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Mduduzi Radebe



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Firstly, I thank God, who led my steps and prepared my path with the following people.

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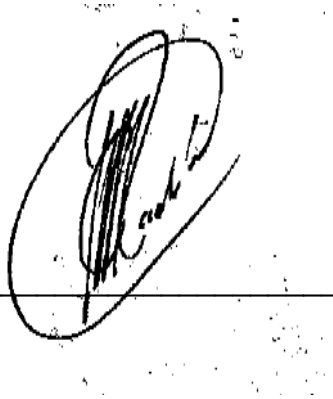
Johannesburg, March 2015 Mduduzi Radebe

Dedication

To my late mother, Phumelele Jane Maseko (1968/04/02 – 2015/01/05).

Declaration

I, Mduduzi Casper Radebe, declare that this Master's dissertation, which I hereby submit for the Master of Management in Public and Development Management at the University of the Witwatersrand, is my own work and has not been previously submitted by me or any other person in any other academic institution.



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Signature

2016/06/11_____

Date

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to explore the integration of learners in public high schools in Johannesburg previously classified as Model C schools. For this purpose, the researcher studied conceptual and empirical on the deracialisation of former white only schools and the consequences thereof. To establish the advancement and challenges with learner integration, data was collected from three former Model C high schools in the north, west, and south of Johannesburg. The data collection involved interviews with school principals, focus group discussions with teachers, learners and School Governing Body members, and the review and analysis of school documents.

The major findings of the study are:

The level of equality in the former Model C schools in Johannesburg is commendable. However, the advancements of integration was found to be deeply challenging to the schools due to external social factors such as the effects of the socioeconomic backgrounds of learners and the failure of government in providing sufficient leadership, oversight and support such as training and development of all stakeholders, including the SGB, principals, teachers, and RCLs.

The study therefore recommends that:

The Department of Education ought to actively provide leadership, support and oversight to former Model C schools' adherence to the provisions of the South African Schools Act (SASA) of 1996, with the core objective of promoting integration for purposes of achieving equitable quality education.

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Abbreviations

ANA	Annual National Assessments
ANC	African National Congress
BICS	Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills
CALP	Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
CBD	Central Business District
CEPD	Centre for Education, Policy Development, Evaluation and Management
EPU	Education Policy Unit (in the University of the Witwatersrand)
FET	Further Education and Training
GDE	Government Department of Education
HOA	House of Assembly
HOD	House of Delegates
HOR	House of Representatives
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IDSO	Institutional Development Support Officer
ISC	Independent Schools Council
NEPA	National Education Policy Act of 1996
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NP	National Party
OBE	Outcomes-based Education
RCL	Representative Council of Learners
SASA	South African Schools Act of 1996
SGB	School Governing Body
SMT	School Management Team

CHAPTER 1
Introduction to the study

1.1 Background and context of the study

The history of apartheid regulations has presented a great challenge in achieving equitable transformation and integration in schools formerly classified as white, Indian and coloured-only schools (Metcalfe, 2007). These regulations included the Group Areas Act of 1950 which instigated the segregation of racial groups to different residential areas, and the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which enforced racial segregation of educational facilities (Rakometsi, 2008). The promulgation of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, later followed by the Coloured Persons Education Act of 1963 and the Indians Education Act of 1965, resulted in the removal of black learners' education from the governance of the mission churches and brought under direct state control, with black education divided into three groups: Coloureds (House of Representatives), Indians (House of Delegates), and Bantu Education (Kallaway, 2002).

It was only during the late 1980s that schools were categorised as model A, B, C and D schools. This was implemented to permit some of the case Model schools to decide on their own admission requirements, allowing the schools to admit learners from different racial and cultural backgrounds, and lifting the ban on racially mixed schools (Metcalfe, 2007). Model A schools were state schools that became private schools and received a government subsidy: Model B schools were schools in which the state funded teachers' salaries and the management of the school and parents decided on admission policies. Model C schools were schools in which the state only paid the salaries of permanent teachers and the school governing body ran the finances of the school; setting their own fees and admission requirements. Even though Model C schools were allowed to decide

on their own admission requirements, they were required to keep the majority of learners white. Model D schools were completely state-funded with no race restrictions on admission; these schools belonged to the White Department of Education and Culture but were allowed to admit an unlimited number of black learners (Pampalis, 2002).

After the democratic election in 1994, a new Constitution of South Africa and a Bill of Rights were established. These prestigious documents inspired the establishment and promulgation of the National Education Policy Act of 1996 (NEPA) and subsequently the South African Schools Act of 1996 (SASA). The enactment of SASA criminalised the usage of discriminative admission requirements: learners could not be denied access to any public school either due to race, colour or capacity to pay school fees, and the usage of entrance examinations for admission purposes was abolished (Metcalfe, 2007).

This gave parents the right to exercise school choice, which resulted in the migration of black learners from township schools to suburban schools. Parents' choice of school is seen to be an attempt to influence the quality of education received by their children. Black parents use this right to possibly address past inequalities and to escape low-quality education in under-resourced township schools (Msila, 2009). However, for these learners to truly receive equitable and quality education to meet their developmental and educational needs, integration ought to take place. (Enoch, 2007).

1.2 Problem statement

Black learner migration from township to suburban schools presents a challenge to the management of these schools. The admission of black learners into these previously racially homogenic schools requires the schools to undergo transformation that would ensure learner integration in order to ensure delivery of

equitable education (Soudien, 2004; Nkomo, McKinney & Chisholm, 2004; Soudien, Carrim & Sayed, 2004).

Sekete, Shilubane and Moila (2001), Mohammad (2006), Neluvhola (2007), and Vandeyar (2010) found that some former Model C schools do very little to integrate black learners into schools. The schools' admission policies permit the admission of black leaners; however, very limited, if any, transformation efforts are made towards school integration. Not enough effort is made to transform the schools into reflecting the principles of non-racialism and access to education for all as enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. State schools carry the responsibility of the state to promote and provide education by putting in place and maintaining an education system that is responsive to the needs of the country. In the case of former Model C schools, the schools' unwillingness to transform by integrating black learners into their school culture makes the schools irresponsive to black learners' needs and therefore impeding on their right to education.

1.3 The aim and objectives of the study

The aim of this study is to explore the progress made to enforce integration in former Model C schools in Johannesburg; given that these schools began admitting learners from diverse racial and cultural backgrounds earlier than other school classifications (Sekete et al., 2001). The study will look at former Model C schools that have managed to maintain a racially representative learner population. The exploration of these schools will be conducted with the objective of establishing good practices implemented by the schools in advancing and managing learner integration.

1.4 Research questions

1.4.1 Central research question

What is the extent of integration in former Model C schools in the post-apartheid Johannesburg?

1.4.2 Research sub-questions

1. What challenges are encountered by former Model C schools in trying to enforce learner integration?
2. What changes have former Model C schools implemented to achieve integration?
3. How have the changes affected the equity and equality of learners in the schools?

1.5 The significance of the study

Sekete et al. (2001), Soudien (2006), Pathlane (2007), Neluvhola (2007), Msila (2009), and Vandeyar (2010) have all conducted studies that explore integration in schools around the country; however, none of these studies focused particularly on former Model C schools in Johannesburg. This study shall focus on an in-depth exploration of the management strategies used by former Model C schools in Johannesburg. The study will further explore the change aspects of the schools, so as to highlight the areas of continuity. The findings of this study will assist in identifying policy successes and gaps for policy interventions in post-apartheid Johannesburg schooling.

CHAPTER 2
Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the conceptual framework of the study and the collaborative empirical literature on learner integration in previously racially homogenic schools. The conceptual framework shall explore the ideas of integration, assimilation, equity and equality which underpin the rationale of the study, while the empirical literature will be reviewed to interrogate the challenges and progress of integration in previously white-only schools in South Africa. The latter is largely informed by ideas from the work of Mafumo (2010) and Sekete et al. (2001). Furthermore, additional links are made from Fiske and Ladd (2004), Neluvhola (2007), Pathlane (2007), Msila (2009), and Vandeyar (2010). The conceptual framework was largely influence by the work of Soudien (2004), Damons (2001) and Pathlane (2007).

The racial composition of educators will be discussed to understand the transformation of the schools' teaching staff in order to understand the role that diverse teaching staff ought to play in advancing learner integration. The discussion on the medium of instruction, particularly in schools that taught solely in Afrikaans, will aid the study in understanding the efforts made by the schools in changing the medium of instruction and the challenges thereof. The school curriculum discussion will explore the school curriculum as a factor that attracts black learners to former Model C schools, and how this factor therefore ought to change to truly advantage black learners.

Similarly, extramural activities are said to be an attraction for black learners. In discussing this theme, the researcher will explore whether these have changed in

order to accommodate black learners. The second last internal factor to be explored is school governance, which is a critical issue in a discourse on integration. The analysis of SGBs will look at who is elected, why they are elected, who makes decisions, and how accommodating these bodies are to black parents. Closely linked to SGBs is school policy development; this theme looks at what policies have been developed to effect changes and integration in schools.

Lastly, teacher training and development are viewed by this study as an internal and external factor. This theme explores training provided to teachers to manage learner diversity in schools. This theme is discussed to understand the efforts made by schools to acquire training in order to effectively manage their everyday challenges in managing diversity. Furthermore, the study aims to understand the training received by student-teachers to produce teachers who are well-equipped to manage diversity in South African classrooms.

2.2 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework of this study consists of a variation of ideas and guiding principles, instead of a theoretical framework which describes the theory that explains the existence of the research problem. Thus the approach of this study is guided by the concept of integration, often confused with assimilation and its connection to equity and equality.

2.2.1 Integration

Pathlane (2007:32) states that , (Corsini, 2002) in *The Dictionary of Psychology* defines integration as the unification of parts into a totality - which is the developmental process in which separate drives, experiences, abilities, values and personality characteristics are gradually brought together into an organised whole. Ornstein & Levine (1993) in Mafumo (2007:31) describes racial integration

as a situation not only in which learners of different racial groups attend school together, but also in which effective steps have been taken to accomplish two of the underlying purposes of desegregation, namely (1) to overcome the achievement deficit and other disadvantages of the disadvantaged majority group learners; and (2) to develop positive interracial contacts and relationships (Pathlane, 2007; Mafumo, 2010:31).

However, the realisation of integration comes with many challenges and puts forward some prerequisites. Pathlane (2007) argues that one of the fundamentals for learner integration in schools is equality of status among all learners and this may be reflected by the policies of the school. Soudien (2004) contends that from the perspective of equality, assimilation, multiculturalism and anti-racist education remain methods of achieving integration. Naidoo (1996) in Soudien (2004:95) suggests that if the principle of equality is upheld in the ethos of the school, in the nature of interaction, in institutional features and policies of the school it may facilitate integration.

2.2.2 Equality and Equity

The concept of equality as enshrined the (South African Constitution, 1996) includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms by people, regardless of race, gender, sex, disability, culture and so on. Pathlane (2007:170) maintains that most importantly regarding integration is that all learners require and are expected by their parents to receive equal opportunities and treatment without regard to race or ethnicity.

While equality does not guarantee the same outcome to all learners, it should however provide equal chances of achieving the predetermined outcome. The idea of equality is entrenched in the provision of equal opportunities to all learners so to develop their individual talents, which may require alleviation and remediation (Damons, 2001). For instance, in a classroom it may mean ensuring

that no group of learners are more advantaged more than others because of their race, gender, class, language, culture or any other differentiation.

Closely connected to equality is the concept of equity, which is defined by Damons (2001:20) advocating fairness and justice. The latter may require providing remedial support for those who are disadvantaged so to maximise their opportunity. Damons (2001) maintains that this is to assist the disadvantaged groups to integrate and not remain excluded.

Coleman (1968) in Damons (2001: 22) maintains that schools are too weak to correct social ills, and that schools will succeed in providing equal opportunities only in the absence of social inequalities. This dimension brought forth by Coleman (1968) could perhaps be explored as a plausible explanation to the many challenges of learner integration in schools. The multifaceted difficulties of learners are arguably beyond the capabilities and competences of schools.

2.2.3 Assimilation

Perhaps as a result of the inability of schools in addressing inequalities the transformation of schools is said not to be achieving integration but rather mere desegregation or assimilation. Orfield (2004:5) positively argues that desegregation in not integration but rather a mere end to exclusion. Thus, as argued by Soudien and Damons, the prevalence of equality or the lack of thereof arguably results in integration or assimilation. Soudien (2004:95) explains that assimilation is the dominance of values, traditions and customs on one group in framing the social context of the school.

As such, Pathlane (2007:32) maintains that in a plural society with many cultures such as South Africa, the quest to promote only one way of doing things will remain problematic and suspect. One could arguably contend that perhaps that is the obstacle to the integration agenda, in the sense that in the essence of

pragmatism a single method is often applied, which could result to exclusion. For example, a language policy of a school often contains one language of choice, while the school may wish to uphold the principle of integration a polyglot language policy may be impractical and could even result to re-segregation.

As noted by Soudien (2004), there are a number of categories of difference that make integration much more complex and challenging which might explain the prevalence of assimilation. Among others differences in South Africa obviously range from race, class, gender, language, religion and geographical location (Soudien, 2004:110). All these present their own challenges to equality, increasing the chances of assimilation.

2.3 Empirical literature

2.3.1 The racial composition of teachers

The migration of learners into previously white-only schools has created a stark contrast between the racial composition of learners and teachers. Hoadley (1999), Sekete et al. (2001), Fiske and Ladd (2004), Sujee (2004), and Pathlane (2007) found that even though the racial composition of learners was changing due to learner migration, teaching staff in the previously racially homogenic schools remained overwhelmingly unaltered.

It is further noted by Sekete et al. (2001) that none of the parents or the learners across all racial groups were in support of the employment of black teachers. This perception could be contributed to the quality of the education in black schools. Fiske and Ladd (2004) maintain that because of apartheid and the struggle against it, black schools lack a culture of learning and that black teachers received training in the low-performing teacher training colleges which were shut down by the African National Congress (ANC) majority government after 1994. Moreover, Schuster (2011) claims that many African teachers are not fully qualified and further suggests that this fact can be traced back to the Bantu

education system. These reasons might have been contributing factors to the resistance against the employment of black teachers, which has been a constraining factor to the integration process in schools.

Fiske and Ladd (2004) and Neluvhola (2007) suggest that the employment of racially representative teachers in former HOR, HOD and HOA schools is important in defending and upholding learners' interests. These authors maintain that opportunities to learn differ by race within and across schools. Black learners in former racially homogenic schools may face greater obstacles in learning than white, Indian, or coloured learners, owing to the lack of appreciation for their culture, outright racism, language challenges, lack of black teachers, and challenges related to cultural differences.

2.3.2 Teacher training and development

In order to implement the provisions made by all the pieces of legislation promulgated after 1994 to transform the education system, the proactive provision of support and development of principals and teachers in dealing with deracialisation and the diversity of learners in South African schools are needed. Meier (2005) agrees that the lack of commitment from the government and educational authorities to enforce large-scale multicultural training is a matter of great concern.

