# THE CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY WHITE TEACHERS IN THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

by

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements

for the degree of

**MASTER OF EDUCATION**

in the subject

**SOCIO-EDUCATION**

at the

**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

**SUPERVISOR: PROF D POSTMA**

**NOVEMBER 2020**

**DECLARATION**

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I declare that **THE CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY WHITE TEACHERS IN THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY** is my own work and all the sources I have used or quoted have been acknowledged and indicated by means of complete reference.


Signature **2020-11-25**
(Juanita Judith Losch) Date

**DEDICATION**

I dedicate this study to my dad who always shared his experiences of growing up during the apartheid era with us. I salute you for your spirit of endurance and courage to stand strong against the hardship, oppression and discrimination. Due to your resilience to grab hold of opportunities, even amidst adversity being a person of colour, you paved the way for us – your four children – to pursue our dreams and goals and not be intimidated by the patterns and traces of the past that still exist.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

**SUMMARY**

**THE CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY WHITE TEACHERS IN THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY**

This research aimed at investigating the challenges white teachers face in the socialisation of diverse learners in a former Model C school in the northern suburbs of Cape Town. The research involved a literature review conceptualising democracy, human rights, diversity, equality and socialisation, in addition to the concepts of white fragility and the theoretical perspective of Bourdieu's 'habitus'. The empirical investigation consisted of interviews to gather data. The findings revealed the perspectives of the teachers and their understanding of the socialisation of diverse learners in a democracy. Based on these findings, recommendations were made for the school and the Department of Basic Education to develop a system to incorporate in schools, in order to enhance socialisation and the transformation of former Model C schools.

As the title states, this study was focused on the challenges white teachers experience relating to the transition to democracy. The context of a former Model C school is a complex scenario, where the values and norms of a dominant culture have formed, and continue to form, a critical part of the school climate and culture. The research findings revealed that since the transformation process started in 1994, 'ex-Model C' schools have assumed different characteristics and encountered challenges depending on their demographical location. Teachers need to address both social and educational aims, especially as the findings suggest that the schools, and particularly the teachers, are unclear about how diversity contributes to norms and values. This reflects in the tendency to remain focused on a dominant white culture, with which the teachers identify as 'normal'.

**Key concepts**

Democracy, socialisation, ex-Model C schools, diversity, transformation, equality, quintile system, school ethos, dominant white culture, apartheid, white fragility, Bourdieu's habitus

**OPSOMMING**

**DIE UITDAGINGS WAT DEUR WIT ONDERWYSERS IN DIE OORGANG NA DEMOKRASIE ERVAAR WORD**

Hierdie navorsing het ten doel gehad om die uitdagings wat wit onderwysers ten opsigte van die sosialisering van diverse leerders in 'n gewese model C-skool in die noordelike voorstede van Kaapstad trotseer, te ondersoek. Die navorsing het 'n literatuuroorsig behels waarvolgens demokrasie, menseregte, diversiteit, gelykheid en sosialisering gekonseptualiseer word, benewens die konsepte van wit broosheid en die teoretiese perspektief van Bourdieu se "habitus". Die empiriese ondersoek het bestaan uit onderhoude om data in te samel. Die bevindinge het onderwysers se perspektiewe en hul begrip van die sosialisering van diverse leerders in 'n demokrasie onthul. Op grond van hierdie bevindinge is aanbevelings gedoen vir die skool en die Departement van Basiese Onderwys rakende die ontwikkeling van 'n stelsel om in skole te inkorporeer ten einde sosialisering en die transformasie van gewese model C-skole te bevorder.

Soos wat die titel aandui, het hierdie studie gefokus op die uitdagings wat wit onderwysers ervaar ten opsigte van die oorgang na demokrasie. Die konteks van 'n gewese model C-skool is 'n komplekse scenario, waar die waardes en norme van 'n dominante kultuur 'n noodsaaklike deel van die skoolklimaat en -kultuur gevorm het (en dit is steeds die geval). Die navorsingsbevindinge het getoon dat sedert die transformasieproses in 1994 begin het, "eks-model C"-skole verskillende eienskappe aangeneem het en uitdagings teëgekom het afhangende van hul demografiese ligging. Onderwysers moet sowel sosiale as opvoedingsdoelwitte bereik, veral aangesien die navorsingsresultate daarop dui dat daar onduidelikheid onder die skole, en veral die onderwysers, is oor hoe diversiteit bydra tot norme en waardes. Dit blyk uit die neiging om gefokus te bly op 'n dominante wit kultuur waarmee die onderwysers identifiseer as "normaal".

**Sleutelkonsepte**

Demokrasie, sosialisering, eks-model C-skole, diversiteit, transformasie, gelykheid, kwintielstelsel, skooletos, dominante wit kultuur, apartheid, wit broosheid, Bourdieu se habitus

# IMINGENI EJONGENE NOOTITSHALA ABAMHLOPHE KWIXESHA LENGUQU YEDEMOKHRASI

Olu phando lujolise ekuphandeni imingeni ejongene nootitshala abamhlophe ekuhlanganiseni ngokwezentlalo abafundi beentlanga ezahlukeneyo kwisikolo esasifudula siyiModel C kumahlomela edolophu asemantla esixeko saseKapa. Uphando lwenza uphononongo loluncwadi oluchaza ngedemokhrasi, amalungelo oluntu, ukungafani, ulingano noqheliso lwezentlalo, kwakunye nobuthathaka babamhlophe neenkalo zokucinga ngokwethiyori ka Bourdieu ekuthiwa yi'*habitus*'. Uphando olusekelwe kubungqina baquka iindliwano ndlebe ekuqikeleleni idatha. Okufunyanisiweyo kwadiza iimbono zootitshala nendlela abaluqonda ngayo uqheliso lwezentlalo lwabafundi abangafaniyo kwimeko yedemokhrasi. Okufunyanisiweyo kwakhokelela ekwenziweni kweengcebiso kwisikolo nakweSebe Lemfundo Esisiseko ukuba kuphuhliswe inkqubo yokubandakanya ezikolweni, ngenjongo yokukhulisa uqheliso lwezentlalo nenguqu yezikolo ezazifudula ziziModel C.

Njengoko nesihloko sisitsho, esi sifundo sagxininisa kwimingeni ejongene nootitshala kwixesha lenguqu eya kwidemokhrasi. Imeko yesikolo esasifudula siyiModel C yimeko enzima, apho iinqobo zokucinga nezithethe zenkcubeko eyongameleyo zibumbe, kwaye zisaqhuba ukubumba inxalenye emandundu yesimo sentlalo nenkcubeko yesikolo. Okufunyaniswe kuphando kwadiza ukuba okoko kwaqala inkqubo yenguqu ngowe-1994, izikolo ezazifudula ziziiModel C zaba neempawu ezahlukileyo kwaye zajongana nemingeni ngokuxhomekeke kwiindawo ezimi kuzo. Ootitshala badinga ukuhlangabeza iinjongo zentlalo nemfundo, ngakumbi, ngokokutsho kophando, izikolo, ngakumbi ootitshala, bengacacelwanga kukuba ukungafani kuncedisa njani kwiinqobo zokucinga nezithethe. Oku kubonakala kumkhwa wokungagungqi kwinkcubeko yabamhlophe neyongameleyo, le ootitshala bayithatha ngokuba 'yeyesiqhelo'.

**Amagama aphambili**

Idemokhrasi, uqheliso lwezentlalo, izikolo ezazifudula ziziiModel C, ukungafani, inguqu, ulingano, inkqubo yamazinga entlupheko yezikolo (eyi*quintile*), umoya nenkcubeko yesikolo, inkcubeko yabamhlophe eyongameleyo, ucalucalulo, ubuthathaka babamhlophe, ingcingane kaBourdieu eyi*habitus.*

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**ABBREVIATIONS**

| CAPS | Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement |
|------|----------------------------------------|
| CNE | Christian National Education |
| LOLT | Learning of Language and Teaching |
| NCS | National Curriculum Statement |
| OBE | Outcomes-Based Education |
| RNCS | Revised National Curriculum Statement |
| SA | South Africa |
| SASA | South African Schools Act |
| SGB | School Governing Body |
| UNISA | University of South Africa |
| WCED | Western Cape Education Department |

# CHAPTER 1

# BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

"As is society, so is the school" (School of Educators 2010:1-3)

After the 1994 democratic elections, it was evident that education had to transform in line with democratic policies and values. However, the current South African society still reflects a process of transition. For many traditionally white schools, integration was a radical change as for many it was the first time they would interact with different races in a close environment. Because of this integration, ex-Model C schools[1] have become more diverse in their learner profiles, based on race, backgrounds, cultures, religions and social status.

Teachers from the historically white former Model C schools who teach in racially and culturally diverse classrooms encountered learners from diverse racial backgrounds for the first time. In the same manner, learners from racially diverse backgrounds were now taught by white[2] teachers. Many of these teachers had limited if any experience of teaching in diverse classrooms. Trained according to the teaching methods and content that reflect a discriminatory education system, these teachers faced the challenge of creating an equitable and just educational environment for their learners.

In the light of the concept of Bourdieu's 'habitus'[3] this study investigated the reality of white teachers who were socialised and received their teacher training during apartheid, by examining their understanding of conceptual issues of democracy in socialisation of diverse classrooms. Teaching in a democratic South African society is a challenge for teachers trained to teach in an 'own-race'[4] school during the apartheid era. As my own position provides me with a certain epistemic perspective that enables me to see things in a particular way, I considered it of importance to reflect on my personal experience as part of the background. It colours this research, but such

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[1] Previously white schools
[2] A discussion of 'white' in chapter 2 as part of the theoretical perspective of white fragility
[3] The concept 'Habitus' focus on the way an individual acts, feels, think and respond towards social interactions depending on his position in the environment and the values of the individual (Bourdieu 2006:88). See Chapter 2.1 for a detailed discussion.
[4] The impact of race is at the centre of power. Within the South African context it is a sensitive topic to address certain actions as racism whether intentional or unintentional. However, this concept needs to be elaborated on as part of theoretical perspectives in Chapter 2 to analyse the findings of the interviewees.

colouring does not invalidate what I do. In addition, the transition from apartheid society to a democracy and the impact on the ex-Model C school will be discussed.

## 1.2 BACKGROUND

### 1.2.1 Personal Context

When I decided to pursue this topic, the one thing I struggled with was emotions of anger and immense hurt. These emotions arose from my perspective of what I think teaching in a democracy should be like. As a teacher, I identify myself as a coloured, Christian, bilingual female from an Afrikaans country family. I did not come from a privileged background. While growing up during the apartheid era, I attended schools for coloured children.

Growing up as a person of colour, my world was a shadow under the rule of white supremacy. This supremacy portrayed itself through 'whom' I saw on television, 'whose' successes were celebrated in the newspapers and the looks on the faces of white people when my dad would take us for a Sunday drive through the 'white' areas. Other memories I have that were confusing when I was about eight years old was why white people had specific camping sites away from 'us', more so why are 'we' not allowed to walk on their beaches or sit on benches that said '*slegs blankes'.'*

The above are not just memories – these are snippets of experiences of what life was like for a child of colour. I had to learn and accept my place in society based on the colour of my skin. There were clear restrictions of where my parents were allowed to work, the service we would receive when shopping outside of the coloured area. I still remember how my mom told us that grandpa warned them against calling a white man 'baas' and a white woman 'nôi'. So, whenever I would witness how a person of colour addressed a white person using these pronouns, I would cringe inside with anger. It was not just the pronouns, but the tone of inferiority and humble submission to the mercy of a white person that I saw as utterly humiliating and degrading.

My high school years during the 1980s marked a series of riots and protests. On various occasions, we were chased out of our classrooms with force by senior learners who supported the so-called freedom fighters. This would lead to the interference of the police to bring order to the situation throwing teargas and arrest learners whether they were girls or boys. These were the scariest times of my life, as you had to run as

fast as you could and find a safe place to hide. Thoughts that went through my head were 'why do white people hate us so much' and 'what have we done wrong?". The answers to these questions became clear to me in my Grade 10 year when I attended a Student Representative Council meeting for the first time. I had always wanted to attend these meetings before but the conversations I overheard from my parents and family members gave me the impression that politics were 'dangerous' and talking about it or being caught at a political gathering would put you in jail. It was at this meeting where I started to connect the dots of who people of colour were according to white people, more so that 'they' were in control of opportunities we as the youth had access to. It finally made sense why white children were seen on television, in the newspapers showing off medals for achievements, showcasing matriculate results and my parents' comments *'dis net die wit mense.'*

Moving on to university in 1990, the first semester was the most overwhelming experience. I took comfort in the fact that I was at a hostel for people of colour as I spent most of my day in lectures with a predominantly white group of students. In fact, there were only two students of colour in my year. In the faculty building, I made connections with the cleaning staff and receptionists as they were 'my people'. I struggled to be friendly and interact with the white students as I saw it as a weakness. I struggled with the possibility of being friends with white students who believed they were superior to me and 'my people'. I did not see it as the results of their parents' influence: to me it was all of them – young and old. Or did I fall into a different category now that I was at the university for 'white' students? I built a wall of protection against the 'sweet' smiles and exaggerated friendliness by white students. I did not trust them. To me they were pretentious. The lecturers would walk past me as if I did not exist, except for the lecturer with whom I had individual lectures.

So how did I survive? With three and a half years to go until my degree was completed, how did I adjust to this environment so that I could actually fit in? I need to clarify that it was not the academic challenges in themselves but the daily interactions with majority of white people – students and lecturers. These interactions were traumatising at the start as I saw myself as the one who owed respect and allegiance to the white person. Even though my parents worked hard to be able to pay for my tuition, I felt I should feel honoured that I was allowed to study at a 'white' university. During lectures, I would not dare asking questions – everyone else around me seemed to grasp what

was going on – and I felt ashamed of not even being aware of certain concepts. This was clearly evident in the differences in the school curriculum for people of colour and white learners at the time.

My saving grace – if I could describe it as such – was my student mentor at the hostel. She reached out to me at the end of the first semester as I had shown signs of withdrawal and isolation. It was the first time I could verbalise to someone how I hated being at this university and wished that I could change to another institution where there were only coloured people. I explained how I felt when I took the courage to ask questions and some of the lecturers would brush my question aside as it was supposed to be 'common knowledge'. The students would just sigh as if to say that I was wasting their time. These experiences could be justified by the gap in the curriculum content I had access to at school, but it was more than that. I remember how a question I asked at a previous lecture was raised again by a white student at another session and how it ended up in a detailed discussion. This was the event that finally broke my spirit. After sharing all this with my mentor her response was: 'Juanita, they don't want us here because of 'what' we are, so you need to fake it 'till you make it because you are not here for them'.

From here onwards, it did not become easier, but I forced myself to focus on why I was at this university. It was difficult to have conversations with fellow white students as they would talk about issues with their parents that I would not dare say about my parents. What was really strange was how white students would see themselves as equal to the lecturers and, to me, that was very uncomfortable. To me, an older person needed to be address with respect and my lecturer was my teacher and not a social acquaintance. But it seemed to be acceptable for both the student and the lecturer. Remember, I was still in my first year. As time progressed, without a sudden awareness, I realised I had a different persona when I was with the white students. My accent changed. I started questioning values of my own upbringing. I thought it was my becoming more confident about who I was but looking back it was all rooted in how my white 'friends' viewed life, people, politics, among other things, and I adapted to this way of 'normal'. Shocking to say, I had adjusted to my environment by taking on two different personas - the coloured girl whose heart was filled with distrust towards white people but with a mind that thought like them.

After I completed my teaching degree, I started teaching in 1996 at an ex-model C school. After 24 years of teaching at four different ex-Model C schools in Cape Town, the terms of transformation, socialisation and democracy are not just 'buzz words' for my educational endeavour. I have struggled with these terms daily in multiple ways since I had my first teaching experience– two years into the new democracy in South Africa. As the only coloured teacher in a 'mostly white' school population, to me the culture and ethos was simply 'white'. It is my personal view that a predominantly white worldview of educating 'others'[5] with little regard for the others' own worldview continues to exist in such schools.

I have worked in various settings where the perception was that white teachers were 'all knowing', while black and coloured teachers had 'limited knowledge', black children were 'underachievers', and the gifted[6] ones were exceptions. In addition, the rules, expectations and traditions were still based on a white culture with which white children, parents and teachers are familiar and can identify. The strong sense of this was the superior way of doing things – and yet again, this was my perception; a perception crafted by my own sensitivity towards who a 'white' person was and what my position as a coloured person was in relation to that. I never questioned anything, as the firm Christian values I embraced, justified all actions and interactions as how things should be and done.

However, on many occasions, I would battle within myself why I did not question things. For example, when I witnessed how learners of colour were reprimanded for speaking with a 'disrespectful' tone – because of their accent, I confess that I would tell myself: 'I don't think they are aware that it is natural for some coloured learners to speak like that.' As I was only in my first year of teaching, I was afraid to address this issue or to say something, because I did not know what to say or how to approach the situation. After all, I was fresh from university with a camouflaged 'white' accent and 'mannerisms' and maybe the white teachers assumed that I was coloured and spoke like them so the learners should also adjust.

Teaching at two of the top South African ex-model C schools in the Southern suburbs of Cape Town opened my eyes to the subtle reality of white supremacy. One may

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[5] 'Others' were used during Apartheid when referring to black, coloured, Indian people -basically, non-white people.
[6] 'Gifted' defines as in 'white' terms.

wonder why it took me eight years – the truth is, I was not afraid anymore to see things for what they were and name it for what they were. The shocking reality was that white learners were privileged because of who their parents were and the financial contributions they could make. These white learners would be treated with gentleness and emotional intelligence tactics. Here and there, the odd learner of colour would be singled out because of his social status, but the black and coloured learner whose parents were making endless sacrifices to pay the school fees alone, were treated with the approach of 'he/she must just get through this phase.'

A devastating incident was when one of the white teachers confronted learners for speaking in isiXhosa on the playground. These were primary school learners. Being on the scene, I kindly commented to the teacher that it was wonderful that our learners could be who they were and that I did not think it was necessary to reprimand the learners. In a very diplomatic way, I received the following response: "It is part of the school rules that we only speak English, because we need to understand what 'they' are saying". This was the start of my journey to start speaking out, to challenge decisions and to question policies.

Another experience was how white privilege was the reward to people of colour who were willing to conform to the system of what was acceptable. This conforming to 'whiteness' involved never challenging the status quo in public, and not sharing opinions or disagreements in staff meetings - this is what teachers of colour sold their soul for to earn a possible promotion. It grieved me that teachers of colour would become so blinded by 'internalised whiteness' that when a person of colour questioned decisions or feedback, they were seen as rocking the boat. This was a mark against me, when I applied for promotion posts, in spite of my potential, experience and work ethic. I realised that a dominant white management team would always remain a white management team – with maybe one person of colour who was an exception and refrained from challenging the system. Needless to say, I felt that I always fell short and would sign up for workshop after workshop on professional development. Furthermore, I always doubted myself, and was paranoid about how to express myself, eventually saying what I thought what would be acceptable instead of what I believed I needed to say.

The above narrative speaks of some of my experiences as a teacher of colour in and ex-model C school. But what about the learners? Awards were handed out left and right to white learners where evidence clearly showed that a learner of colour was worthy of the reward. How these decisions were justified was actually laughable, but discriminatory and a denial of the learner of colours' worth and hard work. Also, the lack of understanding of cultural traditions placed many black and Hindu learners under severe pressure; for example, wearing of accessories based on ceremonial and religious traditions. A Rastafarian learner was even sent home one day to have his hair shaved as dreadlocks were not allowed. This incident happened before the 2016 protests. In addition, sarcastic comments such as: 'Why am I not surprised?' by white teachers about black and coloured learners when they arrived late or missed an event, because they had to take a bus or taxi. A final example was how coloured leaners were constantly reminded – including myself- to round your vowels as '*kombuis English'* does not fit in with this school environment.

Building on the above, I received my tertiary training in methodologies to deliver and transfer textbook knowledge using methods in a system that I see as ethnocentric. Entering a diverse classroom in an ex-Model C school for the first time, I found it difficult to know what diversity was about in practice and how to create inclusivity in my interactions with learners and teachers, mostly because I do not agree with having a school cultural day or having cultural committees. It should go further. It should be demolishing traditions, policies and formalities that are barriers and discriminative – not simply adding something. In addition, it is my opinion that within the context of South Africa – a country with a majority black population – transformation within an ex-model C school should reflect values, traditions and knowledge guided by African philosophies. Thus, a shift from a western lens to approaches and a worldview of what is African is needed. After all, the example of school crests are western symbols linked to the legacy of white learners. How does a learner of colour identify with this legacy other than being reminded of an oppressive and brutal history based on racial discrimination?

It is my perception that it should involve a diverse group of staff, parents and adults to make this diverse change, not merely as members of the staff and school community but decision-makers – otherwise whose perspective are we following as a dominant factor? I am cautious of giving the impression that I want to 'force' my own perception

as it can so easily be misinterpreted as 'power-seeking'. It is a struggle within me to grasp how we as teachers should actually be approaching diversity, social justice and biases in a diverse context, when I am also limited to my own perceptions, perspectives, background, culture and race[7]. Furthermore, working in institutions controlled by an evident dominant culture that continues to uphold policies, traditions and procedures that place restrictions on diversity, a teacher of another culture might be in danger of setting a foot wrong because of the possibility of being misunderstood.

