

REFLECTIONS ON

School Integration

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**School
Integration**

COLLOQUIUM
PROCEEDINGS

Edited by
Mokubung Nkomo,
Carolyn McKinney
& Linda Chisholm



EUROPEAN UNION



HSRC



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Contents

Introduction	Through the eye of the school – in pursuit of social integration <i>Mokubung Nkomo, Linda Chisholm and Carolyn McKinney</i>	1
Keynote address	Integration within the South African landscape: are we making progress in our schools? <i>Naledi Pandor</i>	11
Part 1	Overview, concepts, themes, patterns	
Paper 1	School inclusion and exclusion in South Africa: some theoretical and methodological considerations <i>Crain Soudien, Nazir Carrim and Yusuf Sayed</i>	19
Paper 2	Deracialisation of Gauteng schools – a quantitative analysis <i>Mohammad Sujee</i>	43
Paper 3	Educating South African teachers for the challenge of school integration: towards a teaching and research agenda <i>Relebohile Moletsane, Crispin Hemson and Anabanithi Muthukrishna</i>	61
Paper 4	A review of national strategies and forums engaging with racism and human rights in education <i>Shameme Manjoo</i>	79
Part 2	International perspectives	
Paper 5	The American experience: desegregation, integration, resegregation <i>Gary Orfield</i>	95
Paper 6	Understanding ‘inclusion’ in Indian schools <i>Sarada Balagopalan</i>	125
Part 3	Constitutional and language challenges	
Paper 7	Constitutional perspectives on integration in South African schools <i>Elmene Bray</i>	149

Paper 8	Education and multilingualism <i>Thobeka Mda</i>	163
Paper 9	Inclusion versus integration: the tension between school integration and the language policy <i>Brigid Comrie</i>	183
Part 4	Reflections	
	Reflections and closing commentary on the School Integration Colloquium <i>Prudence Carter</i>	195
Appendix	List of participants	201

Through the eye of the school – in pursuit of social integration

Mokubung Nkomo, Linda Chisholm and Carolyn McKinney

To appreciate the value of school integration one has to understand South Africa's history. The colonial and apartheid experiences have had a tremendous impact on the collective and individual psyches of South Africans – black and white, and all other identities. To varying degrees collective and individual behaviours reflect this deep-rooted experience.

It is this experience that prompted former President Nelson Mandela to observe in his inaugural speech in 1994 that, 'Out of the experience of an extraordinary human disaster that lasted too long, must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud.' He continued, 'Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world.'¹

The legacies of racial domination and other related forms of discriminatory practices linger on in a democratic South Africa and they manifest themselves in many ways systemically as well as at the individual level. There is a critical need for all social institutions under the guidance of the democratic Constitution to engage in the project of giving birth to a new society imbued with the values and principles of an enlightened, modern and democratic constitution.

Schools, by virtue of their crucial role in society, can play an important role in this reconstructive project. What, therefore, does school integration mean? Given the historical circumstances described above, it must mean, among other things, that the divisions created by apartheid need to be addressed systematically as well as systemically. Integration is not merely about changing the racially exclusive demographics of learner and educator bodies – what we might refer to as desegregation – although it is this too. By integration we mean schools changing to meet the needs of all children enrolled, fostering

meaningful interaction among learners in the classroom, on the playground and in extramural activities, as well as instilling a human rights culture. In the context of South Africa school integration is also not confined solely to race, important as it is, but should seek to address other prejudices such as ethnic parochialism or chauvinism, gender inequality, xenophobia and other intolerances that are inimical to the spirit of the Constitution. It means seeking to construct curricula, texts and pedagogies that are informed by a democratic ethos. It requires teachers, school managers and communities that are equipped to promote a democratic school environment. In short, it is about *inclusivity* and *social cohesion*, in contrast to the division and fragmentation that characterised apartheid society and education.

School integration in South Africa has deep roots in the anti-apartheid or, better still, the pro-democracy project; it is born out of a conscious effort to transform undemocratic apartheid culture and practice by replacing it with a democratic, inclusive, education ethos founded on a human rights culture. The pledge to ‘Never, never and never again [allow]... this beautiful land ...[to] experience the oppression of one by another’, and the call for the birth of ‘a new society’ are authentically South African injunctions. Not only are concepts of non-racism, non-sexism and democracy entrenched in the Constitution, they are inextricably linked with such fundamental principles and values as access, equity and redress. There is, to be sure, much value in engaging with researchers from countries that are grappling with issues of school integration about their own experiences; an exchange that undoubtedly would enrich the South African experience. A concerted effort to promote research in school integration will thus give tangible effect to the national desire for a sustained democratic practice and human rights culture.

The School Integration Colloquium

Drawing from what we knew and a desire to define a meaningful research agenda for the future, a colloquium was convened in October 2003. Invited to the colloquium were South African and international researchers and other interested individuals who undertook to engage in proactive and constructive ways in various research streams that would enhance our understanding of the powerful operant dynamics in the school as well as help inform effective policy formulation and practice.

The purpose of the colloquium was to review the latest international and local research and practice in the field of desegregation and integration of schools. We aimed to take stock of the status quo in school integration research and practice as well as to identify new directions research should be taking to support the process of school integration. The colloquium brought together a broad range of participants – from universities, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), provincial and national government – all of whom contributed to identifying gaps and silences, issues currently neglected or in need of further investigation, in school integration research and practice.

At the start of the proceedings on 2 October 2003, Jonathan Jansen posed the question: ‘Why are we talking about school integration? Is it that this is just an American agenda?’ This took us back to the origins of this project and the reason it was initiated. The main purposes of the project, of which this colloquium was a part, were distinctly local, although there were transatlantic connections. The conference aims were to investigate:

- The unfolding role, character and dynamic of integration in South African schools – its connections to deeper historical, international and new contemporary social patterns, practices, images and representations on an international and local scale;
- The ways in which teachers, texts, managers and policy makers consciously and creatively make sense of and actively address the challenges posed by integration;
- ‘Best practices’ in terms of innovation and alternatives to dominant reproductive practices.

Furthermore, the conference aimed to:

- Establish a process which connects the research with practitioners and policy makers, and promotes dialogue;
- Make findings easily accessible and facilitate wide dissemination of the research products.

What was the rationale for this?

The defining feature of South African schools and schooling is arguably the politics of race and racism. It is one of the central fault lines of South African society, intersecting in complex ways with class, gender and ethnicity. Race is

historically inscribed into the functioning of everyday life through those institutions in which the majority of children spend the greater part of their lives: schools. Seen as one of the principal generators, justifiers and vehicles of racialised thoughts, actions and identities, the challenge has been and continues to be whether and how the roles, rules, social character and functioning of schools can change to reverse the retrograde aspects of such formation and stimulate new and diverse identities and forms of acknowledgement and social practice.

South Africa is not alone in this challenge. Internationally, the massive global shifts of populations over the last century has seen the penetration of apparently relatively homogeneous national populations by peoples from beyond those national boundaries and borders. This process has modified older, internal, national social antipathies, or reinforced them. Although not new, particular forms of racism have accompanied diasporic movements of the last two centuries and diasporic populations have been both victims and perpetrators of racism. Colonialism and imperialism have given rise over time to constructions of inclusion and exclusion on the basis of race. Such constructions have often meshed with language, culture and religion. Slavery, and migrant and indentured labour, in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries together constructed internal populations who were and in many cases continued in the twentieth century to be dispossessed and socially marginal.

New social forces in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries propelled peoples across borders to augment social classes and races in newly constituted 'developed' worlds. Globally, the concepts of North and South, developed and underdeveloped or developing, and rich and poor, shade into a patchwork of colour constructs both on a domestic and an international scale. The issue of race and racism is as pertinent internationally as it is in South Africa. This is evident in the centrality of questions of race, racism, citizenship and diversity to school systems internationally. But there are key differences and local particularities within this common global historical experience. The historical pattern and politics of South Africa's racial formation has been part of, but has also shown marked differences from, those of other countries. In this regard, key differences between South African and American discourses are not only that the latter frames integration issues primarily within a desegregation and multicultural framework, whereas South Africans prefer to speak of inclusivity and integration; they are also linked to the dimension of

the issue within the overall context of schooling. Within South Africa, it is formerly white, Indian and coloured schools that have integrated. These are a minority of schools within the overall context. Despite this, the question of integration has played a powerful symbolic role in determining the nature of change within South African schools as a whole. In so far as the South African miracle has given hope elsewhere, what happens in South African schools around the question of integration can likewise either give hope or confirm lack of hope – or, as we hope, prompt more complex and sobering questions.

In the decades prior to the 1994 election, research and analysis of the role of race and racism in schools was rich, varied and contested. The role of race in promoting racial division was seen as central. Whether linked to class or to culture and language, race and racism were inextricably part of the social fabric and fundamentally shored up by the education system and its schools. Discrimination, racism and the various forms of inequality and exclusion to which it gave rise, was documented, debated and dismissed.

Social actors, writers and teachers enacted alternative visions and practices in a variety of forms. These were written about and celebrated. In the process of social struggle against apartheid, a broad vision of non-racial education emerged juxtaposed with more conservative and radical versions and visions on the one hand of multicultural and on the other of anti-racist education. These contrasted in several respects with the politics and approaches rejected and accepted both in the North and the South. But these differences and possible new commonalities were not yet apparent. It took the creation of a new state with a new politics of race to reveal these.

The 1994 election provided the opportunity for the wholesale dismantling of an edifice of schooling founded on race. If race separation was the defining feature of schools in the apartheid era, race integration became a defining aspiration in the post-apartheid era. The 1994 election also provided the opportunity for South Africa to experiment, explore and innovate in this area. The Constitution forbade all forms of discrimination and the South African Schools Act of 1996 provided the basis for the transformation of schools into paragons of non-racialism. Provisions were made for the integration of schools, the rewriting of curricula and textbooks, the renovation of institutions dedicated to the training and education of teachers and renewal of support structures in the management of education. In the meantime, the doors

of previously white, Indian and coloured schools had opened also to the wider world and new and different ways of seeing race and racism, segregation and integration were emerging that began to confront traditional and received ways of seeing these in South Africa.

Despite reconciliation at national level and integration at school level, however, racism persisted and was evident in both continuing manifestation of racial conflict and numerous forms of re-segregation inside schools. In the 1990s, several cases caught the attention of the national media. The Human Rights Commission was inundated with cases of school racism to such an extent that it commissioned a report that demonstrated the continuing, widespread character of race and racism in schools. This report, and other research, highlighted the deep continuities with the apartheid era.

South Africa's challenge to racism, when viewed through the prism of its schools, appeared to be a non-challenge. Integration was more a dream rather than a reality. National historical amnesia, particularly in schools, became the subject of a national commission of inquiry in 2000. The names of Vryburg and Grove Primary became synonymous with continuing, unresolved racial tension. Consultancies to resolve racial conflict flourished. Non-governmental organisations with a proud history of opposition to racism were squeezed but re-emerged more strongly in national fora with national policies and strategies. Debates around appropriate strategies and progressive forms of colour consciousness became prominent.

Even as a powerful new discourse of human rights provided the frame within which the national curriculum was revised early in the twenty-first century, this same curriculum received its most powerful challenge from separatist constituencies fearful of exposure of their children to intellectual and social diversity. They reasserted narrow conceptions of culture, identity, and ethnicity with a strong racial subtext. Significantly, all teacher organisations, across the spectrum, have distanced themselves from such expressions of ethnic cultural separatism. Alongside, but separately from the curriculum, the Forum Against Racism in Education produced a draft National Action Plan and Strategy to Combat Racism. Produced as late as 2000/2001, this Action Plan provides a platform for challenges both bold and humble, innovations both big and small, and experimentation both simple and profound, to be undertaken in schools.

The production of a new curriculum, which places citizenship and rights at its centre, as well as a National Action Plan to Combat Racism, raises a series of new questions about integration policies and practices in schools: on what kind of terrain in schools and teacher education institutions does the revised curriculum as well as the National Action Plan build; what are the national patterns in terms of integration; what is the meaning of integration for teachers, learners, managers and materials developers; how do schools and teachers challenge race and racism, if they do; are there teachers whose 'best practices' can be documented, texts that teach critically about race and teacher trainers who are charting the way; who are they and where are they; what can be learnt from other countries, even if by default; and can this information assist policy makers?