According to Alexander (2011), most teachers were trained in racially segregated training institutions during the apartheid period and are therefore not fully trained for a culturally diverse education system. Additionally, these teachers may find it extremely difficult to change their fixed and ingrained ways. Alexander found that the majority of teachers in former Afrikaans-medium schools preferred to teach in Afrikaans, which is an indication that they may not feel conversant with teaching in English. It should also be noted that these teachers received their teacher

training in Afrikaans at historically Afrikaans institutions and were therefore challenged by the expectation to teach in English.

Sekete et al. (2001) also found that minimal support was received by teachers and principals from the National Department of Education. Support and training were sought and received by teachers from private academic institutions through private studies and very little was done by the civil society organisations. The only training provided by the government was offered to the SGB and the Learner Representative Councils (RCLs), and this training only concentrated on procedures to be followed when executing functions of the abovementioned structures and not on issues related to racial integration (Sekete et al., 2001).

Moreover, student teachers were found to be less prepared to teach and accept diverse learners in comparison to older teachers. Dealing with diversity in practice was noted to be challenging for new entrant teachers, as a result of the lack of focus on diversity training during the pre-service training programme. A study by Alexander (2011) points out that even though older teachers were trained at racially segregated training institutions during the apartheid period and are therefore not fully trained for a cultural diverse education system, their years of everyday interaction with diverse learners leaves them better prepared than the new entrant teachers.

2.3.3 The medium of instruction

Sekete et al. (2001), Nkomo et al. (2004), Fiske and Ladd (2004), Pathlane (2007), Kivilu, Diko and Mmotlane (2008), Vandeyar (2010), Schuster (2011), and Alexander (2011) found that there has been a change in the medium of instruction, particularly in the former Afrikaans-medium schools. These schools have subsequently adopted dual and parallel mediums of instruction in order to accommodate learners who are not comfortable with Afrikaans. At the time of the study, the English-medium schools that were studied had not changed their

language policy and continued as before 1994. Sekete et al. (2001), Pathlane (2007), and Alexander (2011) noted that the provisions made by the South African Schools Act giving autonomy to the governing body to decide on the schools' language policy, was presenting a challenge, particularly in Afrikaans-medium schools.

Sekete et al. (2001) maintain that the country's 11 official languages are also a major challenge for the education system. Three main problems have been identified. The first problem is that poor and rural areas, as well as township schools, usually do not have enough teachers available who can speak the local language(s) or who can teach in the local dialect. Secondly, a considerable number of parents think that English would be the best language for their children to be taught in, in order to prepare them for the employment world where English is usually necessary. The final problem is that many pupils do not actually speak English at home (Sekete et al., 2001).

Pathlane (2007) and Schuster (2011) agree with Sekete et al. (2001) in that most subjects in schools are taught in English, which is a major problem for many pupils and teachers alike. Schuster (2011) writes that 42% of learners have problems in understanding their teachers and cannot follow the lessons. This is inclusive of learners of all racial backgrounds who at home speak and have been taught only in their mother tongue. The adoption of English as a medium of instruction in Afrikaans-medium schools has also been a challenge to teachers. According to Pathlane (2007), teachers in these schools have also found it challenging to teach in English as they were mostly trained in Afrikaans.

Nkomo et al. (2004) also found that school language policies are at times used to discriminate against learners in and outside the classroom, denying them access to fair opportunities of learning. Furthermore, it was noted that there are great disparities between the rights enshrined in the Constitution (the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public

educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable) and what is reflected in school language policies and practice.

2.3.4 The school curriculum

Curriculum delivery remains paramount and pivotal for education to serve its purpose in promoting values for social cohesion and human rights. Sekete et al. (2001), Mafumo (2010), and Alexander (2011) found minimal changes in the subjects being offered by the former homogenic schools, particularly in offering African indigenous languages. However, it was noted that African parents did not show interest in their children learning African languages due to their irrelevance in the workplace. However, Pathlane (2007) indicated that some African learners were keen on learning in their mother tongue, while some learners from other racial groups have also shown an interest in learning one other additional language.

In some instances, due to the adoption of a dual medium of instruction, it was noted that subjects such as Information Technology were limited to Afrikaans learners as the teachers were not conversant in English. Moreover, Pathlane maintains that some Afrikaans learners also had to drop some subjects because they were not comfortable with the subjects being taught in English. This does not only demonstrate the close link between the language of instruction and the school curriculum but it also demonstrates the limitations it conveys on learning opportunities. Furthermore, it also illustrates the quality of skill, knowledge, and ability needed for such an arrangement to work effectively.

Neluvhola (2007) established what she refers to as pushing and pulling factors around the issue of the school curriculum; pushing factors being the causal factors of learners to leave black schools, and pulling factors being factors attracting learners to white, Indian, and coloured schools. Neluvhola claims that black learners are attracted to these schools due to better opportunities of

learning mathematics, science, information technology, computers, art and music. Moreover, these schools are viewed as being more appreciative of vocational and technical education as compared to black schools. Therefore parents and learners believe that a comprehensive subject choice allows learners a wide range of career options and ultimately better work opportunities.

2.3.5 Extramural activities

Neluvhola (2007) maintains that diversified extramural activities in Model C schools are a pulling factor. She maintains that the lack of variety of sporting codes in township schools motivates parents to enrol their children in former Model C schools where there are better sporting opportunities, such as rugby, tennis, swimming, cricket, and basketball. According to Nkomo et al. (2004), for learners to then be integrated into these schools, the schools have to make changes to meet the needs of all learners enrolled, fostering meaningful interaction of learners in the classroom, in the playground, and in extramural activities, as well as instilling a human rights culture.

According to Wemzel (1993, in Ntuli, 1998: 138), black adolescent girls are reluctant or refuse to participate in physical activities. These black girls appear shy and, probably due to cultural influences, feel ashamed and conscious of their personal appearance. The statement by Wemzel (1993) illustrates that no accommodating changes were made by schools to provide suitable extramural activities to the aforementioned. However, Ntuli (1998) further reported that black adolescent boys adapted rather well and became proud of their bodies and took up more extramural activities to further improve their body image.

In support of Ntuli's view, Sekete et al. (2001) report that no changes were found in schools' provision of extramural activities. This was even though there were learners from different cultures and backgrounds with different sporting and cultural interests. It is reported that soccer was the sport most preferred by

coloureds and Africans; Indians favoured cricket, and whites favoured rugby. Regarding cultural activities, music and dance were mostly preferred by Africans and coloureds, with drama for whites, and debating for Indians. The Values, Democracy and Education Report (2000), quoted by Sekete et al. (2001), noted that there was a lack of interest from African learners to participate in debating; this could be attributed to their inability to express themselves in English.

2.3.6 School governance

Sekete et al. (2001) indicated that at the time of their study, there had been minimal changes regarding the racial composition of School Governing Bodies (SGB). A few black SGB representatives had been elected into school governing bodies. There are fewer black members who participate in governing bodies activities compared to their white counterparts. However, a number of policy and logistical issues suggested that there was a lack of commitment to accommodate this change. Making a specific reference to former HOA schools, Mafumo (2010) writes that SGBs are still subjugated by white parents despite large numbers of black, coloured, and Indian learners attending former white-only schools. Rembe (2005), Sekete et al. (2001), and Mafumo (2010) found that in former Model C schools, African parents were not well-represented in the SGBs, even in instances where their children formed the majority of the learner population.

Sekete et al. (2001) and Rembe (2005) agree that blacks who are SGB members are mostly co-opted or would be included on less important subcommittees, while the decision-making authority is retained by the executive body. Rembe states that the majority of SGB members in former Model C schools are white, many of them with distinct occupations like lawyers, medical doctors, accountants and business people. Carrim (2000:32, cited by Rembe, 2005: 308), found that African parents are not being elected into former Model C schools' SGBs, including ex-Afrikaner and ex-Indian schools. Sekete et al. (2001) and Rembe (2005) also noted that some schools did not have learner representatives in the

SGBs, which was due to the continued use of the prefect system, which has since been abolished. In schools where learner representatives were in existence, their participation in the SGBs was limited.

Rembe (2005) further reported that decision making in former Model C schools is dominated by white parents, while in township and rural schools, decisions are made by principals and affluent parents. Moreover, there is a lack of commitment from these dominant parties to accommodate black SGB members regarding issues of times set for meetings. This includes logistics around transport to attend meetings which were mostly convened in the evenings far from townships, which then becomes burdensome and less rewarding, and discourages black parents from participating in SGB committees (Naidoo, 2005).

2.3.9 Institutional policy development

Policy development pertains to the culture and operations of the school, what the school intends to do or not do in order to achieve its mission in the community to which it belongs. Sekete et al. (2001) found that former Model C schools were better able to deal with issues of diversity compared to other public schools. Former Model C schools had policies to deal with issues of admission, religion and cultural activities, while the other Model schools did not. The processes leading to the adoption of policies were much clearer and consultative in former Model C schools, and ambiguous and non-consultative in other public schools.

The introduction of SGBs is integral to developing policies on the day-to-day running of schools. However, with the discussion on SGBs the researcher learned that these structures are not representative of all races and cultures and therefore fail to produce the much-needed changes. The SGBs' role in school policy development plays an important part in managing racial integration in South African schools (Mafumo, 2010). As a result of the unrepresentativeness of the SGBs, very little change has been identified in school policies, particularly

regarding language policy, the school curriculum, extramural curricular, code of conduct and admission policies. Mafumo (2010) wrote that even though formerly segregated schools were admitting learners of all races, some of these schools did not have admission policies – which are insisted upon by the SASA.

CHAPTER 3
Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the design and methodology used to carry out this study. This chapter looks at the research approach, techniques and design, data collection, data analysis, and limitations of the study. This exploratory study shall adopt an interpretative paradigm, use a qualitative approach, and employ various data-collection methods. The following questions will be answered by the study:

3.2 Research questions

3.2.1 Central research question

What is the extent of integration in former Model C schools in post-apartheid Johannesburg?

3.2.2 Research sub-questions

1. What challenges are encountered by former Model C schools in trying to enforce learner integration?
2. What changes have former Model C schools implemented to achieve integration?
3. How have the changes affected the equity and equality of learners in the schools?

3.3 Research approach

Due to the complicated nature of social relations that cannot be explained by means of numbers but by social concepts and ideas (Nueman, 2006), this study is intended to be qualitative in design. The aim of the study is to conduct a qualitative exploration of the progress of integration in former Model C schools in Johannesburg.

The nomination of the qualitative approach by Sekete et al. (2001), Mafumo (2010) and other researchers whose work has informed this study, points to the qualitative approach as being the superior option in exploring the subject of this study. The qualitative approach allows the researcher to discover truths beyond what is already known or anticipated by means of open-ended questions, contrary to closed-ended questions as employed in the quantitative approach which limit respondents to responses that are predetermined by the researcher (Creswell, 2012).

Moreover, the quantitative approach may be limiting by only relying on statistical analysis of data, while the qualitative approach is open to various instruments of data analysis such as images, observations, audio recordings and words. However, the qualitative approach does not go without fault, though the approach is useful in exploring problems so to better understanding them, the approach does not enable trends and explanations to be made (Creswell, 2012).

3.4 Research design

This study will be conducted as interpretative research; using the first and second order interpretation methodology. Presentation of the first-order interpretation will reflect the raw responses of the respondents (former Model C schools), their own understanding of their challenges in managing integration, and how these challenges have been resolved. The second-order interpretation

will explain the conceptual understanding of the responses given by the respondents.

Learner integration has been studied by many researchers including Sekete et al. (2001) and Mafumo (2010); however a comprehensive understanding of the complexities of learner integration in former Model C schools in Johannesburg is further necessitated by the absence of knowledge of the phenomenon which is the reason for the selection of this design. Creswell (2012) argues that this ethnographic design allows the researcher to narrow-down existing case studies to render the reader with a thorough descriptive setting of the phenomenon without veering far away from the problem and the people whose life experiences are being studied (Creswell, 2012).

3.5 Data collection

Data will be collected through interviews, focus groups and document analysis so to retain the richness and deep nature of qualitative research. Mac Millan and Schumacher (2010) affirm that ethnographic studies should utilise interaction, interviews, and analysis of documents as data collection methods. However, for purposes of this study documents analysis will not be used for interpretation, but rather to give the reader a descriptive background of the groups being studied.

The questions will be phrased according to the situation of the respondent to help the respondents to understand the question(s) clearly in relation to their own context and to increase reliability. The questions will be open-ended; Creswell (2012: 217) maintains that interviews occur when researcher as one on or more participants general, open-ended questions and record their answers. An audio recorder will be used with permission from the respondents for both the interviews and focus groups. This is to keep record of the verbatim accounts and to ensure reliability of the data collected and to enable the researcher to focus on

the interaction with the respondent instead of taking notes (McMillan and Schumacher, 2010: 360).

3.6 Sampling

Purposive sampling will be employed to begin the research process; data will be collected from three former Model C schools in Johannesburg. These schools will be chosen according to their learner race representation; former Model C schools with a racially representative learner population will be chosen. The considered three schools will all be co-ed former Model C schools high schools, or a combination of both. From each school, senior staff members (principals and heads of department) will be interviewed on condition that they have been at the school for at least the past five years.

Purposive sampling will be employed in this study to collaborate with the design of the study. Principles of ethnographic research design dictates that the researcher studies a group of people with insight in the lived experiences of the group so as to get a deeper understanding of the identified problem (Creswell, 2012). In agreement with this view is Ball (1990) in Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007: 116) by maintaining that in many cases purposive sampling is used in order to access ‘knowledgeable people’, i.e. those who have in-depth knowledge about particular issues, maybe by virtue of their professional role, power, access to networks, expertise or experience.

3.7 Ethical considerations

Robson (1993) in Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007: 63) argues that the following reasons give rise to unethical issues in social research: involving people without their knowledge or

Consent; coercing them to participate, withholding information about the true nature of the research, deceiving participants in other ways, inducing them to

commit acts diminishing their self-esteem, violating rights of self-determination, exposing participants to physical or mental stress, invading their privacy withholding benefits from some participants, not treating participants fairly, or with consideration, or with respect.

To prevent any of the above practices with consideration of the socio-political issues being addressed by this study owing to the apartheid history of South Africa, respondents will be required to give written informed consent and their right to anonymity and right to withdraw from the study at any time, shall be reserved.

3.8 Reliability

Williams (2013) maintains that reliability is consistent in interview situation. Should the need arise, different members of the school who have been at the school for a minimum of five years will be interviewed for triangulation purposes, *i.e.* teachers, deputy principals or SGB members. The same questions will be asked to different individuals, and the same appearance and approach of the interviewer will be maintained in order to maintain consistency and to increase the reliability of the responses. The interviewer will be expected to create a warm, free and, most importantly, professional environment to ensure trust from the interviewees.

Interviews will be conducted on general schools days to prevent skewed responses from interviewees; for instance school open days where the staff promote the school to prospective learners and parents. This can lead the respondent to be biased and only choose to share only positive information about the school. Nueman (2006) stated that the manipulation of respondents' feelings and behaviour can be achieved through placing them in certain social settings. Interviews will be conducted in desired venues familiar to the respondents where they could freely share their views without fear or discomfort.