Furthermore, as a teacher, I am a role model that presents but a part of society. I represent a culture through my way of speaking and thinking. We speak about diversity issues as teachers; however, many times I realised have that I am disconnecting from my coloured identity and moving towards a professional identity which was based on a perspective that is undefined. Furthermore – especially in primary schools – I question whether we are providing a truly democratic educational experience to our learners through our teaching methods, classroom experiences around subject content and structural representations of democracy. Are we truly equipping them with the skills of reason? Am I as a teacher – or are we as teachers – afraid, unequipped to know what and how? How successful am I as a teacher in socialising diverse learners into a democratic society of South Africa?

### 1.2.2 Transition to Democracy

The transition period between 1991 and 1994 saw the apartheid government replaced by democracy (Langford, Cousins & Dugard 2014:423). As part of the ideal of democracy, the new South Africa aimed at providing an equal education for all to abolish the stratified education system of apartheid. The aim of the apartheid system was to provide the black population with an education that was inferior to the education received by white learners – ultimately maintaining and reproducing inequality (Dolby 2001:28). Consequently, this turnaround to a desegregated school system in the early 1990s, led to the influx of non-white learners from working class communities to attend white schools.

Through the integration of learners from different cultural backgrounds (Naidoo 1996:11; Sujee 2003:13), the new, demographic composition of the white schools has

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[7] A social construct to categorise and differentiate certain social groups as 'others' based on physical and biological characteristics. Racial groups are singled out to be treated differently in comparison to 'white' social groups (Schaefer 2008: 384)

now changed to reflect diverse learner populations of all races, classes, religions and cultures. These schools, referred to as 'ex-Model C' schools in this study "historically served white communities" with the purpose of maintaining separation and racial privilege have now been transformed into schools that serve diverse learner populations.

To understand diversity in relation to ex-Model C schools for this study, simply means all the learners and teachers are unique in their own way. The differences could consist of personalities, religious beliefs, social status, cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds. Furthermore, some have backgrounds influenced by social issues such as poverty and violence including homelessness, teen parenting, substance abuse, child abuse, suicide, vandalism and violence. In addition, various family structures, such as single parenting and same sex parents are visible, and children often live in households with adults that have no significant attachments to them (Lammana & Riedmann 2006, cited in De Witt 2012:240).

It is essential to understand that for more than a quarter of a century since apartheid has been dismantled, the South African society is still undergoing a process of transformation, a process in which the focus is on a paradigm shift towards changing the way we interact, how we think about each other and embrace our differences. Transformation requires of us to change the way we think about others and treat others regardless of their social status, race and role (adult vs child), to embrace each other's differences such as cultures and religions, and to include everyone, not giving preference to a dominant culture's perception of social status, race and roles, including teaching and learning and identity. The challenge within this process is to find the common ground of how we can relate to each other.

### 1.2.3 The Transformation of Education

One of the obstacles in the transition to democracy is the so-called ex-Model C schools. This school category created at the end of the apartheid era seems to find difficulties with the transition to democracy.

The desegregation of white schools was implemented by the end of 1990 by the introduction of four types of schools that would determine the school's admission policy (Dolby 2001:26). The Model C schools served as "instruments to preserve and

strengthen the interests of the apartheid government and its political ideology" – an Afrikaner-dominated state. The Model C schools were mainly/exclusively white schools and based on the values and traditions of Christian National Education (CNE) (Van Niekerk 2010:63) with a strong influence of the Afrikaner communities (in contrast to the English medium schools that existed which were not so ideologically inclined) on the schools' culture, language and religion.

There were very clear notions of teaching/learning in Model C schools based on their moral order. The Model C classroom environment was characterised by rigid rules and the authoritarian role of the teacher. All formal and informal activities would start with prayer and Bible studies for all learners. Furthermore, the teaching methods of the teachers were narrow and focused on promoting the values of CNE. The curriculum content aimed at providing learners with the knowledge they would require for the work opportunities available for young whites (Pinar 2010:181).

As apartheid schools, which perpetuated racial and class privileges, the ex-Model C schools have a specific culture and ethos established to serve the interest of the white community. In addition, based on this tradition, these schools are challenged with how to adapt to promote democratic values such as inclusiveness, diversity and equal participation – a school culture that would embrace diversity.

Furthermore, transformation deals with the shifting notion of learning and teaching. These schools experience the influx of diverse learners as a challenge to the culture of teaching/learning. The challenges cannot be defined in terms of the deviant other (this includes notions of dysfunctional homes, etc.) since this very notion could be largely informed by the apartheid perspective that still exists in the school (Gardner, Cairns & Lawton 2013:252). On the contrary, a democratic learning environment is seen as a classroom where students are regularly involved in the decision-making process with regard to the classroom environment. This could include questions regarding the content, an attitude or a system that treats everyone equally, thus creating a challenge for the new ex-Model C classroom environment.

The function of the school and teachers is to bring the values and norms already instilled within the learner at home in line with what society requires of its citizens. With the South African society now in a process of change towards democracy, the school has a function to socialise learners within the democratic society that requires equality,

social justice and human dignity. For the ex-model C schools, this could be a challenge since the schools and the teachers – socialised within the apartheid society – are faced with high levels of learner migration from different suburbs outside the area of the school (Lemon & Battersby-Lennard 2011:120).

Ex-model C schools have not necessarily adapted to the change that have occurred in their learner population. The values and norms of the diverse learners have "little or no exchange value" in a school environment dominated by middle class white knowledge and values (Lemon & Battersby-Lennard 2011:120). Learners from other cultures outside the schools' existing culture and identity have to be able to identify with and conform to what is seen as "acceptable cultural expectations and behaviour" (Fataar 2010:12).

### 1.2.4 Overview of Literature

This text is important to discuss to show how my research relates to other research and to indicate the new issues I want to address. This study is based on thinking with theory that derives from literature that describes the concept of democracy and the values in relation to South Africa such as diversity, inclusivity, equality, social justice and human rights. In addition, theoretical perspectives of Bourdieu's habitus and its link to white fragility are discussed.

Studies done by Donald, Lazarus and Lolwana (2002, cited in Ebersohn & Eloff 2004:126) and Hendrick (1992, cited in Schiller 2005) around identification of subtle values in a democratic country go far beyond just singing the national anthem. These studies claim that values should be sensitive to the interest of all groups. This study intends to investigate how white teachers perceive the values of democracy in terms of diverse learners in an ex-Model C school that are contrary to the values of a dominant culture.

Furthermore, in a study done by Green (2004:112), he indicated that the personal position of teachers has an influence on any values education in a school. In line with this thought is the research done by Sayed, Motala and Hoffman (2017:59) that indicates that, to be a teacher, you need to understand your own identity as a teacher. Sayed et al. (2017:75) elaborate that to understand yourself as a teacher is challenged by the expectations of teachers trained in a specific tradition to shift completely in their

thinking. In relation to my own study, I intend to investigate how this challenge filters through the perceptions of the interviewees who were all white teachers socialised during apartheid. In addition, in terms of transformation of the education system the study of Naicker (2000:8) indicated that it is important to evaluate the impact of apartheid on how teachers view themselves and the role they play. To elaborate, this view encapsulates their beliefs and value systems as described by Vandeyar (2010:344).

In light of the previous paragraph DiAngelo (2020:127) explained that the theory of Bourdieu's habitus is useful to understand the socialisation of white teachers. It is, therefore, expected that white teachers who were socialised during apartheid would view themselves and others through a lens that is based on an identity that they have internalised (DiAngelo 2020:6), according to the racial ideology that white people are superior to other races (Saad 2020:12). Based on this superior white worldview, DiAngelo (2020:17) stated that white fragility is a common pattern that derives from white people's responses when challenged with racial conversations.

In addition, Christie and McKinney (2017:9) found that the ex-Model C schools retain the 'Model C' connotation. For example, traces of admission policies, traditions such as assemblies that include Bible readings and prayer, special events linked to Christianity and 'white' traditions, and the moral order of strict rules remain in place. Moreover, researchers such as Dolby (2001) and Soudien (1998) have highlighted that, in striving towards inclusivity, the strategy of assimilation is applied. Thus, the learners enter an environment where the teaching staff composition is almost the same as in the past. Therefore, this is an area that needs to change to promote cultural diversity and acknowledgement of differences (Soudien 2007, cited in Tsekeris & Stylianoudi 2019:317).

Furthermore, protests held in 2016 by students at an ex-model C school, Pretoria High School for Girls, highlighted their experiences of racism, school rules that stipulated hairstyles and the banned the speaking of African languages. This protest snowballed to other ex-Model C schools in Cape Town who supported this protest and brought to light their experiences of discrimination. Christie and McKinney (2017:2) described these protests as the "peak point in years of struggles against discrimination" in ex-Model C schools that still exist in South Africa. To be more specific, discrimination is

embedded within the school rules and policies regarding uniform, hair, religious attire and customs other than Christianity. These are clear examples of how the norms of the past are still deeply engrained within the ex-Model C school as they continue to uphold allegiance to an apartheid legacy.

Following these events, four years later in June 2020, experiences of racism were yet again exposed by the learners from more than 20 elite ex-model C high schools in Cape Town. Learners created a platform, an Instagram account named @yousilenceweamplify, to share their traumatic experiences of racism and systemic oppression. Also, memorandums were handed over to the principals with clear demands for transformation, testimonies of past and present learners that described their racist experiences they suffered at the hands of staff and other learners as indicated by Geach (2020:1-3) and Tembo (2020:1).

Although the above studies and newspaper articles have provided valuable background into research done in various settings such as tertiary institutions and ex-Model C schools with a much wealthier financial status, it seems that there is a need to investigate the challenges of white teachers in an ex-Model C school, rated as a Quintile 5 school[8], yet experiencing financial difficulties with a predominantly black learner population. In addition, what makes this a critical study is the interviewees' understanding of diversity in contrast to values of a dominant culture and its impact on socialisation of diverse learners in a primary school context.

## 1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

From the background, it seems that white teachers (teachers socialised within the apartheid ideology) may be challenged by the demands of a pluralistic democratic society and school. This study investigates if this is the case and whether such teachers contribute towards democratic transformation in the classroom.

From the background, the integration of diverse learners sets the stage for desegregation at schools. However, the admission of learners from diverse cultures and backgrounds into a traditionally racially homogenous school required the ex-Model C school to undergo transformation to reflect and introduce the norms and

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[8] Essentially a wealthy, well-resourced school

values of a democratic society in contrast to the apartheid society characterised by a single set of values and traditions.

It is questioned whether the traditional Model C school reflects democracy. For example, with reference to the normative values maintained during apartheid that are still present in many ex-Model C schools (Christie & McKinney 2017:1), aspects that could be mentioned are the culture of learning and teaching, rules and policies of conduct, and traditions such as assemblies. Therefore, the ex-Model C school needs to make the difficult transition to becoming schools that reflect and promote democratic principles.

In aid of democratic principles, it is the opinion of the researcher, that socialisation of diverse learners could be describe as a complicated scenario due to the complex character of a democratic South African society. A democratic society is a complex situation in terms of defining right and wrong within different cultures, religions and backgrounds. With many different cultural and religious perspectives, how do you draw the middle point or find the centre, of where we all meet each other to ensure that we do not discriminate against another individual being? For example, the way we teach respect: is it the same for all religions and cultures?

Furthermore, teachers who were socialised in the same apartheid regime as the parents have a mindset shaped by what was normal and acceptable to them at that time. The question is how the teachers in ex-Model C schools accept that a new society needs to emerge through the way they participate in the creation of new values. To attempt to perpetuate all the values, attitudes and habits of the traditional ex-Model C school could deny the value of diversity and the positive values diverse groups bring to society. However, are these teachers able to recognise positive values within the diverse groups, or are they blinded by prejudice against other cultures, which basically means denying the negative aspects of the traditional ex-Model C school?

In response to this problem, the question is asked whether the process of socialisation in ex-Model C schools today aims at influencing learners to conform to 'constructs' /symbols based on a 'white middle class' culture - especially in diverse classrooms; or whether there is a focus on transformation and what it entails. Consequently, tracing patterns and initiatives of democratic transformation that are currently unfolding in

terms of the culture, norms and values together with reinventing a culture of teaching/learning that is inclusive of diversities.

## 1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main research question is:

What are the perceptions of white teachers in an ex-Model C school, socialised in apartheid society, of the challenges and opportunities of democratic transformation in education?

The following are the sub-questions:

- What are white teachers' perceptions of democratic values in education?
- What are the challenges and opportunities these teachers experience in the transition to democracy?
- How do white teachers socialised within apartheid society understand their role in an ex-Model C school towards democratic transformation?
- How has the ethos of the school changed to embrace diversity?

## 1.5 AIM OF THE STUDY

The general objective of the study was to understand the experiences of white teachers in an ex-Model C school. The focus is on the social interaction with learners in a diverse classroom. The specific objectives of the study were to:

- Establish the teachers' perceptions of democratic values in education.
- Establish the challenges and opportunities these teachers experience in the transition to democracy.
- Determine how white teachers socialised within apartheid society understand their role in an ex-Model C school towards democratic transformation.
- Establish how the ethos of the school has been changed to embrace diversity.

I anticipated that the findings would enable me to analyse the attempts made within this school to enhance transformation – based on the teachers' perspectives.

## 1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of this study is to create awareness of the influence of different backgrounds and social issues on the perceptions of learners during social interactions, which ultimately broadens the concept of 'diversity' of the learner population in ex-Model C classrooms. Thus, the emphasis is on the perspectives of teachers socialised during apartheid to discover its impact on the transition of the ex-Model C school to democracy.

The investigation of the perceptions of white teachers would contribute to an understanding of the state of educational transformation in ex-Model C schools. This investigation is significant since these schools are important spaces where previously separated groups closely interact within institutional boundaries. An investigation of the ways that promote democratic values in these schools could provide a mirror of the transformation challenges of society.

## 1.7 MOTIVATION FOR THIS STUDY

Because of my profession, I had the experience of teaching in four different ex-Model C schools since 1996. As a teacher, I am intrigued by the experiences of how another ex-Model C school adjusted from a white dominant culture to a culture that resembles diversity and what democracy strives towards; together with how these primary school teachers equip learners to become social beings that reflect democratic citizenship.

As teachers trained within the apartheid ideology, one developed a mindset, skills and values of what is 'normal' and required to become an active citizen in society. With the transition to a democratic society, the latter becomes challenging to the values of democracy such as equality, inclusivity, diversity and human rights that need to be reflected within the school structure. I am not only concerned with the integration of the learner population but also with the way the school culture and ethos has had to transform because of the diverse representation of the school population.

## 1.8 RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to investigate the role of an ex-Model C school as a socialisation agent, I decided on a qualitative research. The study focuses particularly on the experiences

of four white teachers in the socialisation of diverse learners in an ex-Model C classroom context in Cape Town. To enable me to explore and describe these experiences, I aimed to listen to the participants as their perspective of their experiences were important. I used in-depth interviews to gather data. The research design will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 3.

## 1.9 OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

The research comprises of five chapters as follows:

Chapter 1 gives the background and justification for the study, the research question, aims and objectives of the research, the significance of the study and an overview of the chapters.

Chapter 2 provides a discussion of the concepts: democracy, diversity, equality, human rights and transformation. In addition, it includes a discussion of literature on education in South Africa as a transitional society with reference to the transformation of ex-Model C schools.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology of the investigation, research design, and data collection strategies and data analysis procedures.

Chapter 4 presents the findings, in relation to the literature, from the empirical investigation

Chapter 5 provides a summary of the study, conclusions, recommendations and limitations of the study.

**CHAPTER 2**

**SOCIALISATION INTO A DEMOCRACY**

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to identify the theoretical underpinnings of socialisation in a democratic South Africa and to identify the challenges white teachers in an ex-Model C school face in managing a diverse classroom environment. To achieve this aim, this chapter attempts to describe the concepts of Bourdieu's habitus, white fragility, democracy, transformation, socialisation, ex-Model C schools and diversity as they influence our thinking and understanding about the challenges related to the processes of socialisation within a diverse classroom. In addition, the concepts of democratic citizenship are investigated in line with a different way of conceptualising socialisation of diverse learners and the challenges of changing the western-derived model of ex-Model C schools (Vandeyar 2010:345). These concepts underpin the study.

In this chapter, I discuss the elements of democracy, namely human rights, diversity and equality. Following this explanation, is a brief account of literature on the nature and aim of education in a democracy in order to create a background for the process of socialisation. With South Africa as a society in transition, transformation of education has its unique challenges. These challenges are described in terms of the apartheid schooling system and its impact on transformation, especially of the ex-Model C schools.

## 2.2 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The investigation of the white teachers' challenges are informed by the concept of Bourdieu's habitus. This concept helps us to understand white fragility[9].

### 2.2.1 Bourdieu's Habitus

According to Bourdieu, habitus is the result of a person's socialisation and how they interact with other people and within a social setting (DiAngelo 2020:127). Habitus therefore embodies the way a person acts, thinks and responds to others and

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[9] White fragility is described as a white person's response when their racial position is being challenged (DiAngelo 2020:127).

situations (Grenfell & James 1998:14-18). Furthermore, it includes the values of a person. These values represents a "lens through which the individual sees the world and his/her actions" (Ringenberg, McElwee & Israel 2009). With regard to white teachers socialised during apartheid, the process involved internalising their identity according to the privileges[10] they received (DiAngelo 2020:6). This identity displays the racial ideology that white people are superior in many ways to people of other races (Saad 2020:12). Within the context of the ex-Model C school, the dominant paradigm that sets the foundation for norms and values stems from the white supremacy worldview – linked to the history of apartheid (Saad 2020:13).

## 2.2.2 White fragility

According to DiAngelo (2020:17), three key aspects of Bourdieu's theory are relevant to white fragility: field, habitus and capital. Firstly, field refers to the social context a person finds himself in – in the case of teachers and learners, it would be the school. Secondly, habitus refers to socialisation, as described above, while capital describes the social value of the teacher and the learner; for example, how the teachers and learners perceive themselves and are perceived by others (DiAngelo 2020:127).

Furthermore, DiAngelo (2020:17) states that white fragility derives from superiority and entitlement of white racial control and protection of white privilege. This is a common pattern amongst white people's responses when they experience racial discomfort (DiAngelo 2020:7). Relating to this investigation, some of the interview questions may lead to discomfort that links to painful experiences and may even give rise to defensiveness (Saad 2020:44).

According to DiAngelo (2020:14), the responses of white people to questions about, for example democracy and transformation, could be expected to predictable. Almost as if they studied the same script, therefore being objective and unique (DiAngelo 2020:14). This is rooted in the forces of socialisation based on the western ideologies of individualism[11] and objectivity[12] (DiAngelo 2020:14). This influence the cultural lens through which white people make sense of perceptions and experiences.

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[10] The privileges white people had during apartheid is called white supremacy (Saad 2020:1)
[11] Individualism explains that we are all unique and apart from others including from those in the same cultural group as ourselves (DiAngelo 2020:14).
[12] Objectivity claims that it is possible to be free from being biased (DiAngelo 2020:14).

**2.3 DEMOCRACY**

Within the context of South Africa, it is essential to understand that this country was not a democracy before. Democracy abolished an apartheid ideology, which identified South Africans according to their race. As an ideal, democratic South Africa aims to achieve social justice, and to protect and encourage the dignity and rights of people. Therefore, many South Africans, including myself, created images of what 'freedom' in a democracy would 'look like', 'be like' and 'feel like'. Against these 'images', democracy turned out to be a complex phenomenon especially in terms of a concept that involves human life in South Africa (Weale 2007:24).

The term democracy[13] means different things to different people depending on their philosophy, ideology, political, cultural, social and economic viewpoint (Bassiouni 1998:2; Weale 2007:24). The end of apartheid in South Africa and the implementation of democracy meant political equality for all members of society and no more oppression and division according to race, class, sexual orientation and religion (Weale 2007:1). The interpretations of democracy in South Africa could be bound to the history and culture of racial discrimination (Roseboro 2010:192) meaning that within the new society, no one is defined according to their race.

Furthermore, democracy is more than a theory that provides a moral standard for personal conduct (Raywid 1987:481, 482). It involves living, speaking, thinking and acting – which represent learned processes – on the values[14] and norms in our daily lives (Roseboro 2010:192). As many modern countries claim to be democracies, the political circumstances of the society shape the context of the values of democracy (Weale 2007:xiv), which in relation to this study and in the context of South Africa, are the elements of diversity, inclusivity, equality, social justice and human rights.

**2.3.1 Diversity**

Dewey (1961, cited in Banks, Banks, Cortés, Hahn, Merryfield, Moodley, Murphy-Shigematsu, Osler, Parker & Parker 2005:17) described democracy as a way of living together. For South Africa, challenges were born out of a racially segregated society (Wnuk-Lipinski & Fuchs 2006:40), a society which classified 'difference' according to

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[13] Rule by the people (*demos*: people; *kratos*: rule)
[14] Hill (1991:4) describes values as "beliefs held by individuals to which they attach special priority or worth, by which they tend to order their lives". 2.4 will discuss this in more depth.

the colour of a person's skin (Moodley 2004, cited in Vandeyar 2010:343). In fact, processes of democracy include all people to protect diversity and "the right to be different" (Weale 2007:192).

So, what does it mean that the South African society is "uniquely diverse"? Various explanations indicate that it is a society composed of different groups divided according to education, ethnicity, social and economic status, language and religion. In addition, each group displays a traditional understanding of their identities, thus, allowing individuals to operate in society with confidence (Gause 2011:7). The term 'multicultural' is often used to describe the diverse nature of South African society but this term only emphasises cultural, racial and ethnic groups. Lemmer, Meier & Van Wyk (2012:20) described it as "an umbrella term to include all kinds of diversity".