Surprisingly, the body of literature that does exist on the question is as disparate, impressionistic and fragmented as the initiatives that address it. Tight networks of researchers and practitioners exist, all drawing from different international traditions and approaching the issues in partial isolation from one another. Formerly racially segregated schools have integrated but what happens inside them and how this connects to broader social developments is documented and analysed by only a handful of researchers. Major themes have focused on the relationship between decentralisation and desegregation and conflict and contradiction in identity formation. They have also, rightly, concentrated on the continuing reproduction and manifestation of race and racism despite integration.

In this context, the main aim of this colloquium was to hear papers that reflected on the latest research in both local and international contexts as well as present visual representations and analysis of texts and products relating to race and racism in education in South Africa. The purpose was to inform a wider and strengthened research agenda in the field.

To what extent did this colloquium achieve this? The colloquium itself revealed many things. Conceptually, the question of integration was dealt with from many different frameworks: desegregation, inclusion and exclusion, human rights, and social justice formed the main organising concepts for understanding the patterns and dynamics of racial integration. The main trends were however demonstrated in the papers.

The large majority of schools in South Africa remain uni- or mono-racial. This emerged most clearly in the tracking of trends in one of the provinces where

integration was high on the agenda. Sujee's case study of the deracialisation of Gauteng schools examined the racial composition of learner enrolment, the educator body and school governing bodies in previously African, Indian, coloured and white schools in the period 1996–2001 and in so doing showed that there are small pockets of integration but who is integrated into what, how and with what effects still needs a great deal of work.

The discourse about race and racial integration is shot through with gendered languages and assumptions. In the words of Naledi Pandor, 'integration will only be fully achieved when girls are regarded in our schools as the equals of boys, when it is recognised by boys that girls have the right to realise their full potential, and when it is clear to everyone that sexual abuse of girls is a form of discrimination that prevents the achievement of their right to education.'

In the process of desegregating, it is possible to think of a continuum of models: separation-under-one-roof, assimilation and integration. There is evidence that many schools do indeed formally desegregate, but resegregate from within. Soudien, Carrim and Sayed argue that the dominant model of integration in South Africa is assimilation. They approach the concept of integration largely within the framework of the concept of inclusion. Their approach here is that integration must be approached by reference to difference, that differences are always interlocked and entangled, and that present within every inclusion are exclusions. Within this conceptual approach, their main conclusions were that constructions of race and schooling dictated the mode of assimilation into schools. The consequence has been the development of a two-tier system in which social class is a major factor in determining who is included and who is excluded. An interlocking framework, which makes sense of the connections between race, gender and class was highlighted here – but also the importance of seeing exclusions as being about much more than even this, and including exclusions on the basis of sexual orientation, disability, religion, age, and so on.

In tackling these issues at school level, teachers are critical. If teachers are to address these issues, then teacher education is a most important place to start. Moletsane, Hemson and Muthukrishna show both the possibilities and challenges in addressing the question from a social justice perspective. They argue for a human rights framework in teacher education that will prepare teachers to address a broad range of diversity factors including race, social class, gender, sexuality, religion, language, HIV status and disability.

Supporting teachers are national initiatives aimed at the wider public and including teachers and learners. Manjoo documents the actions of two national forums convened by the South African Human Rights Commission – a Discussion/Consultative Forum on Anti-racism in the Education and Training Sector (CFRE) and the National Forum on Democracy and Human Rights Education (NFDHRE) – as well as the strategies and initiatives that have been developed to combat racism.

Integration has been an issue in many different countries. International perspectives in this context were provided from the United States and India, two very different contexts. Orfield provides an overview of school desegregation processes in the USA from 1954 to the present. He examines research that shows how well-implemented desegregation policies have a variety of benefits for minority students, white students, communities and societies in general. He also draws attention to the powerful ways in which research can and has been used to influence desegregation policy and practice. Orfield's paper delivered the very important message that diversity is a good thing and that diverse classrooms improve the life-chances of learners.

Writing from India, Balagopalan's paper points to the intersections between the operation of caste in the Indian context and race in South Africa. She presents research examining the experience of previously marginalised *dalit* (lower-caste) children who have recently been included in public schooling. She addresses the deep exclusions of schooling and raises questions about the constructions of formal schooling, and how this determines the terms on which inclusion or integration occurs. She highlights the problematic dominance of upper-caste cultural assumptions in schooling as well as the consequent positioning of lower-caste learners as unable to achieve by some upper-caste teachers. Together the two papers suggest important new areas for research that will help to explain some of the complexities raised by the Soudien, Carrim and Sayed paper.

Language emerged as a critical issue in the colloquium in the inclusion and exclusion of children. Two papers, by Mda and Comrie, examine the practical implications of current language policy for the inclusion and exclusion of children in the society as well as in classrooms. They address local approaches to diversity and discrimination in schools in relation to theory, practice and research. Comrie discusses the barriers to learning presented by English as the

language of learning and teaching (LOLT) where this is not the learners' home language (which is most often the case for African learners in previously white, coloured and Indian schools) as well as by the pace at which the curriculum is presented. Mda points to the gap between the language rights enshrined in the Constitution as well as in education policy and practice. She stresses the need for all groups to commit to multilingualism as well as for all educators and learners to develop competence in at least one African language as a means of facilitating successful integration. These are, amongst other things, also constitutional matters, and so this section begins with a brief account by Bray of the constitutional (legal) framework within which school integration operates.

To end the colloquium, Prudence Carter from the United States and Stella Kaabwe from UNICEF both provided stringent analyses and commentaries on the proceedings. Carter's contribution is included here. We greatly regret being unable to publish Kaabwe's piece.

We came to the colloquium in a spirit of partnership. Institutional participants were the Human Sciences Research Council, the University of Pretoria, the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand and the Race and Values in Education Directorate within the National Department of Education, the South African Human Rights Commission and the Centre for Education Policy Development and Management. Colleagues from these institutions also served on the Colloquium Planning Committee. We thank them most sincerely for their contributions and look forward to continuing co-operation in future.

The colloquium would not have been possible had it not been for the initial support of the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation. We would also like to thank the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency for their support of the video, *7Phezulu*, a follow-up of *Colouring in our Classrooms*, which was previewed and discussed at the colloquium.

Notes

- 1 Nelson Mandela (1994), 'Statement of the President of the African National Congress Nelson Rolihlahla, at his Inauguration as President of the Democratic Republic of South Africa' (Union Building, Pretoria 10 May 1994) www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/speeches/1994/inaugpta.html.

Integration within the South African landscape: are we making progress in our schools?

Naledi Pandor

Policy debates on education in the apartheid era hardly ever broached the difficult subject of integration in our schools. Perhaps there was a tacit assumption that once legal apartheid ended, all would be resolved.

The ‘all’ centred on issues of significance such as entrenching funding equity, teacher development programmes, improving science and mathematics teaching and outcomes, matric pass rates, redress policy, language policy and education, and democratising school governance.

The focus on integration, if it occurred at all, was on access to higher education for blacks and women, and increased access to education for black children. Little attention was given to the issue of which schools blacks would choose to attend, and generally many of us anticipated that the key issue would be how to introduce quality to existing black education. Few if any of the education thinkers of the 1980s assumed that black schools would lose pupils to distant white suburbs, and few practitioners in assembly schools prepared themselves for the entry of black pupils who would become the lifeblood of many of those schools.

It is for these and other reasons that integration continues to be the least discussed and most ignored aspect of education today. All of us are embarrassed to acknowledge that there is an issue out there and it is calling for urgent attention.

Before venturing an attempt at answering the question on progress with integration, it is useful to reflect on some the voices that speak on these matters in South Africa today.

On 26 September 2003, the *Sunday Times* published articles by four men – apparently representative of our four racial groups – who had been asked to answer the question: ‘How far have South Africans progressed in transcending racial barriers to form a national identity?’

This question is similar to the one that this colloquium will address.

Pallo Jordan, an African National Congress Member of Parliament, was chosen to represent Africans. His article was headlined, ‘One state but not one nation’. He wrote:

As the recently released Census 2001 figures reveal, race still defines opportunity, wealth and poverty in South Africa. Despite what looks like impressive progress, black-owned corporations account for a mere 3% of the JSE. White males dominate the best-paid jobs and professions. *African females are the least educated*, the lowest paid and the poorest. The salience of race in politics is thus not likely to diminish.

Richard van der Ross, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape, was chosen to represent a coloured viewpoint. ‘Not white enough, not black enough’ is the headline assigned to his article. Van der Ross wrote:

The general cry is that before 1994, we were not white enough, now we are not black enough. We? Who are we? We, the coloured people. Yes, people still talk in these terms and probably always will. We cannot be wished away. Oppression by whites must not be replaced by oppression by Africans. What does this do to coloured identity? I perceive a certain closing of the ranks. It would be a pity if this was based on feelings against other population groups, be they white or black.

Herman Giliomee was chosen to represent whites. His article was headlined, ‘Whites have been left *emasculated*’. His conclusion, after an attack on Mbeki’s so-called Africanism, is that, ‘After years of Mbeki’s Africanism and his talk of two nations it is no longer possible to conceive of a white candidate winning an election for the ANC in a predominantly white constituency.’ As the author of a biography of the Afrikaner people, he can be forgiven for talking as if all whites are Afrikaners, *but he cannot be forgiven for talking as if all whites are men*.

And finally there is Adam Habib, invited to comment in his representative capacity as an Indian. His article was headlined: 'Race policies will haunt black elite'. He asks the following – and his conclusion is in his asking – 'Why is race and ethnicity more politicised and race relations more tense in 2003 than in 1994?' His answer is twofold: first, transformation is defined in racial terms; and second, Growth, Equity and Redistribution (GEAR) has deracialised only the elite, while leaving the majority of Africans poor and in the same position as they were ten years ago.

It is interesting to note the selection of voices, four adult males, known to be strong critics and only one of them put to the test of a popular election. Several issues relevant to the subject of this discussion arise. Do the chosen four men speak for the women of South Africa as well? The four are educated, middle-aged and urban-based. Do they speak for Tata Khumalo and Mevrou van Rooyen of rural Limpopo? If Giliomee had been asked to answer as an African, what would he have said? If Van der Ross had been asked to answer as an Indian, what would his comment have been? Taking the commentators out of their skins would have been an important first step in the process of building this nation.

To return to school, and our subject. Let us begin with the assertion that integration will begin when we take our learners out of their skins. The assertion is provocative and premature, because it is made without a considered reflection on integration.

- Are our schools making progress with integration? More importantly, what is meant by integration? Do we wish to establish whether learners of different races get on in school, sit together in classrooms, socialise and become fast friends?
- Does integration refer to curriculum matters? What are children seeing and learning? What is overtly and covertly transmitted in classrooms? Do black children emerge empowered, confident and competent?
- Does integration refer to teaching practice? Educators play a vital role in transmitting new values. Are our educators playing this new role?

The stark answer to these questions is that children in our schools are not integrating. The racial and gender composition of our schools has been changed in some ways. However, this fact cannot be termed integration.

Data on racial integration in schools is unusually scarce. The most recent data available for racial integration in schools is apparently for 1997. It is likely that the Human Sciences Research Council's 'Schools Integration' project will have more recent data.

In 1997, data for seven provinces (all but Mpumalanga and Eastern Cape) showed that about 22 000, or 5.4 per cent, of the 400 000 pupils in mainly white schools (defined as those with more than 70 per cent white pupils) were blacks, whilst in 'mixed' schools (where no race group constituted more than 70 per cent of pupils), 197 000 out of 488 000 (40.3 per cent) were black, and 104 000 (21.3 per cent) white. Indian schools had the greatest penetration by blacks: 15 000 or 15.2 per cent were black pupils. Nevertheless, most black pupils (95.8 per cent) were still in schools that were predominantly black. The total number of pupils is 11.5 million.¹

As the statistics indicate, it is the ex-Model C schools that are facing the challenge of integration, because black learners are looking for quality education. The same may be true of some schools in former coloured townships in Cape Town, as they have also absorbed an increasing number of black learners from the Eastern Cape.

Informal reports on what is happening in these schools point to serious racial tension – the incidents of racial violence in Vryburg and White River are cases in point. Our approach of first mix then engage reflects a somewhat naïve faith in our goodness of heart.