3.9 Validity

Validity is used to mean “true” or “correct” (Nueman, 2006:192); validity entails measurement of the truth by using different indicators. Secondary data such as statistics will be used to validate the data obtained from the respondents; for example: when a respondent claims that the reason for the dominance of black learners in their school is due to the relatively affordable school fees in comparison to schools around the area, validation can be done by acquiring secondary data of school fees of schools around that given area to confirm the claims.

> “The use of multiple data sources thus enhances construct validity and reliability. The latter is further enhanced through the preparation of a case study database which is a formal assembly of evidence distinct from the case study report” (Yin, 1989, in Pandit, 1996:7).

Replicability of qualitative data by respondents or through literature can be used to validate collected data. Data collected and perceived to be accurate and valid shall be used as a benchmark for replicability. This refers to respondents giving similar responses to the same questions that are asked by the researcher (Nueman, 2006).

Content validity will be conducted in instances where numbers are not applicable; this is a measure used to validate the aspects of conceptual definitions. In social sciences there are different truths, namely First, Second and Third World, thus different social concepts are defined and understood differently (Mouton, 1998). In instances where misunderstanding of concepts and principles is evident, questions will be modified and language that is more relevant and familiar to the respondent will be adopted. For instance, by South African law, the term “black

people" refers to the non-white racial population, while the everyday understanding of black people is narrowed down to just Africans.

3.10 Data analysis

As mentioned earlier, data analysis will be presented in first and second-order interpretation. This means that the views of the respondents will be presented as they are. Furthermore, in the second-order interpretation the study will conceptualise the views of the respondents by organising the data to develop theory. Open coding will be used together with axial coding in arranging findings, links, and connections to the different themes established during the analysis of data (Nueman, 2006).

> "Open coding is the first coding of qualitative data in which a researcher examines the data to condense them into preliminary analytical categories or codes and axial coding is the second stage where the researcher organises the codes, links them, and discovers key categories" (Nueman, 2006: 462).

3.11 Conclusion

The qualitative nature of this study and its choice of research design techniques make the study open to unexpected changes in direction or focus of the research project or the abandonment of some research questions (Nueman, 2006). Therefore, the methodology of the study is prone to changes during the execution of the research process; meaning there could be additions and/or reductions on how the study is conducted.

CHAPTER 4
Presentation of findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the data collected through focus group discussions, interviews, and document analyses. The findings of this study are presented in the context of the research questions in order to fulfil the purpose of the study. The aim of this study was to explore the progress made by former Model C schools in Johannesburg in achieving learner integration. The findings are presented as an attempt to answer the following research questions:

1. What challenges are encountered by former Model C Schools in trying to enforce learner integration?
2. What changes have former Model C schools implemented to achieve integration?
3. How have the changes affected the equity and equality of learners in the schools?

4.2 Profiles of schools involved in the study

As specified earlier in section 3.5 subtitled data collection, the data collected by means of document analysis does not form part of the findings chapter for interpretative purposes. However, the data was analysed so to give the reader a description account of the background and context of the case schools.

4.2.1 Case School A

School A is a former Model C highschool established in 1961 in a northwest suburb of Johannesburg, about 9 km outside the Johannesburg CBD. The 2011 Census results revealed that this suburb's population totals 4 889 people; 55% of which are white, 21.97% black, 17.10% Indian and Asian, 2.78% coloured, and 3.52% other racial groups. The school has a learner population of 888 learners. This previously completely white school has been able to achieve and maintain a commendable level of diversity. The majority of learners at the school are African and Indian; with Indian learners being only 91 learners less than the 387 African learners. Coloured learners sit just below 15% at 121; white learners are only 68 and there are only 16 Asian learners. The academic staff of the school is composed of 57 teachers and two educational psychologists.

The school's diversity extends to the curriculum and the subjects on offer in the FET phase (grades 10, 11, 12). The language of teaching and learning is English and the first additional languages are Afrikaans and isiZulu. School A has the following optional subjects on offer: Life Sciences, Physical Sciences, Computer Applications Technology, Information Technology, Geography, History, Accounting, Consumer Studies, Dramatic Arts, Visual Arts, Engineering Graphics and Design, Electrical Technology, Mathematics, and Mathematical Literacy. Business Studies is available as an additional [8^{th}] subject. The school facilitates tuition in Advanced Programme Mathematics as an extra accredited subject for learners who wish to challenge themselves in Mathematics and gain additional points for entrance into certain degree courses.

The extramural activities offered at the school are soccer, netball, cricket, rugby, touch rugby, squash, basketball, tennis, hockey, athletics, cross country, swimming, and chess for boys and girls. The school boasts a significant number of learners, past and present, who have provincial and national colours in their

respective sporting disciplines. The school has a very strong cultural extramural programme, which includes dance, drama, debating, and public speaking.

School A is categorised as a Quintile 5 school. This means that school fees are determined by the parents at a general meeting, which applies to schools that are allowed to charge school fees (currently Quintile 4 and 5 schools). The majority of parents approve a resolution in this regard. This resolution takes into account the school budget, the trend in payment of school fees, and exemptions which have to be granted.

4.2.2 Case School B

School B is a former Model C high school founded in 1993 in the western region of Johannesburg. The 2011 Census results show that this particular suburb has a population of about 6 373 residents; 60.13% of which are white, 23.05% African, 7.31% Indian and Asian, 7.94% coloured, and 1.57% other. Of the region's mature population of 225 000, 65% are economically active and about 24% are of school-going age. The majority of the adult population falls in the middle to high-income bracket, with many young working individuals and small families. Around 32% of the population has a post-matric qualification.

The medium of instruction at the school is English. The first additional language at the school is only Afrikaans; Sesotho was previously offered in the early years of the school but was later discontinued. School B offers the following subjects: Life Sciences, Physical Sciences, Information Technology, Geography, History, Accounting, Consumer Studies, Dramatic Arts, Visual Arts, Engineering Graphics and Design, and Electrical Technology. The school offers extra English and Mathematics special programmes and also runs an afternoon general homework programme. This school has an academic staff complement of 61 teachers and two school psychologists, and has 1 220 learners.

School B is categorised as a Quintile 5 school. This means that school fees are determined by the parents at a general meeting. This rule applies at schools that are allowed to charge school fees (currently Quintile 4 and 5 schools). The majority of parents approve a resolution in this regard. This resolution takes into account the school budget, the trend in payment of school fees, and exemptions which have to be granted.

The school offers a vast range of extramural activities such as swimming, soccer, rugby, tennis, netball, hockey, athletics, cross country, cricket, and netball. Dramatic Arts and Dance are also offered in the school's cultural programme, as well as Public Speaking and Debating.

4.2.3 Case School C

This former Model C high school in the southeast of Johannesburg hosts a learner body of about 1 182. The 2011 Census results show that this suburb has a population of about 12 738 people; of whom 74.88% are white, 16.38% African, 4.84% Indian and Asian, 2.82% coloured, and 1.09% other.

The school has a learner population of 1 185 learners; 687 of the learners are African, 142 are coloured, 165 are Indian, and 191 are white. The school curriculum is made up of a vast range of learning areas and subjects. In the Senior Phase, English is offered as a home language and the first additional language is a choice between Afrikaans and isiZulu. The non-language learning areas offered in the Senior Phase are Creative Arts, Economic and Management Sciences, Life Orientation, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, and Technology.

In the FET band, the school offered most of the subjects in the prescribed National Curriculum Statement such as Accounting, Business Studies, Computer Applications Technology, Economics, Electrical Technology, Engineering

Graphics and Design, Geography, History, Hospitality Studies, Information Technology, Life Orientation, Life Sciences, Mathematical Literacy, Mathematics, Mechanical Technology, Physical Science, Religion Studies, and Tourism.

In regards to extramural activities, soccer is not offered at the school. Extramural activities include rugby, touch rugby, squash, basketball, tennis, hockey, athletics, cross country, cricket, and netball. The school boasts of a significant number of learners, past and present, who have provincial and national colours in their respective sporting disciplines. In addition to sports, the school offers Dance, Drama, Public Speaking, and Debating.

4.3 Interviews with principals

This section presents findings from interviews with principals from School A and School C. The interviews with the principals took place in their offices on regular school days. The date and time for the interviews were arranged and agreed upon prior to the interviews. Separate meetings were convened with both principals to discuss the study's data-collection plan and consent to participate in the study. School B's principal later withdrew his participation from the study; hence this section represents data only from School A and School C.

4.3.1 Understanding of integration

School A's principal had difficulties explaining her understanding of what integration meant to her and the school at large. The principal explained that integration has never been a discussion point at the school. She maintained there has never been a need to discuss integration since it is a natural process.

"Due to the nature of school, when the dynamics change, you just get on with it."

To this principal, integration did not necessitate tactful effort and energy. She indicated that the school's learner demographics were changing rapidly and that the transformation of the community was a great contributor. She indicated that the school community has transformed from being predominately Jewish to being predominately black. For these reasons the school has naturally changed to accommodate these changes.

School C's principal was clear and precise; he stated that integration was the act of allowing all members of society access to the school.

> "… To offer fair learning opportunities in terms of learners and fair working opportunities in terms of teachers."

Trying to emphasise his point, he further explained that integration was also the reconciliation of socioeconomic factors rather than just racial coexistence. The principal further expressed his concern that there were only a handful of schools that were perceived to offer fair opportunities to all learners and these fair opportunities were only limited to learners in the area as stipulated by law.

4.3.2 The racial composition of teachers

Both principals of School A and School C maintained that their schools employed black teachers and that there has been a gradual increase in the number of black teachers in the schools in the past few years. Both schools' teaching staff remained largely white. The principals indicated that it was difficult to transform the teacher population because the school could not merely increase the teacher head count for transformation purposes.

> "The old teachers must leave for us to hire new teachers."

School A's principal also mentioned that it was difficult to find teachers of colour who are experienced and well-trained. She admitted to not hiring teachers according to their racial background but rather according to their teaching ability and talent. Both principals indicated that there was a shortage of experienced black teachers in African languages, Sciences, Mathematics, technical subjects, Information Technology and Engineering Studies.

> "If possible, we could have the best of both worlds. Black, well-trained teachers were few and far between, to an extent that even the Department sends us foreign nationals."

The two principals admitted that even though the schools' teaching staff were transformed compared to other neighbouring schools, their teaching staff have not achieved reasonable racial representation. Principal C admitted to not taking too much consideration of employment equity when employing teachers.

> "I do not believe in affirmative action; because it often means that people are placed in positions that they are not ready for, which often gives ammunition to the other side to say that transformation does not work."

Principal A maintained that having teachers of diverse racial backgrounds was useful in enabling the school to understand the learners' backgrounds and their cultural standing. Principal C felt that, in his experience, black teachers have not been able to help defuse any confusion regarding cultural practices that conflicted with the rules and management of the school.

> "In such instances we had to consult with parents and community religious and traditional leaders in order to understand the dynamics around some cultural practices."

4.3.3 The medium of instruction

Both principals of School A and School C reported that their schools have always been English-medium schools. Principal A was convinced that the majority of black learners in her school were comfortable with English being the medium of instruction, that most of the learners were fluent in speaking the language and therefore the language was suitable for integration. The principal indicated that written English was a challenge to all learners, even those whose home language is English. It was also found that even though the medium of instruction was English, African learners still opted to speak to each other in their home languages.

> "If you walk around the school, they are not necessarily speaking English all the time."

School C's principal maintained that English as a medium of instruction has helped the school to integrate due to its dominance as an international language. He maintained that English integrated learners everywhere they went; it is an international business language and the learners' ability to understand and communicate in the language increased their learning chances and opened them up to life opportunities. The principal admitted that he could not foresee any other language being a medium of instruction at the school.

> "I don't know, but which other language can be used for teaching and learning? I don't think it can ever be possible to use Zulu or Xhosa to teach; maybe one day, but we're not there yet."

Both principals insisted that coming across learners who did not understand English has become a rare occurrence. They maintained that these learners were usually migrant learners whose parents are domestic workers.

4.3.4 The school curriculum

Regarding the subjects offered by the school, Principal A revealed that Business Studies was being reviewed as a potential additional subject to the pool of subjects offered by the school. She explained this to be an approach that was aimed at defocusing learners from Mathematics and Sciences, by offering an alternative useful subject area particularly for learners who wish to go into entrepreneurship. The decline in the quality of results produced by the school has encouraged the school to contemplate the introduction of a new subject to boost learner performance. The principal explained that there was a drop in the number of matric exemptions and university entrant learners produced by the school.

> "Business Studies is an easily comprehendible subject; learners could achieve 50% with reasonable ease."

Both principals from School A and School C maintained that learner performance was affected by the incompatible subject choices made by learners. The principals maintained that parents had a significant influence on learner subject choices. However, the subject choices were often incompatible with learners' abilities and this had an enormous effect on learner performance.

> "There is a strong belief from parents that Mathematics and Science are crucial subjects and therefore most parents push their children to choose these subjects."

School A's principal insisted that this phenomenon did not apply to a particular racial group of learners, but that all learners faced this challenge. To maximise the diversity of subject choice, the school timetable was scheduled in a fashion that allowed learners to choose a vast selection of subject across the different areas of study.

“A learner can choose Engineering Graphics and Design and still be able to do Dramatic Arts. We are not prescriptive at all in how learners should choose their stream of study.”

The principal confirmed that School A had had isiZulu as a first additional language for over a decade. The school has two isiZulu classes in each grade, about 30 learners in each class. The principal expressed her concern regarding the sustainability of the isiZulu classes; she reported that the feeder primary schools have discontinued offering the language, citing scarcity of isiZulu teachers as the primary reason thereof.

“Schools in the area view isiZulu as being too much of a risk because of its lack of sustainability.”

She further explained that ICT was viewed in the same light as isiZulu; the scarcity of teachers discouraged schools from offering this subject, which was viewed as “nice to have” but impractical to maintain. Principal C reported that his school was an academic and technical school, and mentioned that the technical department was struggling since the school became predominately black. The school’s technical department has dropped in learner numbers and this was attributed to parental influence.

“Black parents view technical work to be inferior and subservient. Parents expect their children to be doctors, lawyers, accountants, and scientists. Parents expect their children to change the world and disregard their ability.”

School C does not offer an African language; the principal maintained that the school offered isiZulu in the past but that it was later discontinued due to timetabling difficulties. IsiZulu was offered in parallel with Afrikaans from grade 8

as first additional languages; learners had to choose between the two languages once they got to grade 10. The principal reports that learners assumed that speaking the language meant that they would pass without effort but a lot of learners failed the subject.

> "We've had cases where brilliant learners who excel in other subjects failed isiZulu dismally."

4.3.5 Extramural activities

School A has a strong cultural programme with subjects like Dramatic Arts and Dance, which includes Kwaito and Hip Hop. As far as the principal was concerned, the introduction of dances such as Kwaito, gumboot dancing, and traditional Zulu and Indian dances was critical in infusing varied cultural aspects into the school culture. Learner participation in the extramural programme was believed to be lacking; learners were not keen to stay behind after school.