The differences between the terms of 'diversity' and 'multiculturalism' is that diversity encompasses more than groups identified in terms of ethnicity, race, language and religion. Within each ethnic group, individuals differ from each other in other important ways. For example, individuals may develop different views based on their geographic origins, social status and gender. Furthermore, there are personal qualities, such as personality, learning abilities and disabilities, learning preferences, nationality, age, sexual orientation and appearance (Banks et al. 2005:17). To summarise, diversity constitutes any kind of variety in humankind (Lemmer et al. 2012:19, 20).

Present day society is both individualistic and pluralistic. This could further affect people's perceptions of each other, as individuals are different from one another in many ways. Furthermore, people no longer agree to live according to traditional norms and roles. For example, people are less dependent on one another than previously. They adopt their own individual lifestyles and live according to their own preferences (Vermeer 2009:205).

Experiencing diversity at school could prepare learners for the diversity they will encounter in society throughout their lives. Diversity in the learning environment exposes learners to concepts, values and behaviours that would encourage them to think in a deeper, more creative and complicated manner, not confined to their own ideas and attitudes. Interacting with individuals leads to an exchange of ideas, ultimately creating "an atmosphere of cultural acceptance" and improving relationships

(Chavec & Weisinger 2008:331-350). This would allow individuals to feel that their cultures and ideas are valued (Washington 2008:4).

In addition, diversity allows for a wider range of possibilities to approach a problem. With a diverse group of people, alternative views and perspectives are available that are not available within a homogenous group of people (Dalton 2006). In the context of the school, focusing on diversity encourages the use of a wider variety of teaching techniques that benefit all learners. Teaching should include many different teaching methods because learners learn in different ways depending on their background and experiences. All learners benefit when the teachers make the effort to accommodate the diverse learning needs of all learners.

Furthermore, experiencing diversity in school is beneficial for learners, as they will experience more fulfilling social relationships (Schöfield 2009:17). In addition, ways that symbolise segregation and prejudice – characteristic of apartheid – are demolished by the experiences of diversity, which in turn makes us all better democratic citizens (McCorry & Mason 2020:44). When people understand and are willing to take into account the views and thoughts of others, they are better equipped to serve an important purpose in society. Diversity also enhances self-awareness. This could be explained as follows: "we gain insights into our own thought processes, life experiences and values as we learn from people whose backgrounds and experiences are different from our own" (Daniel & Antoniw 2018:290).

Weale (2007:209) stated that the term 'inclusion' has become popular among theorists and policy makers; for example, to discuss issues of poverty and citizenship. To justify a society as a democracy means the society strives to consider the opinions and interests of a wide variety of people on an inclusive basis (Weale 2007:208). To describe South Africa as an inclusive society would mean it is a society where all racial and ethnic groups are considered as a part of society with equal opportunities, socially, politically and economically (Gumede & Mohautse 2016:2).

In relation to the diversity of South Africa, it must be redefined in terms of citizenship – that is, of 'who belongs' – in legal and political terms. While diversity should be celebrated, it is important to acknowledge and address the issues from the past based on the misunderstandings of these differences. However, it might turn out that the most challenging task is the reframing of citizens' cognitive maps. The past is still a heavy

burden on the South African "physical, emotional, political, economic and ideological" psyche. Notably, the legacy of apartheid of division amongst people impacted by the terror of racist abuse, reveals itself in the attitudes and racialised thinking in the social interactions between South African citizens (Mare 1999, cited in Crowder 2013:41).

### 2.3.2 Equality

As a cornerstone of democracy, Steyn (2000:23) explained that equality within the South African context is contentious. However, there seem to be misconceptions and perceptions around equality formulated against the background of the apartheid history of inequalities in terms of a segregated schooling systems and resource allocations, among other things. He questioned whether equality means an equal quantum of education for everyone to reach the same standard or whether it refers to the equality of outcomes (i.e., it permits everyone to reach their given potential) (Potter 1995:322).

In South Africa's transition phase, there is considerable tension between the concepts of 'liberal democracy' (links with quality) and 'social democracy' (links with equality) (Steyn 2000:23). To address this problem in the educational arena, the Department of Education published the Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy in 2001, which encapsulated the six values to be taught in schools, namely, equity, tolerance, multilingualism and openness (which relate to equality) and, accountability and social honour which relate to quality (Asmal & James 2001:2). The absence of both quality and equality is, however, still a disturbing reality in some schools (Equal Education 2015:9). Without quality, we cannot compete on an international platform. In addition, without equality, "suspicion, unrest and disharmony" will continue to exist.

Moloi (2014:278-279) mentioned structural educational inequalities that hinder the achievement of quality education for all and an equitable democratic society. She stated that some learners continue to learn in settings that remain unequal even with all the changes and innovations in the curriculum, resulting in performance differences between black and white learners. Furthermore, considerable disparities and gaps still exist in the resourcing of schools in some parts of the country.

In relation to the distinction made in the above two paragraphs, the application of the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS), which stipulates time allocations

for assessments, could be seen as an attempt to ensure equal education where everyone could reach the same expected level of knowledge and skills in each grade. This, according to my understanding, sets a standard for the quality of education that needs to take place in the classroom. However, this raises the concern of what Potter (1995:322) mentioned as a separate aspect of equality, whether the outcomes reflect that each learner has achieved their true potential.

The key issue that has to be considered is whether quantity and quality in education can be separated. Although it was necessary to implement an education policy and curriculum that would abolish a discriminatory education system based on the content and the delivery thereof, it seems that we give more attention to completing a syllabus within a set time, than to the quality of the education delivered. In contrast with the challenges of diverse learning abilities of learners in one class and class sizes – this varies from school to school – the question arises as to whether we can truly prove that our learners have received a quality education that would make them able to compete on a global level.

To further understand equality, Rueschemeyer (2004:76) stated that democracy does not require a specific selection of social or economic policies. Instead, it presupposes a level of political equality that cannot be achieved if inequalities between wealth and status are too extensive. He stated that a possible solution to minimise inequalities is to announce certain goods as social rights (i.e., health, education, a minimal income, etc.) (Morlino 2004:25).

In the context of South Africa, 'race-blindness' (colour-blindness) often describes equality in terms of equal treatment, meaning that a person should not be treated differently "because of their race" (Fiske & Ladd 2004: 5). This should rule out restrictive school admission policies and funding differences amongst schools based on the race of learners (Fiske & Ladd 2004:5). Basic education explicitly includes the adoption of race-blind policies in the delivery of equal education opportunities to all learners (Fiske & Ladd 2004:6).

Fiske and Ladd (2004:7) stated that given the history of South Africa, school and educational policies have become 'race aware[15]' as a minimum requirement to avoid

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[15] Race aware is the opposite of race blindness. Race awareness acknowledges the race of the individual.

discrimination. Thus, the test for equal educational opportunities is not based on the results of educational outcomes that are equal for learners of all races, but on whether learners of different races experience equal education in terms of the quality of education they receive (Fiske & Ladd 2004:8).

Being racially aware means acknowledging that life "is not always just" and that society rewards people of different races on an unfair basis (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee & Browne 2000:59). In addition, racially aware people have the mental understanding that race-based privilege and oppression still exists and are, therefore, capable of addressing racism issues. People without such awareness are often in denial or reduce how 'race' has an influence on reality - a worldview described as "colour-blindness" (Neville et al. 2000:59).

Neville et al. (2000:59) explained that colour-blindness, even as it exists among the most, well-intended people, ignores that:

- White superiority above racial minorities is still reflected in certain laws and policies;
- White people still receive privileges to the disadvantage of racial minorities; and
- Racial minorities still experience daily racial discrimination.

In addition, Wise (2010) stated that colour-blindness is an assumption that discrepancies between races is not influenced by racism. Furthermore, Hardy and Laszloffy (2008:225) stated that colour-blindness may stem from a distorted belief that you are a racist "if you see" skin colour or race. A study done by Plant and Devine (1998:811) found that students act racially neutral out of fear for being socially rejected in spite of their real viewpoint. Hardy and Laszloffy (2008:225) pointed out that racial discrimination or 'being racist' is not similar to acknowledging the impact of race on the current society and talking openly about these issues.

It is important to mention that colour-blind attitudes support the conservation of racist ideologies in various ways (Hardy & Laszloffy 2008; Neville et al. 2000:59; Sue, Capudilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal & Esquilin 2007: 271). Firstly, to minimise racism or denial of individual racial biases is a form of racial micro-aggression (Sue et

al. 2007:271).[16] Secondly, those with colour-blind attitudes – in their failure to acknowledge or being able to identify that it exists – are likely unable to resist systemic racial oppression, which entrenches the status quo that supports pro-racist ideologies (Frankenberg 1993).

In conclusion, from the literature review firstly, equality as a cornerstone of democracy should accentuate the quality and equality of education for all learners. To place emphasis on the one more than the other creates a lop-sided effect of an unbalanced education system. Secondly, political equality is not close to a reality for South Africa based on the large gap between social classes. Thirdly, we have demolished a segregated system along racial lines to provide equal treatment of all, yet we lack equality in our economic status and the teaching and learning reality of our schools. Within the context of South Africa, we have only partly succeeded in reaching equality. I will present my conclusions on this in the final chapter once the empirical study has been completed (Chapter 5).

### 2.3.3 Human Rights

The following section outlines the elements of human rights that acknowledge every persons' dignity. Democratic societies are ideologically just; therefore, "social justice is an integral feature" of democracy (Hytten 2006:221). Social justice is assured when the principles of equality, solidarity and human rights are valued by a society (Mncube & Mfora 2014:111; Puhl & De Klerk 2000:118).

Another point on rights in general is that one can think of rights as claims; for example, when a person flees from being persecuted, they could claim the right to asylum (Weale 2007:191). Feinberg (1970, cited in Weale 2007:191) stated that rights could also mean that people could insist on what was due and owed to them. These actions illustrate "self-respect, respect from others and a sense of personal worth and dignity".

Further claims are that, without rights, we would not be acknowledging the 'distinctions' between persons (Rawls 1999:24) meaning that they can counteract allegations of a discriminatory action being in the public interest or for the common

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[16] Micro aggressions "are the brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioural and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile derogatory, or negative racial, gender, sexual orientation, and religious slights and insults to the target person or group. Perpetrators are usually unaware that they have engaged in an exchange that demeans the recipient of the communication" (Sue et al. 2007:271-286).

good (Weale 2007:191). An example would be punishing an innocent person publicly as a scapegoat to limit resentment of the population at large. According to the believer in rights, it would be wrong to do this. This is a denial of a person's integrity and difference from others (Weale 2007:191).

Democracy is often misunderstood as only "rights" with no regard for mutual responsibility and accountability. People may overemphasise individual freedom and rights but fail to acknowledge that the individual is responsible for respecting the rights of other people as well. This is a distorted perspective of democracy that places greater importance on 'me and my rights': this is contrary to the aim of democracy not to silence individuals but to acknowledge differences in society (Gause 2011:145).

However, accountability is crucial to democracy. It applies to everyone in a public authority position (elected or non-elected). Accountability includes the right of the public to have access to information regarding the activities of government and the right to appeal to government to rectify injustices that require impartial administration and constitutional structures. Public life as a whole needs to create clear and appropriate norms of behaviour and procedures to guarantee acceptable conduct (Udogu, cited in Ibrahim 2014:43).

Leighton (1917, cited in Steyn et al. 1999:10) warned against a false viewpoint of democracy, namely that all distinctions are terminated by democracy; in other words, that all people are automatically equal and alike (De Klerk 2000:37). Within a diverse society – where differences are more than the colour of a person's skin – we must question whether South African teachers understand the depth of diversity, inclusivity and equality in the classroom to empower themselves and eventually develop learners to cherish democracy.

In summary, the following quote by Nelson Mandela (cited in Sceechinth 2016:21):

> It is not our diversity which divides us. It is not our ethnicity or religion or culture that divides us. Since we achieved our freedom there can only be one division among us; between those who cherish democracy and those who do not.

In conclusion, human rights are freedoms for each individual to be a validated citizen who can take part in all activities of society. Each human being has worth and deserves

respect. People are unique individuals and need to be allowed to develop to their full potential.

## 2.4 THE NATURE AND AIMS OF EDUCATION IN DEMOCRACY

As a new democracy, the aim of education in South Africa is implicit in its history. Against the background of the anti-apartheid struggle and what it means 'to belong', learners must be prepared to become 'socially-efficient' individuals who can contribute to social progress of a democratic society (Kymlicka & Norman 1994, cited in Estevez 2012:137). Furthermore, learners need to learn to identify oppression and injustice, and develop the ability to think critically (Green 2004:108) about the transition to democracy (Enslin 2003:73).

An ideal of education emphasises democracy as both "a goal and a method of instruction" (Alfirević, Burušić, Pavičić & Relja 2016: 128). Through active participation by learners and teachers in the classroom and school environment, learners are prepared for effective participation in society. This does not mean education has to blindly apply value-focused character education. "Education for democratic citizenship requires a liberal perspective and critical reflection about both the existing society and the core values of civic life" (Althof & Berkowitz 2006, cited in Bacia & Ittel 2017:41).

How we teach and what we teach should embrace the elements of democracy. The elements of diversity, inclusivity, equality and human rights need to be part of interactions between teacher and learner, and learner and learner. It would be ideal for the teacher to create a space of freedom for learners to express 'democracy' more than learning about it as an abstract theory. Opportunities that could encourage such freedom of expression would be to engage learners in conversations and dialogue whenever possible.

For democracy to take root in any society, a set of institutions must exist to promote democratic principles (Roseboro 2010:192; Weale 2007:6). With the focus on the school as such an institution, one could argue that the school should reflect democracy in its daily practices. Harber and Serf (2006:987) explained that the school is an agent that develops characteristics and skills of democracy and therefore has to be structured to operate in this way. Ultimately, the school is the place where democratic

values are developed in learners in support of societies in a process of transition; for example, in the case of South Africa, a transition from apartheid to a democracy.

The school has the responsibility to develop learners by teaching them the norms and values of social life in a social environment (Carmichael 1983:233). When entering the school, learners are exposed to a social environment where they interact with other learners, teachers and principals with their own cultures, languages, values, beliefs, attitudes and knowledge which have an influence on the meanings they create around social interaction (Lemmer, Meier & Van Wyk 2012:45).

Democratic education seeks to move traditional self-centred thinking in the direction of co-existence and understanding, "a shift that requires conversation, deliberation, compassion and disagreement, with a willingness to engage from the perspective of the 'other' which can only be initiated, practised and cultivated", in this case, by the teacher, and then imitated by the learner (Donald, Lazarus & Lolwana 2002, , cited in Ebersohn & Eloff 2004:126).

Dewey (1996, cited in Noddings 1999:580) stated that a democratic society "must have a type of education that gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind that secure social changes without introducing disorder". Learners should receive an education that enhances their opportunities to have a prosperous and fulfilling personal life, yet, at the same time, they should support efforts to provide the same for other people (Noddings 1999:580). Learners need to have the knowledge and skills to exercise freedom but with due consideration for the rights of others.

Democratic education should aim to help learners make well-informed choices. It is not to teach learners that they can have whatever they desire with reckless abandon. In essence, education in a democracy must prepare learners to make sound choices. To choose wisely from many options requires information. In addition, it requires a relationship between teachers and learners that will make it possible for teachers to guide each learner responsibly (Noddings 1999:581).

A new generation of children is learning the importance of democratic values such as human dignity, equality, non-sexism and non-racialism (Badat 2009:3). The school, as democratic institution – consisting of people with different backgrounds, views and

beliefs – should create a safe space for learners to develop their skills in dealing with disagreement, conflict or controversy. While we desire to live without conflict, it may arise at any time, and there needs to be an arena where differences can be confronted (Mouffe 2000:8).

Creating a new democratic society requires the identification of the diverse values that exist in a society (Donald et al. 2002, cited in Ebersohn & Eloff 2004:126). To develop a new moral order with new social rules depends on communication and negotiation, on both a social and a political level. These rules/values are developed through negotiation between groups. In fact, a society needs a moral order as a guide to appropriate behaviour and norms. Without it, a society cannot function in an appropriate and orderly manner. In addition, these values need to be "sensitive to the interests of all groups" as far as possible.

With the focus on education, Hendrick (1992:51) stated that teaching democratic values to children goes far beyond things like singing the national anthem. They have to do with passing on our democratic belief that people can be trusted to make sensible decisions concerning their own lives and the lives of other people. Being a citizen in a democratic country means that people are empowered to decide about matters for themselves (Hendrick 1992:51). Green (2004:254) defined the concepts of values[17] and virtues from educators' perspectives and explained the notion of civic virtues as desirable cognitive and moral dispositions and their perceptions of their role.

Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge that there are different forms of democracy with somewhat different implications for citizenship and for education. Green (2004:109) stated that tensions may arise at times between individual and social values. In addition, schools, teachers and communities may need to think and deliberate at a certain point in time about the values they wish to cherish in terms of consensus and democracy. Without such a deliberation, schools and teachers cannot embrace an effective "value-neutral" position, as Veugelers (2000, cited in Green 2004:112) noted. Based on a study done by Green (2004:112), it is important to take into account the impact of teachers' personal positions and contexts when initiating values education in schools.

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[17] Virtues are the "active manifestation of positive values, recognised in dispositions to behave in a particular manner, sometimes referred to as qualities of character" (Green 2004:108).

In terms of citizenship education, Nussbaum (2006:6) suggested teaching learners the ability to critically examine themselves and their traditions. This requires developing the ability to reason logically, and to test whether what you read or say is consistent with the truth and facts. Secondly, learners must be educated to "see themselves as human beings bound to all other human beings by ties of recognition and concern". This requires knowledge and understanding of different cultures and differences of gender and race. However, learners need to learn more than just facts (Nussbaum, 2006:6). They need to be equipped with the ability "to think what it might be like to be" in another person's situation who may be different from them in many ways (Badat 2009:4.).

Democracy as a way of life depends on the democratic values, attitudes and beliefs that are instilled in learners by their teachers and parents. The classroom is seen as the central place where democratic values and practices are developed in the psyche of learners and teachers (Puhl & De Klerk 2000:118), yet, at this level, this process could be regarded as the most difficult to achieve (Weldon 2006:185). Therefore, to enable the application of democratic values in this learning environment led to the formulation of the 'democratic classroom' (Raywid 1987:481).

In the context of South Africa, for many teachers, creating a democratic classroom could raise the concern of 'giving up' their authority or power (McHaney 2004:72). According to Dewey (1996, cited in Raywid 1987:484), the teacher traditionally managed and manipulated the learners' interests and participation as it was the teacher and not the learner who knew what needed to be learned and the steps necessary to bring that learning about: the decisions could not be left to the learners alone.

The structure of the democratic classroom should be around the common goal of developing a relationship of trust between the teacher and learners, a trust that allows for an environment where the teacher's voice is not the dominant voice and provides room to hear each learner's voice. This requires the teacher to remove themselves from the position of power, a position emphasised during apartheid. A democratic space is open to learners where they are encouraged to share their opinions about contents of subjects or events that are happening in the classroom (Raywid 1987:480).

McHaney (2004:75) stated that many perspectives are present during classroom discussions. It is not just the teachers' opinion that matters. Gilligan (1982, cited in McHaney 2004:76) wrote that "To have a voice is to be human. To have something to say is to be a person. But speaking depends on listening and being heard; it is an intensely relational act". Learners in a democratic classroom are regarded as valuable, capable, responsible, and have the ability to think, learn, make choices and value others (Puhl & De Klerk 2000:118).

The aim of education in a democracy in the context of South Africa is to address and change the ethos of education that displays inequalities inherited from the apartheid era. These aims could be summarised as developing learners to become citizens who would be able to sustain and move democracy forward. It is thus essential to equip learners with characteristics, skills, democratic values, attitudes and beliefs such as human dignity. Furthermore, learners' capacity to reflect critically on themselves, their actions and decisions as well as those of other people needs to be developed.

## 2.5 SOCIALISATION INTO A DEMOCRACY

The previous section discussed the aims of education in a democracy. This section includes a discussion of the literature that describes the process of education through socialisation.

From the above discussion in 2.3, the birth of democracy in South Africa meant that the expectations of a South African citizen changed. Various types of 'changes' had to take place that would reflect the ideal of a democratic society – ultimately 'what' it means to be a democratic citizen. Rewriting the Constitution and drafting educational policies and educational institutions in accordance with the new Constitution were some of the changes made to bring about a social order around the values and norms of democracy.

An important aspect of socialisation is to contribute to social order, social cohesion and the development of social beings (Ballantine & Spade 2008:9). In school, the child learns skills that prepare him for a life in a democratic society including the world of work. This process revolves around interpersonal relationships through communication (Berger, Roloff & Ewoldson 2010:471; McClure 2010:191), and the norms and values are expectations of the current society that guide this interaction

(Grusec & Hastings 2015:464). This then develops a citizen who displays self-control, 'learning to be' with self and others, and to cope with life's challenges and adversities and role expectations (Akers 2011:73).

Fundamentally, today, socialisation needs to encourage learners to adopt a democratic lifestyle. Citizens need to develop their skills in negotiation, communication and listening. In addition, they need to be sensitive and respectful towards other people. Other skills involve teamwork, critical thinking, flexibility, acceptance and helpfulness (Puhl & De Klerk 2000:118). To communicate effectively, we need a common language, one that disseminates a common message/understanding of particular concepts (Roseboro 2010:192). Democracy is about the maintenance of a balance between commonality and plurality, as a democratic society is a society in which all members participate in service to others, while they are simultaneously enabled to develop their individual or distinctive capacities (Raywid 1987:481).