Guided by the belief that we live in a country in which each and every person is deserving of equal concern and respect and in which community grows steeped in the principle of ubuntu, schools have a central role to play in educating our children to hold one another in mutual respect. Despite this, very little is being done in all our schools. Black pupils are increasingly assimilated and little integration is pursued.

Some innovative strategies in this regard have begun to emerge from some of our schools. In Mitchell's Plain schools have adopted 'education against racism' programmes and in Cape private schools pupils have been encouraged to think about their curricula, and their participation in sport and cultural events.

Schools will only begin to succeed at integration if they adopt a holistic approach that includes the entire school. Curriculum, teaching methodology,

language and learning and many other areas will all have to be addressed if change is to take place.

The Department of Education's focus on values will have to be internalised in our schools. The challenge is not simply racial integration. The challenge is the successful promotion of the values of dignity, equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms. The challenge is to teach that skin colour is not a marker of superiority and inferiority and that we can all take pride in our cultures and heritages.

Moreover, integration will only be fully achieved, when girls are regarded in our schools as the equals of boys, when it is recognised by boys that girls have the right to realise their full educational potential, and when it is clear to everyone that sexual abuse of girls is a form of discrimination that prevents the achievement of their right to education, and that sexual abuse is behaviour that will not be tolerated.

So, to return to the question: are we making progress with school integration? The answer is that there are some positive signs but, overall, the picture is not promising. The majority of our schools have been unable to take full advantage of the transformation set in motion over the past ten years.

Naledi Pandor spoke in her capacity as Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces.

Notes

- 1 Servaas van den Berg's calculations are from a 1997 Department of Education data set in his paper titled, 'The role of education in labour earnings, poverty and inequality' presented at the DPRU/FES Conference held in Johannesburg, 15–16 November 2001.

Part 1

OVERVIEW, CONCEPTS, THEMES, PATTERNS

School inclusion and exclusion in South Africa: some theoretical and methodological considerations

Crain Soudien, Nazir Carrim and Yusuf Sayed

Introduction

How the questions of social inclusion and exclusion in education might be approached theoretically and methodologically are important issues to grapple with. This is particularly so given the pervasive and insidious ways in which social exclusion continues to reinvent itself. In this contribution we reflect briefly on (i) the theoretical debates that preceded and surrounded the South Africa-India School Inclusion and Exclusion project, and (ii) the research methodology issues of doing work in this area. The key question framing the study was essentially that of how South Africa and India were meeting their constitutional obligations to the inclusion of all of their learners in terms of access, participation and the outcomes of the educational process.

Purpose of the research

The specific objectives of the South African part of this research were:

- To critically review the key inclusionary education policies of the new government;
- To provide a nuanced account, in carefully selected sites, of the mechanisms and processes of educational inclusion and exclusion for different racial groups;
- To provide policy makers with an account of the effects of specific policies of inclusion in South African and Indian education, in terms of the experiences, understanding and perspectives of the policy 'target groups'.

The study is important for a number of reasons. First, effective access to education, particularly at the lower levels, crucially depends on how policies are implemented and received at the institutional, community and individual levels. The extent of the 'policy gap' between intention and practice is now acknowledged (Sayed & Jansen 2000) as a crucial factor in explaining why people do, or do not, take up educational opportunities.

Second, while there is discussion about factors precipitating exclusion (Anitha 2000; Kumar 1989), there is little about *how excluded groups experience specific inclusion policies*.

Third, in addition to the economic discussion, with respect to exclusion, the *cultural and social factors that lead different groups to place value on education differently and their relationship with the economic* require deeper empirical investigation.

Fourth, the meanings ascribed to 'caste' and 'race' in relation to policies of educational inclusion and exclusion need to be analysed, to ascertain how issues relating to 'caste' and 'race' are framed within policy (Gupta 2000; McCarthy 1997; Quigley 1993). Policy approaches that treat these categories as static are likely to misinterpret the challenges of inclusion.

Fifth, there is need in current development research to voice the concerns of marginalised groups in policy and to link policy processes and outcomes to the ways in which people locate their experience and relationship with institutions of policy delivery within their multiple and overlapping identities.

Research context

The context of the study is important in itself and has significance beyond South Africa. There are two important reasons for conducting this kind of study on South Africa:

- The first is that South Africa provides an opportunity, such as only possibly the United States presents, for examining how the complex iterations of difference are negotiated through the school;
- The second is that South Africa is a transitional society moving from authoritarianism to democracy.

In framing the study in these terms, it is necessary to provide a brief description of the schools actually studied. The study located itself in three provinces with very different 'racial' dynamics, namely the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape.

- The Western Cape (WC) is a largely 'white' and 'coloured' area with many well-resourced ex-Model C schools (ex-'white' schools). In schooling terms the province has seen an interesting form of deracialisation with ex-Model C schools, which is marked along class lines with more 'coloured' and a few middle-class 'African' students being admitted to such schools.
- KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) reflects the problems and tensions of deracialisation within the 'black' group. Being a province with an 'Indian' and 'African' majority, it reflects the positioning and identity of the 'Indian' population in relation to the 'African' population, including at school levels.
- The Eastern Cape (EC) is not only one of the poorest provinces in the country, but also offers interesting insights into 'race' given its constitution as a province of former 'homelands' alongside of relatively wealthy 'white' urban centres. It also has a strong rural base.

Eleven schools distributed in the three provinces reflecting the structure of the former apartheid education system and a range of socio-economic backgrounds was selected.

Research questions and hypotheses

The questions guiding the study were:

- What are the conceptual and philosophical underpinnings of inclusive educational policies in respect of the groups who have been marginalised under the apartheid system?
- What specific mechanisms and strategies have national and selected state/provincial educational departments and their schools put in place to ensure educational inclusion and overcome specific histories of exclusion?
- What are the factors that shape exclusion from education? How do different groups and individuals experience and respond to specific educational policies designed to provide access and inclusion? What are the intended and unintended outcomes of educational policies designed to foster inclusion?

Theoretical overview

A discussion of the concept of social exclusion is underway in numerous contexts to assess its value in expanding understandings of injustice and inequality. Kabeer (2000) and de Haan (2000), for example, pointedly ask whether the concepts of inclusion and exclusion, with their origins in the North, are appropriate for countries in the South. Betts (2001: 2) argues, to illustrate the point, that the discourse of poverty 'provides a much more powerful frame' for many countries.

The primary purpose of this paper is to look at how discourses of inclusion and exclusion have been conceptualised and appropriated and to assess the value of these approaches for countries like South Africa and India. The paper argues that the main conceptual weakness of current understandings is their failure to adequately engage with social justice concerns.

Some caveats

The notion of educational exclusion is currently enjoying much prominence in social policy research and in matters of public policy (Betts 2001; de Haan 2000; Kabeer 2000; Lindblad & Popkewitz 2000; Preece 1999; Slee 2000). Evident in this prominence, however, is the difficulty in reaching an agreement about what educational exclusion might mean, what it refers to, and what it includes and excludes.¹

There are four qualifications that need to be introduced in discussing the notions of educational exclusion and inclusion. First, the usage of these concepts in the literature comes with the strong normative stance that inclusion is by definition good and exclusion, similarly so, is bad. While this may be laudable, it fails to recognise the possibility that inclusive policies may result in new forms of exclusion. Second, the notion of inclusion operates on the principle of 'normalisation' in which groups – be they kinship groups, social classes, structures or whatever – are defined and constituted (socially) in their 'ideal' forms with the potential of 'abnormalising' others who fall outside of these categories. As a consequence, such groups, communities and individuals often then are targeted for special inclusive measures. Such an approach, however, often ignores the existing and complex social relations in society which give rise to and perpetuate inequities. Third, the concepts elide differences between

and within groups, communities and individuals in that they ignore 'who' is being included or excluded. Fourth, the discourse of educational exclusion and inclusion fails to specify the relationships between race, class, gender and other forms of difference and inequity in society and to show how these articulate with each other. Various theorists have advocated different versions of the complex interrelationships between race, class and gender. Apple and Weiss (1983) present the 'parallelist' framework in which race, class and gender interact with three spheres of societal activity (economic, cultural and political). This they call a 'relational framework'. Others, such as Sarup (1986), put forward a cumulative, linear, hierarchical framework in which, for example, gender, race and class add up to the 'triple oppression' of women. While none of the frameworks is incorrect, they do not, as McCarthy (1999: 547) notes, capture the 'mix of contingencies, interests, needs, differential assets, and capacities in local settings such as schools'.

A later section of the paper returns to these points in an attempt at developing an interlocking approach. The following section reviews the key debates in the discussions on educational inclusion and exclusion.

Diverse meanings of inclusion and exclusion

As a point of departure, it is interesting to note that some of the literature casts the discussion largely in terms of inclusion (OFSTED 2000; Slee 2001), others in terms of exclusion (de Haan 2000), and yet others in terms of both inclusion and exclusion (Betts 2001).

The concepts, however, imply a juxtaposition in that social inclusion of certain persons or groups implies exclusion of others. However, inclusion and exclusion need to be viewed as being conjoined, and not as diametrically opposing forces.

What follows below discusses the diverse approaches that have been attributed to the concept of social exclusion. It draws on the classificatory schema developed by Silver (de Haan 2000). In this schema three paradigms of social exclusion are presented.

The solidarity paradigm

This paradigm is dominant in France and influenced by the work of Rousseau. Rousseau argued that 'exclusion is the rupture of a social bond between the

individual and society that is cultural and moral ... the poor, unemployed and ethnic minorities are defined as outsiders' (in de Haan 2000: 6). Exclusion here, then, constructs 'outsiders' and renders societies dysfunctional. Inclusionary measures are thus aimed at establishing social cohesion and stability.

The specialisation paradigm

Based on the work of Hobbes, and hegemonic in the United States, this approach proposes that:

individuals are able to move across boundaries of social differentiation and economic division of labour. Liberal models of citizenship emphasise the contractual exchange of rights and obligations ... exclusion reflects discrimination, the drawing of group distinctions that denies individuals full access to or participation in exchange or interaction. Causes of exclusion are often seen in unenforced rights and market failures. (de Haan 2000: 6)

The monopoly paradigm

This approach is influenced by Weber's work, which argues that 'the social order is coercive, imposed through hierarchical power relations. Exclusion is defined as a consequence of the formation of group monopolies [which] restrict access of outsiders through social closure' (de Haan 2000: 6).

Meanings of inclusion and exclusion in the South

While these paradigms are useful, Kabeer cautions researchers in the South to apply them carefully lest they simply 'relabel long-standing and locally developed approaches to social problems or, alternatively ... promote a tendency to assess southern realities in terms of the extent to which they converge, or diverge from some "standard" northern model' (2000: 83). This view warns that any research into social exclusion should focus on the processes and indeed the rules through which inequality and injustice occur in the contexts within which they are experienced.

Flowing from this, Jackson (1999) asks how discourses of inclusion and exclusion obscure or mask the agendas of co-operation and control, and suggests that feminist research and gender analysis might offer both better-situated understandings of the character and experience of marginality, and useful

insights for the emerging applications of social exclusion frameworks to developing countries.

Jackson's (1999) argument can be complemented by considering the following:

- Does the inclusion of citizens in programmes lead to their incorporation in ways that subject them to the status quo, or in ways that expect them to comply with and meet standards predetermined by authorities without their co-operation?
- Or even in those contexts which offer complementary (albeit integrated and progressive) processes of inclusion, are there sufficient means of empowerment to help students re-shape the contexts of their educational experience so that these contexts are enriched by new perspectives (see Carrim 1992; Jansen 1998; Soudien 1996; Vally & Dalambo 1999; and in Northern countries, Gillborn 1995; Robinson Pant 2000).

One of the main critiques of social exclusion is its 'one size fits all' approach (de Haan 2000: 10). This approach assumes that social inequality can be overcome by providing the same opportunities equally for all citizens. While this would go a long way towards correcting historic imbalances and injustices, it is short-sighted, as will be discussed in the next section. One size does not fit all because citizens are not located in homogeneous, symmetrical and stable social, economic and political positions. How one addresses the differences and the different kinds of inequalities thrown up by the complex social contexts in which people find themselves is a strategic matter.

This discussion highlights how complex questions of social justice are in debates around inclusion and exclusion. It is with this backdrop that the paper moves to looking at the way these discourses are framed in policy.