> "What's sad is that it's only a handful of learners from each grade that actually take advantage of what the school offers. Some learners travel from too far and have to take a taxi into town or walk to Yeoville and some to Berea."

Principal A and C both shared their dissatisfaction with the work ethic of black learners. They maintained that most black learners were impulsive, apathetic, and not motivated. They demonstrated very little interest in extramural activities and in some cases their disinterest manifested in their studies.

4.3.6 School governance

School A's SGB consists of 13 active members: parents, members of the Representative Council of Learners, and teachers. The principal reported that the SGB was not yet representative of all stakeholders in the school; nonetheless it was transformed. The SGB has remained white for several years, even after learner transformation has taken place. Parents were not nominated to serve in the SGB by other parents; instead they merely volunteered themselves. Most black parents were reported to distance themselves from serving in the SGB; this was observed by the principal as an absence of confidence and at times disinterest.

> "There's not much electioneering that takes place; however, parents voluntarily avail themselves to serve in the SGB."

School A's principal admits to the SGB being central in making sure that the school transforms and is reformed to meet learners' needs. However, she shares her concern that the SGB should not be too biased to a particular cultural grouping. Even though African learners were the majority at the school, the SGB was dominated by Muslim and white parents. The principal reported that African and coloured parents were reluctant to participate in the SGB.

> "There's an inferiority complex preventing the African and coloured parents from coming forward and adding their contribution to the development of the school."

School C's SGB was found to have not transformed even though the school had started admitting learners of all races before 1994. The principal commented that the non-transformation of the SGB has not been an impediment to the integration of the school. According to the principal, the transformation of the SGB had no bearing on the integration of the school, whether black parents served in the

SGB or not. According to the principal, that would not have yielded a different state of affairs in regards to integration at the school.

> "The school has been able to integrate and the racial diversity in the SGB would not produce any benefit. I don't know, but I do not believe that a diverse SGB would make any considerable difference."

4.3.7 How has the learning environment been adapted?

Principal A was pleased with how the school was responding in accommodating the varying needs of learners. A conscious decision was made by the school not to read religious scriptures at assembly but rather to share inspirational quotes and messages with no religious relevance. However, learners are still allowed to practice their religious beliefs. The school has a group of Christian learners that meet every Friday during break on the school premises for their sermons. Muslim boys are also granted permission to attend prayers every Friday at noon as prescribed by their religion.

Learners in the school are allowed to wear their religious regalia or any items of religious significance. The Hindu learners are allowed to wear the Kavala (red string bracelet), Muslim boys are allowed to grow beards, and Zulu learners may wear isiphandla (goat skin bracelet).

> "We had to make changes after an uproar from parents. One of our male teachers who is a stickler for uniform cut off a learner's goat bracelet, leaving us with a huge mess."

School C has not made any changes to the school's code of conduct to accommodate learners' cultural or religious differences. The principal mentioned his vehement fight and concern against nose rings, particularly from Hindu learners. The African learners' hair styles were also mentioned as being a

contentious issue. The challenge for the principal was the ability to separate what is cultural practice from what is purely fashion.

> "The presence of learners from diverse cultural backgrounds has posed a challenge to the teaching staff and management of the school. Having to distinguish real religious and traditional practice from fashion statements and mere mischievous behaviour has been difficult."

The school restricted learners from practising or wearing items of cultural significance with their school uniforms. In situations that necessitate the learner to wear such items, permission has to be sought from the SMT and the SGB. Given the merits of the circumstances, the permission could be granted or denied.

> "A Muslim learner has in the past requested to grow his beard; the school was worried that other learners would take advantage of this. We are now dealing with a learner who is training to be a sangoma (witch doctor)."

Both School A and School C had a number of school support programmes for struggling learners, such as afternoon class programmes for all subjects where learners can have one-on-one sessions with the teachers, and in-house psychologists who offered free educational psychological development advice and counselling services to learners in need. School C has a programme pioneered by the school's Life Orientation department aimed at encouraging parental involvement, where parents were informed about learners' learning difficulties and possible intervention strategies via SMS. Both the schools had a feeding scheme sponsored by the schools' tuck shops that provided lunch for learners in need.

4.3.8 Socioeconomic issues

Socioeconomic factors were reported to have an effect on learners' behaviour but not on their academic progress. Principal A maintained that these ills often manifested in the classroom as bad behaviour and were often misunderstood by teachers. She reported that such behaviour was experienced from all learners.

"We find such behaviour from learners who have too much money for their own good and those who might be hungry because they haven't eaten. Teachers find themselves having to assist with lunch and some of these learners are supported through the school's tuck shop."

The principal insisted that the socioeconomic disparities did not reflect in learner performance anymore, due to the fact that most of the learners in the school came from former Model C primary schools in the feeder areas and not from township schools anymore. However, the school has also been inundated with applications from learner migrants from rural areas who struggled immensely, particularly with English as a medium of instruction.

School C's principal maintained that the school has been able to integrate racially and economically, given the presence of learners from previously disadvantaged backgrounds in the school.

"Whether because an individual has moved in the area and can afford school fees or a domestic worker works across the street and can take the learner to the school. The communal integration has spilled over to the school."

Principal C also maintained that learners' performance has not proven to be linked to their economic background.

"In my experience, I have seen learners from poor homes produce exceptional results while those from wealthy families battle."

Furthermore, the principal added that most learners who struggled were from outside the feeder area schools. It was established that the school had three

feeder schools and learners from these schools were often well-prepared for high school. The principal reported that struggling learners were often from outside the feeder area schools and at most times gained admission to the school fraudulently.

4.4 Focus group discussions with SGB members

4.4.1 Introduction

The responses presented below were derived from focus group discussions with School A and School B SGBs. In this section, the SGBs shall be referred to as School A and School B SGB to differentiate which of the two is from School A and which is from School B. School C's SGB declined to participate in the study and therefore no data will be presented from School C's SGB.

4.4.2 Understanding of integration

School A's SGB explained integration as the provision of a conducive environment for children to grow and develop regardless of who they are. For these parents integration in a school meant that learners should feel a sense of belonging and community. The SGB explained that integration went beyond the colour and race of learners but also had to do with socioeconomic factors.

> "I've seen Indian learners from well-off families sit with those like them and those from poor families sitting together; that is not integration."

The SGB maintained that integration meant being friends with everyone and anyone and socialising with any racial group, in a sense that when you are in that environment, your race and socioeconomic background does not come into play.

School C's SGB explained that the school's and their understanding of integration is the admission of learners of different races, backgrounds, and abilities, and to enable them to benefit from quality education. Furthermore, the parents in the SGB explained that integration meant allowing previously disadvantaged learners equal opportunities to quality education.

"… bringing every learner to the same level in terms of education, regardless of their background."

The SGB members at School B explained that the school has been able to achieve integration using the number of black learners in the school as an indicator.

"We currently have 70% black learners; black being coloured, Indian, and African."

However, a downfall was pointed out to be the continuous usage of racial terms such as black and white and not the usage of the term South African. The SGB members unanimously agreed that issues of integration are the problems of South African people and not of black or white people. This to them was stagnating the advancement of integration. The advancement of integration to the SGB would be to form a new set of values and identities as South Africans and not as blacks and whites.

"We have all these cultures coming in and that's quite a problem. We should have a South African or a School B culture, rather than a Zulu, Venda, Afrikaans or English culture. At the moment we are working on establishing a culture for the school."

The SGB reported to have been working tirelessly on establishing a new school culture which will entail developing certain traditions and values that will create a sense of belonging and dispel the concept of colour or race.

4.4.3 Racial composition of teachers

School A's SGB members did not see the value of having black teachers as members of staff at the school. The parents did not think that for integration to truly flourish, there was a need for the teacher population in the school to be racially diverse.

> "School X was completely white and yet they could transform and became the most transformed school of the time. This was even way before opening Model C schools to black learners was legislated."

Similarly, in School B, the teaching staff has remained largely white. The SGB of School B maintained that the SGB was not too concerned with the race of the teachers and did not think that teacher diversity at the school impacted or contributed to integration in any form. Their greatest concern was the effectiveness of the teachers in maintaining a conducive teaching and learning environment. The school experienced problems in the past with teachers who struggled in articulating themselves in English and had bad accents and poor pronunciation. This deterred the school in hiring teachers of colour.

> "The race of the teacher doesn't particularly pertain us; for us as parents we are more worried about the knowledge that teachers are imparting. If you look at the amount of teachers of colour that have been trained since 1994, many of them don't have a lot of experience and very little knowledge to impart."

The SGB did not think that a diverse teaching staff was necessary to provide the school with the ability to understand the diverse learners' backgrounds. The parents mentioned that the school has not been able to reach diversity within the teaching staff; however, the school's results were good. The school has not achieved grade 12 results of less than 95% in the past five years.

"We don't think it's about a diverse staff; a good teacher has an ability to reach out to a child not matter what the colour of the child is."

4.4.4 The medium of instruction

Both School A and School B's medium of instruction was confirmed to have always been English. However, learners were allowed to speak their home languages on the school premises.

"Whenever I walk in the corridors, you do hear different languages being spoken on a day-to-day basis."

This was not a problem for the parents because learners had to stay in touch with their mother tongues and maintain their heritage.

4.4.5 The school curriculum

School A's SGB maintained that the subjects offered at the school still needed to be improved, particularly in offering technical skills and Business Studies for learners who want to pursue entrepreneurship.

"Not every child is meant to go to university; that's a reality. So in offering the technical subjects we would offer and give a broader group of learners an opportunity to have something to do after grade 12."

However, the SGB shared sentiments that in order for the above to prevail, that would necessitate an increase in the school fees, which would again become an impediment to other learners' ability to afford schooling.

School A's SGB also dismissed that there are any linkages between subject choice and social background. The SGB maintained that there was no particular pattern in terms of how learners chose their subjects; it was purely a matter of interest and had no bearing on race and social background. However, they admitted that perhaps Indian learners were the exception. This again pointed out the influence and pressure by parents on learners' subject choices.

> "The pressure to do Mathematics and Sciences tend to be more on the Indian learners because the Indian community tend to place a lot of value on those subjects."

This led the school to step in to orientate parents in subject choices, in order to enable them to take all considerable factors in account in deciding on subjects. The intervention was initiated to reduce the problem of learners who fail merely due to bad subject choice.

School B's SGB confirmed that the school offered academic, technical, and technological subjects; this gave the SGB great confidence that the school offered learners the best variety of subjects in comparison to neighbouring private schools. The private schools only offered academic subjects and did not offer technical subjects. The SGB parents admitted that the school was lacking in offering learners engineering studies such as Engineering Graphics and Design. Resources and learner interest were quoted as possible pitfalls. Similarly, the same concerns were raised about the reintroduction of an African language as a second additional language.

"We are hoping to in time introduce our other local languages but obviously we can't do that overnight; as you know we are a government school and we have limited resources. We are a government school; Afrikaans was prescribed to us by the government; we don't have a choice."

However, the SGB maintained that English should remain the language of instruction. Very little value was placed on African languages. The SGB maintained that there was no place for other African languages in the school and in the employment market, and therefore introducing the languages in the curriculum would be of no value.

"It's good to have your mother tongue and culture at home and celebrate it at home, but we also have to keep a perspective of what is happening in the world."

4.4.6 Extramural activities

School A's SGB was pleased with the extramural activities offered by the school. The school introduced a school choir, dance, and gumboot dancing. The SGB was content with the participation and the racial diversity in all the extramural activities – with the exception of the cultural activities that remained black with only Indian and African learners participating in the activities.

"… in the sense that the dance class has become an Indian girls only class and the gumboot dancing only for African boys."

School B's SGB took pride in the learners' participation in the school's previously white-dominated sporting codes. The school has not implemented any changes in its sporting code in terms of introducing activities that would resonate with the interests of learners of colour. The SGB maintained that the participation of black

learners in rugby, hockey, tennis, swimming, water polo, and cricket symbolised integration. The school has also implemented a grade 8 swimming programme to teach all learners in grade 8 to swim with the aim of ensuring that all learners at the school can swim.

"We brought in coaches from outside to capacitate the training of these children."

4.4.7 School governance

The parents from School A believed that the School Governing Body needed to transform further and that it was not reflective of the learner population in the school. Even though the school has transformed and has become predominantly black, the SGB has not gone through the same trajectory of transformation which was necessary for integration.

"Even in the last election white men were nominated; no person of colour or women wanted to stand for the SGB elections. There's still a perception that if it's white, it's better."

School B's SGB explained that its members were not defined by race or colour. Out of the eight members of the body only two were people of colour. The SGB argued that racial background had no underpinning to the functions and duties of the SGB and therefore racial background was given no consideration when nominating SGB members.

"The racial card is overplayed; the SGB is there to run the school as a business with facts and not to focus on emotional issues."

School B's SGB reported that parental involvement was generally lacking; parents did not avail themselves for parental meetings and for SGB participation.

This was to the extent that the SGB was not even able to reach the prescribed number of members and that some decisions often cannot be made at parent meetings because they fail to reach quorum.

> "In our general meeting, when we have to present the budget, we struggle to ever reach a quorum."

4.4.8 Equity issues

The SGB of School A agreed that the socioeconomic condition would in any given event affect the performance of a learner. They acknowledged that some learners arrived at the school with a lower educational base due to their socioeconomic background. The SGB parents also maintained socioeconomic conditions can even affect learners' motivation, value of education, and their psychological well-being to an extent that they do not value or even realise the value of the opportunities presented to them.

> "What I've also found is that the socioeconomic background of a child can work against them, where you find they have no work ethic whatsoever. At times it could not be that they are poor but they have been overindulged."

School B's SGB explained that some of the learners at the school came as far as 20 km away from the school. Some of these learners were dropped off at the school as early as 6 am and some are only picked up after 6 pm. Most of the learners in this situation were those who travelled with parents who worked in the area but lived beyond the 5 km radius.

> "They sit outside the school till 5 pm, 6 pm or 7 pm waiting for the parents; it's not fair. The parents' perspective is that they are taking

the child to a good school, but the long hours disadvantage the learners."

The SGB also reported that there was an issue with parents who falsified their documentation in order to gain access to the school, without taking reasonable consideration of how the travelling would impact the learners' ability to learn. Some of these learners cannot afford proper transport and travelled by train and taxis.

"When kids wake up at 4 am and have to be at the taxi rank at 5 am and still have to concentrate in class, by 10 am they are tired and even sleep in class. In terms of academics they don't perform as well as they could."

4.4.9 How has the learning environment been adapted?

School A's SGB admitted that the school was struggling to attract white learners due to the changing area demographics and to the skewed socioeconomic scale. Most white parents in the area have the financial capacity to send their children to private schools which are better equipped and resourced.

"I've been in the area for 29 years. When I first came here it was largely Jewish and it is now largely Muslim. Some have moved and those who are still around might be old and don't have kids."

The parents in School A's SGB stated that the school has remained unchanged in terms of maintaining a conducive culture of quality teaching and learning. To allow for such an environment to prevail, the SGB confirmed that the school's code of conduct has been subjected to numerous amendments in order to respond to the ever-changing school environment.