Vandeyar and Jansen (2008) stated that assimilation is one of the most common approaches schools adopted towards socialisation of diverse learners. This approach involves learners being immersed into the historical culture that still exist of the school. This is the process where learners are expected to adapt to the dominant pre-existing customs and attitudes in their new educational environments. This denies the values and norms of learners' different backgrounds and ultimately leads to treating everyone in a similar manner. The similarity refers to the learners' educational needs and how the teaching methods of the teacher have an impact on each learner's abilities.

Within a pluralistic society, the roles, values and norms the individual should adapt to or transmit are not very clear. The focus on individualism contradicts the emphasis on common values. Therefore, socialisation is more than a passive term of adaptation and transmission (Vermeer 2009:205). Citizens have the same rights as every single other person no matter what their status, abilities or cultural background. Also, as social beings, everyone has a voice, but how do they use this voice in a way that does not violate another social beings' rights and humanity and dignity? What is the middle ground of the norms and values of the ideal of democracy that includes all paths of life – that epitomises the 'rainbow nation' that Tata Nelson Mandela idealised (Williams & Denney 2015).

If we want to know where and how to begin with preparing our children to be democratic citizens, we need to start by fostering their ability to choose, to try and to do. These skills build self-confidence and trust in the self that enable people to think and act independently. These skills are of paramount importance in a democracy and are important because they provide the necessary balance between meeting the needs of the individual and those of society (Hendrick 1992:52, 53).

In conclusion, socialisation is the process that involves developing learners to become democratic citizens. With the focus on interpersonal relationships, the aim is ultimately to develop democratic citizens within a pluralistic society with a strong sense of individualism. This does not align with bringing learners to a place where they conform to a dominant culture. The process of socialisation should revolve around citizenship education, namely, what it means "to be a democratic citizen", guided by the values and norms of democracy.

## 2.6 SOCIETY IN TRANSITION AND TRANSFORMATION OF EX-MODEL C SCHOOLS

This section is about the changes in South African society from apartheid to a democracy. This section outlines education during apartheid, followed by what transformation of schools, more specifically the ex-Model C schools, should entail.

Since 1994, the focus was on adjusting the inequalities of the past as Asmal and James (2001:186) emphasised in saying that "The democratic SA inherited an unevenly educated population". The main goal of the 1996 SA Schools Act (SASA) was to de-racialise education and create race-blind policies (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:142). With the society in transition to reflect democracy and principles of human rights, equality, diversity and inclusivity (i.e., promoting social justice), the school is one of the focal institutions that reflects the current society. Regrettably, schools still bear the traces and labels of a segregated schooling system that once existed: schools for the whites, schools for the blacks.

### 2.6.1 An Account of Apartheid Society and Education

Apartheid was a form of oppression, a society that revolved around the concept of a 'population group' attached to regulations, practices, institutions and relationships that constitute the structures of power (Morrow 1990:172). The apartheid government

exercised this power through brutal repressive methods along the lines of 'population groups'; disempowered its victims through oppression; treated black people as objects of a policy; and did not see individuals of colour as rightful human beings with a moral standing in society. One major instrument of this repression was the schooling policy (Morrow 1990:175) that yielded a fragmented schooling system (Karlson 2004:327). The segregated school system was aimed at preventing learners engaging with peers from other races, particularly how to position themselves in relation to the 'other' (Karlson 2004:327).

Public education was a privilege for the whites during the apartheid era (Asmal & James 2001:185). The apartheid government (the white minority) provided an unequal system of education based on racial classification (Asmal & James 2001:185). Apartheid expressed "the ideology of Christian Nationalism in a segregated schooling system that had the effect of maintaining an established class and racial hierarchy" (Asmal & James 2001:186).

In the 1950s, one of apartheid's most abhorrent laws was introduced: the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The National Party government viewed education as an extension of the overall apartheid system and therefore it served the interests of white supremacy. A manifesto designed by Afrikaner nationalists in 1939 captured the ideological framework for Bantu education. This framework was based on a "racist and paternalistic view" the superior white race was responsible for the education of Africans. Apartheid policies were a particular extension of preceding periods of colonialism[18].

The manifesto declared that 'CNE', which advocated separate schools for different population groups, would be a guiding framework. Bantu education, as it related to black Africans especially, was geared to the development of a separate, self-supporting and self-maintaining indigenous group of people based on the 'Christian National' ideology. As such, a system was formulated by government to keep different races separate, ultimately, creating a form of "educational hierarchy" that placed

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[18] A defining feature of both colonialism and Apartheid is the identification and maintenance of separate groups in the population (Morrow & King, cited in Barringer 1998:234). Not only is colonialism a form of direct control of external structures and resources, it is also a range of complex structures designed to 'generate conceptions of personhood and identity' (London 2002b:95).

people in the following order: whites at the top, then Asians, coloured people and finally black Africans (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:82).

Essentially, "Bantu education was designed to teach Africans to be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for a white-run economy and society, regardless of an individual's abilities and aspirations" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:82). The implementation of the Bantu Education Act occasioned immense harm to the black African population. The Act removed the control of the church and provincial authorities over black African education, thus forcing all state-aided mission schools (which the majority of Africans attended) to register with the state. Consequently, the Bantu Education Department was created to control black African education and keep it separate and inferior.

Furthermore, in 1963, coloured education was placed under the Department of Coloured Affairs; in 1965 Indian education was placed under the supervision of the Department of Indian Affairs. Furthermore, the homeland policy stated that new high schools should not be built in Soweto as students were supposed to move to their designated homelands to attend newly erected schools in those areas. However, in 1972, due to the need for better trained black African workers for businesses, the government needed to "improve the Bantu education system". Therefore, more schools were built in Soweto (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:83).

Part of the desegregated system was the official curriculum with the subject matter and teaching methods following CNE ideology, a system that characterised children as requiring the teacher as an authority figure to guide and mould them into the values and traditions of adulthood (Ashley 1988, cited in Karlson 2004:328). Values and traditions emphasised the social differences and stratification that "privileged the minority white learners over others".

Nkomo (1990, cited in Karlson 2004:328) contended that learners were socialised in a way that they would accept social segregation as normal and would regard racial and ethnic separation as "the natural order of things". This forged "a consciousness and identity that constructed whites as superior to blacks". The social self-identity portrayed to white children arose out of the "myth of European civilisation [which stamped] negative self-images on African children" (Johnson 1982:224).

This was entrenched in schools that were separated according to race, linguistics and cultures. Assemblies in the school hall were events where learners engaged in rituals that "blurred the boundaries between religious beliefs and national symbols" such as the flag and the national anthem. School halls were spaces for collective activity such as religious observances and school announcements and were used to embed a "collective nationalistic identity and notions of good citizenship" in learners. From a global perspective, the acknowledgement of state symbols when a school assembles are commonplace. The post-1994 SA government agreed to the continuation of observances of these rituals to promote the values of democracy and citizenship (Karlson 2004:336). However, "in the context of apartheid as an oppressive and unjust social system for many learners – although this was less the case among white learners – such obligatory activities in the school space were politically charged and contested" (Karlson 2004:336).

## 2.6.2 Transformation

Having defined the concept of democracy, the aim of education and the process of socialisation of learners into a democracy, this section provides a general overview of the changes education in South Africa had to undergo to reflect the values of democracy. The new government inherited an education system designed to promote the goals of apartheid. Education could not stay the same. The policies of teaching and learning could not stay the same as the expectations and outcomes for citizens had changed. However, a society in transition towards democracy cannot be the same for all nations because "each nation has its own distinctive social order" (Weale 2007:8). This is supported by Beteille (2013:33) who stated that "the institutions of democracy cannot be the same for all countries as they vary from one nation to another as political institutions are shaped by their historical origins". In addition, Badat and Sayed (2014:128) stated that to achieve social justice depends on a good quality public education. It is a necessary condition "for the development of the intellectual and other capabilities of individuals, their cultivation as lifelong learners, their functioning as economically and socially productive people, and their participation as critical and democratic citizens".

During apartheid, education was influenced by the system of "CNE". Characteristics of this system were underlined by a devotion to nationalist and Calvinist ideologies

embraced by the (white minority) National Party government. In addition, it displayed a centralised and authoritarian structure that included rote-learning. Black children within the apartheid system obtained the so-called "Bantu (or black) education" (Nel & Binns 1999:120). After 1994, South Africa was challenged to inaugurate a schooling system that is non-racial and equal. Needless to say, the country faced an immense task to address the educational challenges brought about by the apartheid system (Asmal & James 2001:185).

Steyn (2000:22) explained that while there are various opinions on transformation, in his view, educational transformation in the South African context is a form of radical change that involves the elimination of inequalities and the implementation of equal education. The post-1994 SA government restructured the education system on principles of equality, human rights and democracy. Furthermore, it was intended to be an undivided, democratic and national democratic education system. In addition, it involved creating a democratic system of school administration; assigning financial and human resources based on equality and equity; and adapting to Outcomes-Based Education (OBE).

In relation to the above background of transformation, white learners escaped an ideology of racial prejudice with great effort (Kadar & James 2001:185). Moreover, black learners had to deal with the negative impact of Bantu education. More specifically, black learners had little exposure to science and maths in order to prepare them to provide cheap labour in a colonial economy. As a result, apartheid assigned the majority of the South African population to the ranks of the illiterate (Kadar & James 2001:186). Also, the legacy of Bantu education remains an eyesore in democratic SA in the form of damaged school buildings, overcrowded classrooms, incompetent teachers as a result of inadequate teacher training, and a shortage of textbooks. Again, the remnants of the discriminatory education policies live on (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013: 84).

Therefore, the South African Schools Act (SASA) of 1996 requested a new approach to manage schools in order to establish a consistent national system. Consequently, issues such as inequity, inequalities in the use of public resources, and the poor quality of education could be rectified (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:142). In addition, the disintegrated education departments were joined into one department, and education

became compulsory for all learners – regardless of race. Also, in 2006, the then Minister of Education announced that some schools would become 'no-fee schools' that would be fully funded by the state (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:142).

Additionally, the SA government introduced various curriculum reforms, such as Curriculum 2005 (C2005) and OBE in 1998. These curricula encompassed competence-based learning and teaching methods to develop learners' critical and technical skills. In relation to the new democratic South Africa's aim to demonstrate itself strong and competitive on a global scale, the implementation of OBE made sense from a political and economic stance. Furthermore, these curricula challenged the dual system of education that consigned special needs learners to separate schools. This was considered to be in the best interest of the learner (Naicker 2000:2, 3).

Unfortunately, due to insufficient teacher training, distressing teacher-learner ratios, shortages of learning materials and language barriers, OBE was discontinued. Following this attempt, the government introduced the National Curriculum Statement in 2002, then the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) in 2009, and in 2012, the CAPS (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:143).

SA as a society should address the social damage and developmental problems inherited from apartheid. There are many challenges in the country's development to becoming a democratic society. Reconstructing the education system from one of segregation and separation to one of inclusiveness that provides equal educational opportunities for all, despite individual differences, is one of the most urgent of those challenges (Donald et al. 2002, cited in Ebersohn & Eloff 2004:126) for school managers and educators.

Furthermore, to address the element of equity in basic education, school funding was affiliated to the "National Norms and Standards for School Funding". This strategy "ranked schools using a quintile system whereby each school was classified into one of five quintiles based on socioeconomic status of the surrounding community" (Badat & Sayed 2014:137). However, this effort still falls short of what schools need to be equal in terms of resources: firstly, it is not an assurance that school spending is equal, as each school's expenses vary; and secondly, this system displays certain shortcomings in allocating resources to schools. For example, it is not a reliable antidote to poverty as allocation of resources only involves expenses for maintenance

and is not a catalyst of equity. In addition, only schools in the wealthier quintile ranks would benefit from the allocations for teacher salaries and allocation of well-qualified teachers (Badat & Sayed 2014:138).

The difference between equity and equality must be emphasised. Although both are aimed at promoting fairness, equality achieves this by treating everyone the same irrespective of need, while equity achieves this by treating people differently according to their individual needs. Equity and equality are not interchangeable, especially in education (Smith, Frey, Pumpian & Fisher 2017:16). For example, a question of equality is whether funding per student at every school should be exactly the same or whether students who come from less privileged homes should get more in order to ensure that they can catch up. That is a question of equity.

It is important that all students should have equal access to resources, but the truth is that some students need more to get there (Costandius, Nell, Alexander, Mckay, Blackie, Malgas & Setati 2018:78). This is where equity comes in. The students who are furthest behind – most often students from lower income homes – require more resources to catch up and close the gap. Making sure that schools have funding to provide them with high-quality education they need to succeed will move the country along the path towards narrowing the gap (Fleisch 2018:84). In other words, instead of seeing equity as 'levelling the playing field', the approach needs to be changed to 'more for those who need it'.

However, certain schools claim that their quintile ranking (Quintile 4 and 5) does not take into account their current financial status and demographics (Van Dyk & White 2019:S2). For example, some schools enrol learners from outside their local areas. Consequently, these schools educate a large number of learners from families that cannot afford to pay the school fees charged by these schools. This gives rise to financial pressure for these schools which maintain their standards by means of charging school fees to supply what the government does not (such as additional teachers appointed by the School Governing Body (SGB) to lessen the workload of other teachers).

Another point regarding transformation is the demanding task to align institutional cultures with constitutional values and ideals, especially at historically-disadvantaged schools (Badat & Sayed 2014:144). Challenges arise in demolishing the historical

traditions and routines that hinder the development of "more open, vibrant, democratic, and inclusive intellectual and institutional cultures". Furthermore, there is a need to respect and value the rich cultural diversity of the population; to intentionally and deliberately create and institutionalise cultures that embrace diversity; and to see these challenges as a wellspring of personal, intellectual and institutional development.

In conclusion, from the above, transition of education in SA from an apartheid government to a democracy had to undergo various processes, more specifically, reconstructing the education system in terms of teaching and learning according to democratic principles. Badat and Sayed (2014:133) stated that "race is no longer a primary determinant and marker of inequity" in the educational policies and methods of post-1994. The most visible evidence of change has been the formal desegregation of schools. However, they stated that the problem of distinctions in admissions to schools has not yet been addressed.

In addition, learners from the wealthy and middle class are "concentrated in historically white institutions, while those from the working class and rural poor are concentrated in historically black institutions". Regardless of the drive to modify the apartheid institutional environment through desegregation of public schools, "the historical geographical patterns of advantage and disadvantage continue to limit the capacities of historically black institutions to pursue excellence and provide high-quality learning experiences and equal opportunity and outcomes". To explain briefly, if race previously affected equity of opportunity and outcomes, it is now impacted by social class and geography (Badat & Sayed 2014:134).

To summarise, education in the apartheid era was a mechanism to disempower black people in contrast with the privileges whites had to be educated. Transformation of education in the new SA is a reconfiguration of dominance in relation to race, class, gender and language. Changes within the curriculum and access to schools are some of the strategies; it could, indeed, be argued that the presumptions on which these structures are based have changed practice, such as admission policies, language of instruction, learning content, values, norms and activities (Soudien & Sayed 2004:112). In short, a racially equitable state education system has been created (Fiske & Ladd 2004:ix).

### 2.6.3 The Ex-Model C School

The term 'ex-Model C' schools represents a historical connection to white privilege (Christie & McKinney 2017:12) originating in the last days of the apartheid education system in SA. Its history is located in the protected status given to 'Model C' schools during the political transition in the 1990s when the schooling system was restructured (Christie & McKinney 2017:1). The 'Model C' school was seen as the 'ideal type' post-apartheid school and an attempt by the National Party to protect white schools against impending changes ending racially based privileges.

In the context of the political transition (1990), a set of administrative choices were given to white schools by the apartheid government. These options provided power to parent bodies that included making decisions about conditions for admission of learners from other races. It is important to understand that the creation of the Model C school – the so-called 'Clase Models' (Piet Clase, Minister of Education at the time), was a strategy to maintain the hegemony of white supremacy during the transition period which would continue under the new government after 1994 (Christie & McKinney 2017:1).

In addition, the 'Model C' schools would become state-aided (or semi-private). The responsibility of the running the school, staff appointments, determining school fees and maintenance of school building would be the duty of the management team. Furthermore, salaries for staff appointed within the prescribed regulations of the government would be covered by a state subsidy. The management team would be in charge of raising additional funds. In addition, the school buildings and grounds would be legally transferred to the management team "free of charge". However, this transaction would be reversed should the school fail to operate.

Furthermore, the 'Model C' school could continue to maintain the principles of CNE. In addition, education for English and Afrikaans learners could continue in their mother-tongue language. Moreover the 'traditional values and ethos' had to be preserved and the school had to maintain a white school population of 50% + 1. Preference had to be given to white learners from the school's feeder areas. According to conditions of apartheid, these schools would continue to be inherently directed to providing education for white learners (Christie & McKinney 2017:9). Learners from

other races would be accepted at these school on condition that the school's ethos and culture remain unchanged in this process (Christie & McKinney 2017:12).

So, what is the ex-Model C school? There is evidence that these schools retain the 'Model C' connotation even in the new dispensation. For instance, traces of admission policies, traditions such as assemblies that include Bible readings and prayer, special events linked to Christianity and 'white' traditions, and the moral order of strict rules remain in place. Furthermore, the teacher continues to be the authority. Several researchers (Dolby 2001; Soudien & Sayed 2007) have highlighted that symbolic power relations continue to exist in ex-Model C schools that still impact school life, and that, in striving towards an inclusive vision and applying the strategy of assimilation, learners enter an environment where the teaching staff composition is almost the same as in the past. To promote cultural diversity and acknowledgement of differences, this is a clear area for change (McKinney 2010; Soudien & Sayed 2007).

The ex-Model C school in particular is an important place to learn about democracy. The reason has to do with diversity brought into the dominant homogenous school, where the diverse classroom creates an environment that could foster many aspects of democracy. The ex-Model C school is a place to develop democracy since diverse groups are brought together.

## 2.6.4 The Shifting Identity of Teachers and Challenges Experienced by Them

The teacher is at the centre of providing a quality education to diverse learners in SA. As stated in the Constitution (RSA, 1996), the teacher needs to "free the potential of each person". The role of the teacher to ensure the learners' right to an education is a "precondition to creating the conditions for the attainment of substantive equality and social justice" (Kollapen 2006, cited in Le Roux 2016:1). In addition to the expectation of teachers to ensure that learners maintain a high academic standard, teachers are faced with challenges such as economic, social and political circumstances that have a tremendous impact on how learners live and learn (Le Roux 2016:1).

Arguably, a large number of South African teachers received their training within a paradigm that supported the beliefs and methods of the apartheid system (Naicker 2000:7). Consequently, as Beard and Morrow (1981, cited in Naicker 2000:8) stated, it influenced teachers with pedagogics that were autocratic and monopolistic.

Teachers were trained to maintain the status quo (Msila 2007:148). Therefore, it is possible that many teachers are still influenced by the apartheid paradigm (Naicker 2000:8) that focused on preparing them to teach learners from a particular race group, competent in the language of instruction, for example, Afrikaans or English. Consequently, with the new educational reform, certain teachers had to adjust to teaching in their second language and learners who are not competent in the language of instruction had to be accommodated (Vandeyar 2010: 344).

Following on the abovementioned paradigm, the Calvinist and CNE philosophy also had a major influence on how teachers viewed the position of the learner. For example, Gluckman (1981, cited in Naicker 2000:8) stated the following about the learner: "The child, who is first an object, becomes a fellow subject in a meaningful world…" and "He is 'not adult', not responsible, morally, not dependent". Statements such as these assume that the learner is an object that the teacher needs to mould, which contradicts the expectations of the new educational policies such as the CAPS which redefine the educational experience in the classroom as a partnership between teacher and learner where there is mutual respect.

As part of the transformation of the education system, it is essential to evaluate the impact of the apartheid system on teachers in order to make adjustments (Naicker 2000:8) with reference to the society within which they have been socialised. The professional identity of the teacher comes into focus in this regard, as it is central to the teaching profession. This identity creates the framework for teachers of 'my role as the idealised teacher' in the school and classroom, ideas of 'how to be', 'how to act' and 'how to speak' (Jansen 2001:242) in line with certain principles of democratic citizenship. This causes tremendous stress for teachers and has an impact on their self-esteem, beliefs and value systems (Vandeyar 2010:344).

According to research done by Sayed, Motala and Hoffman (2017:59), it became clear that being a teacher is to start with grasping your own identity as a teacher. Also, learning a new manner of operating in the world. An interesting point is that as a teacher it is more than 'yourself' and the classroom: it is about you and the world. Furthermore, you can only become as you understand who you are (Sayed et al. 2017:75). To the contrary, the understanding of self as a teacher is challenging because of the expectation for a particular group of teachers trained in a specific

tradition to make a radical paradigm shift. For some teachers this is difficult to do – almost impossible – as it threatens their identity, including their knowledge base. This makes it difficult for schools to change (Sayed et al. 2017:75)

Furthermore, the research findings of Sayed et al. reveal the cynicism about the influence of the western curriculum and "ways of knowing" during teacher training. The interviewees in their study – who were all lecturers[19] at five different universities – stated that the more globalised the world becomes, the more powerful western thoughts and ways of knowing becomes (Sayed et al. 2017:75). In addition, these lecturers tried to comprehend and discuss requests of their own students (Sayed et al. 2017:85). They found that lecturers often seem to be incapable to explain in detail what a value might look like outside of the hegemonic form of knowing, which indicates "the incompleteness, fragility and contested nature of knowledge-making as a collective enterprise". They, therefore, suggested that teachers' different conceptualisations of democracy are often privately held views that are not subject to public scrutiny or reflection (Sayed et al. 2017:85).

According to Nel and Binns (1999:121), there are many teachers in SA who themselves were socialised and educated in a rigid, authoritarian education system. Even though there has been a shift in post-apartheid SA, the inheritance could still take years to redress. To address the competency of teachers to manage the radical paradigm shift, Nel and Binns (1999:121) suggested extensive in-service training to encourage the application of more innovative teaching interventions to develop learners for a nation that "no longer requires unquestioning obedience to an autocratic system".