Discourses of inclusion that influence policy

The paper examines four discourses that are dominant in public policy (Dyson 1999): (i) a rights and ethics discourse; (ii) an efficacy discourse; (iii) a political discourse; and (iv) a pragmatic discourse.

The rights and ethics discourse

Proposing that children have a right to education, this discourse emerged in the 1950s with the intention of 'equalising opportunities and spreading

economic and cultural benefits more widely through society' (Dyson 1999:39). Special education is seen as reproducing societal divides by separating 'disabled' persons from the rest of society and protecting such services from addressing the need for 'integration'.

A discourse of targeting has developed in response to this (Deacon 2000). Proponents of this view argue for the need for 'well-resourced' countries in the 'developed' world to redistribute resources globally so that those less developed countries are able to meet the basic rights of their citizens. In this light, then, notions of inclusion and exclusion provide governments with 'measures' to determine whether development targets in relation to social rights are being achieved.

The efficacy discourse

This discourse argues that inclusive schools are more cost-efficient, socially beneficial and educationally effective than segregated special schools. The efficacy discourse critiques special education, arguing that expected outcomes of special programmes (mainly remedial teaching of reading) have appeared unsuccessful (Dyson 1999). Special education is also seen as more costly in all respects, including overheads, infrastructural costs and human resource investment (Dyson 1999). In addition to these arguments, research also indicates that physically disabled students do not learn differently from 'other' students.

In inclusive environments, institutions are challenged to include 'disabilities' in ways that normalise differences and make them a part of everyday life. Inclusive education thus challenges all school-goers to develop the skills to deal with difference as a normal part of life.

The political discourse

In this discourse, marginalised groups argue for their political rights under the rubric of securing inclusion. In the political process they may align themselves with other groups or other struggles to broaden their lobbying base. The political struggle of marginalised groups may be at the level of ideas and concepts, in challenging conventional views about themselves, and in changing policies.

The pragmatic discourse

This discourse is practical in focusing on the dimensions of inclusive education as well as the means by which it may be enacted. Certain protagonists of this discourse believe that inclusive schools have 'determinate characteristics'

vis-à-vis structure, programmes, systems, practices, culture and ethos, which distinguish them from non-inclusive schools. The discourse is also concerned with outlining an 'inclusive pedagogy' that relates to theories of instruction and learning (Dyson 1999: 42). The discourse promotes the view that 'right action' in relation to policy and practice will lead to successful inclusive education.

The discussion above points to three important issues. First, the influence of social inclusion and exclusion in education has been due to the assertions and experiences of disabled people's movements and 'special needs schools'. It has now grown to include all people who are subject to forms of discrimination. Second, the incorporation of social inclusion and exclusion in policy formulation has led to various treatments of the issues. Some policy approaches are particular, while others are generic, some are macro-oriented, while some are concentrated on micro processes of implementation. Third, all approaches to policy in this regard have been motivated by concerns of establishing and/or increasing equality and equity in society. It will be useful to now examine the ways in which equity and equality issues in education are treated.

Approaches to social exclusion and social inclusion in education: equity and equality considerations

Social inclusion initiatives appear to fall into the trap of assuming that what is posited as social equality will address all divides. Many approaches do not take account of equity and in fact undermine the project of achieving social justice. As will be shown below, the complex interrelationship of race, class, gender and other instances of injustice means that programmes promoting equality often tend to focus on one of these aspects at the expense of the others and, so, lose the thread connecting the others. As the following quotation explains:

Equality is more conducive to measurement and standardisation [while,] in comparison, the intangible aspects of equity resist quantification. Equity is often mistakenly measured in terms of equality such as input resources [expenditures] or educational outcomes [achievement scores] ... Equity transcends the notion of equality by focusing on the qualitative value of justice. Central as

the movement towards racial equality may be in reforms presently under consideration in South Africa, the question remains whether these reforms will also address inequities which stem from class, gender and so on, and therefore meet the criteria of justice. (Fry 1991/2, quoted in Soudien 1998: 127)

The distinction between equity and equality is manifest in two important education inclusion approaches.

The citizenship approach

Educational inclusion, which challenges normative understandings of what groups are and how they are constituted, is, as has been argued earlier, about fundamental change and real transformation. This notion of citizenship, however, does not yet have currency in many countries, including countries in the South where governments have failed to accord their 'nationals' full citizenship rights. For example, in the colonial and post-colonial contexts many states regarded and regard some of their subjects as 'other' and withhold from them rights as citizens. However, complex citizenship laws have served to perpetuate forms of exclusion where, for example, in some countries being born in a country does not necessarily guarantee one rights of citizenship. Citizenship, as a construct, was and is, therefore, a model for exclusion in that only citizens could have rights.

Structural pluralism, which comprises the differential incorporation of social groups into a common political society, is another model perpetuating forms of exclusion (ILO 1994). Examples of this are South Africa's apartheid system and India's caste system (Nayak 1994).

The multicultural approach

In efforts to accommodate 'difference', educational inclusion has taken the form of multicultural education or education for pluralism. There have been numerous criticisms of these concepts, not least the fact that they serve to mask real injustices, such as those of racial and cultural discrimination, and tend to stereotype the issues, which supposedly belong to different groups, and so impose on them common, homogenised features and singular 'solutions' in

extremely inappropriate ways (Carrim 1995; Carrim & Soudien 1999; Gillborn 1995; Troyna 1993). Developing this line of thought, multiculturalism also assumes that persons belong to a single culture, without beginning to accept the possibility that people may have allegiances to and commitments to a variety of cultures. Similar arguments are levelled against 'multiracial education'. Figueroa (1991) draws on Mullard (1982) to identify phases in the development of this concept in Britain. They are 'assimilationist, integrationist and cultural pluralist'. All three phases, it is believed, 'stemmed from the same social imperative – to maintain as far as possible the dominant structure of institutions, values and beliefs' (Mullard 1982: 121, quoted in Figueroa 1991: 47). Multiracial education was concerned with including alien ('black') groups while maintaining the dominant order, which was assumed to be entirely unproblematic and without structural difficulties. The approaches denied the existence of 'race', focusing instead on culture as a factor of 'difference'. Multiracial education 'teaches black pupils that they will always remain second-class citizens' (Figueroa 1991: 48).

In these approaches social exclusion initiatives operate around somewhat crude categorisations of various social groups in relation to power and access to goods and services. Without investigation of the processes of social exclusion and the forms of counter-services provided by the 'excluded' groups, the approaches do not say anything about how people who are supposedly excluded view themselves. It becomes clear through the ensuing discussion that institutional access alone – the creation of physical space – does not answer the call for educational inclusion. Besides issues of affordability, cultural and political environments and practices both within and outside of educational institutions may perpetuate exclusion even after students have technically been 'placed'.

An interlocking framework

As argued earlier, educational exclusion operates in a sea of social exclusionary processes that affect access to basic rights in a number of domains: 'adequate' or 'quality' food, shelter, social security, employment, education, and so on. It usually occurs in the guise and context of the acceptance of unproblematised identities within the broader society. To pursue just one example, particular sections of society are assumed (almost legitimately) to have greater rights of access to commodities, housing, education, sporting facilities, local amenities, and so on, because of their socio-economic status. In other words,

the socio-economic structures of societies are taken as given and the educational exclusion that proceeds from them is regarded as being entirely normal. Thus educational inclusion, much as the rest of society, is framed by these inequalities and the various ideologies used to reinforce them. In the context of this, social inclusion could easily constitute a form of window-dressing.

Most considerations of the situation described tend to produce two readings as a solution. The first is to simply use (or return to) notions of class, caste, race, gender, and so on, and to determine their relative significance in any context. The second is to work with discourses of exclusion and inclusion and ask how they address concerns of social justice.

Towards developing a more reflective approach, it is argued here that McCarthy's (1997) notion of 'nonsynchrony' takes one beyond the essentialist and managerialist problems of dominant social theory. He proposes an interlocking framework (see Sayed 2002) where race, gender, class, region, language, and so on, all intersect in ways that recognise an individual or group's unique and particular experiences. This approach is also similar to Hall's (1996) theory of articulation. It argues that these factors cannot be placed on a two-dimensional grid that simply seeks the intersection of two of the categories. Such a grid would merely tell of the dual effect of two of these categories on a number of groups. The concept of an interlocking framework recognises the highly complex ways in which race, class, gender and other categories intersect and interrelate to produce unique individual and group experiences. The fact that there is a dominant articulating principle of conflict or inequality does not, or should not, undermine the prevalence of other levels of injustice. It simply suggests that the political approach pivots around a primary and articulating factor which might be dominant for that moment. What such an approach makes possible is the recognition of the complex context in which injustice occurs. It brings an analysis within reach, for example, of the fluid and shifting setting of the developing world.

Nonsynchrony thus helps explain the contradictory nature in which relations of domination 'articulate' to present differently textured conditions, and in addition, the way in which struggles may engage with these interfaces in unique and peculiar ways, reshaping and sometimes transforming the dynamic to produce a different set of contradictions.

Applying the relational interlocking framework of articulations to institutional contexts calls attention to:

- *The point of institutional access.* Access policies determine who does and who does not have access to particular institutions. Students are often excluded on the basis of economic status or geographical location with schools only accepting students who fall within their ‘catchment’ area. Other levels of access relate closely to institutional access in terms of a school’s dominant culture undermining the cultures of some of its learners.
- *Institutional setting and ethos.* Institutions may formally include but subtly continue to exclude learners. For example, particular indicators of inclusion are participation in school structures such as the Student Representatives’ Council, sports teams and also participation in the classroom. Governance of institutions is a key area that determines not only policies pertaining to access, but also those relating to institutional culture and practice.
- *The curriculum.* The curriculum is a focus of power. The curriculum has to address not only the varied interests of its expanded learner-base, but equally those offensive aspects that reinforce inequality and must be reassessed and transformed. New students may be included without any changes made to the curriculum to reflect their interests and histories or to offer ‘new ways of seeing’.
- *Social location of institutions.* The relations between institutions and the wider social contexts within which they exist need to be taken into account seriously. The articulations between forces outside of schools, their filtration into schools, the ways they are reinforced and/or are opposed within schools, need to be taken into consideration, not only to understand the dynamics within the institution but also to gain a more complex understanding of what exactly the institution in fact includes and excludes, and how and why.

Educational inclusion thus presumes a broad-based collective will to effect transformation at every level of society. It requires grand schemes with an architecture that frames and facilitates transformation as well as political will at a sectoral, institutional and classroom level to create truly inclusive spaces. Britain’s Social Exclusion Unit has reported on its efforts at ‘joined-up’ thinking in tackling problems of social exclusion, including those on the educational front. Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott, who heads up the unit,

expresses the desire to build on successes from its first four-year run, claiming that:

Analysis carried out by the unit has shown me just how interconnected and self-reinforcing the problems of social exclusion are [ranging from] disparities in educational attainment, truancy and poor housing conditions – all examples of the cycle of deprivation and disinvestment ... We recognise these sorts of multiple problems cannot be solved by looking at single issues. We now place emphasis on 'joining up' policy between government departments and taking a long-term approach, applying three basic principles: reintegration, prevention – addressing the causes not just the symptoms – and mainstreaming ... The key to all of this is partnership. (*The Guardian*, 16 January 2001: 3–4)

How these issues might be taken into the research field is what the paper now turns to.

Methodological approaches to researching inclusion and exclusion

Research is often, in and of itself, exclusionary and inclusionary. The prerogatives of any research both constrain and open up possibilities of what may be investigated, how and by whom. In this regard, the discussion now seeks to engage with research as an instance of inclusion and exclusion and looks at the implied tensions and contradictions in researching issues related to inclusion-exclusion in education. The following are the focal points around which this discussion is conducted:

- The complicity of research in the determination of what is included and excluded;
- The subject position and identity of the researcher and the bearing of this on the context of the research;
- The research context and its determinative influence on what and how it may be researched, as well as what may be described and analysed.

The paper carries on to outline the methodological tools that were used in conducting the research on inclusion-exclusion in three provinces in South Africa: Eastern Cape, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. It attempts to make clear that

an eclectic approach, within a qualitative framework, prevailed throughout. The inconsistencies in the approach that was used are also highlighted.