"The code of conduct is continually undergoing changes. However, the current amendments have nothing to do with culture, but are rather purely discipline."

The psychologist assisted such learners with free counselling services for personal, social, and family issues such as drugs, divorce, bereavement, depression, etc. The SGB also dismissed the notion that learners from impoverished homes needed the assistance more than those from affluent homes; maintaining that learners from all backgrounds use the counselling services of the school.

School A's SGB confirms that a new timetable was adopted by the school in order to accommodate male Muslim learners to attend prayers on Fridays at noon. This decision was reached after a year of consultation with parents, teachers, and community spiritual leaders.

"It was agreed that the school will make the facilities available and the religious leaders availed themselves to ensure that the learners go back to class."

To respond to the growing decline in the school's pass rate and matric exemptions, the school started offering additional morning and afternoon Mathematics and English classes. Moreover, all subject teachers availed themselves during breaks for consultations. Both School A and School B employed educational psychologists to provide counselling and support to learners who are in need.

"You will always get that one child; it doesn't matter what you do or say to help them. They'll always seem as if they want to cause trouble."

School B's SGB has adopted a belief that culture has no place in the school but rather belongs at home and it should remain like that. The SGB argued that there was a place and time for tradition and culture. The SGB maintained that parents have the responsibility to familiarise themselves with the school's code of conduct prior to enrolling their children in the school. For purposes of structure and discipline, the school was not willing to adjust the code of conduct to accommodate learners' cultural beliefs.

> "If parents disagreed with the code of conduct they had every right to go to other schools. Traditions are honoured but this school might not be the right place, because we have to respect one another."

Both School A and School B's tuck shops help to feed struggling homes by offering learners lunch every school day.

> "Essentially we're trying to ensure that when the kids come to school, they concentrate on school."

4.4.10 Support, training, and development

The role of government in supporting both School A and School B was non-existent. The SGBs were frustrated by the void that the government has left by not participating in the day-to-day running of the schools but rather making the SGBs' jobs more difficult.

> "It's frustrating when the government forces learners on us without remembering that as the SGB of the school we follow all admission procedures as stipulated by the law and we are mindful of how many learners are in the school and how much money is coming in. Instead of them coming to ask how they could help us, they often come down on us."

4.5 Focus group discussion with the teachers

4.5.1 Understanding of integration

School A's teachers understood integration to be an incremental natural process. Integration was described as an inevitable process bound to take place. The teachers did not agree that schools needed to make changes to accommodate the needs that come with a diverse learner population. Teachers maintained that all learners were the same regardless of what their race was.

> "Children are children; if it's in front of you, you teach it. What relevance is the colour of their skin?"

Teachers argued that race was not an integration issue but that language was; arguing that accommodation had to be initiated around the medium of instruction and not necessarily race.

> "Language challenges must not be confused to be racial challenges."

School B's teachers explained that integration was the disregarding of race and the coming together of people. They maintained that the challenge of integration was more evident socioeconomically and not racially. Some of the teachers opposed the notion of integration; arguing that exclusive education was healthier for the preservation of culture and ethnic values.

> "Is integration always a good thing? Exclusive education was able to inculcate ethnic values and beliefs to learners and enroot them in a cultural environment distinctly different from the cosmopolitan society we have."

Teachers from School C explained that integration was the provision of equal opportunities to all learners, regardless of the colour of their skin. They explained that this also meant that learners received the same treatment and punishment.

4.5.2 The racial composition of teachers

School A's teachers reported that different teacher abilities and knowledge assisted immensely in the facilitation of integration and therefore racial diversity was essential. This has assisted in gaining insight into learners' cultural backgrounds. Black teachers have assisted the school in ensuring that black learners are not unwittingly prejudiced or disadvantaged by school rules. Black teachers also assist in interpreting for some parents and learners when the need arises.

Similarly, School B's teachers believed that having a diverse teaching staff has assisted in understanding learners' cultural differences.

> "We have teachers who can identify with learners' problems and assist to bridge the divide."

Teachers reported that the school has not only lost white learners but also teaching staff members as a result of the predominance of black learners in the school. Teachers were leaving the school due to the frustration from the inability to manage diversity in the classroom.

> "Middle class teachers are unable to contend with working class learners and finding it difficult to bridge the divide. Very few teachers are able to relate to these learners unless they've been in the situation themselves."

School C's teachers explained that diverse teaching staff was necessary for integration. However, black teachers' lack of training and poor English accents were quoted as some of the reasons why former Model C schools were not keen to transform their teaching staff. Blacks were also not considered for promotions; white teachers progressed much quicker than their black counterparts who were more educated and had more experience. Teachers reported that the transformation of the teaching staff was stagnant and that the staff was far from being integrated.

> "Staff must still change further. If you were to go into the staffroom, you will find teachers sitting in groups according to the colour of their skin."

4.5.3 The medium of instruction

The majority of the teachers from all three schools – School A, B and C – believed that English was the ideal option for a medium of instruction. Teachers maintained that no other South African language could surpass the international accolades and dominance of the English language. However, what was more discouraging was the learners' lack of mother tongue proficiency.

> "Their mother tongue is not good enough for the learners to learn in their mother tongue. Some of them can barely read in their mother tongue."

School B's teachers maintained that English was not a suitable medium of instruction for all learners. The teachers argued that learners would have been better off learning in their mother tongue or in an environment where code switching could be used to their benefit. According to these teachers, black and white learners would have been better off in separate schools.

"Black learners would be better off if they remained in township schools and similarly Afrikaner learners would have experienced better education from Afrikaans schools."

The majority of the learners from the feeder schools were proficient in English and only a few struggled occasionally. It was mostly the learners outside the feeder area that struggled with English as the language of teaching and learning. This was a difficulty for teachers in the classroom and they often felt helpless and incapable to alleviate the problem.

"Schools are not well-equipped and do not have the time to give the learners English language lessons. English is the medium of instruction and cannot be compromised. English is not a barrier because the majority of the learners at the school are from the feeder area."

4.5.4 The school curriculum

Teachers from School A and School B indicated that subject choices, like school choice, were a parental decision. Learners did not choose their own subjects but it was rather the parents who chose. Teachers also reported that the huge emphasis on Mathematics and Science from both society and parents has proven to be detrimental to some learners.

"Learners have different learning abilities; it is unfair that parents put undue pressure on them to take Maths and Science."

School B and School C teachers maintained that technical education was not embraced by most parents and ultimately by learners, and that technical-related careers were viewed as being inferior. It was also reported that the curriculum was among the factors used by parents in choosing a school.

“Parents choose to take their kids to neighbouring schools that do not compel learners to have isiZulu as a second language.”

School B and School C teachers argued that Afrikaans remained the most preferred first additional language compared to isiZulu for both white and black parents and learners. Learners are influenced and compelled by parents, particularly Indian parents.

“Indian kids are very academic and much more driven to achieve.”

4.5.5 Extramural activities

School A’s teachers reported that most black and Indian learners were inclined to choose soccer, netball, and cricket respectively. Only a quarter of the school learners took part in the extramural activities, accounting to issues of transport and the cost of sports gear.

“If they wish to take participate, they are then forced to take public transport at about 5 pm and buying sportswear and kits. Extramural activities go on until 6 pm.”

Some learners walked to and from school from the inner city in places such as Berea, Yeoville, and Hillbrow. For these reasons, learners were not forced to participate in any extramural activities. It was also reported that some parents elected for their children not to participate in extramural activities given that they wanted the learners to focus only on academics. School B’s teachers concurred with School A’s teachers that travelling logistics prevented many learners from participating in extramural activities.

Black teachers from School C expressed their concern regarding the prohibition of soccer at the school. The SGB and the SMT of the school cited issues of discipline, the unaffordability of soccer coaches, clashing seasons, and the potential strain on the pitch as reasons for not having soccer at the school.

> "For some reason they think soccer is a sport for hooligans and would present the school with problems."

Teachers strongly felt that the SGB and the SMT are prejudiced against soccer because soccer was prohibited while rugby had more than one coach and a lot of resources were invested into it. On the other hand, learners who wanted to participate in soccer were compelled to join a private soccer club with the promise that the school would still acknowledge the strides they make in the club.

4.5.6 School governance

School B's teachers argued that the disciplinary code and policies of the school did not reflect the school's learner population and this was because black parents are reluctant to join the SGB. The SGB had rules and regulations with no consideration of the background of the learners. Teachers raised concerns that the school's SGB was overlooking the fact that most of the learners in the school were from working class families.

> "Class issues include parents not participating in the SGB, the level of education, financial standing, and the proximity of the school to their homes."

School C's teachers were pleased that even though black parents did not avail themselves for the SGB, they still volunteer to assist where they could, such as in the school's tuck shop and feeding scheme. The school's SGB remained

completely white; the perception that the SGB was for the affluent and educated was also credited to the lack of participation from black parents.

4.5.7 Equity issues

Socioeconomic integration was believed to be more evident compared to racial integration. School A's teachers maintained that not only white learners at the school were from affluent homes. Even though this was the case, some learners still lacked cultural capital, which is indicated by the lack of reading ability, reading culture, and poor general knowledge.

The teachers maintained that there were obvious disparities in the level of education between learners from township primary schools and learners from suburban primary schools. It was reported that learners from the suburban schools, particularly from the feeder schools, outperformed learners from outside the school's feeder area. However, the quality of learners from the feeder schools was believed to have deteriorated.

In School A and C, it was found that learners were inclined to hang around learners of the same skin colour. School B's teachers reported that learners in the school grouped each other along the lines of affluence.

> "Middle class learners stuck together and working class kids stuck together too; the problem has gone beyond the colour line."

Both School A and School B's teachers denied that learners' poor performance was mostly indicative of a disadvantaged background. Teachers maintained that all learners from all races struggled with school, particularly those with little help from their parents. This occurred in both rich and poor families for different reasons.

School C's teachers claimed that socioeconomic disparities were evident in the performance of learners' attitude and quality of work. The quality of work received from well-to-do learners and those who were impoverished was believed to be strikingly different. This was also compounded by the fact that feeder primary schools have not transformed and therefore a significant number of learners in the school were from township primary schools.

> "It's a reality; the lack of resources is an everyday struggle for learners. When you receive projects from learners, you can immediately see who's from a rich family and who is not."

4.5.8 How has the learning environment been adapted?

The introduction of African dance, Kwaito and Hip Hop dance in School A's cultural activities were cited as one of the honoured changes the school has accomplished. This was followed by the introduction of isiZulu as a first additional language, advanced Mathematics, and English in IEB to improve learners' chances of university admission.

Teachers reported that all three schools – A, B and C – initiated extra lessons programmes that started at 6:30 am before class and in the afternoon after school until 5:30 pm. However, it was reported that learners did not appreciate the programmes and did not participate as expected. The schools also provided counselling services to all learners in need at no cost.

4.5.9 Perceptions about the changes and their effect on schooling

Teachers maintained that the community considered School B to be uncultured, and dysfunctional because of the black learner predominance. For this reason, the number of white learners in the school continues to decline.

Only 5% of learners in School C were white; teachers reported that the public perception in the community was that the majority of black learners in the school reflects a compromised quality education. Teachers explained that this view was also common amongst black parents.

> "They would refuse to enrol their kids where there are too many black learners and teachers."

4.5.10 Support, training, and development

All the teachers from all three schools maintained that the Department of Education has not provided any relief in assisting the schools to manage the integration of leaners. However, teachers from School A were convinced that the school was doing well and therefore the school did not need much help in that regard. Furthermore, School A's teachers reported that they often felt incompetent in dealing with learning difficulties and discipline. However, they did not see how these issues were related to learner integration.

Teachers from School B reported receiving curriculum support that was not sufficient in empowering them to effectively deal with learner difficulties, classroom management, and learner related social issues. School B's teachers argued that better remuneration, better resources, and an improved teaching environment were essential to increasing teacher morale.

> "Ultimate support will be the change of the curriculum that is disconcerting for all parties: learners, parents and teachers."

School C's teachers reported that no support was received from the government in managing the influx of black learners and their needs. The teachers maintained that the government had a responsibility to ensure that all the schools in the area were transformed. Due to the unwillingness of the other schools in the

area to transform, the teachers felt overwhelmed by the influx of black learners in the school.

4.5.11 Racial physical encounters

Even though no physical encounters occurred in the school due to racial tension, learners still hang around with learners from the same racial groups due to shared interests and relevance and not merely skin colour.

School B's teachers maintain that colour was an issue for some kids. Learners classify fights between learners of different races as racial spats, even when it is not the case. Learners discriminate against each other in terms of class as well.

4.6 Focus group discussion with the learners

4.6.1 Understanding of integration

School A's learners defined integration as the provision of opportunities to all people regardless of race, religion, or gender. They further explained that integration is having different people from different backgrounds interacting and equally coexisting in the same environment. In reference to their definition, the learners were convinced that the school has been able to integrate; as they were offered the same learning opportunities and received the same treatment and punishment.

"The school accommodates learners from of all colours, races,
religions, and different socioeconomic classes."

Integration was understood by School B's learners as multicultural living – for people of all backgrounds to live together. Learners were, however, not convinced that this was happening in their school. Learners reported that they

tended to associate with one another according to race. This inclination, according to the learners, was perpetuated by the lack of understanding of one another's mother tongues.

> "Even though we all can speak English, most learners opted to speak in the vernacular languages. So, if you don't understand what they are saying, you won't hang around them."

School C's learners understood integration as the coming together of all racial groups, disregarding race, coming together as people, and treating everyone equally.

> "... bringing in other races where there was previously one dominant racial group."

The learners explained that the school has been able to integrate in the sense that all learners were offered the same opportunities and were assessed on the same standards, regardless of their skin colour.

4.6.2 Racial composition of teachers

School A's teaching staff contained foreign nationals, particularly in the Mathematics and Science departments. Black learners in the focus group viewed having such teachers as progressing integration. Even though these teachers were not South African, they were black and learners seemed to appreciate that. This afforded learners a sense of belonging and comfort. Learners expressed how, at times, they were intimidated by white teachers and how it was easier to approach black teachers. One of the learners shared the concern of how it worried her that she has never been taught English by a non-white teacher throughout her school career.

"… not that the teachers did anything to intimidate us, but it is just easier to speak to someone who understands you."

All the learners viewed a diverse teaching staff as a benefit to integration and to the contribution of the body of knowledge in the school. The learners felt that teachers' knowledge and experience in the different cultures capacitate the school in dealing with learners' cultural dynamics in the school. It was found that there is often an issue with communication and understanding amongst teachers and learners of different backgrounds.

"Sometimes teachers and the governing body don't understand our needs as learners."

Learners felt that white teachers were less sympathetic to their plight and seldom took their background into consideration. A white learner in the group reported that white learners were also not pleased with black teachers' pronunciation and accents and thus found them difficult to understand. Nonetheless, all School A's learners explicitly maintained that teacher diversity was a prerequisite for integration of learners in former Model C schools.