It is clear that the transformation of education in SA consists of more than mere changes and abolition of outdated policies. In practice, the reality of democracy challenges what happens in our schools, especially the ex-Model C schools. The identification of the culture of the ex-Model C schools in relation to apartheid schools shows that the diverse classrooms are an arena where the principles of democracy can be promoted. The evidence presented shows that the key issue to consider and take into account is the role and identity of the teacher in this process. The literature

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[19] The focus of their study was on the decolonisation of the fourth year curriculum for initial teacher students in their final year. I intend to interview teachers at a Primary school who have received their teacher training during Apartheid.

highlights that the training teachers received during apartheid was framed around the maintaining the status quo, which conflicts with ideal of democracy which is to embrace diversity, equality, inclusivity and human rights.

## 2.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter provided an overview of what democratic education should entail. It is clear that an understanding of the integral elements of democracy is important to achieve the aim of education in SA. Guided by these elements and the ideal of democracy to nurture a society where 'all belong', the process of socialisation has to be grounded in equipping learners with the skills, knowledge and attitudes needed to promote democracy. The purpose of the chapter was to provide the theoretical and contextual background for the analysis of the views and experiences of white teachers in a transformed ex-Model C school. These insights were applied firstly to provide a guide for the interview questions. Secondly, reading the data in line with these theories and perspectives was used to determine the differences and similarities of the teachers' responses to discover the deeper meanings and interpretations of the data. Finally, I would be able to determine conclusions to the research question namely: "What are the perceptions of white teachers in an ex-Model C school, socialised in apartheid society, of the challenges and opportunities of democratic transformation in education?"

**CHAPTER 3**

**RESEARCH DESIGN**

## 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The research design used in this study is outlined in this chapter. The aim of this study is to investigate the research question namely "*what are the perceptions of white teachers, socialised in apartheid society of the challenges and opportunities of democratic transformation in education?"* As discussed in chapter 1 my own experience of teaching in an ex-Model C school and interest to discover how white teachers experience the transformation process in their school was the basic motivation to undertake this research study. While visiting the school where my research was undertaken, I observed the majority of the learner population were black and coloured children with a minority of white children. I also became aware of the predominantly white teaching staff, especially for Grades 2–6 learners. In addition, most of the learners speak English as a second or third language, an indication of the influx of learners from outside the area of the school.

What intrigued me was to find out how the teachers (more specifically, white teachers) who were trained and socialised within apartheid society perceive teaching diverse learners contrary to an 'own-race' class population. How do they understand democratic transformation and the role they play? Based on my own experience of teaching in an ex-Model C school, I realised that teaching and learning diverse learners in a democratic society has its own unique challenges based on personal values, norms, culture and race; challenges that I was not prepared for and did not receive training for at college. These factors contributed to my growing interest in what white primary school teachers in particular, experience as challenges and opportunities in the transition to democracy.

Consequently*,* this chapter explains in depth the research design, the setting of the research, research population, methods for collecting data and analysis which are applied. In conclusion, an explanation of ethical measures applied including measures taken to guarantee trustworthiness is given.

## 3.2 RATIONALE FOR A QUALITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN

The nature of this study prompted me to use a qualitative research design to investigate the phenomenon. By using this research design, I was able to gain a deeper understanding of the teachers' experiences and use these to determine how being socialised in apartheid has an influence on the teachers' perceptions of transformation and democracy (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey 2010:9, 10).

Furthermore, the research design enabled me to distinguish issues from the viewpoint of the teachers (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey 2010:9, 10). My argument is that if participants' responses to the interview questions are analysed, the information obtained will highlight the extent to which their experiences of teaching during apartheid have an impact on the way they teach diverse learners in a democratic society. In other words, I identified the explanations and perceptions the teachers have of, for example, democratic values and norms and how this influences teaching diverse learners of a different race from the teacher.

In addition, this research design encouraged my need to discover as much information as possible about the research topic. The participants were given the opportunity to talk about their personal perceptions of the role of the teacher responsible for teaching and learning and the challenges they face in a classroom of diverse learners. They were encouraged to share whether these challenges link to the elements and aim of democracy and/or what they see as normal and acceptable, based on their experiences during apartheid. My argument is that the way an educator understands values and norms today may be a reflection of the values and norms they adopted from the society they were socialised in which could have an impact on how they see their role.

The research was conduct methodically. I attempted to think and act in methodically ways throughout the research process instead of in a casually 'ad hoc' manner (Mason 2002:7-8). Firstly, I familiarised myself with the literature on the concepts of democracy and articles related to the transformation of education in SA, with reference to the history of the ex-Model C school. This allowed me to compile an interview schedule based on the research problem for the semi-structured interviews held with the participants to collect data.

Secondly, it was important to conduct the interviews strategically, yet to be adaptable and relevant. By using the interview schedule, as a set of open-ended questions, it was possible to stay on track with what the topic is about and avoid going off course. More importantly, I could adapt the questions for each participant based on how they articulated their personal experiences and perceptions during previous responses. For example, I asked three of the teachers to describe the factors they were aware of that hampered effective transformation process in the school, to which all three teachers replied that financial difficulties and a lack of resources were the main problems. The fourth teacher made mention of these factors in a previous question and I decided to ask the teacher the second part of the question, to elaborate on the misconceptions the outside world has of the school as a 'Model C' school.

In addition, I had to be sensitive and flexible during the interviews with teachers. Guided by observing the nuances, facial expressions, body language and tone of voice of the teachers, I could make a judgement call about whether to encourage the participants to elaborate on what they were saying or to proceed to the next question. For example, I asked one of the teachers to share any stories /events that happened in her classroom or the playground, that reflected the response of a learner based on the influence of the cultural background on the perception of a learner. The teacher shared a story of an event that she described as a sad incident.

The school had a week of festivities and on the one day, all the learners received pasta to eat. One of the black girls in the class was crying and would not eat her pasta at all. The teacher explained that after she asked the girl many times what was wrong, she eventually told the teacher that her mom had told her not to eat it because the white teachers might want to poison the black children. There was silence. I noticed the teachers' facial expression reflecting hurt and the trembling in her voice. The teacher started crying, but despite this, she wanted to continue with her story. I suggested that we take a moment, which was followed by a long silence. I then concluded the conversation by saying that the teacher did not need to continue with the story and that we could move on to the next question once she was ready.

In addition, I asked another teacher to describe whether there were any specific positive aspects that contributes to the values and norms of democracy. The teacher described that we learn to get to know about each other and that we discover new

things. The teacher continued to explain that people have different views about things but at the end of the day, it all comes down to the same norms and values that we have in common. We may do it different manner, but it is still something we all want to apply in our culture. Based on this explanation, I asked the teacher to elaborate on what she meant by 'we all have the same values and norms but maybe approach it differently'.

Consequently, I had to understand and remember my role and part during the interviews by reflecting regularly on my actions. Firstly, I could not be neutral or disconnected from the information I was collecting due to my own position as a coloured person socialised during the apartheid era, interviewing four white teachers. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the background, my own position colours this research but does not invalidate my findings. Furthermore, according to feminist theories, knowledge is embodied and situated within a specific context and it is almost impossible to avoid being subjective as a researcher (Haraway 1988:575-599).

This means I could not obtain knowledge from a neutral and distant point of view. To substantiate the effect of my race on the data collected, I had to maintain an awareness of the construction of many truths between the participants and myself (Mizock & Harkins 2012: 27). Following on the experience of Sherman (2002) as a white male researcher who interviewed black female participants, I was aware that interviewing white teachers could lead to participants changing their responses to avoid reinforcing hostility or aggressive stereotypes of their race.

As the researcher, I had to examine my own background and biases. As much as I tried to strive to be neutral and objective, I have my own biases, values, background, and experiences that affected the way I conducted the research. Bias affects the decisions I made throughout the research process, including the fact that a person of colour was asking the research questions, and the type of questions I asked. In addition, this could impact how I would interpret the findings. To ensure the trustworthiness of the data, I had to dig deep into the data to identify disparities around the concepts of democracy and socialisation of diverse learners in the perceptions of the participants based on their racial background (Andrews, Parekh & Peckoo 2019: 7).

To be able to address these disparities required more than just documenting my findings. I had to identify the underlying systemic and contextual causes of disparities. This focus is especially critical due to the historical distortion of the truths or underlying, potentially perpetuated racist systems and beliefs. Furthermore, it was important to ask questions to uncover root causes of disparities. Thus, I needed to dig deeper to uncover whether the data pointed to teachers not being equipped and trained efficiently for socialisation of diverse learners. This included how being socialised during apartheid might impact teachers' perceptions (Andrews et al. 2019:7).

Finally, I had to guard against the implied or explicit assumption that white is the normative, standard, or default position. I had to be aware of comparisons to white[20] outcomes in the teachers' perceptions of values and norms. Such comparisons reflect the assumption that white outcomes are the standard, and that learners of colour should aim to achieve that standard. These comparisons also apply positive values to cultural norms associated with whiteness and negatively measure people of colour by those norms. This would neglect the structural factors and root causes that may lead to disparities (Andrews et al. 2019:9).

An example from the data collected of comparisons of white middle class standards, is the perception that making eye contact when you speak to someone is considered a norm to which all populations should aspire – but in black cultures this is regarded as a token of disrespect. This assumption is particularly problematic because comparisons to white culture obscure the norms within black cultures. It comes down to criticising and neglecting the structural factors and root traditions that are part of the identity of the black learner (Andrews et al. 2019:9)

To ensure the above, I acknowledged that the participants' answers are rooted in their own experiences. As recommended by Denzin and Lincoln (1994:364), I avoided expressing my opinion to prompt or steer their answers into a specific direction according to what I saw as accurate or acceptable. Moreover, I avoided facial expressions, gestures or comments that would articulate my own personal view of their perceptions, thus minimising the risk of being bias.

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[20] Whiteness: the uniform category of 'white' in South Africa is a social construct Griffiths & Prozesky 2010:25). Described by Griffiths & Prozesky (2010:34) the social imaginary makes ordinary individuals see themselves as 'good people,' capable of unjust, discriminatory behaviour.

According to Magnusson and Marecek (2015:69), the relationship in an interpretative interview required that I avoid criticising the participant who reveal actions and opinions that are less than honourable or are distasteful to me. However, this does not stretch to expressing agreement with everything said. This distinction may be most easy to see if you envision interviewing a person whose political opinions are diametrically opposed to your own. However, it was necessary to avoid interjecting my own opinions into other situations as well.

Lastly, I concluded the investigation by writing a report on the perceptions of the teachers. This method allowed me to interpret my understanding of how the participants perceive socialising diverse learners into a democratic society instead of providing descriptions of concepts and elements of democracy, and transformation in the ex-Model C school. Therefore, it involved creating narratives to articulate the meanings behind it. This is important in any qualitative research to avoid clarifications that constrain findings of the investigation or leaving gaps of how it applies to the general field (Miles & Huberman 1994:295).

## 3.3 SITE SELECTION

Initially, four schools were randomly identified from a purposive selection of schools that are ex-Model C schools within the same area of the Northern suburbs of Cape Town. After sending an information letter to the four schools that explained the content, context and the timeframe of the research, only one school, namely Sunset Primary School[21] responded favourably to take part in the research. It had to be considered that the timeframe stipulated was during the third term and limited to three months. This limitation was based on the permission granted by the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) to have access for research to these schools.

The school that agreed to take part has a racially mixed intake and I need to clarify that this school does not represent all ex-Model C schools in this area. In relation to the influx of diverse learners from different cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds, most of their learners are immigrants who come from local townships and informal settlements. With respect to the financial status, firstly the school is classified as a Quintile 5[22] school (similar to the 'wealthier' schools in the same circuit); secondly, the

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[21] Fictional name
[22] Discussion of funding and quintile system discussed in 2.5.2.

school does not have any technologically advanced equipment in the classrooms, teachers' assistants or specialised staff such as counsellors. Furthermore, the conditions of the school grounds and buildings are evidence of financial difficulties due to the socioeconomic challenges faced by most of the parents. The school fees were far lower than the other ex-Model C schools in the same area.

Traditionally, ex-Model C schools are label as 'wealthy' schools with learners from wealthy households. This usually means that there are funds available to the school to provide learners with opportunities, resources and academic aids not provided by the department of education, which in this case is characteristic of the other ex-Model C schools in the same area as Sunset Primary School. In addition, the other schools could appoint additional staff to reduce class sizes and specialists to assist with learning disabilities, whereas class teachers at Sunset Primary School were required to fulfil a role that entailed more than just teaching. In terms of the diverse learner population at Sunset Primary School, most of the learners were immigrants taught in their second or third language, which differs from the surrounding schools where the home language of majority of the learners is English. This has an effect on an education for these learners that impacts equality and equity.

The school chosen as the site for the research is consider representative and a microcosm of a diverse school population; in fact, the learners are mainly black, but the staff are predominantly white. It presents culturally diverse and socioeconomic challenges, which differentiates this school's status[23] as an ex-Model C school from other ex-Model C schools within the same circuit. However, despite these challenges, the school has made certain adjustments in applying 'transformation' strategies. Therefore, I needed to discover how this school, especially with teachers who were socialised within an apartheid era and received tertiary training within the apartheid regime, deals with socialising diverse learners in a school that previously had a predominantly white culture ethos.

The site selection had an effect on the data as only one school took part in the research. Therefore, findings were limited to the perceptions of four white teachers' experiences within this environment. While the findings could reveal how the teachers experience transformation and could highlight issues around the subjective nature of

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[23] The school status is link to a quintile system is discussed detail in Chapter 2..5.2

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transformation in ex-Model C schools, they could be impacted by the socio-economic status of the school. For example, the socioeconomic status of the school is significant in this study as people in a low socioeconomic class are usually at the margins of society and excluded from democratic processes such as equal education opportunities.

Furthermore, in the case of Sunset Primary School, the teachers highlighted the lack of resources that are prominent at the 'wealthier' ex-Model C schools in the same area, thus having an impact on the learners' exposure to equipment for science projects or technology. One could then argue that the transformation of a society is judged by the extent to which such groups are fully included. Therefore, with the analysis of the data, I continuously engaged with the analytical framework (Chapter 2) to interpret the data so that it emphasised the teachers' understandings of democratic transformation of the ex-Model C school according to their experiences.

After, the WCED had given written permission for the Sunset Primary School to participate in the study (Appendix C), a request was sent to the school principal (Appendix D) to identify white teachers who had been teaching for more than 20 years. An information letter was sent to the teachers about content and context of the research (Appendix E). The information included the role of the ex-Model C school, how teachers viewed their role and how they understood of concepts such as democracy. The teachers were not identified and were given labels as identifiers, namely, Teachers A –D.

**Table 3.1: Participants' profiles**

| TEACHERS | TEACHING EXPERIENCE | RACE |
|---|---|---|
| TEACHER A | 25 years teaching<br>(7 years in Afrikaans school)<br>18 years in current school | White |
| TEACHER B | 33 years teaching<br>Previous school (Afrikaans school)<br>23 years in current school<br>Both schools ex-Model C schools | White |
| TEACHER C | 22 years in current school (English/Afrikaans) | White |
| TEACHER D | 24 years in current school<br>(English/Afrikaans) | White |

From Table 3.1, the participants of the school who agreed to take part in this study were four white teachers. Three teachers were English-speaking, and one teacher

was Afrikaans-speaking. I accordingly accounted for differences in their perspectives. The profiles of the participants, indicated in Table 3.1, show that all participants had teaching experience in the ex-Model C school for between 18 and 24 years. Furthermore, these participants met the requirements of purposeful sampling, which meant that they are reliable participants.

From Table 3.1, it is evident that all teachers received their schooling during the apartheid era. Teacher A, B, C and D were part of the apartheid schooling system in an all-white school. This embodies these teachers' own schooling and their training leading to the assumption of their being socialised into expectations of a citizen during apartheid based on white, middle-class norms and values. Teachers A, B, C and D experienced the transformation process within the school where they are currently teaching. This illustration supports the selection of an information-rich sample (Macmillan & Schumacher 1997:378).

Initially, working with only four participants from one school was a concern. However, as Morse (2000:4) claimed, the number of participants that take part does not influence the quality of data. In order to collect rich data, I decided to spend more time with each participant instead of extending the sample to more participants and designed an interview schedule that would encompass themes and issues that would be the same for each participant (Appendix G).

The decision to interview white teachers who had been teaching for more than twenty years was not intended to discriminate against teachers of different races; rather, this choice was based on the argument that white teachers socialised during apartheid society could maintain and enact dominant racialised ideologies (Picower 2009, cited in Carter, Lochte 2016:205; Solomon, Portelli, Daniel & Campbell 2005:147). Such ideologies could also be present in teachers from other groups; however, the interest of this study is the views and experiences of white teachers.

Using the category of white teachers was also to maintain the focus on their teaching experiences with learners from racial and cultural backgrounds different from their own, in addition to how they were prepared to teach before the new democracy. As a coloured teacher, who started her teaching experience working with white teachers for the first time in the early years of democracy, I constantly reflected on my own thinking

about the influence that interviewing only white teachers would have on the analysis of the data.

Sunset Primary School represents a subtle desegregation – as described by the participants. As a former white school, the learner population reflects all four 'racial categories' namely, white, black, Indian and coloured learners with predominantly black learners, who are not necessarily South African. The racial profile of the teaching staff was predominantly white with one Christian coloured teacher and one Muslim coloured teacher. One could potentially describe this as a 'diversity' of backgrounds of teachers and a large proportion of the learners at this school.

The medium of instruction was English with a few dual-medium classes. The first additional language was Afrikaans. The school's diversity extended to learners with learning disabilities such as dyslexia and illiteracy. In addition, most of the learners attending this school were from outside the feeder area – which was a previously white neighbourhood. This school drew learners form local townships and/or informal settlements from a radius of 5 to 40 kilometres outside the school area. This could be because of the phenomenon where white children tend to leave when the ratio of black learners reaches a certain threshold (Lord 1977:32)

Sunset Primary School is categorised as a Quintile 5 school. This school became a Quintile 5 school through an evaluation made by the WCED 15 years ago. To briefly explain what this evaluation entails, I refer to the discussion in Chapter 2.5.2 which highlights how the element of equity in basic education has been addressed in the new dispensation. School funding is related to the National Norms and Standards for School Funding. This strategy "ranked schools using a quintile system whereby each school was classified into one of five quintiles based on socioeconomic status of the surrounding communities" (Badat & Sayed 2014:137). The teachers informed me that most learners were from families where there was no stable income and that many parents were not able to pay the minimum school fees. This categorisation as a Quintile 5 school is a troublesome status as the school is measured according to the same financial criteria as other ex-Model C schools in the same area with a stronger financial structure.

## 3.4 PROCESSES OF DATA COLLECTION

I used an interpretive research design. This include procedures of semi-structured interviews with individual teachers as a qualitative data collection technique. The aim was to collect data that would provide enough detail to address the research question of this study (Boomberg & Violpe 2012:135).

The interviews were the main source of the data collection. The questions for the semi-structured interviews (Appendix G) were organised around topics discovered through the literature review (Smith, 1995 in McMillan & Schumacher, 2014:352) and I compiled an interview schedule based on the research problem '*what are the perceptions of white teachers, socialised in apartheid society, of the challenges and opportunities of democratic transformation in education?'* The interviews with the four teachers were conduct on the premises of Sunset Primary School and scheduled on a day and time that suited the interviewees. Because of the busy schedules of the teachers and my own work responsibilities, interviews were scheduled and confirmed one month prior to the interviews. The participants were informed about the approximate length of interviews prior to scheduling the interview, to ensure that the participant knew what to expect and to be able to plan accordingly.

I recorded each interview separately and the audio files were marked as *Teacher A, Teacher B, Teacher C* and *Teacher D.* I listened to the voice recordings after each interview and with guidance from my supervisor, I transcribed each interview verbatim in a MS word text document. This whole process was a very time-consuming process as each nuance, expression and silence had to be indicated (see Appendix H for an example). The voice recordings for each participant varied from between 45 minutes to one hour and fifteen minutes and the transcription of each took about three hours per interview.

Each participant had to answer a series of pre-selected questions. These questions required detailed elaborations and explanations of answers. During the semi-structured interviews, participants were given an opportunity to explain their understanding of the concepts, 'democracy' and 'diversity'. The teachers were asked how they perceived the concept of democracy as challenging to transformation in the classroom. They were also asked to explain their perceptions of what it means to socialise diverse learners into a democratic society and the differences they

experienced from having one dominant culture to having to work with diverse cultures. In addition, they shared how they had to change their thinking and the ways to manage challenges.

Each interviewee answered open-ended questions that left me with little control over their responses, which differed from one participant to the next. The responses and statements made by the participants provided the context of their teaching experiences. I asked the same questions in the same sequence in the same manner for each participant; however, at times these questions were expanded depending on the participants' responses and the situation at hand. For example, some of the interviewees made mention of certain aspects earlier on during the interview that would be part of a question still to follow. To avoid repeating the same questions, even though I was following a schedule, I referred to information they had mentioned before.

As part of the semi-structured interviews, teachers were asked to tell a story about a significant event that took place in the classroom between teacher and learner or learner and learner. The reason for applying this technique was to enable the researcher to reconstruct an event from the perspective of the participant as directly as possible (Jovchelovitch & Bauer 2007:2). This was in the format of a conversation as an observation of an interaction between the teacher and learner (Czarniawski 2004:9).