Research as inclusionary and exclusionary

In designing any research project, a particular object is selected for investigation and exploration. 'Race', gender and class were central variables in this study: they are explicitly *included*. They formed the selected discursive objects through which inclusion and exclusion were viewed. Ability/disability, sexual orientation, HIV/AIDS or marital status, for example, were discursively *excluded*. If and when they emerged within the processes and data of the research, they were placed in relation to the included discursive objects, sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly, and at other moments marginally. Discursively, then, research, in itself, is inclusionary and exclusionary. It has been so in this study too!

The identities of researchers and their bearing on research contexts

Research within the social sciences, which focuses on human beings, takes the position that objectivity is problematic, if not impossible (Gillborn 1995; Gomm & Woods 1993; Hammersley 1993). All research is always, it is argued, informed by the values and orientations of the researcher and research. No research is 'value-free' (Carr & Kemmis 1986). At the same time, though, care needs to be exercised when claims are made, and whilst researchers/research cannot be objective it does not necessarily mean that they are entirely subjective. Research/researchers still need to be cognisant of the need for verifiability in their work.

The purpose of the above discussion has been to point to the issues surrounding the question of positionality – the identity and values of the researcher. A central question for this study, therefore, was the composition of the research team. The general approach to the research was to work with identified lead researchers, who would have a great deal of flexibility in their approach to the research and who had a good conceptual understanding of the issues of inclusion and exclusion. In engaging with this discussion, numerous debates

took place about the issue of the 'race' of the researchers. In the end, the approach taken was that of using researchers who were committed to the social project of inclusion. Clearly, and this was recognised, this produced particular forms of exclusion.

We have shown how, as with other research projects, this study was inclusionary and exclusionary in terms of the selection of research sites and researchers. As discussed above, the identity and positionality of the researchers influence the research context. How did this happen within this study? One example from the fieldwork demonstrates the complexities that were confronted. In the WC, the project co-ordinator applied unsuccessfully to a number of schools for permission to do the study. In order to secure a former Model C school, the project acceded to an arrangement it had sought to avoid. A 'white' member of the research team volunteered to look for a 'white' school and was able to find one. As a result of this he moved from the 'Indian/coloured' school where he had been originally. The effect of this was to organise the research team along racial lines: the Xhosa-speaking researcher at an 'African' Xhosa-medium school – mainly for language reasons; the 'coloured' researcher at a largely 'coloured', Muslim school, and the 'white' researcher at a former 'white' school.

Two issues suggested themselves for discussion as a result of this. The first was accepting the possibility that the former 'white' schools, in so readily accepting the application of the 'white' researcher and rejecting those of the 'black' researcher, were demonstrating racial bias. While this of course could not be proved, the incident did raise questions about how 'race' works, particularly in terms of how the selected people with whom this research study hoped to work perceive each other and the meanings they impose on others, and the kinds of discourses one is permitted access to.

These developments within this study led to rather fundamental dilemmas for the researchers. On the one hand, the aim was to both investigate and contribute to understandings of processes of inclusion and exclusion. On the other hand, the study itself was inclusionary and exclusionary. The study also hoped to move beyond racial identifications and yet became caught up in colluding with them.

Methodological approaches and instruments used

Both quantitative and qualitative approaches were used in this study; multiple types of research instruments were used; and the study took place largely within a qualitative research framework. The value of this methodological eclecticism is that it at once yielded far richer data than would have been the case if only one approach or instrument was used, and the different approaches and instruments used enabled more possibilities for 'triangulation' (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983), thereby reinforcing the validity and reliability of the claims that are made about what the data reveal. However, in this study there were various levels and forms of 'triangulation', suggesting perhaps a kind of 'polyangulation'. 'Polyangulation' shifts the meaning of 'triangulation' from its original meaning, which was 'loosely based on an analogy with navigation and surveying' (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983: 198). It draws on advances in technology such as satellite systems for navigation and surveying and suggests that we ought to go beyond the paradigmatic limitations that come with 'triangulation'.

The argument here is that, based on the experiences of this study, researching processes of inclusion and exclusion, due to their complexity, forces the research to be more inclusive methodologically, pushing the boundaries of traditional research to operate more laterally and on multiple levels, combining approaches and methods, and expanding triangulation to a more pluralised level. This study has therefore generated significant insights about doing research in the social sciences, which could contribute to understanding and developing research designs and instruments. The notion of 'polyangulation' is, therefore, one that may prove to be useful to other studies of this kind.

The research was conceptualised as a two-phase project. The first phase sought to establish a baseline for the project consisting essentially of observation and survey data. The second phase was intended to explore themes and issues that had emerged in the first phase.

Common instruments for South Africa and India were developed in workshops that brought the research team together in the closing months of 2000 and in early 2001. The instruments were piloted separately in each of the provinces and adapted to suit the local conditions.

Phase One

The major data collection in the EC and the WC took place in three classrooms, that is, a Grade 3 class and two Grade 7 classes. Grade 3 was chosen because this was the final year of the foundation phase and the beginning of the schools' intermediate primary phase and it was felt that the learners would be able to respond individually to the survey and interview protocols. Two Grade 7 classes, English and mathematics classes, were also used to gain access to learners' experiences in what are the two most difficult subjects in the curriculum for learners in these provinces.

For settings where the research was composed of two phases, Phase One included observations, learner surveys, learner interview schedules, educator interview schedules and semi-structured parent interviews. In both the WC and the EC the first phase started with a week and a half of intense observation and note-taking of classroom and general school life. An observation schedule was developed which attempted to document and record the most pertinent facets of the classroom experience relating to inclusion and exclusion. Diaries and field notes were kept. Observations were followed by the administering of learner questionnaires. While educators administered the questionnaires, the researchers made preliminary selections of learners for interviews. Learners were selected based on the following criteria: gender, race, language, academic ability (mixed ability) and personality (extrovert and introvert).² The interview explored the issues raised in the instrument in more detail. The selection of parents was guided by the selection of learners. The parent interview explored issues around why children were sent to a particular school; the process of gaining access to the school; involvement in school life and committees; interactions with educators and the principal; frequency and reasons for visiting the school; level of satisfaction with the quality of the education received; time their child spent on play and on homework; whether they were familiar with their child's friends; and means taken to ensure their child studied. The educator interview explored issues of diversity through questions that looked at class composition; how the class was constructed; teaching methods used; methods of discipline; seating arrangements; parental participation in the school; as well as questions specifically engaging issues of diversity in the classroom.

Phase Two

Since the academic year runs according to the calendar year in South Africa (January to December), from 2001 to 2002 the Grade 3 learners moved to Grade 4, and the sample of Grade 7 learners moved on to high school. It was thus decided to follow the educator rather than the learners, as the educators are perhaps the most stable and critical element in the make-up of a school. So while the same educators were used for Phase Two (April to August 2002) of the study, a new sample of learners and parents became part of the study. Phase One dealt more generically with issues around diversity; Phase Two was designed to focus in on the specific issues around diversity.

To gain a deeper understanding of the arguments and rationalisations made by learners and educators about their behaviour with respect to difference and diversity, the research team took the decision to develop a research instrument that would give respondents an opportunity to explore specific settings. Two scenarios were designed which sought to stimulate debate and even controversy. The first scenario gave an example of an 'exclusion' situation that was removed from the learners' and educators' immediate context (set in England). The intention was to avoid a picture that would either offend or intimidate anybody. The names of the major actors and the central incident in the scenario were adjusted for former Department of Education and Training (DET³) and non-former DET settings.

The scenarios were administered to learners, and the analyses of the findings were shown to the educators concerned. This feedback was useful for the educators in gaining insight into the responses of their learners (which informed the answers to the second educators' questionnaire). The findings were also presented to the class concerned in the form of a feedback. After the feedback was given, the second scenario was presented to the class.

The research in the KZN study was compressed into one phase and was somewhat different to the WC and EC. The significant difference was that the KZN research is more a series of relatively discrete case studies. Data was collected over a two-month period (April to May 2002) with varying degrees of time spent at different schools in relation to the design of the study described below and varying strategies used. While common instruments were used, and access was negotiated at all the schools with both the principals and the provincial authorities, the research approaches at individual schools varied. When the

study began, a meeting of all the schools in the study was called at which the research team briefed the schools and addressed issues of difficulty. At this meeting discussions were held about the kinds of issues to be pursued and how they would be pursued.

Difficulties encountered and limitations of this study

This section documents some of the major difficulties encountered in the process of conducting this research, as well as the limitations of this study. In this regard five major areas are considered: funding; gaining access to the selected research sites; resistance to research by school actors; time; and scope.

- Funding resources for the project were limited and determined how much time and attention individuals could give to the project. This was a major disability. It needs to be emphasised that work of this kind is labour-intensive and requires financial resources that will support researchers in the field for extended periods of time.
- As discussed earlier in the paper, research contexts have a determinative influence on the research and it was noted that gaining access to schools was difficult. Not only were researchers denied access in some cases, but in other cases schools implicitly and/or explicitly selected which researchers would be given access to their schools – ‘blacks’ in ‘black’ schools, ‘whites’ in ‘white’ schools, and so on.
- Educators and principals of schools tended to be most reluctant to be subjects of research. They tended to see the research as policing, showing up their deficiencies and judging their performances. Their reactions then tended to be defensive, and in most instances prevented observations of classroom practices.
- In relation to time, given the range of categories in the study, it was not always possible for the researchers to interview all the respondents or to conduct interviews over the whole duration of the project, which was effectively only two years (the two years were for the study as a whole – from designing the research, recruiting researchers, conducting the research and producing reports).
- Finally, and linked to time, is the scope of this study. The scope is vast, conceptually, methodologically and empirically. As indicated earlier, the study stretched across macro, meso and micro levels of education in three

provinces. At the same time, this study is also a part of an international comparative exercise with India. As such, the scope of this study was a pressure on the research process in that researchers were expected to operate on multiple levels, and within very tight time constraints. In this regard, if the study had been of a smaller scale, it would have been able to explore issues in much more depth than is possible here.

Conclusion

These comments have sought to place the concepts of educational inclusion and educational exclusion in the context of the social exclusion, social inclusion debate in the South. The discussion has considered these concepts in relation to the multi-dimensional issues of exclusion and shown ways in which the concepts could usefully be employed in the South. It has emphasised that the issues are neither simple nor easy to tackle. Educational inclusion requires careful consideration of every aspect of schooling and the social context in which it finds itself. Innovative approaches to educational inclusion will need to address issues at macro, micro, personal and interpersonal levels. Connections between school and community cultures have to be drawn, as well as between educational and community programmes of inclusion. The concepts of 'diversity' and difference are fundamental to inclusive initiatives lest these seek to create homogenous communities. Social and educational exclusion are seen to occur around a complex of injustices, which can be addressed usefully through understanding the culture of power and using the nonsynchronous model and interlocking framework, within a theory of articulation, as tools of analysis. The concepts of inclusion and exclusion press for much closer conscious and self-conscious consideration of identity and role: who is doing the excluding and including; who is choosing the excluding and including; how are these processes of inclusion and exclusion facilitated; and what are the dominant views and relations of social, economic and political power? The approach of the study emphasises the importance of such interrogation at the levels of research and policy formation to ensure that they do not implicitly perpetuate injustices.

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Notes

- 1 This chapter does not exhaustively review the concepts of educational exclusion and inclusion. For a more detailed discussion see Sayed 2002.
- 2 'Introvert' and 'extrovert' were useful criteria for selection of learners as it became apparent from the interviews that bullying and family problems were often related to introversion, hence isolation and exclusion.
- 3 DET, Department of Education and Training, former African schools.

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Deracialisation of Gauteng schools – a quantitative analysis

Mohammad Sujee

Introduction

The term ‘deracialisation’ in the South African context can be interpreted as the activity that seeks to undo the prejudices in the country that have existed since colonisation. The aim of this paper is to initiate debate on the current levels by which education institutions in Gauteng have been able to break down the rigid racial compartments that were institutionalised in our education system by the apartheid regime.¹ This paper terms this as ‘deracialisation’. A full study was not attempted; rather the paper focuses on what the status quo was in education for the Gauteng province from 1996 to 2002. The year 1996 was chosen as a baseline as it was the first year that recorded complete data collection from schools by the Gauteng Department of Education (DoE). The paper will thus attempt to answer questions on the learner and educator profiles and on how rapidly or slowly deracialisation is taking place across all public ordinary schools in Gauteng. The approach is to look at environments by their ex-department² classification and examine how these former departments have begun to ‘deracialise’, that is, integrate racially.