School B's learners mentioned that it was important to them to have teachers that understand and relate to them. A white learner shared how he had to consult a white teacher for an explanation in his mother tongue and context; this was after he failed to understand a black teacher because of her accent. According to the learners from School B, code switching was often used to help learners to better understand the teacher. At times teachers asked learners who understand the work to explain the work to their peers in their home language to ensure that the subject content is well understood.

"Some teachers even teach Afrikaans in English."

Learners from all the case schools felt that it was necessary for teachers to be racially diverse; it provided them with an idea of how they ought to be and a sense of comfort and belonging.

> "They understand us and know our backgrounds better and therefore it is easier to talk to them compared to talking to teachers of other races."

Another view presented by the learners was that teachers from different backgrounds have different views and these views open different doors of knowledge and understanding. This also assists the school in understanding learners' behaviour, dress codes, and thinking.

> "If we have an Indian teacher, she'll be able to explain why we wear the religious regalia instead of us as learners having to explain ourselves."

4.6.3 The medium of instruction

All School A's learner respondents unanimously agreed that English is the number one international business language. However, there was a concern that the language may be a barrier to learners whose mother tongue was not English. Learners maintained that white learners had a great advantage by being taught in their mother tongue and context. Even though they maintained that English was good as a medium of instruction, the learners argued that other means should be used to assist learners who are not well versed in English to be on par with their white counterparts.

> "I don't think enough is being done to accommodate learners who struggle with English in the school."

School B's learners also shared the view that English was a great catalyst of integration in the school, in the community at large, and internationally. The learners all experienced being shut out by their peers through the usage of a language that they did not understand or were familiar with, such as isiZulu, Sesotho, or Afrikaans. English to them was therefore able to provide an opportunity for people around the world to communicate effectively. However, they also maintained that not everyone understood the language and that while it is understood by many, it is not understood by all.

4.6.4 The school curriculum

School A had a vast range of diverse subjects for theoretically, technically, artistically, and scientifically inclined learners. Learners reported that Business Studies and Accounting were, however, not catered for by the school, which meant that learners who took these subjects in their previous school had to change their subject choice. Some of the learners in the discussion group felt that they would enjoy studying in their vernacular languages such as Setswana and Tshivenda. The learners with English as their home language were satisfied with the language options and viewed the offering of other languages as an impractical expectation.

> "It's unfair that I am forced to study Afrikaans or isiZulu as first additional languages; why is it that my home language is not offered at the school?"

Some of School B's learners were also satisfied with the subject variety offered by the school but were not satisfied with the languages offered. One of the learners remarked that the school could improve the languages offered by introducing other African languages such as isiZulu, isiXhosa or Sesotho. For the learners, this was a possible solution to the racial learner factions that were believed to exist due to language barriers. Not all learners agreed with this

argument; other learners were of the view that the provision of African languages would further exacerbate the racial factions.

School C's learners were generally satisfied with the subjects offered at the school and saw no value in having African languages such as Sesotho being taught at the school because isiZulu was already offered. However, they would appreciate if the school offered a foreign language such as Portuguese or French.

> "Why would I want to be taught Sotho? I'm comfortable with Sotho; I speak Sotho at home."

However, other learners felt that even though isiZulu was not their home language, studying it provided them an insight into their peers' language and culture. Furthermore, learners viewed the subjects offered as backward and not responsive to their era.

> "We would like to have IT (Information Technology); we have CAD (Computer-aided Drawing) but it is not a university entrance subject."

4.6.5 Extramural activities

School A's learners were pleased with the number, variety, and facilitation of all extramural activities. Learners maintained that they were happy that neither of the two, sport or culture, was given esteem over the other. However, even though extramural activities were offered to all learners, learner choices and interests somehow lead to cultural groupings – leading to some sports teams being racially homogenic. Netball teams were reported to be completely black; cricket and touch rugby Indian; tennis was black; rugby fairly mixed; boys' soccer very black; girls' soccer was white; and public speaking and debating had no black learners. Learners also reported that the school had a male netball coach

and a female assistant soccer coach; for them this was an indicator of integration.

> "I'd say that School A has been able to integrate; I haven't heard of a school in the area that has a female principal, a female Indian SGB chairperson, a female soccer coach or a male netball coach."

School B provided sport and cultural extramural activities, with traditional boys' sports such as soccer, cricket, and rugby being offered to both sexes. The learners reported that the learner racial demographics in sport and in cultural activities were fairly diversified; none of the activities were reported to be dominated by one particular racial group.

> "We are all mixed, for instance, my rugby team. You find everyone there – black, Indian, coloured, white – I mean everyone."

School C's learners viewed the provision of a vast range of extramural activities as an exceptional tool for integration as it provided learners with equal opportunities. To the learners, this did not only offer equal opportunities but also provided a platform for interaction between all learners. Learners had contradicting views on the school's failure to offer soccer and swimming. The school has, however, made alternative plans for the learners to participate in these activities. These arrangements were viewed by learners to be unfair because they were expected to pay additional club fees to participate in these activities and therefore this prevented equal opportunities.

> "Why must I pay school fees so that others may enjoy extramural activities of their own choice while I don't? That cannot be fair."

Learners reported that most African, coloured, and Indian learners took part in the choir, dramatic arts, and other cultural activities. Learners related black

learners' choice of activities to their cultural background. When it came to sport, it was found that black learners preferred touch rugby, hockey, and netball; while white learners preferred rugby, tennis, and badminton. Most Indian girls were reported as not taking part in any extramural activities and have put in numerous requests for the school to introduce dance.

"I'd say most Indian girls don't play sports; we are shy."

4.6.6 School governance

The diversity of School A's SGB was highlighted by learners as a necessary element in the advancement of integration. However, the learners were worried that the school's policies were becoming subjective and favoured Muslim learners. Their concern followed a decision by the SGB to permit Muslim boy learners to attend Friday prayers during school hours, resulting in a longer school day.

All the black learners from all three case schools agreed that their parents showed very little interest in participating in the SGB. These learners' parents maintained they had no significant contribution to make, they were not educated enough, they had no time due to employment, or were totally unconcerned about their contribution to the SGB.

"My mom tells me, 'I don't have time for that nonsense; that's for white people who have money and all the time on their hands.'"

Some of School C's learners were disgruntled with their SGB's failure to address learners' requests for the introduction of soccer in the school. School A and School C's learners maintained that the SGBs did not represent themselves as governance and leadership bodies but rather as mere disciplinary committees.

Learners were dissatisfied with the SGBs' responses to their wishes, grievances, and queries.

> "We only see them when there is something wrong; whenever we ask for anything, the answer is always no. They don't even care to give us reasons."

4.6.7 Equity issues

Learners in School A believed that socioeconomic factors were evident in the learner performance in the school. Learners shared their experiences as peer counsellors in the school, for example: how some learners worried about stationery and other study material for projects and assignments. The learners related how some learners had to travel from Soweto and other peripheral areas to get to the school and still had chores to do at home instead of doing their school work

School B's learners maintained that learners' results did not reflect socioeconomic disparities. This was attributed to the school's social development programme, which includes provision of sanitary towels for girls, feeding schemes, and counselling and guidance services.

> "Whites, blacks, and Indians are all in the top ten; it all depends on the individual's motivation."

School C's learners believed that socioeconomic background has the potential to affect learners' studies. However, learners felt that the material conditions of learners' families were not necessarily as detrimental as an unhappy family life was.

"You might not be rich, but the fact that your mother and father are there and working hard and supporting you to work hard means you'll also work hard."

4.6.8 How has the learning environment been adapted?

All three schools have initiated extra lessons for Mathematics and English, counselling, and feeding scheme programmes. However, learner participation in the extra lessons programme was reported to be lacking due to transport arrangements that were not conducive. Some learners travelled by public transport and could not manage to get to school before 6:30 am and leave after 5:30 pm.

4.6.9 Perceptions about the changes and their effect on schooling

School A's learners maintained that the school continued to enjoy its prestige, even though they were worried about the school's inability to attract white learners. The learners maintained that the school still had a good reputation in the community. The school continues to do well academically but in the past years there was a decline in the culture of sport in the school. However, that has changed and the school continues to gain accolades not only in sport and academia but also in arts and culture such as the choir, traditional Zulu dances, and other activities.

"School A is still highly regarded by the community and that is why we are confident that there is no other school in the area that has been able to integrate like how this school has."

School B's learners reported that the school has suffered a history of bad reports on what was viewed by the community as racial fights between learners. According to the learner, this has tarnished the reputation of the school. Learners

reported that these fights have since stopped and deny that they were ever racially motivated. However, learners maintain that parents who make such remarks are racist and use these events as scapegoats.

> “Fights between black and white or coloured and Indian learners are always viewed to be racist, which isn’t true. People will always find something to hide the truth.”

School C’s learners said that the impression the community has of the school was that the quality of education and discipline at the school was inferior. The predominance of black learners in the school has also increased rumours of drugs and gangsterism in the school, which were all reported to be untrue. These perceptions convinced learners that the white community members continued to harbour feelings of hatred against black people.

> “It seems like white people are still holding onto race; it is actually the parents and not the learners.”

CHAPTER 5
Discussion of findings

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore the progress made by former Model C schools in Johannesburg in advancing learner integration. Two assumptions were made by the researcher. Firstly, that learner integration in former Model C schools should be in an advanced stage because these schools were the first Model schools to admit black learners. Secondly and lastly, that the case schools' fair learner racial representation is an indicator of integration. This was influenced by the view that former Model C schools that have remained predominately white or have become completely black have failed to achieve learner integration.

Various studies have explored integration in former Model C schools around the country and on specific themes and indicators of integration. However, there has not been an exploration of a holistic range of factors affecting learner integration in former Model C schools in Johannesburg. This research focused on learner integration challenges and strategies, and their effect on equity in former Model C schools in Johannesburg.

The researcher used naturalistic inquiry methods to collect the research data by conducting in-depth interviews with the principals; holding focus groups with the SGBs, teachers, and learners; and collecting supportive documents for analysis. The data were coded, analysed, and organised first by research question and then categorised according to the conceptual framework. The study was based on the following research questions:

Central research question:

What is the extent of integration in former Model C schools in the post-apartheid Johannesburg?

Research sub-questions:

1. What challenges are encountered by former Model C Schools in trying to enforce learner integration?
2. What changes have former Model C schools implemented to achieve integration?
3. How have the changes affected equity and equality of learners in the schools?

The findings presented in Chapter 4 addressed the abovementioned research questions. The primary finding was that there was insufficient advancement of learner integration in the former Model C case schools in Johannesburg.
Some schools have implemented very few changes to accommodate black learners' needs. This was further compounded by some of the schools' strategies that were in contravention of the provisions of the South African Schools Act of 1996. As a consequence, some of the schools' duties to deliver equitable quality education were not fulfilled.

This chapter analyses, interprets, and synthesises the study findings by means of the following categories:

1. The relationship between learner integration and the challenges encountered by the schools.
2. Perceptions and strategies of achieving integration.
3. Strengths and weaknesses influencing equality and equity of learners in the school.

5.2 Discussion of findings

5.2.1 The relationship between learner integration and the challenges encountered by the case schools

The first research question sought to understand the challenges encountered by the former Model C case schools in fulfilling the provisions of the South African Schools Act. The Act provides that all public schools must admit learners and serve their educational requirements without unfairly discriminating in any way. This means that learners cannot be denied access to any public school based on race, language, capacity to pay school fees or through the usage of entrance examinations (Metcalfe, 2007).

5.2.2 The racial composition of teachers

Hoadley (1999), Sekete et al. (2001), Fiske and Ladd (2004), Sujee (2004), and Pathlane (2007) found that even though the racial composition of learners in previously white-only schools was rapidly changing, teaching staff remained overwhelmingly untransformed. This was found to be true with the three former Model C case schools in Johannesburg explored in this study. Even though the school principals and the SGBs acknowledged that the racial composition of the teachers in the schools' staff was not equitable, neither a plan nor a commitment to correct this inequality was demonstrated.

Central to the employment equity challenge of these schools was the issue of teacher education and training. As maintained by Sekete et al. (2001) and Fiske and Ladd (2004), former white-only schools were reluctant to recruit black teachers due to the quality of education and training they received during the apartheid era. The principals and the SGBs maintained that teacher qualifications, talent, ability, and teaching experience were prioritised over racial

parity and this was the reason for the overrepresentation of white teachers in these former Model C schools. Even though teacher education and training has been deracialised and the same quality of teacher education is rendered to all student-teachers, principals still maintained that the predominance of white teachers in their schools was due to the lack of qualified and experienced black teachers.

The scepticism around the quality of black teachers was further supported by some white learners and some white teachers. Black teachers' English accents and general articulation was reported to be of low quality. This might also point to the possibility of racial intolerance. It was also found that some white teachers have fled to private schools as a possible result of the transformation of the learners. This too may possibly suggest connotations of racial intolerance. Soudien (2004) found that intolerance can play itself out through assimilation in many South African schools, where those who are perceived as being newcomers are expected to adjust to previously set standards and cultures instead of the cultures transforming for their benefit.

Schuster (2011) maintains that many African teachers are not fully qualified and further suggests that this fact can be traced back to their subjection to the Bantu education system. This would seem a contributing factor to the overrepresentation of white teachers in the Model C case schools. According to Alexander (2011), similarly, most white teachers were trained in racially segregated training institutions and were therefore not fully trained for a culturally diverse education system, which is possibly a factor of them leaving these schools. The arguments presented above possibly render both black and white teachers trained during the apartheid era as unqualified to teach in post-1994 Model C schools.

The South African Schools Act of 1996 (SASA) provides that the staff contemplated by a public school must be employed in compliance with the basic

values and principles referred to in section 195 of the Constitution, and must take the following factors into account:

1. the ability of the candidate;
2. the principle of equity;
3. the need to redress past injustices; and
4. the need for representivity.

The study found that there was an overemphasis on the abilities and qualifications of black teachers. The principals and the SGBs completely disregarded issues of equity, redress, and representivity. Some black teachers reported that they were discriminated against when applying for senior positions. In some instances less experienced and less qualified white teachers were unduly appointed into senior positions. In support of this view, school statistics reflect that teachers of colour were not appointed into senior positions. Sekete et al. (2001) also found that teachers of colour were not appointed into prominent subject teaching positions, such as Mathematics, Science, and English.

For all intents and purposes, schools are there for the purpose of teaching and learning; principals and SGBs have the responsibility to ensure that this occurs. The absence of support from the government in providing sufficient teacher training and development may possibly be a factor in this regard. It seems that SGBs and principals are left with no choice but to overemphasise ability and teacher qualifications to circumvent the need for training and development later.

The study further found that there was, however, a general illusion amongst the SGBs and principals that integration was possible in the absence of a diverse teaching staff. This could also be a possible attributor to the irreconcilable ratio between black and white teachers. Fiske and Ladd (2004) and Neluvhola (2007) found that teacher racial representativeness was fundamental to ensuring the support of learners in dealing with a lack of appreciation for their culture, outright

racism, language challenges, and challenges related to cultural differences. Most teachers supported teacher diversity as a way of enriching the culture and organisational knowledge of the school in order to better manage learner diversity.