An example is the event described by Teacher C when a black learner refused to accept a meal provided by the teacher. The teacher described this event as a heart-breaking event that positioned the teacher as a threat to the learner based on a comment made at home. I listened while the teacher shared the story without any interruptions. When the teacher paused, I asked, 'what happened then?' at which point the teacher burst into tears and I stopped the recording (Jovchelovitch & Bauer 2007:4).

## 3.5 DATA STORAGE METHODS

To ensure the security of the data, copies of each interview and observation notes were saved in a Dropbox folder and in Google drive that was accessible to my supervisor. These folders were encrypted with a password known only to me. I used a file with divisions to file the following documentation:

- hard copies of each interview
- the signed forms giving informed consent
- notes made after interview
- additional information offered during the informal interviews by the interviewee
- notes of analysis of data.

The division folder is in safekeeping in a locked safe at home.

## 3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis involves categorising, synthesising and searching for patterns in the data collected (Patton 1990:202). The data was transcribed immediately after the interviews. I undertook to reading through each interview script a number of times to make sense of the data – searching across the data 'in order to find meaning' (Braun & Clarke 2006, cited in Liamputtong 2011:173). The length of each script was as follows: Teacher A: 11 pages, Teacher B: 17 pages, Teacher C: 15 pages and Teacher D: 9 pages. I moved back and forth during the collection and analysing process, grouping together repetitive data and responses and recording them as such.

The data collected was organised using themes in relation to the research questions. Similar responses were grouped together to discover their connections. The responses from the participants from the semi-structured interviews regarding their understanding of democracy, diversity and the challenges they face with regard to transformation were grouped in categories according to connections, differences and conflict (Wellington 2000:137). For example, I linked each category/topic to the research questions:

- What are the perceptions of white teachers, socialised in apartheid society, of the challenges and opportunities of democratic transformation in education?
- What are teachers' perceptions of democratic values in education?
- What are the challenges and opportunities these teachers experience in the transition to democracy?
- How has the ethos of the school changed to embrace diversity?

Finally, I checked all the categories/topics to make sure that they incorporated all the data collected. For example, I asked the participants to explain how they understood

the values and norms of democracy in the context of SA. Firstly, I read each participants' answers and checked whether everything they mentioned was included (Table 3.2 below provides an example). Secondly, I read the answers to questions that followed to see whether traces of other values emerged and whether they were included in the table.

**Table 3.2: Example**

| TOPIC: DEMOCRATIC VALUES | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Connections** | **Differences** | **Conflict** |
| Values such as respect, acceptance, integrity, accountability, honesty and empathy. | Uncertainty around grey areas as one cannot be judgemental anymore. | Values seen as rules that remains the same as in Apartheid |

After grouping the data according to the categories/topics, I typed all the responses to the interview questions according to the different topics (this information is provided in Chapter 4). , cited. I read the data word-for-word, sentence-by-sentence and statement by statement in line with the theoretical discussion of concepts in Chapter 2 (Mazzei 2014:743) to discover the deeper meanings and interpretations of the data. This approach gave me room to ask questions about the data collected instead of organising it according to what is the same and what is different in the participants' responses. This meant that I had to "read the data according to how it links with the theory based on the concepts" discussed in Chapter 2 (Jackson & Mazzei 2012). In addition, I asked questions related to the insights of the apartheid ideology, and how this had an impact on the way the teachers understood transformation based on their own socialisation and how they experienced their role in the socialisation of diverse learners (Mazzei 2014:745)..

I had to be aware of my own biases and pre-conceptions and how these could have an impact on what or how I understood the data. In order to create space for self-reflexivity, I had to continuously examine whether I was interpreting the data based on my opinions according to my own experiences with white people. Therefore, it was important to detach from my own feelings, political views, values and focus on the research itself (Wilkie 2015:1). It is an assumption that accurate data analysis would give in-depth insight of the perspectives of the teachers regarding democracy, diversity

and the transformation that is taking place in Sunset Primary. After the data analysis, I compiled a summary of the interviews to capture the findings.

## 3.7 RESEARCH CRITERIA

I served as the research instrument in this investigation as I examined the responses of the teachers. To keep my personal insights (whether conceptual or general) from affecting my understanding of the data, two measures were applied to resist such influences (Sherrard 1998:253). Prejudice was resisted by keeping an understanding of my position in relation to the interviewees' reality (Sherrard 1998:253). According to Sherrard (1998:254), understanding the space of the researcher-respondent is a positive feature of qualitative research, instead of a way to resist being biased.

To enhance trustworthiness, the model of Lincoln and Guba (1985, cited in De Vos, Strydom, Fouché & Delport 2011:345–347) was used to limit prejudice in the outcomes of this qualitative study. Guba and Lincoln (1985, cited in De Vos et al. 2011:345–347) recommended the following criteria to assess qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability, conformability and authenticity of the data. I attempted to apply these suggestions in my study. To start with, I defined these terms according to Guba and Lincoln (1985, cited in Treharne & Riggs 2015:58).

Firstly, 'credibility' refers to how the researcher manages to establish that the findings are true in terms of contexts and the topic under investigation. The participants need to feel that the findings represent their perceptions and experiences. I personally visited the school to collect the data. To ensure credibility, I arranged an informative interview session of at least 45 minutes; for some participants, we continued for about an hour. I made field notes of my observations during the voice recordings of the interviews (Liamputtong 2013:35). I continuously checked whether there was consistency with the responses of the interviews and my observations. My study is credible because of the nature of the findings that derived from original transcripts of interviews and observations with the participants.

Secondly, 'transferability' demonstrates the relevance of the findings to other settings. In terms of qualitative research, transferability can only be established when others make use of my findings (Carpenter & Suto 2008:149). I needed to provide a detailed description of the participants' responses, including my own interpretation. This will

make transferability easier. In the eyes of the reader, the findings will appear transferable when an individual evaluating the research can relate to the experiences (Treharne & Riggs 2015:58) Furthermore, I compared the results with those of similar studies discussed in Chapter 2.

Thirdly, 'dependability' refers to whether similar findings will occur should another researcher undertake this study. It relates to the similarities and differences of the context and is therefore not a matter of simple transfer. The study that I conducted could be repeated by another researcher in another setting. For this reason, I explained the research process I used in detail to provide an audit trail for others to follow. The literature review (Chapter 2) and the interviews that were conducted are also evidence that I have taken dependability into consideration.

Fourthly, 'confirmability' refers to whether the research findings matched the responses of the participants. It shows that the outcomes were linked to information acquired from the participants and did not derive from my imagination (Liamputtong 2013: 34). Furthermore, the findings presented the perceptions of the participants and not my biases, motivations, interests or perspectives.

Lastly, 'authenticity' refers to whether the findings represent a reasonable range of different viewpoints on the topic and whether there is consensus that the findings are useful. Furthermore, do the findings have meaning that could assist with taking action and further steps? Lincoln, Lynham and Guba (2011, cited in Treharne & Riggs 2015:58) suggested the use of member checking check the authenticity of the findings with the participants.

As part of the data analysis procedure, I ensured crystallisation was achieved (Cohen & Manion 1995, cited in McPherson & Nunes 2004:102) through the recorded interviews that were transcribed, taking notes of lateral statements and the non-verbal communication of the participants. I was able to understand what the participants were expressing instead of what I expected them to say. I listened to the recordings many times and checked my field notes continuously to compare the findings. In addition, I grouped specific meanings and patterns in the data into themes.

## 3.8 ETHICAL MEASURES

Ethical guidelines provide researchers with moral standards on how to conduct research in an ethical acceptable manner (Rwegoshora 2016:140). I first requested permission from the University of South Africa (UNISA) Ethical Clearance Committee (Appendix A) and the Western Cape Education Department (Appendix B) to conduct the research.

All participants (teachers) signed the written consent form before the research commended (Appendix F). The researcher received written consent by the principal to conduct the interviews at the primary school (Appendix D). The researcher was required to engage with the participants on a face-to-face level, characteristic of a qualitative study. In this way I faced individuals with their own personal values and shortcomings to collect data (McMillan & Schumacher 2014:324).

To serve as guidelines throughout the investigation the following ethical measures were apply: Interviewees were provided with the following information (Appendix E) before they agreed to take part in this investigation (McMillan & Schumacher 2006:334):

- objectives of the investigation;
- the process of the research;
- possible consequences of taking part in the investigation; and
- the credibility of the researcher.

The informed consent arrangements provided accurate details about the investigation that supported the teachers to make informed decisions about taking part voluntarily.

I treated all information shared with me verbally and through my observations with greatest confidentiality. During the information meeting with the participants, I informed them that they could withdraw should they wish to, and that participation was voluntary without any compensation. None of the four teachers who agreed to take part in this research withdrew. However, they did raise concerns around whether their honest responses would have a negative impact on the school. I reassured them of the confidentiality of the research and that I would record their names by using pseudonyms. Furthermore, the school itself was not identified by its real name.

Deception can be described as the opposite effect on one's understanding than honesty and confidentiality that restricts reservation and motivates genuine replies (Bailey 1996:10). The teachers were asked for permission to make an audio-recording of the interviews and they were advised that they could decline to answer any of the questions. They were assured that they could choose which particulars they were willing to share, and the privacy of the participants was handled with utmost care.

I followed the strategy proposed by Strydom (2005:63–64) that ensured that the investigation proceeded in a competent manner:

- I acknowledged the ethical responsibility that guaranteed my competence and required skills to take on this empirical investigation;
- I was cautious to the requirements of the interviewees; and
- In addition, I remained neutral and refrained from judging the participants based on their values and perspectives, especially when they differed from my own.

## 3.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, I discussed the research procedures applied, namely qualitative research. In addition, I discussed the data collection and analysis techniques. The structure of the study was set out to present the research data to address the aim of this study. The next chapter presents the findings of the study.

# CHAPTER 4

## RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

My view is that learners should receive systematic practice in democratic skills as early as primary school as the classroom is, to a large extent, a microcosm of a democratic society. I assumed that if the use of democratic skills is advantageous and workable at the primary school level, there should be little reason to doubt its advantages at higher educational levels. Various studies have investigated the challenges of transformation in ex-Model C schools in SA. However, few studies have focused on socialisation in terms of values of democracy in primary schools, especially in Cape Town, especially with the focus on the perceptions of teachers.The purpose of this study was to investigate the challenges faced by white teachers in an ex-Model C school in Cape Town and the initiatives implemented to improve transformation within this school.

The study is based on the following research questions:

**Main research question:**

What are the perceptions of white teachers, socialised in apartheid society, of the challenges and opportunities of democratic transformation in education?

**Research sub-questions:**

1. What are teachers' perceptions of democratic values?
2. What are the challenges and opportunities these teachers experience in the transition to democracy?
3. How do white teachers socialised within apartheid society understand their role in an ex-Model C school towards democratic transformation?
4. How did the ethos of the school been changed to embrace diversity?

In this chapter, I present and discuss the key findings to address the research questions based on the interviews with the four teachers. In this section, I have analysed, interpreted and synthesised the study findings under the following headings:

1. Democratic values.

2. Challenges and opportunities in transition to democracy.

3. The role of the teacher in socialisation of diverse learners towards democracy.

4. A school ethos that embrace diversity.

The analysis is linked to Chapter 2 to verify the findings and interpretation of the researcher. In this chapter, I present the data including an interpretation of the data in the light of the theories as clarified in the method section as an attempt to 'think with theory'.

## 4.2 DEMOCRATIC VALUES

According to Weale (2007:24), democracy is a complex phenomenon in terms of social justice in SA. Every person has their own philosophy, ideology, political, cultural, social and economic viewpoint that will have an impact on what it means to different people (Beetham 2013:2; Parker 2003:17; Weale 2007:24). To determine the perspectives of the teachers with regard to what they see as 'democracy', they had to explain how they understood the values and norms of democracy in the context of South Africa.

According to all four teachers, values such as acceptance, accountability and integrity are the main values for democratic citizens in South Africa. In addition, the teachers expressed the importance of respect and honesty. The teachers felt strongly that respect is an essential value in terms of democracy. They elaborated that self-respect would eventually lead to respect for others. They mentioned that respect is unfortunately not taught to children at home. For instance, many of the children come from homes with no structure and absent parents. When the learners arrive at school, they find themselves in an environment where there are specific expectations of what to do. In this case, for many children, it is the first time they are exposed to these expectations. Arguably, this perspective illustrates how the teachers view values through their lens of what the norm is for a white person.

This creates the sense that the teachers view the values of democracy as an asset. For example, Teacher D elaborated that democracy makes learners responsible and allows them to think about others in various backgrounds that they are expose too. This helps them to grow into good democratic citizens. It needs to be highlighted that to evaluate values of democracy as an asset within this context does not mean that white teachers fully grasp the new society of South Africa. To elaborate, democracy

demolished an ideology where the norms and values were based on a western framework. To make statements such as being responsible and thinking about others as part of being good democratic citizens are shallow. It is evident of what Di Angelo (2020:14) refers to as 'reciting from the same script'.

Another line of thought, in terms of the transition of values from apartheid to Democracy demonstrates how teachers view expectations as rules. Teacher A explained that basic rules as followed during apartheid remains the same.

> *'Myyyyy … Uhm, norms and standards are exactly as they were in a classroom full of white children. Because it doesn't matter what colour you are.'*

From this explanation, an indication of colour-blindness derives which is not conducive to equity goals. Raywid (1987:481, 482) stated that democracy provides a moral standard for personal conduct. However, it is worth highlighting that, in this case, it come across that the teachers are in agreement that the values (rules) they apply are still applicable and in line with democracy. This is evidence of Bourdieu's habitus that defines how a person's socialisation is an internalised influence throughout his/her life (DiAngelo 2020:10)

However, the key issue to consider is the foundation of the apartheid ideology based on firm Christian values, including the position of the teacher in relation to the child. Therefore, the expectations of the experience in the classroom should be in line with principles of democratic citizenship (Jansen 2001:242; Naicker 2000:8). Building on from this statement Teacher B's comment illustrated that she had to accept that values in a democracy are different; however, she felt that certain values in line with behaviour allow for grey areas, as one cannot be judgemental anymore.

> *"I mean … if you saw somebody spit before I would have had a fit, but now, I'm like 'ah, it really isn't nice, it's not necessary, uhm …, don't do it. I know everybody does it on the sports field, but you know …. Why did you spit? So, for me, I still will enforce it but just because I am me. Whether I am right or wrong, I actually don't know."*

The above illustrates the teachers' uncertainty about the depth of the values of democracy. Firstly, it is displayed in the mention of 'grey areas' and secondly, the teacher's refers to 'not being judgemental'. Referring back to democracy as a standard

of moral conduct, Roseboro (2010:192) explained that it explicitly involves living, speaking, thinking and acting on the values and norms in our daily lives. This leads to the value of human rights of an individual that includes responsibility. Therefore, it is evident the teachers' uncertainty is based on the misconception many have regarding the individual's rights and responsibilities.

This study found that the notions of values present from the teachers' perspectives are acceptance, accountability, integrity, respect, honesty and empathy. These perspectives emphasise their understanding of human rights that include self-respect and respect for others, which relates to recognition of the dignity of another person (Mncube & Mfora 2014:111; Puhl & De Klerk 2000:118), including the essentiality of accountability (Udogu 2014:43). These findings reflect that values such as accountability, integrity, honesty in a democracy correlate with basic expectations of a person as during apartheid. However, within the context of a new democratic society the value of human rights demolished the ideology of apartheid that violated the dignity, respect and acceptance of every South African in terms of race.

What is essential to democracy in terms of values and norms is the understanding that democracy values and understands the dignity of an individual (human rights). In the statement made by Teacher A, self-respect would eventually lead to respect for others (Weale 2007:191). The teachers explained that to have respect for each other reflects in showing empathy. On this point, teacher B referred to the value of human rights, by acknowledging the separateness and integrity of a person through the emphasis on empathy (Weale 2007:191). Teacher B explained that in a democracy, you do not have to like everybody, but you must care about a person. She explained it as follows:

> *"You've got to … understand how a person's feeling, you've got to understand that they might think differently to you."*

which is evidence of how she understood values and norms as a resource for democratic interaction.

## 4.3 CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

Weale (2007:8) stated that a society in transition towards democracy is not the same for all nations because of the differences in social order. Within the context of this

study, the ex-Model C school represents the apartheid era – a society of segregation, oppression and discrimination.

Christie (1993, cited in Weber 2008:26) highlighted that classroom practice during apartheid consisted of learner passivity, rote learning, and chalk-and-talk teacher presentations. Teacher D mentioned that in her class, the old drilling and chalk-and-talk methods are not used anymore. Teacher B mentioned that she had to change her teaching methods including homework expectations.

> "*I think we need to help the children more than we did before because they're getting very little support from home. Before I would teach the lesson, I would give the homework. I would check it the next day… it would be done. The parents would have helped'. So, the younger me in the older days would have been absolutely horrified with homework that wasn't not done. So, I won't be angry … but I'll say, unfortunately we have some thingie in place. I do understand it… it's not a severe punishment. I just try and teach them that there is consequences for your choices.*"

Sayed et al (2017:75)) argued the understanding of self as a teacher is challenging because of the expectation for a particular group of teachers trained in a specific tradition to shift completely. For some teachers this is difficult to do – almost impossible – as it threatens their identity, including their knowledge base. This makes it difficult for schools to change. In relation to this statement, Teacher B mentioned the following:

> "*I think there are people that have found it very difficult but … but I haven't. But within me, I have automatically gone from following a set of rules that were stricter to following rules that are less rigid.*"

In support of the above, it is important to note within the context of post-apartheid education that the difficulty could be ascribed to the curriculum handed down to teachers for implementation was very prescriptive, content-heavy, detailed and authoritarian, with little opportunity for teacher initiative (Jansen 2001:242).

Teacher C explained that before the change took place, the learners had the same belief systems and background as the teacher. There was no need to explain rules, values and expected behaviour, as they were instilled by the parents at home.

*"We need to adjust to each learner in order to maintain the class dynamics and before the transformation progress… process… the learners had the same belief systems and backgrounds as we did."*

As part of the transformation, the principles of non-racism, non-sexism and equality of access were initiated (Asmal & James, 2001:186). Teacher B mentioned that there is a lot of mixing of cultures that is happening without their realising it. The learners start picking up behaviours from each other:

*"In a white school and a white class, you would have [er] it would be easier because you do not have so much shouting cause generally, the black children and the coloured children are more free and easier and wild. So … they are louder. Uhm, but you know what, because of that, our white children, I reckon are just as loud."*

Donald et al. (2002:19) stated that one of the challenges to reconstruct the education system is to provide equal educational opportunities for all learners. Teacher A, C and D highlighted the learning barriers of some of the learners in her class: the biggest challenge is that for many learners, English is a second or third language. Therefore, this makes a huge difference in the Learning of Language and Teaching as learners are not educated in their mother tongue. The language barrier is a similar experience for all four teachers due to English not being their mother-tongue.

*"Our children are foreign language learners… uhm I think our language barriers are most important factor at the moment."*

In summarising the learning disabilities of the class, Teacher C and D explained that many learners were not stimulated before they started school. In these cases, there is a backlog in the child's ability to keep up with the pace of the class as well as the understanding and developing of new concepts in the grade. Therefore, the teacher is required to consolidate the skills that should have been developed before they started school. She is required to apply her own professional judgement, as parents cannot afford specialised services.

Furthermore, schools were ranked according to a quintile system to address the element of equity. Each school is classified according to the socioeconomic status of the surrounding schools (Badat & Sayed 2014:137). The teachers described the

changes in the school from being a Model C school to an ex-Model C, multicultural, Quintile 5 school. The teachers confirmed that with the transformation process the school's status changed to a Quintile 5 school. Teacher A and C mentioned that many changes they had to make at the school were not based on cultural reasons but out of consideration for financial issues. They explained that they had to look at how they could support the community. For example, they made changes to their school uniform, as many of their parents could not afford the personalised school uniform. Their uniform had changed and could be purchased at any store.

The teachers raised certain concerns to how the admission policy affected their school negatively such as large classroom sizes, no teacher assistants and no specialised staff. The teachers mentioned that this placed a heavy burden on them to organise fundraising events to be able to purchase resources and appoint additional staff members. This is because of parents who cannot pay school fees. The teachers expressed that their school no longer qualified as a Quintile 5 school and had not been re-evaluated after its first evaluation 15 years before.

> *"Our school financial status has worsened drastically… uhm… our children come from poor families."*

Steyn (2008:22) views educational transformation in South Africa as a removal of inequalities and a move towards equal education. The teachers mentioned the value of equality experienced as a challenge in this school. The teachers mentioned that unfortunately, in their school's circumstances, equality does not measure up to what it should be. For example, in a class situation due to the different socioeconomic stands of each learner, not all learners have access to the same resources at home to complete projects. Another standpoint raised by these teachers are the opportunities these learners are exposed to at the school but they miss out on them because of a lack of funds and resources. Thus, the value of equal opportunities was a major challenge in comparison to what should be possible and is required such as for example technology equipment in the classroom and outings to the museums.

> *"We need to provide an equal education… which you can't … and it's not the child's fault. We don't even have a science lab. So, they miss out on a lot of uhm… things like that. Where they would normally… when in the Model C school everything was there."* (Teacher B)

Despite the opening up of public schools, equity of opportunities and outcomes is now conditioned by social class and geography (Badat & Sayed 2014:134). The teachers explained that many of the learners come from difficult home backgrounds. The social status of learners in teachers' classes varied from one parent working, or no parents working. Teacher A described it as the "blue collar below average income" which makes a huge impact on the school's finances. She explained that about 90% of the learners were from lower income families and lived in informal settlements.