One of the aims in post-apartheid South Africa is the fulfilment of the obligation set out in the Constitution of South Africa (1996), that is, the right to basic education, ‘to ensure equity and the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices’. A key element when ensuring these constitutional obligations is the transformation of education. One of the constitutional obligations placed on the DoE is the pursuance of ‘access’ to education and to ensure the principles of ‘equity’ and ‘redress’. Within this, questions on deracialisation of schools and the extent of learner migration across schools have arisen. Recent research has attempted to track patterns of migration, the

extent to which deracialisation has occurred, as well as to provide explanations for this and the implications thereof (Carrim 2003; Carrim & Soudien 1999; Sekete, Shilubane & Moila 2001; Soudien 2004; Vally & Dalamba 1999; Vally & Zafar 2001).

Some of the trends noted in this research include perceptions that migration has occurred from former DET schools to formerly white, Indian and coloured schools, and that migration has occurred mainly to English-medium schools. Reasons for migration include the quest for school quality. Using the Gauteng Province as a case study, this paper attempts to contribute to the developing literature on migration and the changing demographics of schooling in South Africa.

Much debate surrounds the issue of the movement of learners and educators from township schools into the former Transvaal Education Department (TED) schools in the formerly white suburbs. There is an increase in the number of black³ learners who now attend schools in this former TED department. As a result, there is a perception amongst the public and some sections of the media that the deracialisation of schools is taking place because of this movement and that learners are vacating townships, resulting in the emptying of township schools. The question that also arises is whether the educator component of schools mirrors the general population demographics and whether there is racial integration taking place amongst educators and school governors in the public school sector.

Deracialisation of learner enrolment in schools

The 'apartheid ideal' was a completely segregated society with an entirely segregated education system. All schools were racially defined and played a major role in the construction of racial and social class identities in South Africa. The racist construction of people as white, Indian, coloured or African and the bolstering of ethnicity amongst these four and amongst Africans has, of course, supported different social and class experiences of people (Carrim 1992). It is clear that as South Africa proceeds towards the transformation and democratisation of its society there is going to be movement of people from one area to another. People are now free to move to areas of their choice and to those areas that have been better resourced by the apartheid architects who ensured

the establishment of privileges for one group at the expense and denial of others. The apartheid design ensured ‘separate and unequal provision of housing, schooling, social amenities and economic and political oppression and exploitation of “black” South Africans. As such, “black” South Africans were for all intent and purposes excluded from the “mainstream” of South African society’ (Carrim 2003: 21). In education, therefore, there has been a movement of learners to schools that had space and to those schools that are perceived by parents to be better resourced.

The school population shifts that are indicated in Figures 2.2 to 2.5 on the following pages strongly support the existence of a perceived hierarchy of privilege and quality starting with the former DET as the least resourced, to the former House of Representatives (HOR) and former House of Delegates (HOD), and ending with the former TED as the most privileged. The former department that has moved most towards a provincially representative racial composition is the former HOD, where Indians now comprise a minority (Arends, Gustaffson, Mbuli, Moloto & Sujee 1999: 38). The movement of learners from one former department to another, however, does not imply that there is a decrease in the number of learners in the former DET schools or former HOR or former HOD schools, but rather that there has been an increase in the number of learners from the other population groups into these former departments. According to Carrim (1992), the desegregation of schools began in 1985 in the former HOD and HOR schools. The enrolment of black learners only began in 1990 in the former TED, when the then Minister of Education (House of Assembly) announced that white state schools could enrol black (African, Indian and coloured) learners. This then ensured that all the former departments began to ‘officially’ enrol learners from all race groups. There are opinions that if these schools (former TED, HOR and HOD) had not enrolled African learners, they would have been under-utilised and therefore forced to close and/or make educators redundant.

Learner enrolment in township schools (former African areas) has not decreased but rather increased over the years and this can be attributed to a number of factors. One such factor is the enforcement of the South African Schools Act of 1996 that ensured access to schools by learners. This has resulted in an increase of African learners in the province from 69 per cent in 1996 to 74 per cent in 2002. Demographic trends in the population as a whole comprise a second factor, for example, whenever learners transferred out of township

schools, these schools enrolled other learners who came into these areas from outlying and rural areas. Thus these vacated seats were filled. Learner movement from one school to another has been difficult to monitor, as there is no tracking system or learner profile system. As a result, the movement of learners from township schools to suburban schools will continue to be debated. The enrolment rates of schools by race does however enable us to track some movement and most importantly the extent to which Gauteng schools are being deracialised.

The question then is: To what extent have Gauteng schools deracialised in terms of learner representivity, keeping in mind that we have come from a history that has divided the population by race? Table 2.1 and Figures 2.1 to 2.5 provide an indication of the level of learner representivity in these schools.

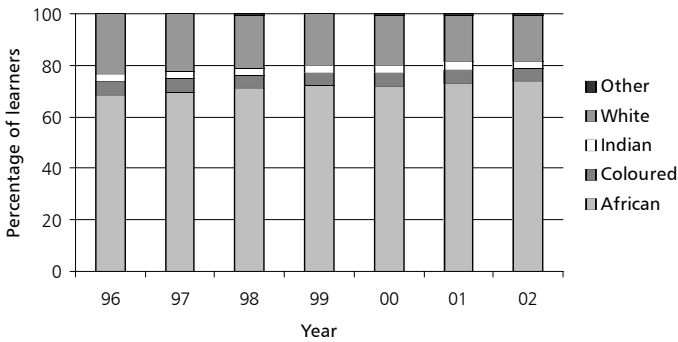
The school population reflected in Table 2.1 shows that in 2002 there were 74 per cent African learners, 4.9 per cent coloured learners, 2.7 per cent Indian learners, 18 per cent white learners and 0.2 per cent other learners in Gauteng. There was a decrease in the number of Indian and white learners in their respective former departments (Figures 2.2 to 2.4), but nevertheless the majority of learners from these respective population groups are still within the public school sector and the figure correlates very closely with the population demographics of Gauteng. The census data (2001) revealed that the African and white population for Gauteng comprised 73.8 per cent and 19.9 per cent of the total provincial population respectively. The school data in 2002 reflected that 74 per cent of learners were African and 18 per cent of learners were white. This decrease in the number of white learners can be attributed to migration and general demographic shifts in the population.

Figures 2.2 to 2.5 show the level at which racial desegregation amongst learners is taking place in the former departments. The former HOR, HOD and

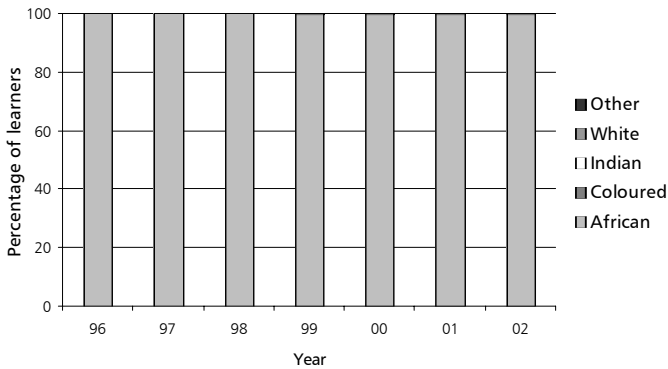
Table 2.1 Percentage of the Gauteng Province population by race

Data source	African (%)	Coloured (%)	Indian (%)	White (%)
Census 2001 (Stats SA)	73.8	3.8	2.5*	19.9
Gauteng Annual Schools Survey: Ordinary Schools 2002	74.0	4.9	2.7	18.0

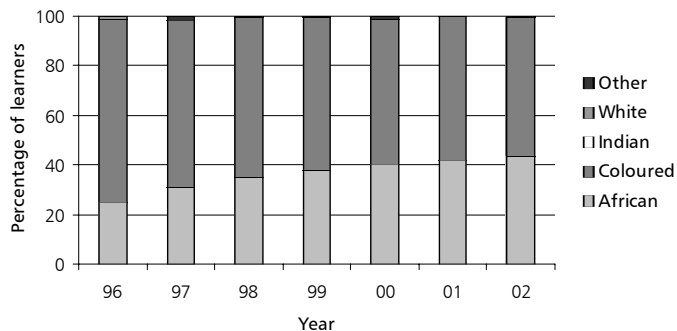
*Census classified the group as Indian/Asian

Figure 2.1 Learners by race in Gauteng schools

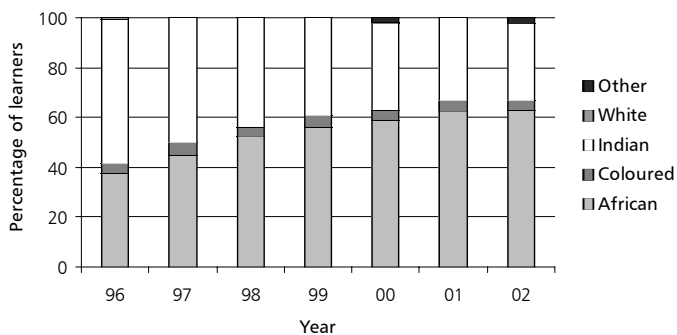
	96	97	98	99	00	01	02
African	68.5	69.7	71.2	72.0	72.0	72.9	74.0
Coloured	5.4	5.3	5.1	5.1	5.1	5.3	4.9
Indian	2.8	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.6	3.0	2.7
White	23.4	22.4	20.6	20.1	19.9	18.4	18.0
Other		0.3	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4

Figure 2.2 Percentage of learners by race in ex-DET schools

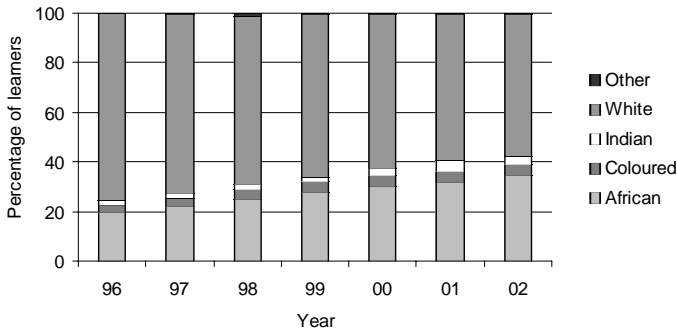
	96	97	98	99	00	01	02
African	99.9	100.1	99.8	99.7	99.7	99.3	99.6
Coloured	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.7	0.3
Indian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
White	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other		0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 2.3 Percentage of learners by race in ex-HOR schools

	96	97	98	99	00	01	02
African	24.9	31.2	35.0	37.6	40.2	41.7	43.7
Coloured	74.1	67.1	64.6	62.1	58.6	58.1	56.0
Indian	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2
White	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other		1.4	0.0	0.1	0.9	0.0	0.1

Figure 2.4 Percentage of learners by race in ex-HOD schools

	96	97	98	99	00	01	02
African	37.5	45.2	52.0	56.3	58.8	62.3	62.8
Coloured	4.3	4.7	4.3	4.3	4.0	4.8	4.1
Indian	57.9	49.9	43.5	39.1	35.3	32.7	31.1
White	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
Other		0.1	0.1	0.2	2.0	0.1	2.0

Figure 2.5 Percentage of learners by race in ex-TED schools

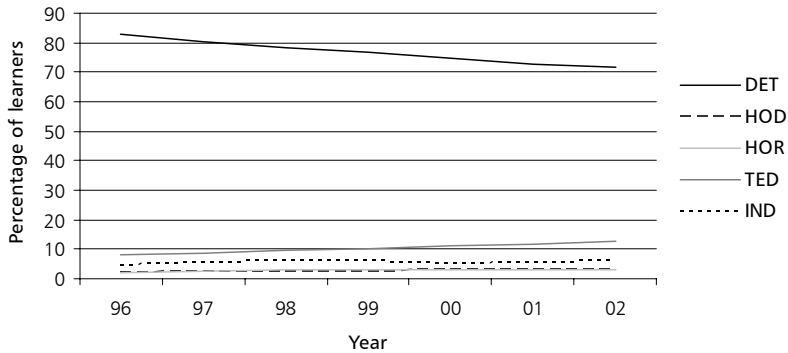
	96	97	98	99	00	01	02
African	19.6	22.1	25.1	27.8	29.8	31.6	34.2
Coloured	3.2	3.4	3.9	4.2	4.5	4.7	4.8
Indian	1.4	1.8	2.1	2.1	2.8	4.3	3.4
White	75.9	72.2	67.8	65.4	62.6	58.9	57.1
Other		0.6	1.1	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5

TED schools have increased their enrolment of African learners substantially and it is in the former HOD schools (Figure 2.4) that the number of African learners has increased dramatically and constitutes the majority of learners in these schools. Figure 2.3 also illustrates that the former HOR schools have increased in African enrolment.