It was established that the latter was true for the case schools; both black and white learners conveyed their appreciation of teacher diversity. Both groups of learners shared instances where teachers gave them academic and psychosocial support by helping them understand school work and by showing sympathy and understanding. Learners maintained that the teachers successfully achieved this because they were the same race as them, had a similar background, and spoke the same language. Some black learners felt that white teachers were not empathetic, while some white learners expressed their struggle in understanding black teachers' lessons. It is important to note that black learners' needs in this regard were more psychosocial, while white learners' needs were merely academic.

5.2.3 The medium of instruction

Consistent with Pathlane (2007), Schuster (2011) and Sekete et al. (2001), the study found that the English medium of instruction was one of the prominent challenges encountered by the schools. All three of the case schools were English-medium schools; however, due to the provisions of the SASA, schools were compelled to admit learners regardless of their proficiency in the language of instruction. Luckett (1995:58, in Banda, 2010:51), found that black learners had difficulty adjusting to the switch from mother-tongue education to English as the medium of instruction.

Although the challenge of English as a medium of instruction continues to prevail, it was found to be experienced to a lesser degree than in the past. This might be attributed to the increased number of black learners in former Model C primary

schools or feeder schools to the case schools. This means that these learners are exposed to the English medium of instruction from an earlier age, making them better prepared for an English-medium highschool. Previously, a large number of black learners would migrate directly to former Model C highschools from homelands or township/mother-tongue primary schools (Banda, 2010). However, this might also mean that townships and rural schools have moved towards the usage of English as the medium of instruction. Banda (2010) found that code switching was very common in South African classrooms.

Pathlane (2007), Schuster (2011), and Sekete et al. (2001) found that the English medium of instruction was not only a challenge to learners but to teachers as well. It was found that white parents and learners often complained about black teachers' English language proficiency; while some black parents were reported to be concerned about the increasing number of black teachers in former Model C schools without giving reasons as to why. However, Pathlane (2007) and Sekete et al. (2001) found that it was not only black teachers whose ability to teach in English was challenged but Afrikaans teachers as well. They attributed this to the apartheid era's racially divided teacher education and training.

Banda (2010) also found that the preference of English as a medium of instruction is thought to impede learning, and that it also leads to poor mastery of both English and the mother tongues. This, according to Sekete et al. (2001), was compounded by the fact that most black learners actually do not speak English at home. It was found during focus group discussions that some black learners thought that learning in their mother tongue would be beneficial. This was somewhat of an indication that some learners were not totally content with English as a medium of instruction. This was consistent with Pathlane (2007); who also found that some African learners were taught in their mother tongue.

Banda (2010) cites Cummins (1981:61), who explained the distinction between basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic

language proficiency (CALP). She also proposed that learners should use their mother tongue until they reach CALP: Only once pupils can operate in CALP in their first language should they begin to operate in a second language at cognitively demanding levels." (Luckett, 1995: 76 cited in Banda, 2010:58). This might then suggest that, in actuality, learners who have not experienced their mother tongue are actually worse off than those who have.

However, the practicability of mother tongue education in South Africa could be immensely complicated. The diversity of mother tongues found in South Africa, the availability of teaching skills, and the shift of classroom and school practises from English to mother tongues (Banda, 2010) might prove to be challenging. The study found that some learners were not proficient in their mother tongue. This might be compounded by the lacking African languages subject provision, and by African parents' disinterest in learners learning African languages. Therefore, a change in the attitudes towards African languages is also imperative.

It was further found that the English language was not only troubling black learners but also English mother tongue-speaking learners. The study established that most learners, both black and white, were challenged by expressing themselves in written English. It is possible that this may be as a result of the growing literacy and numeracy problem in South Africa (Modisaotsile, 2012). Although the Annual National Assessment (ANA) results may reflect an improvement in literacy levels, it was found that literacy was becoming a worrisome problem leaving many teachers feeling helpless with no one to lay blame on but OBE.

5.2.4 The school curriculum

Sekete et al. (2001), Mafumo (2010), and Alexander (2011) found minimal changes in the curricula of former white-only schools. The principals and SGB members confirmed the latter to be largely true for the case schools. However, School A and School C had introduced isiZulu as a first additional language, while School B discontinued isiZulu and Sesotho and only offered Afrikaans. This left learners with very little choice as far as language choice is concerned. For learners who studied neither Afrikaans nor isiZulu in primary school, it meant that they had to learn quickly to come to par with their peers. The subject variety was, however, found to be generally over-encompassing, covering general subjects, commercial, life sciences, technical and engineering subjects such as Hospitality, Dramatic Arts, and Information Technology.

Neluvhola (2007) found that learner migration was intensified by the vast subject choices, in particular Mathematics and Science. It was found that there was a decline in the quality of learner results; a probable reason for the decline was attributed to bad subject choice(s). As found by Neluvhola's study, the SGBs, principals, and teachers agreed that there was a degree of values placed on mathematics and science by the parents. Modisaotsile (2012) argued that parental involvement is essential for learners to succeed; however, she cautioned that many black parents were robbed of the opportunity to access quality education and are illiterate. This presents a possible explanation for the emphasis placed on mathematics and science by most black parents. This subject choice is about opening oneself to as much opportunities as possible to escape the entrenchment of poverty and not about following passions, ability, and career aspirations.

Neluvhola (2007) found that black parents and learners were attracted to former Model C schools due to better opportunities of learning mathematics, science, information technology, computers, art and music, and vocational and technical

subjects. However, the schools reported that the technical departments were struggling to attract learners and attributed this effect to black parents' view that technical work was inferior and subservient. Similar to Sekete et al. (2001), the researcher found that African learners did not choose African languages and yet again, similar to Pathlane (2007), the study found that some African learners were keen on learning their mother tongue. This can be attributed to the limits presented by the provision of only isiZulu as an African language choice; Sesotho and Tshivenda-speaking learners expressed a keen interest to learn their mother tongues.

Sekete et al. (2001), Mafumo (2010), and Alexander (2011) found that former white-only schools were reluctant to offer African indigenous languages as part of their curricula. This study established that as a result of parents' disinterest in African languages, as found by Sekete et al. (2001), schools discontinued offering African languages. Principals shared that isiZulu classes were not sustainable because learners from the feeder primary schools were not exposed to the language and therefore showed no interest in it. However, data collected from the schools confirm that African learners spoke in their mother tongues when speaking to one another. Banda (2012) also found that code switching was very common amongst learners outside the classroom and possibly suggests that learners have a strong sense of identity and that for them English is a language for the classroom.

This research also found that Afrikaans was still the most preferred first additional language by both black and white English-speaking parents and learners. Banda also maintains that blacks' preference of English as a medium of instruction over mother-tongue education could be due to the quest to attain personal achievement in formal and professional spheres so as to obtain attributes of status and power denied to them during apartheid. The same principle could be utilised to explain why Afrikaans has been the most preferred first additional language over African languages.

5.2.5 Extramural activities

Nkomo et al. (2004) argued that for learner integration to take place, changes must be made to meet the needs of all learners in the classroom and on the playground to foster meaningful interactions. However, the level of learner participation in extramural activities was not satisfactory. Learners reported that participating in extramural activities was challenging in regards to time and transport logistics. It was found that most black learners travelled by public transport and were unable to take part in extramural activities after school. This meant that these learners could not enjoy interaction with their peers outside the learning environment. Learners also reported that some of the extramural groupings tended to be racially homogenic. This was attributed to the racial background of the learners. Indian boys preferred cricket, African and coloured boys preferred soccer, black girls preferred netball, and white girls preferred tennis, just to name a few. Sekete et al. (2001) also found that racially homogenic extramural groupings may be impeding learner integration.

Neluvhola (2007) maintained that diversified extramural activities in former Model C schools were a pulling factor. The evidence collected by this study indicates that black learners' participation in extramural activities was poor even though there were a variety of extramural activities offered by the school. As mentioned earlier, logistical issues were found to prevent learners from participating.
The study also found that some learners were instructed by parents not to participate in any extramural activities but rather to concentrate on academics. In support of this finding is Ntuli's discovery that the financial demands for sports uniforms, sports days, cultural evenings, and many others exerted further strain on black learners and their families (1998).

The study found that the principals, the SGBs, and the teachers viewed the lack of participation by black learners as a lack of motivation, apathy, and

impulsiveness. However, Ntuli (1998) found that this was a common phenomenon amounts black adolescents in former Model C schools. He argued that the orientation of black learners into former Model C schools is necessary to assist the adolescent to establish his own life-world. This, according to Du Plooy, Griessel and Oberholzer (1983, in Ntuli, 1998:128), requires human intervention to assist the learner to reconcile his life in a suburban school and his life as a township or rural adolescent – failing which may lead to degeneration and demoralisation.

According to Wemzel (1993, cited in Ntuli, 1998:138), black adolescent girls generally refrained from participating in physical activities or were very reluctant to do so. In agreement with Wemzel, this study found that most Indian girls abstained from any physical activities because they were reserved and shy. If they chose to participate in any extramural activities, Indian girls were found to choose cultural activities over sports activities. This may also be attributed to cultural values and principles and how learners socialised in cultural roles in society. This may also draw a parallel to the confirmation given earlier of how learners need to constitute their own life-world by reconciling who they are at home and who they ought to be at school and often the conflict between the two life-worlds may cause possible disruption (Ntuli, 1998).

5.2.6 School governance

Section 20 of the SASA gives a detailed description of the functions of SGBs. To name just a few, public SGBs are expected to:

1. promote the best interests of the school and strive to ensure its development through the provision of quality education for all learners at the school;
2. develop the mission statement of the school;
3. adopt a code of conduct for learners at the school;

4. support the principal, educators, and other staff of the school in the performance of their professional functions;
5. adhere to any actions taken by the Head of Department in terms of section 16 of the Employment of Educators Act (Act no. 76 of 1998) to address the incapacity of a principal or educator to carry out his or her duties effectively; and
6. determine times of the school day consistent with any applicable conditions of employment of staff at the school.

It is the SASA mandates that give SGBs the full responsibility to develop school policies and rules to effectively govern schools and to monitor the implementation of policies. The SASA provides that SGBs be elected into power by the different members of the school community (learners, parents, and teaching and non-teaching staff). The SGB has the responsibility to ensure that the best interests of all the stakeholders are taken into account (Modisaotsile, 2012).

The results of this study on the transformation of SGB members replicated the results of Sekete et al. (2001). The results reflect that minimal changes have taken place in the racial composition of SGBs. It was further found that some principals and SGB members did not view transformation of the SGB as impeding learner integration in the schools. This perception is perceived by the study to be a possible deterrent to the transformation of the SGB and ultimately the integration of learners in the school. The lack of black representation in the SGB meant that black learners' needs and interests were not represented and therefore inevitably the only interests that prevail, are of those of the majority in the governing body.

This next finding supports the conjecture present in the latter sentence. It was found that the principal of School A was worried about the predominance of one particular racial group of parents in the SGB. This followed a series of decisions made by the SGB that were perceived to be highly in favour of one particular

racial group of learners. Sekete et al. (2001), Rembe (2005), and (Mafumo, 2010) found that there was a correlation between institutional changes and the transformation of the SGB. As a result of the unrepresentativeness of SGBs, little change is reflected in the schools' language policy, school curricula, extramural curricular, code of conduct, and admission policies.

Furthermore, it was also found that black parents demonstrated very little interest in participating in the SGBs. Sekete et al. (2001) maintains that the reason there were minimal changes in the racial composition of SGBs was partly because black parents did not avail themselves to the task. Rembe (2005) found that black parents were discouraged by the lack of commitment by the SGBs to accommodate them. One of the principals reported that she had observed a lack of confidence and at times disinterest from black parents. Modisaotsile (2012) cautioned that even though parental involvement is essential and necessary, most black parents are constrained by their own lack of education. However, it could also be argued that some black parents are impulsive and apathetic about their children's education. Not all black parents of the case schools are uneducated; a significant number of black parents in both the townships and suburban areas are professionals and business executives.

Rembe (2005) also found that most of the members of the former Model C school SGBs were professionals and business executives. She also found that the dynamics inside the governing bodies were possible deterrents for black parents' participation. Her study revealed that decision making was often a task for principals and the highly regarded affluent members of the SGBs. This means that some of the SGB decisions were not democratic and possibly demoralising to black parents. It was also found that some black parents volunteered their services to some of the schools; such as cleaning and working at the schools' tuck shops. This may suggest that some parents may not be totally ambivalent and apathetic; they are merely aware of their skills and abilities.

It is also important to note that the underrepresentation of black parents in some of the SGBs was by choice. The study found that some of the schools did not conduct SGB elections as procedurally proposed by the SASA and parents were encouraged to nominate themselves into the SGB. Carrim (2000:32, in Rembe, 2005) found that African parents were not elected into former Model C schools' SGBs. However, this claim was found to be untrue for some of the schools studied in this research.

5.2.7 Support, training, and development

Meier (2005) found that there was a pressing need for the provision of multicultural training for schools going through transformation. This study found that the government currently does not offer any multicultural or diversity training to the schools; none of the principals, SGBs and the teachers were trained in diversity management. It was found that multicultural programmes were initiated by the government directly after the dispensation of the democratic government and, according to one principal, no training of such a nature has been conducted ever since. Bojuwoye et al. (2014) maintain that support services for teaching, learning, and school management are an important strategy for building school capacity in order to recognise and address several learning difficulties, and for the benefit of a conducive learning environment. Bojuwoye et al. (2014) maintain that a productive learning environment is essential for effective teaching, and to enhance learners' academic performance, and social and psychological well-being. Support services, according to Steyn and Wolhuter (2008) in Bojuwoye et al. (2014:2), may be human, material, or other resources and may be directed at learners, educators or teaching activities and other structures within the school.

Principals were of the view that younger professional teachers were trained under the current democratic dispensation and were therefore trained in diversity and did not require support thereof. The principals' views were contrary to Meier (2005) and Alexander's (2012) findings that younger academic staff members

were not prepared to teach and manage diversity in multicultural classrooms. Meier (2005), Alexander (2012), and Sekete et al. (2001) found that there was insufficient emphasis on multicultural and diversity training for teacher education, which intensified the need for school support.

The findings regarding the training of older teachers were, however, in agreement with Erasmus and Ferreira (2002, cited in Alexander, 2012:19), who argued that, due to apartheid, older teachers need more support and development in overcoming challenges regarding managing racially diverse classrooms. Principals agreed with Alexander's (2012) assertion that teachers needed training and support that would be far-reaching and inculcate a change of attitude; rather than only focusing on the acquisition of knowledge of other cultures. Principals reported that older teachers need a change of attitude and perception but that this was more dependent on the individual than it was on the training. This finding might also be supported by a finding discussed earlier, which revealed that some white teachers were leaving some of the case schools due to their inability to deal with the diversity in the schools.

The results of this study indicate that school leadership and the SGBs were inundated with culturally related challenges and reported that they lacked the cultural knowledge, understanding, and aptitude to deal with these issues. This was possibly also compounded by the absence of black representatives in the SGB to give counselling and share insights in that regard (Sekete et al., 2001; Rembe, 2005; Mafumo, 2010; Alexander, 2012). Moreover, this reflects the Department of Education's failure to ensure that schools are supported and capacitated in order to promote integration. The school leadership's inaptitude in dealing with issues of diversity and multiculturalism is reflected by the prevalence of assimilation in some of the case schools. Two of the schools were found to have resorted to prohibiting learners from religious and cultural practices, possibly to circumvent dealing with the issue.

