Press.

@yousilenceweamplify. (2020, June 2). *You Silence We Amplify* [Social media]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/yousilenceweamplify/

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006a). Belonging and the politics of belonging. *Patterns of Prejudice, 40*(3), 197–214.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006b). Intersectionality and Feminist Politics. *European Journal of Women's Studies, 13*(3), 193–209. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506806065752

Zembylas, M. (2018a). Reinventing critical pedagogy as decolonizing pedagogy: The education of empathy. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies, 40*(5), 404–421.

Zembylas, M. (2018b). Affect, race, and white discomfort in schooling: Decolonial strategies for 'pedagogies of discomfort.' *Ethics and Education, 13*(1), 86–104. https://doi.org/10.1080/17449642.2018.1428714

Zembylas, M., & Keet, A. (2019). *Critical Human Rights Education: Advancing Social-Justice-Oriented Educational Praxes* (Vol. 13). Springer Nature.

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet





Good day

My name is Julia Willand, and I am a Masters' student in Critical Diversity Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I have to undertake a research project, and I am investigating facilitated diversity interventions in South African schools. The aim of this research project is to find out how stakeholders feel about these interventions and whether or not they help or hinder transformation and social justice.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. This will involve us having a conversation about your experiences as a practitioner offering diversity interventions / as a member of a school community that such an intervention took place in and will take around 60-90 minutes. With your permission, I would also like to record the interview using a digital device. You will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research, and there are no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. The interview will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for your name or any identifying information and the information you give to me will be held securely and not disclosed to anyone else. I will be using a pseudonym (false name) to represent your participation in my final research report. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the interview or resume another time. If you need some support or counselling services following the interview, these are available free of charge:

SADAG: 0800 121 314
Wits Emthonjeni Clinic: 011 717 4513

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me via the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

Julia Willand
juliawilland@gmail.com
083 635 7061

Supervisor details:

Professor Melissa Steyn
Melissa.steyn@wits.ac.za
011 717 4418

Appendix B: Consent Form





Outsourcing Transformation -
Externally Facilitated Diversity Interventions in Privileged South African Schools: Risks and Potential for Social Justice

Researcher: Julia Willand

I, ……., agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. Please circle the relevant options below.

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous YES NO

I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in her research report YES NO

I agree that the interview may be audio recorded YES NO

I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time YES NO

without penalty

I would like my information to be kept confidential YES NO

…… (signature)

…… (name of participant)

…… (date)

Appendix C: Interview Schedule – Practitioners

1. How old are you?
2. How do you identify? (in terms of race, gender, sexuality, anything else that is important to you)
3. What is your professional background and experience in working with schools on diversity matters?
4. Why do you do this work?
5. Tell me about the intervention at school X that you were part of.
    a. How did it come about? (origin of impulse; quality of negotiations; key role players; key moments in making it happen)
    b. What else stands out for you in the run-up to the programme?
6. What difficulties presented themselves in the process?
    a. What do you make of these difficulties?
    b. How were they addressed?
7. What about the process were you pleased with?
8. What were the gaps: what more would you have liked to see happen, or would you like to happen in the future?
9. What might be a negative outcome of the intervention?
10. In what way did the intervention contribute to transformation, and why/why not?

Appendix D: Interview Schedule – Stakeholders

Please note that the questions to be posed to the stakeholder participants will be co-edited with the practitioner participants in order for the study to serve the development of the latters' work. The questions will, however, roughly run along the following lines.

1. How old are you?
2. How do you identify? (in terms of race, gender, sexuality, anything else that is important to you)
3. How many years have you / your children been at school X?
4. What is your role in the school, and what is your connection to the diversity intervention(s) that took place there?
5. What is your take on the intervention?
    a. How did it come about / how did you get involved?
    b. What stands out for you, both positive and as problematic?
6. What difficulties presented themselves in the process?
    a. What do you make of these difficulties?
    b. How were they addressed?
7. What about the process do you see as a success?
8. What were the gaps: what more would you have liked to see happen, or would you like to happen in the future?
9. What might be a negative outcome of the intervention?
10. In what way did the intervention contribute to transformation, and why/why not?

Plagiarism declaration for written work

I, Julia Willand**,** student number 2293552, as a postgraduate student registered for a MA in Critical Diversity Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism is the use of someone else's work without their permission and or without acknowledging the original source.
- I am aware plagiarism is wrong.
- I confirm that this written work is my own work except where I have stated otherwise.
- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work or if I have failed to acknowledge the ideas or writing of others.

Signature 

Date 11 December 2021