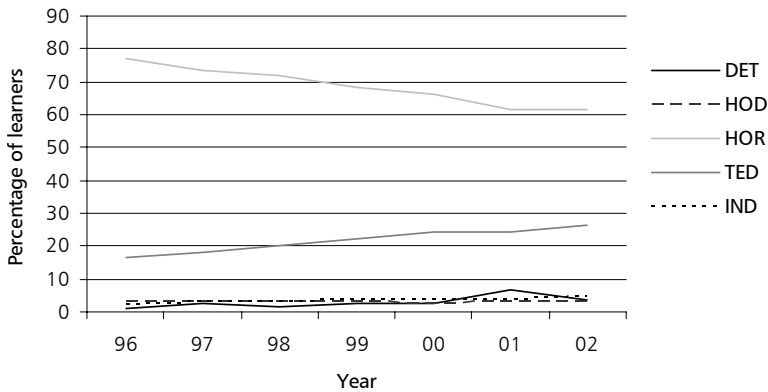
The rate of deracialisation in the former departments is increasing with the exception of the former DET schools (Figure 2.2). This is likely to be a result of the geographical positioning of the school and highlights the old hierarchy of apartheid, as a result of which the resources are still found in the suburban schools. It also discloses that in the other former department schools, there was space to accommodate African learners and it further highlights the perception of people that the 'top' of the old apartheid hierarchy is where 'quality' education is to be found.

Where are the learners moving to?

There has been a shift (25 per cent) of African learners from the former DET schools to the other former departments and independent schools from

Figure 2.6 Percentage of African learners

	96	97	98	99	00	01	02
DET	83.1	80.3	78.2	76.8	74.7	72.9	71.5
HOD	2.0	2.3	2.5	2.7	2.9	3.1	3.0
HOR	2.0	2.6	2.8	2.9	3.2	3.2	3.2
TED	8.1	8.8	9.5	10.3	11.4	11.9	12.5
IND	4.7	5.6	6.1	5.9	5.3	5.7	6.1

Figure 2.7 Percentage of coloured learners

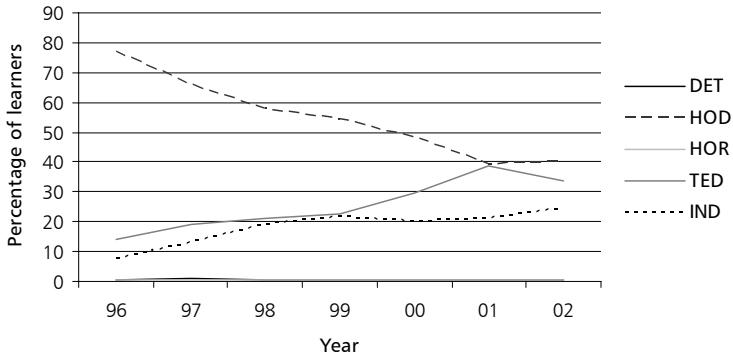
	96	97	98	99	00	01	02
DET	1.1	2.4	1.3	2.5	2.6	6.7	3.6
HOD	2.9	3.1	2.9	2.9	2.8	3.3	2.9
HOR	77.3	73.6	72.1	68.3	66.1	61.6	61.8
TED	16.5	17.9	20.2	22.2	24.4	24.3	26.5
IND	2.2	2.9	3.3	3.6	3.6	3.6	4.6

1996–2002. The greatest movement has been among Indian and coloured learners (Figures 2.7 and 2.8) who have moved from their respective former department into the former TED and independent schools. The majority of white learners (86 per cent) are in the former TED schools, but this number has decreased from 1996 as some learners have moved into independent schools. The percentage of white learners in independent schools has increased from 8 per cent in 1996 to 13.5 per cent in 2002 (Figure 2.9).

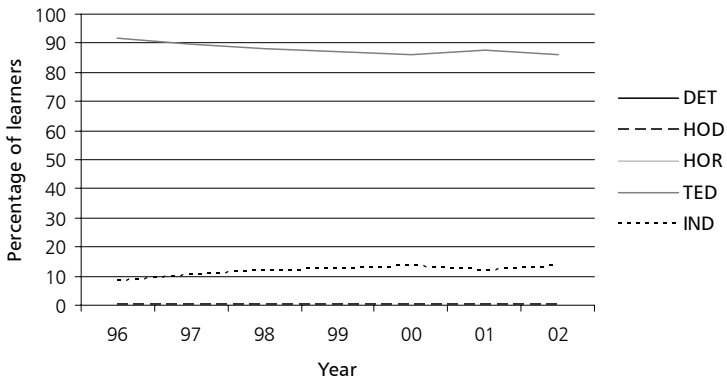
Over 74 per cent of African learners, as indicated in Figure 2.6, are in the former DET schools and just over 12 per cent are in the former TED schools. There is a decrease in the percentage of learners in the former DET schools but this does not indicate that the learner numbers have actually decreased. The contrary is true. There has been an increase in the number of learners from 692 658 learners in 1996 to 840 969 learners in 2002. A further study could be undertaken with regard to individual schools or by area and this may show that trends differ from area to area. A similar pattern can be seen in Figure 2.7 with regard to coloured learners. There are a substantial number of coloured learners (26 per cent) moving into the former TED schools.

It is the Indian learners who have migrated significantly out of the former HOD schools (Figure 2.8) and moved into the former TED schools and independent schools. There is a high percentage decrease of Indian learners from the former HOD schools – from 78 per cent to 40 per cent. This can be attributed to the logical movement of people to areas of ‘better resources’ or by social choice. It is in this former departmental sector that much deracialisation is taking place. Carrim and Soudien argue that the opening up of schools had a knock-on effect, that is, the entry of African learners into coloured schools precipitated a flight of the coloured middle class into the former TED schools. This change, in turn, stimulated the departure of middle-class whites to the more expensive, and therefore more exclusive, public and private schools (Carrim & Soudien 1999: 164). This knock-on effect can also be attributed to other former departments, especially the former HOD schools.

In 1996, there were 7 per cent (4) former HOD schools, 14 per cent (10) HOR schools and 50 per cent (242) former TED schools that recorded low deracialisation (less than 10 per cent) patterns (see Table 2.2). The percentage of schools with low deracialisation decreased to 5 per cent (3) of the former HOD schools, 4 per cent (3) of the former HOR schools and 34 per cent (190)

Figure 2.8 Percentage of Indian learners

	96	97	98	99	00	01	02
DET	0.6	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5
HOD	76.7	66.0	58.0	54.5	48.4	39.1	40.0
HOR	0.3	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.4
TED	14.3	19.0	21.2	22.4	29.9	38.5	33.7
IND	7.7	13.1	19.0	21.4	20.0	21.2	24.8

Figure 2.9 Percentage of white learners

	96	97	98	99	00	01	02
DET	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
HOD	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
HOR	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
TED	91.6	89.5	88.1	87.1	86.3	87.4	86.1
IND	8.0	10.2	11.7	12.6	13.2	12.1	13.5

of the former TED schools in 2002. The number of schools that had moderate deracialisation patterns in these former departments in 2002 was 12 per cent of the former HOD schools, 41 per cent of the former HOR schools and 28 per cent of the former TED schools. The majority of the former HOD (83 per cent) and HOR (53 per cent) schools had high deracialisation (greater than 39 per cent) patterns in their schools.

It is evident that the pace of deracialisation in the former TED schools is slow. This may perhaps be as a result of the language of learning and teaching (LOLT) practised at the schools, coupled with the high school fees charged by these schools, which impedes the movement of African learners and black learners in general. There is a high correlation between schools that have Afrikaans as the LOLT and a low number of African learners. Over 94 per cent (180) of schools that had Afrikaans as the LOLT in 2002 have low deracialisation patterns. However, while school fees in former TED schools may have a general exclusionary effect for black learners, it is interesting to note that former TED schools charging high fees in 2002 had high deracialisation patterns. This indicates the attractiveness of such schools for wealthy black parents.

In the former DET schools, less than 1 per cent of learners are from the other population groups. This is expected as the movement of people in general is towards the suburbs where resources are located. As indicated above, the general trend of apartheid was the provision of resources in a hierarchical way on the basis of race. This apartheid legacy inherited by the democratic South Africa cannot be undone in such a short space of time and therefore the flow of learners from the other population groups will not move in the direction of the former DET schools in the medium term.

Table 2.2 Percentage of schools with African learners in the former TED, HOR and HOD schools

Ex-Dept	<10%		10–39%		>39%	
	African learners		African learners		African learners	
	Low deracialisation		Moderate deracialisation		High deracialisation	
	1996	2002	1996	2002	1996	2002
HOD	7	5	52	12	41	83
HOR	14	4	72	41	13	53
TED	50	34	30	28	20	36

Racial representivity among educators in public ordinary schools

When the provincial educator mass is analysed, it appears that the educator complement is racially representative and that there is compliance to the Employment Equity Act (1998). However, when the data is broken down by school or in relation to learner representivity, and by taking other factors into consideration, it is evident that there is little or no deracialisation of the educator body in some of the public ordinary schools. For example, where there were more than 80 per cent black learners, the majority of the educators were white.

In the former TED, deracialisation of the educator core is taking place at an even slower pace than among learners. This is also apparent in schools where there is a majority of black learners (over 80 per cent); one tends to find that the majority of the educators are white. In 2002, 9 per cent (50) of the former TED schools had over 90 per cent white educators, whilst over 80 per cent of its learner enrolment was black. One per cent (6) of schools had 100 per cent black learner enrolment, where the educator complement was 100 per cent white.

The former TED schools have begun to employ more educators from 'other' population groups. In 2002, 75 per cent of these schools had more than 90 per cent white educators compared to 87 per cent of schools in 2000. Table 2.3 below shows that the percentage of black educators has increased in the former TED schools by 3.7 percentage points – this increase further disaggregated shows an increase from 2.1 per cent, 0.8 per cent and 1 per cent in 2000 of African, coloured and Indian educators to 3.8 per cent, 1.4 per cent and 2.3 per cent in 2002 respectively.

In the former HOD schools, 13 per cent of schools in 2002 had more than 90 per cent Indian educators compared to 15 per cent in 2000. The number of

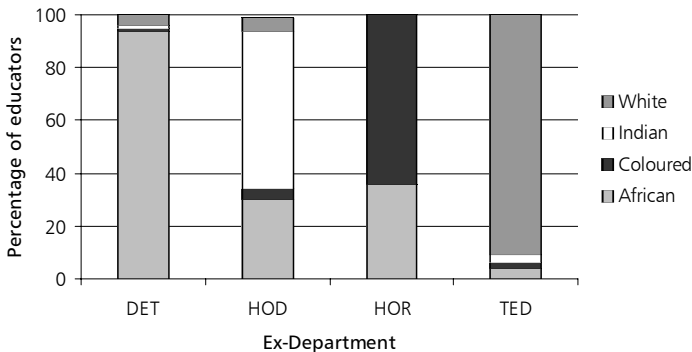
Table 2.3 Percentage of educators by race (and by ex-department) – 2000 and 2002

	Ex-DET		Ex-HOR		Ex-HOD		Ex-TED		Total public	
	2000	2002	2000	2002	2000	2002	2000	2002	2000	2002
African	98.9	99.0	6	12	14	20	2.1	3.8	60.5	61.2
Coloured	0.2	0.2	88	82	2	3	0.8	1.4	5.9	5.3
Indian	0.2	0.2	1	1	74	69	1.0	2.3	3.4	3.5
White	0.7	0.6	5	5	10	8	96.0	92.4	30.2	30.0

African educators had increased from 14 per cent in 2000 to 20 per cent in 2002. A similar increase of African educators in the former HOR schools is evident. The percentage of African educators in this former department had increased by 6 per cent as well. In the former DET schools, 1 per cent of non-African educators existed in 2000 and the same exists in 2002. The majority of the educators in the service of the Gauteng Department of Education are African – 61 per cent of the total educators employed in schools, of whom 92 per cent are in the former DET schools.