> *"Lots of these children have difficult lives. They go home to an empty house with no food. They're in charge of letting themselves in, letting themselves out. Sometimes they don't even see a parent till the next day. And you … you have to, you have to remember that."*

Teacher C and D mentioned that many of the learners should be in special schools – but the parents could not afford it and sent them to Sunset Primary School as it was a full-service school. In addition, she had autistic children and learners with speech impediments in her classroom – but parents could not afford occupational therapy. Teacher C and D mentioned that many of the learners were from poor families and a feeding scheme had been implemented at school.

In addition, Teacher D explained that because learners were immigrants, this sometimes caused issues with study permits. This meant that learners were often absent as they had to go to home affairs, as they could not attend school without an updated school permit. That had an impact on the support that the child needed.

From the above findings one could gather that the teachers were concerned about equality, quality and equity. This is shown in their repeated mention of the Quintile 5 status that ranked this school in the same bracket as wealthier schools in the same circuit, even though their learners could not afford to pay the same school fees. These teachers are struggling to provide an equal education in relation to other schools in the same area (see paragraph 8 of this section for an example).

## 4.4 THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER IN SOCIALISATION OF DIVERSE LEARNERS TOWARDS DEMOCRACY

With regard to the ex-Model C school, the diverse population brought into a dominant homogenous school, created a particularly important place to learn about democracy.

Through the process of socialisation, learners are prepared and equipped to become democratic citizens, a process that revolves around interpersonal relationships guided by the norms and values of democracy: human rights, inclusivity, equality and diversity (Berger, Roloff & Ewoldson 2010: 471; McClure 2010:191). In this section, the teachers shared their perspectives on teaching democracy to diverse learners and what they experience is required of them as a teacher.

Teacher C pointed out that each year brought about a different notion of diversity to her classroom. She mentioned child-rearing methods that were different as many of the parents were younger than when she was a child. This perception reflected that the teacher saw herself as the norm. Many learners live in single parent homes while extended family members look after the child when parents are at work for long hours. In addition, Teacher D mentioned that each year she learnt about a subtle difference in the learners' cultures, which indicates a sensitivity to and appreciation of differences.

> *"The various personalities that are influenced by the parents' culture and teaching is a huge eye opener for me."*

The study also found that teachers emphasised that they did not see their learners according to race, but as children. Based on this perspective of equality, all learners are treated equally regardless of race. For example, Teacher B saw the learners as either 'the lovely ones' or the 'naughty ones', the 'weak ones' or the 'strong ones' and she had to take some time to go through her class list to be able to identify her learners according to race and learning disabilities.

> *"I don't see black children and white children. I see children."*

Central to the above findings of the teachers' perspectives on diversity, is the process of socialisation of learners towards democracy. Steyn et al. (1999:18-20; 2000:118) stated that what is essential to socialisation of learners today is to develop skills such as negotiation skills, listening skills, respect for and sensitivity to others, communication skills, adaptability, openness, flexibility of thought, teamwork, critical thinking. One of the teachers explained that socialisation at its pinnacle would mean that learners listen, communicate and demonstrate tolerance without judgement.

Donald et al. (2002:21) mentioned that the teachers need to initiate, practise and cultivate conversations with the willingness to engage from the perspective of the 'other', then imitated by the learners. Teacher B mentioned how conversations in her classroom about initiation led to opportunities for learners from different cultures to learn through listening and hearing about different cultures. Furthermore, she pointed out that even the children within the dominant culture learned to think a bit further about their traditions (Nussbaum 2009:6). To her, the key point was that the learners from the different cultures needed to learn to 'not judge'. What was interesting for her to see was that the learners in her class were not so judgemental 'as we were in the past'. This is in line with Bhadat's (2009:4) statement that learners need to be equipped with the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a different person.

Hendrick (1992:52) mentioned that children need to learn to value themselves and the unique qualities of others – this emphasise the hallmark of a democratic citizen where everyone has equal rights respected by all. Teacher D confirmed this statement that socialisation in the context of South Africa should be based on mutual understanding and mutual respect, self-control and open-mindedness. Teacher C mentioned that this was done through allowing learners to ask questions:

> *"Eventually they find out that we all have certain needs and wants and just want to be accepted for we are and be respected."*

In relation to this, Teacher B stated that what worried her was that her learners did not expect enough of themselves.

> *"I spend a lot of time saying … I just want you to develop a sense of pride … I want you to be responsible, reliable, trustworthy."*

Being a citizen in a democratic country means they are empowered to decide about matters for themselves (Hendrick 1992:51) to make sensible decisions concerning their own lives and the lives of other people. All four teachers stated that the idea of the values they enforced at the school went hand in hand with the rights and responsibilities of the learners. The teachers mentioned that the learners did not always understand their responsibilities so they needed to harp on responsibility. Teacher A mentioned that learners must learn about 'right and wrong' – which goes hand in hand with their rights and responsibilities.

It is evident that the teachers see the allocation of rights conditional on fulfilling responsibilities. Teacher B mentioned, she explains to the learners that having rights does not mean the world owes them something. Therefore, she emphasised responsibility amongst her learners. Building on from this perspective, it could be assumed that the teacher sees rights as something that needs to be earned by being responsible first. This is contrary to the value of human rights as discussed in 2.2.4. An interesting strategy applied by Teacher D was to link the rights and responsibilities concepts with the process of voting for things. She explained that this approach enabled the learner to understand that there were consequences for their actions and decisions that could be positive or negative.

Washington (2008:4) stated that individuals should feel that they have ownership as their cultures and ideas are valued. In explaining elements of otherness, they find difficult to cope with, Teacher B described that even though it was very interesting to be part of a diverse classroom, there were issues or traditions that she struggled to understand. The example she mentioned was about the boys that go to the Eastern Cape for initiation.

> *"Why would you go and have somebody hack on your private parts where you would normally have your tooth taken out at Medi-Clinic? … and then they'd go: 'ja, Miss, it's our culture'. Then I'd say, 'It's difficult for me to understand'."*

The above statement raises the question whether teachers are aware or even understand the changes that have happened in their learner population, regarding values and norms of the diverse learners that have little or no exchange value in an educational environment that is dominated by middle class white knowledge and values (Lemon & Battersby-Lennard 2011:120). As Fataar (2010) stated, learners from other cultures outside the school's existing culture and identity must be able to identify what qualifies as appropriate cultural expectations and behaviour and conform to it.

As part of the transformation in education system, it is important to unpack the implications of the previous system on teachers in order to make a change (Naicker 2000:8) with reference to the society within which they have been socialise. The professional identity of the teacher comes into focus in this regard, as it is central to the teaching profession. An identity that constructs the framework for teachers of 'my role as the idealised teacher' in the school and classroom, ideas of 'how to be', 'how

to act' and 'how to speak' (Jansen 2001:242) is in line with certain principles of democratic citizenship.

Following the above, Teacher A described how the perception of her role had not changed, together with Teacher C who stated that her perception of her role as the authority had not changed. This reflects the role of the teacher during apartheid where the learner was seen as the minor and the adult in the authority position to mould the learner. Teacher B confirmed that she plays a bigger role; instead of just being teacher, she now had to be a parent as well.

> *"I have to keep on reminding myself that I'm not just a teacher now, I am now a mother as well."*

Vandeyar (2010:344) mentioned that there was tremendous stress on teachers and an impact on their identities, beliefs and value systems. Teacher A's' response to this statement was that she continued to see herself as a role model who lived out her values. She elaborated that as a role model, she transferred these values to her learners. She added that at the end of the day, she was an educator no matter what the school setup is and that each day she tried to do the best of her ability to accomplish that for which she was responsible. In the contrary, Teacher D mentioned that she had to adjust her way of thinking in terms of rules, values and norms.

> *"My strategies have changed. This is due to the learners needing a new manner in which they are approached on a … academic and emotional level."*

In addition to raising the academic standards of all learners, teachers face challenges with the economic, social and political conditions that affect the learners' world of learning and living (Le Roux 2016:1). Teacher C and D stated that, in the foundation phase, they are required to focus a lot on life skills, which "*wasn't something that we had to do previously.*". For example, how to use the bathroom, things like waiting your turn … how to ask questions and stand in line.

> *"A lot of it is not enforced at home or taught at home."*

## 4.5 A SCHOOL ETHOS THAT EMBRACES DIVERSITY

The establishment of Model C schools was an attempt to protect white schools against impending changes ending racially based privileges. With the desegregation of

schools, the ex-Model C school experienced an influx of diverse learners into a once dominant homogenous school. Beteille (2013:33) stated that institutions of democracy also vary from one nation to another due to the historical democracy of their origin.

Before, 1994, the ex-Model C school had to remain a majority white school population of 50%+1 and give preference to white children from their feeder areas (Christie & McKinney 2014:12). The study found that Sunset Primary School had a majority of black learners in the school. In line with this, the teachers mentioned that they had to adjust certain aspects of their school to accommodate the diversity of their learners. Teacher A explained that the positive aspects from a diverse classroom were that they learned from each other. It was an opportunity to discover new things. For example, different people had different views about certain things but in the end, it seemed that they all had the same norms and values in common. She stated that they might apply it in a different manner, but it was of importance for all our cultures. She elaborated on how the children did not see each other in terms of colour or race but that they took note of what they were dealing with and were supportive of each other.

Donald et al. (2002:21) stated that, in creating a new democratic society, stakeholders needed to identify the subtle values operating within the diverse moral orders of a society. These values need to be sensitive to the interests of all groups. Teacher A mentioned that they have adapted in many ways since she had been at this school. She could not recall any specific symbols that had changed. Teacher C mentioned they kept the school badge, the school's motto and the school flag. Only the South African flag had changed. With a learner population that represents quite a number of immigrants, this is questionable. The reason is that schools should have the ethos and culture that are represented through symbols that are visible to the learners. These symbols reflect the society – in this case a democratic society. Furthermore, for a foreign learner, an emphasis on the identity of being a South African citizen could create the sense of 'alienship', which is contrary to the ideal of democracy that strives towards a sense of 'belonging' for all.

One of the requirements of the ex-Model C schools was to uphold principles of the apartheid system known as 'CNE'. Teacher A and C then explained that the school still maintained a Christian ethos. This conflicts with the issue of diversity versus the homogenous school ethos of the ex-Model C school. It is an ethos dismissive of other

religions. According to teachers, on the application form, parents are informed that learners were not expected to attend assemblies if this was contrary to their beliefs.

These learners visited the library at that time, but 99% of the learners did attend assemblies, a statement that sounds very discriminatory since assembly sets the ethos and culture of the school. In the contrary, Teacher B expressed a strong view against this ethos. The teacher mentioned that an important aspect of the transformation process that still needed attention was the Christian based ethos of the school and their assemblies. She felt that the Christian religion was still dominant but should not be enforced.

> *"Democracy … democracy and treating people with equality, equal rights, but bla bla. But when it comes to religion, I think… The Christian religion is…. Uhm … is still taking preference. And I'm not saying it mustn't. I just say that you can't enforce it… a dominant… uhm in a democratic society.*

> *Uhm... inflexibility…. Uhm... ja… they will crucify me with that but anyway… but … I think… I think it's a huge problem... And I don't think only happening at…. I think religion is the thing we haven't moved on…"*

The above statement illustrates the different views amongst teachers regarding what the transformation in the school should entail. It is contrasting statements like these that gives the impression that some teachers are still holding on to values that they are familiar with not merely because of ignorance, but maybe because of the lack of knowledge and understanding of the value of diversity.

It was found that some of the teachers felt that even though they had a Christian ethos, the school valued inclusivity by allowing the Muslim boys to leave school earlier on Friday for mosque. In addition, the school had included wearing a headscarf in their uniform policy for the Muslim girls. In addition, the ex-Model C school had to continue to provide mother-tongue instruction for English and Afrikaans speakers. Teacher C and D mentioned that one of their challenges was the majority of learners who speak a foreign language. To accommodate the language barriers, language enrichment was an extra mural activity for these learners.

*"They arrive and just cannot speak English, but they need to be taught in English. So, we do an extra mural for them in the foundation phase. We have that as well. And that's something we never had before."*

The teachers mentioned the sport activities had to change. The rugby culture changed to soccer. They had introduced fitness and ball skills for the children who struggled and needed occupational therapy.

*"So, we've also changed our sports uhm … soccer is more of an interest to our boys at the moment than rugby ever was. Rugby is often seen as the wit Afrikaanse sport, but it is no longer attractive to our children. So, we changed that now. So, we've got a few changes."*

Teacher B mentioned that they had included more dancing activities especially ethnic dances. She elaborated that they had learned a lot especially about which cultural activities were not acceptable for the children and parents anymore. As Teacher A mentioned, their concerts used to be very conservative.

*"No one wants to come to a music evening with children playing piano, you know. We need to have a rap, we need to have some piano playing and a flute, but we need a guitar. So, there's got to …. it's relaxed a lot in a lot of ways."*

In relation to the moral order from apartheid, the teachers mentioned that the code of conduct had to be changed. Teacher A mentioned that the rules were still based on the code of conduct since she had started teaching at the school. She explained that they followed it quite strictly and expected the same behaviour. In the contrary, teacher B stated that she did not see any rules that were wrong to her; she mentioned the example of rules about hairstyles and homework policies. She felt that it was different then and would be wrong now, but she feels that the school has revolved and that the school has changed.

*"So, we are not … we are a lot more flexible… And it's not like anyone said: 'Ok great this is the end of Model C schools: we will now change these rules'."*

## 4.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter provided a discussion of the findings relating to the research question: *What are the perceptions of white teachers, socialised in apartheid society, of the challenges and opportunities of democratic transformation in education?*

The data collected from the interviews was presented in a narrative format. The data discussed teachers' perceptions and understanding of democracy and the process of transformation in the effective socialisation of diverse learners into a democracy. The account of the teachers' views provided insight into their perceptions of the changes and challenges. The themes addressed in the literature were reviewed in order to identify the issues involved. I detected a professional commitment to education and care for the learners, yet a limited awareness of the nature of a democracy where diversity is an important value.

The final chapter focuses on my conclusions and recommendations.

# CHAPTER 5

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this chapter is to provide conclusions and recommendations based on the findings of the research. Conclusions in the research based on the literature (Chapter 2) and the empirical research (Chapter 3 & 4). The chapter also provides recommendations on the enhancement of transformation in ex-Model C schools. The recommendations present suggestions provided by the four teachers who participated in the study as interpreted by the researcher. The themes emerging from the teachers' suggestions form the basis for developing these recommendations.

### 5.2 CONCLUSIONS

The teachers' perceptions of values could be questioned whether they see these values as inclusive. From the findings, there seems to be 'confusion' around what exactly it should entail; for example, as one of the teachers explained, she had to accept that values in a democracy are different, but there were certain grey areas for her as to what was right or wrong. Furthermore, teachers could not be judgemental anymore. As mentioned in 4.1, democracy explicitly involves moral conduct (Roseboro 2010:192) in terms of living, speaking, thinking and acting according to the norms and values. However, in addition to this moral conduct, the value of human rights involves a responsibility from each individual. This could mean being sensitive to what may be the norm for another person based on his or her culture and background. Building on from this point, the value of diversity becomes the challenge.

The evidence on this aspect is clear in the uncertainty of the teachers which revealed that white teachers (like everyone else) are located within a race, gender and class, or habitus (Bordieu 1990:52), and that their views are shaped by this location. Therefore, one can expect that white teachers would see the world from a white perspective of what is right and wrong and would, therefore, struggle with what is acceptable for all. Furthermore, teachers know on the one hand what is politically correct, may embrace democratic values, and are professionally committed to the well-being of the learners, yet on the other hand, they may work with a view of society

where not everyone is equal or where respect for all values or cultures is not equal and understood.

Having established the teachers' perspectives of the values of democracy, the following conclusions will draw on the teachers' thoughts on the challenges and opportunities they face in transition to a democracy. As explained in Chapter 2, education had to transform in line with democratic policies aimed at providing an equal education for all learners. Firstly, I would like to point out the teacher's descriptions of how their teaching methods had to adjust from the passive, rote learning and chalk-and-talk ways especially due to the little support the learners receive from home.

The key issue that stands out is that teachers showed awareness that they needed to learn a new way of operating in the world (Sayed et al. 2017:75). Another line of thought demonstrates that for some teachers this is difficult to do due to their training they received in a specific tradition. In addition to this the teachers express that before the transformation processes, the learners had the same belief systems and background as the teacher. There was no need to explain rules, values and expected behaviour, as they were instilled by the parents at home. This perspective illustrates how it is possible that many white teachers are faced with the influence of the old paradigm (Naicker 2000:8) that prepared them to teach learners from their own race

To illustrate how the above may be a challenge for the teachers, is with the mixing of cultures the learners start picking up from each other behaviours. The perception is that in a white school and only white learners there would be not a lot of shouting. In comparison with black and coloured children, who are "more free, easier, wild and louder". With the result that the white learners have adapted to the same kind of behaviour *(becoming louder).* It is my understanding that the change in the behaviour of white learners are seen as unacceptable behaviour – an interesting reflection of what the expectations were of white learners, more so, what the teachers view as 'normal'. An interesting reflection on the past and present teaching in a diverse classroom.

The above paragraph displays a contrast to the teachers' description of how they do not see 'colour'. However, this is in conflict with the teachers' description of how the different races interact – a confirmation that racial awareness is evident amongst the teachers. This trace of colour blindness is a subtle denial that stems from the distorted

belief that they might be seen as racist should they acknowledge that they do see their learners as black, white or coloured.

This perspective around race identifies an interesting viewpoint on how the teachers view equality versus diversity. Firstly, the study found that teachers emphasised they saw their learners as children. Based on this perspective of equality, all learners are treated equally regardless of race. For example, one of the teachers saw the learners as either 'the lovely ones' or the 'naughty ones', the 'weak ones' and the 'strong ones'. This portrays the misconception that democracy demolished all distinctions. This is arguably within the context of South Africa where our distinctions stretch way beyond being the 'lovely ones' and the 'naughty ones'. I would like to extend this 'misconception' as a way of 'playing it safe' to avoid coming across as discriminative.

In addition to the reference of 'race' is the emotional story that Teacher C shared. Talking about race is a very sensitive topic for white people as explained by DiAngelo (2020:7). While Teacher C shared her story of how a black learner did not want to eat food the school provided as part of a cultural week initiative, I sensed the teacher's unbelief that she was seen as a threat to a black learner. This was one example of white fragility that Teacher C displayed as she had to relive that experience and actually verbalise what happened.

To continue on this point around diversity, it is evident that the teachers have a limited understanding of diversity. Descriptions mentioned by the teachers are focused more on socioeconomic factors and learning abilities. Examples from the study are

- language barriers as most of the learners are immigrants and for many of them, English is their second or third language.
- family home structures such as single parent homes including different child-rearing methods.
- autistic children and learners with speech impediments.
- 90% of the learners are from lower income families and live in informal settlements.

A further discussion of the impact of these factors on the school will follow later.

In spite of the limited description of diversity, opportunities are created for conversations in the classroom, for example, about initiation. This is an opportunity for

learners from different cultures to learn through listening and hearing about different cultures. This is but one example of what I believe creates a learning space not only for learners from different cultures to learn about traditions in another culture, but also for learners from the culture to be able to reflect on their own traditions and embrace their own identity (Nussbaum 2009:6). Opportunities such as these are key points in getting to understand what the world is like for another learner.

While the above conversation is an example of a conversation in a learning space that should have a positive outcome for the learners, Teacher B explained that the initiation traditions are elements of otherness that she found difficult to cope with. This is a concern as individuals should have a sense of ownership and feel that that their cultures and ideas are valued. Therefore, it is questioned whether the teachers understand the norms and values of the different cultures in their classes. However, it does seem that the teachers showed appreciation for and acknowledged different cultures. Inevitably, without knowledge and understanding of the norms and values of different cultures of the current learner population at the school, transformation from a dominant white culture remains stuck within the integration phase.

It is evident that the teachers define socialisation into a democracy within the context of skills that the learners need to develop, for example, to listen, communicate and react without judgement. This requires mutual understanding and mutual respect, self-control and open-mindedness. In addition, the teachers emphasised how responsibilities link with rights. Furthermore, it is clear that the teachers have a professional commitment towards their learners and care about them, irrespective of race. At times, some of the teachers came across as being stuck in modes of thinking about socialisation informed by their dominant culture. There were indications that rules and expectations of learners were still the same they were during the apartheid era.

Overall, the study established it seem that there are real issues in the school preparing learners for living in a democracy. Teachers seem to draw on traditional values and it is evident that cultural diversity is a grey area for the teachers. However, equality was found to be a major challenge for the school. As revealed by the findings, the status of the school as a Quintile 5 school did not align with conditions conducive to allow learners equal opportunities for learning. Parents cannot speak English; there are

overcrowded classrooms; learners who need special assistance; no funding to appoint extra staff; and parents cannot afford specialists.

On the other hand, the study established that there were different views regarding the Christian ethos of the school. One example was that parents indicate on the schools' application form whether their child may attend assemblies at which the Christian faith would be evident, e.g., reading the Bible. This is regarded as discriminative and comes down to excluding certain learners from an important school activity due to their religion. This is a typical example of holding on to the apartheid ideology. Furthermore, it is my opinion that excluding certain learners on this basis, places them in a bracket of whether they belong at the school or not.

My personal impression is that the participants are struggling to implement and apply the subtle and finer details of what transition to a diverse democratic society entails. To state this as true cannot be a simple yes or no as it is evident in the underlying tone of the narrative/rhetoric used of democracy – by being professional and politically correct in their responses. Furthermore, at times teachers would refer to the 'old' days that underlined their limited awareness of a democracy where diversity is an important value. The following section presents recommendations made regarding the results of the research study.