It was also found that some of the schools arranged briefing sessions on ad hoc bases to enlighten school staff of religious or cultural issues that learners are going through at that point in time. However, this study maintains that the greater responsibility to educate and train schools for effective advancement of integration is the mandate of the Department of Education. Sekete (2001), Meier (2005), Alexander (2011), and Schuster (2011) maintain that the failure to train and develop teachers in South Africa continues to have far-reaching negative effects. The lack of resolution in training and getting unqualified black teachers qualified, could be listed as one of the possible negative effects.

Many of the findings point out the schools' lack of knowledge of various beliefs and cultural practices and inaptitude in managing associated challenges; resulting in the subjugation of learners' ability to exercise their freedom of conscience and religion – which is in total contravention of the SASA provisions. However, some of the problems faced by the schools were seemingly as a result of the Department of Education's inactiveness in monitoring the compliance of the SASA. This research found that much of the schools' non-compliance was not an abject disregard of the provisions of SASA but rather a lack of knowledge, understanding, ability, and accountability (Sekete et al., 2001).

The latter conjecture is supported by this study's results that revealed that one of the principals and his teachers were discouraged by a school in their area that continues to perpetuate preferential admission requirements in order to maintain a predominately white learner population. Studies by Sekete et al. (2001), Rembe (2005), Mafumo (2010), and Alexander (2011) would probably suggest that former Model C schools that have maintained a white learner majority is probably non-compliant to the SASA. Unlike the non-compliances perpetrated through the lack of knowledge, as assumed in the case schools, it would appear that any public school that continues to have a white learner majority in the year 2015 is consciously overlooking the provisions of the SASA.

Furthermore, regardless of the frustration, challenges, and feelings of distress experienced by the SGBs, principals, and teachers; it was found that many of them could not explain what relief, support, and/or training they expected from the Department of Education. This might suggest that these parties do not understand their challenge as being critical. The results of this study indicate some elements of assimilation in some of the case schools. Ntuli (1998:15) defined assimilation as the acceptance of a minority cultural group by a dominant cultural group in which the minority group takes over the values and norms of the dominant culture. The schools' disregard of their need for training and support indicates little understanding of the integration they ought to achieve; which is the enjoyment of equal learning and developmental opportunities by learners of all racial and cultural groups.

5.2.8 How has the learning environment been adapted?

According to Mashau et al. (2008), learning support includes supplementary, remedial or extra class instructions, curriculum advice, academic mentoring, assisting students to work in groups, developing study and note-taking skills, school psychological services, medical and social work services, feeding schemes, and all other services for meeting the special needs of learners and for preventing learning difficulties. Learning support may also take the form of technical assistance in reading, writing, and numeracy or assisting learners in infusing technology to make learning more interesting and effective. Ntuli (1998) argues that black learners in former Model C schools require this support for them to succeed – particularly those who migrated from township and rural schools.

To respond to learners' needs and interests, all three case schools initiated school learning support programmes which included extra afternoon classes, counselling services to all learners, and nutrition programmes. This is a clear indication on the part of the schools to respond to the needs of learners. The

study found that the schools could not report on the effectiveness of the programmes, partly because learners did not take advantage of the help that was provided to them. Cultural programmes were also introduced by two of the case schools, while the other school introduced swimming lessons for all grade 8 learners in response to black learners' inability to swim.

However, it was established that there was a lack of innovation, consideration or impracticability for the schools to run extra classes from 6:30 am until 7:30 am and again from 3:00 pm until 6:30 pm. Logistically, it was found to be really challenging for leaners to attend the extra classes. To attest to this, one of the SGB members explained how her daughter's friend would ask to sleep over at her house to be enable her to take advantage of these programmes. Donald et al. (2002, in Bojuwoye et al., 2014:11) maintain that support systems for learning success must consider multiple interventions at various levels of the social system in order to eliminate a reoccurrence of a problem at a different level than where it is being solved.

The SASA provides for the freedom of conscience and religion at public schools. This is subject to the country's Constitution and other relevant laws. The Act gives the School Governing Body the authority to ensure that religious observances are conducted on an equitable basis. It was found that only one of the schools has been able to create a conducive environment for freedom of conscience and religion. The study established that a teacher at one of the schools cut off a learner's goatskin bracelet and threw it in the rubbish bin, causing an uproar from African parents. It is after this event that the religion and uniform policies of the school were amended to allow for equitable practice of religion in the school. This indicates the importance of the representation of parents' and learners' interests in order to effect the necessary transformation of former white-only schools.

Two of the other schools were found to be oblivious to the provisions of the SASA. The principal of the one school and the SGB of the other declared their vehement fight and practice of culture and religion in the schools. According to the SGB and the principal, culture and religion has no place in school; one culture should be left to prevail over all other cultures for the sake of cohesion. This is a possible indicator of the lack understanding of what learner integration means and what is expected from schools in advancing it. Mafumo (2010) found that the subjugation of one particular group by another was a result of unrepresentative policies, which are the result of unrepresentative governing bodies.

Vandeyar (2010) found that the denial of learner differences was a major impediment to integration in former Model C schools. The study found the latter to be the possible reason for the ineffective strategies and inaction in advancing learner integration in the case schools, such as the reluctance to employ black teachers and the indifference to the transformation of the SGBs. The view of learners being the same is a possible contributor to the reason why some principals and teachers were of the view that the race of teachers and the SGB has no bearing on integration. For effective integration and inclusivity to prevail, acknowledgment and understanding of the differences in learner diversity must first prevail.

This was found in the programme of one of the schools that initiated a training programme for parents to improve learner subject choices. The career guidance workshop attended by both parents and learners intended to educate learners and parents on elements to be considered when choosing subjects. As discussed in the earlier sections, parents were found to play an integral role in the subject choice of learners. Van den Aardweg (1988:169, cited by Ntuli, 1998:193) maintains that in long-term issues such as a career, the adolescent relies heavily on parental opinion and on the unfaltering support of the society in which he or she lives.

All learners from the case schools complained about the non-existent relationship and aloofness adopted by the SGB. It appeared that learners' interests and needs were not taken into account. One of the schools totally refused to introduce soccer at the school even though the majority of the learners at the school requested it. Teachers reported that the all-white School Governing Body was reluctant because there was a perception that soccer was for hooligans. This is a possible display of stereotyping that shapes the intolerances which impede integration.

5.2.9 Perceptions about the changes and their effect on schooling

This section discusses findings of what the school community understood to be the communities' perceptions of the case schools. The communities' perceptions of the transformation of the schools are important because they indicate parents' changing considerations regarding school choice. Maile (2004) and Sekete et al. (2000) maintain that school choice is not only motivated by the access to quality educational opportunities or by the perception thereof, but it is also influenced by politics, economics, and other social intricacies.

The established findings on the public's perceptions of the case schools confirmed the assertions of Maile (2004) and Sekete et al. (2000) that school choice is not solely based on quality of education. It was found that some white parents based their school choice entirely on race, some black and white parents were discouraged by the predominance of black learners in the school, and some black parents were said to merely perceive former Model C schools as being better without any evaluation whatsoever.

In line with Fiske and Ladd's (2004) findings, the public's perceptions reflect a change regarding the bases upon which school choice is made. The findings suggest that school choice is no longer made on the basis of race but rather on

the basis of class. Although some white parents continue to be influenced by racial politics, other parents use economies of scale to decide on school choice. As maintained by Fiske and Ladd (2004), the basis of inequality in education is no longer race but class. The policy intention of school choice was to alleviate inequality (Maile, 2004). However, the inequalities continue to prevail: learners from informal settlements migrate to township schools, those from townships migrate to suburban schools, and suburban learners to private schools (Neluvhola, 2007).

It was found that some white parents expressed insecurities around the safety of their children and their children's discomfort with being outnumbered by black learners. Perceptions of some black parents were that culture and discipline in the schools deteriorate because of black learners. It could be argued that the parents who held these views were black and white middle class parents, while working class parents were willing to give their all to get learners into former Model C schools without any evaluation of their conditions. Sekete et al. (2001) found that middle class parents were apprehensive about the migration of township learners into former Model C schools; raising issues of school fees, resources, ability to pay school fees, and discipline. Hoadley (1999) stated that working class parents based school choice on their perception of discipline in the schools, teacher behaviour and commitment, and ultimately, grade 12 results, which gave a false impression of the academic success of the schools.

5.2.10 The effect of changes on the equity and equality of learners

Bojuwoye et al. (2014) maintain that the South African education system is overwhelmed by challenges associated with dysfunctional schools, learner difficulties, and families' socioeconomic conditions. The effects of apartheid remain deeply entrenched in many black communities as a result of past inequities. De Villiers (1997) found that home-related factors presenting barriers to learning include poor socioeconomic backgrounds of parents, inadequate

housing, and a lack of parental support of education. This study found that the SGBs, principals, and some teachers did not believe that socioeconomic difficulties presented barriers to learning. They reported that the socioeconomic disparities in our society did not necessarily reflect in learner performance. The SGBs, principals, and some teachers believed that learner performance was determined by the learners' attitudes; some learners were reported to be motivated by their poor backgrounds.

However, it was found from learners that socioeconomic factors did affect their learning. Support from parents, access to resources for projects, language of instruction, travelling to and from school, and having something to eat were some of the issues raised by learners as having effects on learning. Vandeyar (2010) found that some teachers ignored the power and structural dimensions that resulted from racism. However, it was found that the SGBs, principals, and some teachers regarded black learners' impulsiveness, apathy, demotivation, and lack of work ethic as merely a cultural difference issue.

Earlier the study maintained that there was possible denial of differences in these former Model C schools. This was presented from the finding that the SGBs, principals, and some teachers maintained that learners are learners, black or white, they are all the same. Moreover, it was found that where differences were acknowledged, they were interpreted as cultural differences and not educational needs. Fiske and Ladd (2004) also found that socioeconomic factors did affect learner performance. Children from upper-class households were found to complete one or two more grades on average ahead of learners from working class households.

The schools have made significant progress towards the equality of learners in ensuring that all learners are treated equally, regardless of race. The results of the study indicate that the schools might be lagging in promoting equity – defined either as equal educational opportunity for learners of all races or as educational

adequacy. Educational opportunity refers not to the outcomes of education but rather to the quality of education offered to all learners (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). What is quality education to one learner may be inferior to the next, depending on their educational needs.

A number of school support programmes were in place and teachers expressed contentment regarding the quality of learners being prepared by the feeder primary schools. Teachers still expressed unpreparedness and incompetency in dealing with the effects of diversity in education. Fiske and Ladd (2004:10) argued that it is perhaps unreasonable to expect schools to reverse the huge effects of racial disparities in family income and educational attainment bequeathed by apartheid. Fiske and Ladd (2004) and Bojuwoye et al. (2014) maintain that in order to address this legacy for successful learning, educational support services and policy initiatives are necessary at various levels (national, provincial, district, institutional, and learner levels) through a host of strategies.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion, recommendations and limitations

6.1 Introduction

The findings of this study have revealed that some former Models C schools in Johannesburg are in need of training and development in understanding and acquiring skills in managing diversity for effective teaching and learning. Some of the schools were found to have a limited understanding of learner integration, which was compounded by the denial of differences. This may explain the indications of disregard of some learners' disadvantaged backgrounds in the activities of the school. As a possible result, the schools' support programmes were found to be yielding limited results.

On the other hand, the study established that support for schools was imperative in capacitating and upskilling SGBs, principals, and teachers in promoting equity. The role of the government in fulfilling the need for active monitoring and evaluation of policy implementation was also highlighted, together with the imperative role of the transformation of the SGBs and teaching staff.

Overall, the overarching findings were that progress has been made in promoting equality in some former Model C schools in Johannesburg. However, equity was found to be rather a daunting challenge for the schools to achieve. The study revealed that the schools' conditions were not yet fully conducive to allow learners of all races and social backgrounds equal opportunities for learning and development.

6.2 Recommendations of the study

7.2.1 The racial composition of the teachers

It is the view of this study that in order to maintain an equitably conducive learning environment for learners of all races, equity and equality principles should be applied in the employment of teachers. SGBs and principals must be educated on the provisions of the law regarding employment equity. Furthermore, the Department of Education should be geared towards promoting employment equity while developing skilled educators to ensure that capacity is not compromised.

7.2.2 Teacher training and development

The study advocates collaboration between the Department of Higher Education and Training, the Department of Basic Education, and the institutions of higher learning and training to develop and implement strategic plans to ensure that black teachers' qualifications meet the set standards. Moreover, the changes in society and the constant presentation of challenges in communities affect schools directly. Therefore, a culture of constant and effective support and training for teachers is needed to ensure that teachers are continually equipped to maintain conducive learning environments, despite the conditions they work in.

7.2.3 The medium of instruction

It is recommendable that more in-depth research should be conducted on the viability of not just mother tongue-education but also bilingual medium instruction. While the viability of any of the two may seem far-fetched, preservation of the rich native South African languages remains imperative. Again, the role of government is critical in identifying its position and fulfilling it in the course of promoting equity and African identity.

7.2.4 The school curriculum

The subject provision at schools must be aligned to the skills needs of the country to ensure that young people are directed to employment opportunities from an early age. Schools must include career advice in their support programmes early in learners' high school careers. The government must monitor teacher education and training to align teacher education with curriculum needs, school needs, and learners' needs for successful curriculum delivery.

7.2.5 Extramural activities

Holistic development should be prioritised for all learners and therefore extra-curricular activities should be planned, implemented, reviewed, and amended with learners in mind. Extramural activities should not be considered to be school tradition but they must be viewed to be what they are: an opportunity for learners to development and nurture their talents beyond the classroom.

7.2.6 School governance

The government needs to go beyond merely training SGBs and develop systems of being in constant communication with SGBs regarding their plans and processes. The enforcement of transformation and the integration of black parents in the SGBs should also be prioritised to ensure diversity of ideas and ultimately fair decision making.

7.3 Recommendations for further research

Learner integration is an integral element of ensuring the delivery of equitable quality education to all races and socioeconomic backgrounds.

The effectiveness of schools in achieving learner integration warrants further research, for example:

- Replication of this study in another city or province in South Africa
- An exploration of skills needed to manage diversity in the classroom
- The effectiveness of SGBs in promoting diversity
- Leadership and management challenges of multicultural schools
- What does equity mean to learners?
- Reasons for white learner migration
- Integration of black parents in former Model C school SGBs
- Teacher employment in former Model C schools
- The role of government in achieving learner integration in former Model C schools

7.4 Limitations of the study

This study was limited to respondents from only three former Model C schools in the north, west, and east of Johannesburg. In-depth interviews were conducted with only two principals, from School A and School C. Principal B withdrew from the study. Focus group discussions were conducted with the SGB members of School A and School B. School B's SGB refused to participate in the study. Documents requested from School B for analysis were never received.

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