## 5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

It is the view of this study that in order to create an educational environment based on the principles of democracy, teachers must be educated on the depth of the values through workshops and seminars based on racial literacy. Teachers need to be equipped with interactive skills and background knowledge that is in line with what diverse learners at primary school level can identify with. The structural initiatives taken by the school, for example the uniform and changes in sporting activities could not address the depth of diversity portrayed by each individual.

Building on the idea of racial literacy, the study illustrated the challenges of white teachers who received their teacher training during the apartheid era. However, it is my opinion that 'white' is a cultural group that continues to pass on belief systems and values to the next generation. Therefore, another key issue that needs to be considered is whether our current tertiary institutions are preparing students for the

reality of teaching diverse learners? My recommendation with regard to this issue is that tertiary institutions should include modules on racial literacy that would involve the development of course material on personal race identity and diverse racial identities. Furthermore, such a module should be included in the curriculum from the first year until the final year. Some may disagree in saying that dealing with this issue only at tertiary level is too late; however, it is clear from the protests mentioned in Chapter 1 that there is still a loophole somewhere.

To add to the previous paragraph, it is crucial that the Department of Basic Education – as the foundational source of what is expected to happen in ex-Model C schools with regarding to transformation – re-assess their policies in relation to the SASA. It is my personal opinion that many of these policies are very open-ended and allow white supremacy to continue. For example, to elaborate on this argument, are the policies and procedures for new staff appointments rigid enough? By this, I do not refer to a strict criterion that would exclude teachers based on race and religion; instead, a process that would minimise the power of school governing bodies and management teams to have sovereign power in deciding on who they want to appoint. This is crucial as this is one area where ex-Model C schools are still thriving in upholding a 'white' majority teaching staff.

In addition: are the values, content of the curriculum and requirements for teaching methods in line with what represents the diversity of South African learners? It is 'easy' to compile piles of documents and policies with prescriptive instructions of which values to implement, and the like. However, my concern is whether these documents were developed from a western or African lens. Also, does it contain relevant information of knowledge that incorporates for instance the values within the diverse learner population? Therefore, based on this concern, it is an obvious assumption that this is one of the reasons why ex-Model C schools are still very 'comfortable' with their 'white' systems.  For this reason, I reiterate my recommendation to the Department of Basic Education as mentioned in the previous paragraph.

Secondly, socialisation towards a democracy is more than a process but an opportunity for young learners to discover their own identity within the principles of democracy. To value and embrace this identity becomes challenging when a black learner learns to imitate ways, values and norms mirrored by a white teacher,

especially when there is a lack of racial understanding. To break the fragmented identities from apartheid that black people were equipped for only certain types of work, it is a concern that with a predominantly white staff, black learners may not want to become a teacher as they do not see any black teachers at the school. Consequently, the assumption could be made that teachers can only be white. Therefore, it is crucial to review the criteria of appointing of staff members according to the majority of the learner population, language diversity and religious backgrounds.

Thirdly, while it is evident that the staff are trying their utmost to provide an inclusive education to the learners, a review of the quintile ranking by the Department of Basic Education is a matter of urgency. It seems to be that a misconception still exists that all ex-Model C schools are financially on par. This is a misconception seen through the lenses of the area the school is situated in – basically a judgement made by what is seen from the outside and its history. The teachers explained that their needs are greater than surrounding ex-Model C schools and that without this review, their school will continue to be a school that falls short in providing an equal education to all learners due to financial constraints. Although this finding highlights a challenge the teachers experience, it is evident that ex-Model C schools were privileged during the apartheid era. The teachers had excess to resources, additional support staff and were well looked after by the apartheid government.

My final recommendation to the governors of the school is to create a transformation panel that includes parents who represent the diversity of the learner population. This may be a huge task to put into action, as many of the parents are either working long hours, live far away from the school and may not have transport to attend evening meetings. The School Governing Body could therefore do an analysis of the parent population and approach them to volunteer to serve on this panel. I envision a panel for Sunset Primary School that represents language, religion, nationalities, race and cultures.

This panel should serve the school in guiding and educating the staff about the values and norms of the different cultures that they represent. The panel could also serve in other ways, such as language. Instead of the learner having to translate to their parents what the teachers are saying at parent meetings, parents could volunteer to be translators. Furthermore, such a panel could provide a platform for teachers and

parents to build a relationship of trust that has the interests of the learners at heart. This process would be an informed process by the whole school community, transforming a school with values and norms that reflects an ethos where all belong.

## 5.4 LIMITATIONS

This study was limited to only one school and four teachers from one population group. In-depth interviews were conducted at one ex-Model C school. The focus of this study was only on the values of democracy for socialisation/ initiation towards democracy. The interpretation of the data was limited to my personal understanding and experience, and perspectives of four white teachers. It was not intended to generalise but to serve as an impetus for further research. There are no guarantees the responses from the participants were unbiased and truly reflected their attitudes concerning the issues under research.

## 5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The current study is a contribution towards how teachers and learners from different racial, language and cultural groups engage with each other. However, this is a challenging aspect that requires more investigation with a specific focus on the shift of white teachers' attitudes and actions if education in South Africa is to achieve its desired outcomes. Further study is needed to develop a transformational system that is relevant to the South African context. This should entail values based on both western and African philosophies to lay the foundation for socialisation of diverse learners – not only in ex-Model C schools, but all South African schools. To achieve this endeavour, I wish to pursue further research in developing such a system that would involve investigation and analysis of the elements of democracy in terms of an African versus western perspective. Furthermore, analysing the policies of the Department of Basic Education and the South African Schools Act in line with the proposed perspectives would be insightful.

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**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A: UNISA RESEARCH CLEARANCE LETTER**

UNISA | university of south africa

## UNISA COLLEGE OF EDUCATION ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

Date: 2018/05/16

Ref: 2018/05/16/32802927/34/MC
Name: Ms JJ Losch
Student: 32802927

Dear Ms Losch

**Decision:** Ethics Approval from 2018/05/16 to 2021/05/16

**Researcher(s):** Name: Ms JJ Losch
E-mail address: 32802927@mylife.unisa.az.ca
Telephone: +27 72 354 3089

**Supervisor(s):** Name: Prof D Postma
E-mail address: postmdj@unisa.ac.za
Telephone: +27 12 429 4065

**Title of research:**

**The role of ex-Model C schools in Cape Town in the socialisation of diverse learners into a democratic South Africa.**

**Qualification:** MEd in Socio Education

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the UNISA College of Education Ethics Review Committee for the above mentioned research. Ethics approval is granted for the period 2018/05/16 to 2021/05/16.

The **low risk** application was reviewed by the Ethics Review Committee on 2018/05/16 in compliance with the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics and the Standard Operating Procedure on Research Ethics Risk Assessment.

The proposed research may now commence with the provisions that:

1. The researcher(s) will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.
2. Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study should be communicated in writing to the

3. The researcher(s) will conduct the study according to the methods and procedures set out in the approved application.

4. Any changes that can affect the study-related risks for the research participants, particularly in terms of assurances made with regards to the protection of participants' privacy and the confidentiality of the data, should be reported to the Committee in writing.

5. The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study. Adherence to the following South African legislation is important, if applicable: Protection of Personal Information Act, no 4 of 2013; Children's act no 38 of 2005 and the National Health Act, no 61 of 2003.

6. Only de-identified research data may be used for secondary research purposes in future on condition that the research objectives are similar to those of the original research. Secondary use of identifiable human research data requires additional ethics clearance.

7. No field work activities may continue after the expiry date **2021/05/16**. Submission of a completed research ethics progress report will constitute an application for renewal of Ethics Research Committee approval.

*Note:*

*The reference number* **2018/05/16/32802927/34/MC** *should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication with the intended research participants, as well as with the Committee.*

Kind regards,

**Dr M Claassens**
**CHAIRPERSON: CEDU RERC**
mcdtc@netactive.co.za

**Prof V McKay**
**EXECUTIVE DEAN**
Mckayvi@unisa.ac.za

**APPENDIX B: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE WESTERN CAPE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT**

April 2018

Dr Audrey Wyngaardt

Directorate: Research

Audrey.wyngaard2@pgwc.gov.za

Tel: 021 467 9272

 Fax: 0865902282

Private Bag x9114, Cape Town, 8000

wced.wcape.gov.za

**Dear Dr Audrey, Wyngaardt**

I, Juanita Losch am doing research under supervision of Prof Dirk Postma, a senior lecturer in the Department of Educational Foundations towards a MEd at the University of South Africa. We are inviting you to participate in a study entitled **THE CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY WHITE TEACHERS IN THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY** Participating in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. If the WCED do grant permission and the schools do decide to take part, further information will be provided, and a consent form will be required to be signed. However, participants are free to withdraw at any time, without any reason and with no penalties.

The aim of the study is to analyse the role of the school as socialisation agent in contemporary society and to determine:

- The purpose, nature and role of the school as the socialisation agent in contemporary society.

- How the teacher and learner interactions' in the classroom impact on the socialisation process.

- How the school can enhance its role as socialisation agent in contemporary society.

Your department has been selected because the researcher resides in the Western Cape. The schools that has been identified are located in the Northern suburbs of Cape Town which are: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx and xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx. The study will entail interviews with four teachers and two principals at these respective schools after they gave their verbal and written consent.The questions will encompass their experiences around how the school accepts the diverse cultures and backgrounds of learners within the culture of the school.
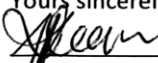
The participants will be guaranteed that their personal information will remain confidential and anonymous by using pseudonyms for the school's name and the individual teachers.

The benefits of this study are:

- This research could shed light on the role of the school in equipping learners today with the necessary skills to make decisions about their position and role in a diverse society.

- This research may assist the Department of education to increase the active involvement of learners in the promotion of social cohesion and the recognition of differences.

There are no potential risks. There will be no reimbursement or any incentives for participation in the research. A Feedback session will be arranged with the principal at the end of the research process to show appreciation for their participation. An electronic summary of the findings will be made available to the schools after the successful completion of the degree.

Yours sincerely

Juanita Losch

Med student (UNISA)

# APPENDIX C: PERMISSION LETTER FROM WESTERN CAPE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

**Western Cape Government**
Education

Directorate: Research

Audrey.wyngaard@westerncape.gov.za
tel: +27 021 467 9272
Fax: 0865902282
Private Bag x9114, Cape Town, 8000
wced.wcape.gov.za

**REFERENCE:** 20180403-912
**ENQUIRIES:** Dr A T Wyngaard

Ms Juanita Losch
66 Fortuna Road
Sanddrift
Milnerton
7441

Dear Ms Juanita Losch

**RESEARCH PROPOSAL: THE CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY WHITE TEACHERS RELATING TO THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY**

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:
1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
5. The Study is to be conducted from **20 April 2018 till 28 September 2018**
6. No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
7. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number?
8. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
9. Your research will be limited to the list of schools as forwarded to the Western Cape Education Department.
10. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
11. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:
    **The Director: Research Services**
    **Western Cape Education Department**
    **Private Bag X9114**
    **CAPE TOWN**
    **8000**

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.
Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard
**Directorate: Research**
**DATE: 14 June 2018**

Lower Parliament Street, Cape Town, 8001
tel: +27 21 467 9272   fax: 0865902282
Safe Schools: 0800 45 46 47

Private Bag X9114, Cape Town, 8000
Employment and salary enquiries: 0861 92 33 22
www.westerncape.gov.za

**APPENDIX D: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT SUNSET PRIMARY SCHOOL**

**THE CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY WHITE TEACHERS IN THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY**

April 2018

The Principal

Cape Town

8000

**Dear Principal**

I, Juanita Losch, am doing research under supervision of Prof Dirk Postma, a senior lecturer in the Department of Educational Foundation towards a MEd at the University of South Africa. We are inviting you to participate in a study entitled **THE CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY WHITE TEACHERS IN THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY**. Participating in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, further information will be provided and a consent form will be required to be signed. However, participants are free to withdraw at any time, without any reason and with no penalties.

The aim of the study is to analyse the role of the school as socialisation agent in contemporary society and to determine:

- the purpose, nature and role of the school as the socialisation agent in contemporary society.

- how the teacher and learner interactions' in the classroom impact on the socialisation process.

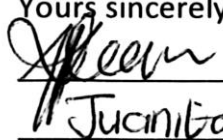- how the school can enhance its role as socialisation agent in contemporary society.

Your school has been selected because as the researcher resides in the same area of your school. The study will entail interviews with four teachers and two principals at your school after they gave their verbal and written consent. The questions will relate to their experiences of issues related to the successful socialisation of learners in a diverse school environment.

The participants will be guaranteed that their personal information will remain confidential and anonymous by using pseudonyms for the school's name and the individual teachers.

 The benefits of this study are:

- This research could shed light on the role of the school in equipping learners today with the necessary skills to make decisions about their position and role in a diverse society.

- This research may assist the Department of education to increase the active involvement of learners in the promotion of social cohesion and the recognition of differences.

- There are no potential risks. There will be no reimbursement or any incentives for participation in the research.

A feedback session will be arranged with the principal at the end of the research process to show appreciation for their participation. An electronic summary of the findings will be made available to the schools after the successful completion of the degree.

Yours sincerely

Juanita Losch

Med student (UNISA)

**APPENDIX E: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET**

April 2018

**TITLE: THE CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY WHITE TEACHERS IN THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY**

DEAR PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANT

My name is Juanita Judith Losch and I am doing research under the supervision of Prof Dirk Postma, a senior lecture in the Department of Educational Foundation towards a M.Ed. at the University of South Africa. We are inviting you to participate in a study entitled **THE CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY WHITE TEACHERS IN THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY**

This study is expected to collect important information that could assist in exploring approaches to address the role of the school in contemporary society and its impact on the social development of learners. You are invited because I obtained your contact details from your principal as one of the possible teachers out of four other teachers from your school.

The study involves audio-recording and semi-structure interview session of 45 minutes. The type of questions that will be asked are based on your experiences around your interaction with learners in the classroom on a daily basis. The questions will encompass around how the diverse cultures and backgrounds of learners within the culture of the school have an impact on these interactions.

Participating in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. There are no risks and no negative consequences for you in taking part in this research project.

Participation in this study will give you an opportunity to share your experiences of an aspect that puts a great deal of pressure on the teaching and learning practice. A long-term advantage of this study is that your experience may assist in exploring approaches to address the role of the school in equipping learners today with the necessary skills to make decisions about their position and role in a diverse society.

This research may assist the Department of education to increase the active involvement of learners in the promotion of social cohesion and the recognition of differences.

You have the right to insist that your name will not be recorded anywhere and that no one, apart from the researcher and identified members of the research team, will know about your involvement in this research AND your name will not be recorded anywhere and no one will be able to connect you to the answers you give. Your answers will be given a code number, or a pseudonym and you will be referred to in this way in the data, any publications, or other research reporting methods such as conference proceedings.

Your answers may be reviewed by people responsible for making sure that research is done properly, including the transcriber, external coder, and members of the Research Ethics Review Committee. Otherwise, records that identify you will be available only to people working on the study, unless you give permission for other people to see the records.

Results will be published or presented in such a fashion that you and your school remain unidentifiable. Hard copies of your answers will be stored by the researcher for a period of five years in a locked cupboard/filing cabinet [at UNISA, Pretoria] for future research or academic purposes; electronic information will be stored on a password protected computer. Future use of the stored data will be subject to further Research Ethics Review and approval if applicable. Indicate how information will be destroyed if necessary (e.g. hard copies will be shredded and/or electronic copies will be permanently deleted from the hard drive of the computer through the use of a relevant software programme).

This study has received written approval from the Research Ethics Review Committee of UNISA. A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from the researcher if you so wish.
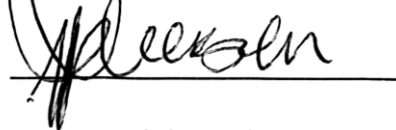
The findings of this study will be shared during a feedback session at your school. This will be arranged with the principal at the end of the research process to show appreciation for your participation. An electronic summary of the findings will be made available to the school after the successful completion of the degree.

Should you require any further information or want to contact the researcher about any aspect of this study, please contact Juanita Losch at 072 354 3089 or email 32802927@my.life.unisa.az.ca.

Should you have concerns about the way in which the research has been conducted, you may contact Prof Dirk Postma at 012-4294065 or postmdj@unisa.ac.za.

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study.

Thank you.

Juanita Judith Losch

## APPENDIX F: CONSENT/ASSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY (RETURN SLIP)

I, _____ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet.

I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty (if applicable).

I am aware that the findings of this study will be processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings, but that my participation will be kept confidential unless otherwise specified.

I agree to the recording of the interviews.

I have received a signed copy of the informed consent agreement.

Participant Name & Surname (please print) _____

Participant Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's Name & Surname (please print) _____

Researcher's signature _____ Date _____

**APPENDIX G: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

**A. TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES OF DEMOCRACY**

1. What are the values of democracy that you feel are challenging to the current education system and why?

**B. TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES OF SOCIALISATION INTO A DEMOCRACY**

2. What would say are the positive aspects you experience from a classroom with diversity?

3. To socialise means to provide children with skills and knowledge of how to interact with other people different to them with equal rights in a social context. The bigger picture focus on one day when they are adults and need to be the grown-ups, but we want to start developing these skills within them while they are young.

   a) Based on this explanation what do you think socialisation is all about in a democratic South Africa?

   b) How does your answer compare to if we still had one dominant culture? What would be different and what would the same?

4. What are your personal norms, values and beliefs around social interaction in a diverse classroom?

5. Please provide a brief background of how many years teaching, grade currently teachings, experience of teaching in ex-Model C school?

6. Describe the learner profiles of your classroom based on race, cultures, social status, learning abilities, religions, etc. (For example: white, Muslim, boy who emigrated, now staying with grandmother, only income in house is grandma's pension, academically behind with traces of dyslexia; 20 % of class are Nigerian and can't speak English ……….).

   a) Does this have an impact on the rules and values you apply in class and in school? Why? How?

b) How do the different cultures and backgrounds of diverse learners in your class challenge your perception?

## C. TRANSFORMATION

7. What are the factors that hamper effective transformation process in the classroom and/or your school based on expectation that you are aware?

   (Please elaborate on misconceptions the outside world might link to the school status as 'MODEL C').

8. What are the unique symbols in your school that had to change/adjust to enhance the transformation process? (South African flag FOR EXAMPLE).

   Please describe symbols that marked traditions, ethos of dominant white culture. How did you as a school decide on how to make adjustments? How does these changes affect routines or activities in your classroom?

9. How does your perception as your role as a teacher influenced by your experiences of the norms and values of the ex-Model C structure?

10. What is your personal perception of the role of the teacher responsible for teaching and learning?

11. Do you find that you had to change your way of thinking about which rules and values to enforce since the transformation process and the strategies applied? Could you describe how it changed and why?

## APPENDIX H: EXAMPLE OF TRANSCRIPTION

**JL:** Are there any stories that you can think of that you can share of things that happened, events that happened, that took place in your classroom or maybe the playground where you were present about perceptions that came out of how a teacher or the learner would respond to you or how they would responded to each other based on uhm a cultural background you know that came through, through their differences and …

**Teacher C:** I must say sometimes we have interesting things that happen but this year I haven't had many. I've had three things that happened uhm one at the beginning of the year, it was quite a sad incident where we were having a week of festivities and on the one day the children for what, they paid for the week, they received pasta, a free civvies and a show. The one African girl in my class was crying that day and she wouldn't eat her pasta at all. So, I asked her, after I asked her many times what was wrong, she eventually told me her mom had told her not to eat it because the white teachers might want to poison the black children.

[Silence]

**Teacher C:** [crying] Now this little girl she was so… indistinctive speaking because of the crying… about the statement.

**JL:** Okay, do you want to take a moment?

**Teacher C:** Sorry.

[A long silence]

**JL:** You don't have to share that story. We can move on; I don't want you to share anything that is... yeah, we can skip this story.

**Teacher C**: okay.

**JL:** okay.

**Teacher C**: it's fine. It was fun she just… I called the parent in because I just want to ask her about it and she said to me " no no, the child misunderstood her." It was about listeriosis and viennas and she thought they were viennas … in the pasta.

**JL and Teacher C**: Laughing

**Teacher C:** but where did the black and white come into the story?

**JL: yeah**

**Teacher C**: That's what upset me… she must've said that. [Crying] But it was something, it was really really hard for me to understand…

**JL:** to understand… yeah yeah.

**Teacher C**: [crying] …. The little girl trusts me you know?

**JL:** Yeah yeah

**Teacher C**: So that was all, it wasn't … it just was, yeah.

**JL:** [subtle and empathising] okay yeah.

**Teacher C**: no no, it's fine.

**JL:** [softly] okay. We can skip that.

## APPENDIX I: DECLARATION OF PROFESSIONAL EDITING

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8 November 2020

<u>Declaration of professional edit</u>

THE CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY WHITE TEACHERS  RELATING TO THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY
by
**JUANITA JUDITH LOSCH**

I declare that I have edited and proofread this thesis. My involvement was restricted to language usage and spelling, completeness and consistency, referencing style and formatting of headings, captions and Tables of Contents. I did no structural re-writing of the content.

I am qualified to have done such editing, being in possession of a Bachelor's degree with a major in English, having taught English to matriculation, and having a Certificate in Copy Editing from the University of Cape Town. I have edited more than 200 Masters and Doctoral theses, as well as articles, books and reports.

As the copy editor, I am not responsible for detecting, or removing, passages in the document that closely resemble other texts and could thus be viewed as plagiarism. I am not accountable for any changes made to this document by the author or any other party subsequent to the date of this declaration.

Sincerely,

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