Figure 2.10 illustrates the percentage of educators employed in 2002 by the school governing bodies (SGBs) of public ordinary schools. The educators employed by SGBs account for 10 per cent of the total educators in the public ordinary school sector. However, over 90 per cent of these educators were employed in the former TED schools with the majority (90 per cent) being white. Similar patterns of employment are also prevalent in the former DET where the majority of educators employed by the SGB are African. The SGBs in the former HOD and HOR have employed a substantial number of educators from the ‘other’ population groups, that is, those who are not Indian or coloured respectively.

Figure 2.10 Percentage of educators employed by the SGB (by race) in 2002



Ex Dept	African	Coloured	Indian	White
DET	94	1	1	5
HOD	30	4	60	5
HOR	36	64	0	0
TED	4	2	3	91

It is therefore evident that there is a limited amount of deracialisation with regard to the employment of educators in some schools in Gauteng. This is much more apparent when the data is categorised according to the former departments. It is noticeable that the greater majority of the educators in each respective former department represents the apartheid legacy. The movement of educators by the different race groups in the former departments is not discounted but the reconstruction of the racial composition in each of the former departments is taking place at a lingering and protracted rate.

Representivity on the school governing body

In 2002 there was a visible form of deracialisation of the SGBs (see Table 2.4) of schools. Overall, there was 65 per cent African representation of the 74 per cent African learners and 27 per cent white parent representation of 18 per cent white learners on SGBs. In the main, black parents were elected on the SGBs where the black or African learner population did not constitute a majority.

This overall picture, however, hides the actual representation of parents on individual school's SGBs. For example, when the data is disaggregated in the former TED schools where there were over 60 percent black learners, there were 49 per cent black parents on the governing bodies of schools but where there were fewer (less than 20 per cent) black learners, 1 per cent of black parents were elected on to the SGBs of these schools.

This imbalance in parent representation is also evident in the former HOD and HOR schools. In the former HOD where there were more than 60 per cent African learners, there were 24 per cent African parents and 71 per cent Indian

Table 2.4 Percentage of SGB members by race (by ex-department) in 2002

Ex-Dept	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Other	Total
DET	99.3	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.1	56.9
HOD	19.8	3.7	71.5	4.7	0.2	3.1
HOR	19.7	78.9	0.5	0.8	0.0	3.8
TED	14.9	2.6	2.8	79.4	0.3	33.5
GP*	65.2	4.1	3.4	27.2	0.1	100

*Totals do not add up to GP, as new schools have been excluded from the table

parents represented on the SGB. In the former HOR schools, there were 40 per cent African parents represented on the SGB. It is apparent that where there were fewer learners of one population group in a school, the likelihood of that group's parents being represented on the SGB was very slim.

Conclusion

This study constitutes a quantitative analysis, using learner enrolment and educator statistics, to track racial representivity within schools. From a macro perspective, the enrolment of learners at schools appears to be deracialised to a large degree in most schools and to a lesser degree in certain schools where there are impediments such as the language of learning and teaching (LOLT) used. There is considerably more deracialisation of schools charging higher fees compared to the schools in which the LOLT is Afrikaans. It seems that higher school-fee charging English-medium schools of the former TED are preferred by non-English (as a home language) speaking parents. A study could be undertaken to establish why learners have moved into these schools and whether this reflects a real desire for racial integration on the part of learners and parents or rather the desire to access better resourced schools that parents perceive will give their children a competitive edge. School resources have not as yet equalised. The school funding norms and the provisioning of other resources and programmes implemented on the basis of redress and equity by the Gauteng DoE will take a much longer time to attain equity at all levels in all schools. However, the high school fees charged by some schools can undo these strategies and would enforce social inequality in public schools.

Learners from the former HOD schools are the most mobile group in terms of integration. The question that emerges is why the learners from this former department are so mobile? What role does their socio-economic status play in this? Deracialisation is also occurring faster among learners than with educators and governors. This could possibly be because of the fact that while legislation and policies compel schools to admit all learners, there is no legislation or policy that obliges schools to employ educators in a manner that ensures racial equity, nor ensuring that composition of SGBs must reflect the school population.

It is evident that the exclusivity of the apartheid design has been broken down in most schools in Gauteng. Many schools have opened their doors to 'other race groups' and have begun the process of reconstructing the fabric of society in an inclusive manner rather than 'deracialising'. However, the population demographics are such that there are going to be single-race schools, especially amongst the poorest of the poor. The challenge for the Gauteng DoE, as well as for the national department, is to ensure that there are programmes that will expose these learners to diversity, multi-culturalism, multi-faith and religious tolerance.

Deracialisation of schools requires further research into the attitudes, friendships and group dynamics within schools so as to develop a real sense of whether racial integration is really taking place or not. Recent research undertaken shows that different forms of exclusion and racism still exist in the education system and in schools in particular. It also draws attention to the racial tension in schools, especially where schools promote the previous hegemony and ethos of the school. Furthermore, it has been found that schools outside of the former DET do not promote African languages and there is an inadequate representation of Africans or blacks on school governing bodies. The racial 'mixing' of schools is irreversible. The challenge is rather for schools to foster interaction and to develop an ethos that reflects the diverse social, cultural, religious, political and economic backgrounds of its learners.

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Notes

- 1 This article is an updated version of the article 'School migration and demography in Gauteng schools', published in the *Quarterly Review of Education and Training in South Africa*, Volume 10, No. 1 by the Wits Education Policy Unit. The analysis reflected in this document is based on the Annual Surveys for Ordinary Schools of the Gauteng Department of Education for the years 1996 to 2002. However, the analysis and interpretation of the data should be attributed to the author in his personal capacity and not to the Department. The author would like to thank the Gauteng DoE for allowing the use of its data and to present these findings; and also to thank A Chanee, S Motala, B Fleisch, ML Moodie and fellow colleagues for their invaluable assistance and support.
- 2 Former apartheid education departments separated by race – TED, former Transvaal Educational and Training Department (white); DET, former Department of Education

and Training (African); HOR, former House of Representatives (coloured) and HOD, House of Delegates (Indian).

- 3 The term 'black' in this article refers to African, Indian and coloured.

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Educating South African teachers for the challenge of school integration: towards a teaching and research agenda

Relebohile Moletsane, Crispin Hemson and Anabanithi Muthukrishna

Introduction

Almost ten years into our democracy, South African schools are still grappling with the apartheid legacy of separate and unequal schooling. This is in spite of the plethora of legislation and policies (for example, the *South African Schools Act* of 1996; *White Paper on Education and Training*, March 1995; *Education White Paper 6*, July 2001 and others) that mandate all public schools to provide equal educational opportunities for *all* learners. Many teachers and schools are either unwilling or are unable to implement the requisite changes to respond qualitatively to this mandate. The main reasons for this include lack of commitment to school integration, as well as inadequate and/or inappropriate teacher and school development for the required changes.

This paper, therefore, examines first the changing schooling context in which graduating teachers teach. Second, the paper reviews literature related to interventions that aim to prepare teachers for effectively teaching in integrated contexts. Third, it investigates the extent to which practising teachers educated under apartheid systems are being properly and adequately re-skilled to teach in a changing schooling and societal context. The paper identifies challenges facing tertiary institutions in their efforts to prepare teachers professionally for teaching in newly integrated schools, and maps out a possible research agenda for developing and implementing ameliorative interventions in teacher education.

How, then, are teachers dealing with the diverse learner identities in their classrooms?

Schooling contexts

This paper argues that true school integration, which promotes equality of access as well as of educational opportunity for *all*, is still elusive in most school contexts in South Africa. Instead, school and classroom policies and practices that are informed by such understandings of integration as simply accepting learners from other racial groups, continue to flourish. Beyond access, schools continue to respond to their changing demographics by adopting approaches that allow them to maintain the status quo. As reviewed in Moletsane (1999), these include the assimilationist approach in which learners are expected to fit into the existing ethos and culture of the school and for the school to continue with 'business as usual'. A second approach is the colour-blind approach in which teachers claim not to see colour/race and refuse to engage with issues around it in their dealings with learners. A third and most common is the contributionist approach in which learners are asked to acknowledge and know about the contributions (mostly food and dress) of other racial and cultural groups. In uni-racial schools, the denialist approach dominates, in which teachers claim that issues of diversity do not concern them, as their learners all come from the same background.

The following excerpts, one drawn from a newspaper article by Suzanne Leclerc-Madlala (*Sunday Times Extra*, 17 August 2003) and the other two from our own research and supervision of teaching practice in schools, illustrate the different ways in which teachers are dealing (or not dealing) with issues of diversity in their classrooms and schools and the ways these still act to reinforce discrimination and inequalities.

Excerpt 1: The contributionist approach

In a social studies class in a middle-class, formerly white school, learners are asked to 'break into their cultural groups', with each group assigned one of the four corners of the classroom.¹ Neatly, there are four corners for the four obvious groups – 'whites, coloureds, Indians and Zulus' (yes, 'Zulus'). But what was obvious to the teacher was not so obvious to the learners. They milled around the corners and humorously sought advice from one another as to where they should go. Joel, the French boy, who is black, decided the 'white' group was appropriate. The visiting Venezuelan girl joined the 'Indian' group, and the

Xhosa-speaking boy joined the ‘Zulus’. If the teacher was up to the task, she could have used this as a marvellous opportunity for demonstrating the stupidity inherent in such simplistic attempts to categorise people. Instead, the teacher became impatient with the pupils’ to-ing and fro-ing, and instructed them where they should go! And so, the biracial girl was marched off to the ‘coloured’ corner. Joel, the French kid, was put in with the ‘Zulus’, the Venezuelan was assigned to the ‘whites’, and the African-American girl was taken out of the ‘Zulus’ group and re-assigned ‘coloured’.

Predictably, once in their ‘appropriate’ groups, the assignment given, which produced and reinforced the usual stereotypes, was:

Discuss your culture: its traditional foods, customs, dress, and music, whatever else that marks you off as special. Then each of you will take a turn presenting to the class one aspect of your unique culture.

Excerpt 2: The assimilationist approach

The lesson is set in a working-class, previously Indian school located in an informal settlement bordering a Durban township.² Ninety-five per cent of the learner population is African, three per cent Indian, and two per cent coloured. However, of the 36 educators, 26 are Indian, and 10 African; nine are male and 27 are female. Teachers claim that racial/ethnic diversity is not an issue, as poverty is a unifying factor among the learners. Unemployment and crime are high in the area. School fees have been R275 per annum for the last eight years.

A Grade 7 teacher taught a lesson spread over two periods on ‘multicultural education’. According to the teacher, the aim of the lesson is to get learners to understand and appreciate difference – a topic in the new OBE and Curriculum 2005. The educator commenced her lesson by asking the learners: ‘What is multicultural education?’ Responses given by learners included:

Teaching in a classroom where learners come from different kinds of homes.

Different people do things differently like pray, eat different food, speak different languages, have different accents.

We look different, like our hair is ‘crouse’, yours is straight, we got ‘putu lips’, like that; you know what I’m saying.

The educator recorded the responses on a flip chart. A brief discussion followed on each point.

T: Learners, how many race groups in our class do you identify?

L: We have blacks, Indians, coloureds and we also have white and African parents – they stay in Malagazi – their children become coloureds. Thuli is ... like ... that kind child. And then we have Thabo – I don’t know what he is. He’s a white muntu. (*Everybody laughs. The teacher reprimands the learners and explains that Thabo is an albino, using Michael Jackson’s skin condition to explain the condition.*)

The teacher then divided the class into groups according to different topics (religion, food, dress, homes, celebrations, prayers, appearance/features) and assigned this as homework. During the feedback session the next day, predictable and stereotypical responses from the various groups were presented, but not challenged by the teacher.

Excerpt 3: The denialist response

This is a primary school (Grade 1–7) in rural KwaZulu-Natal, with over 1 000 learners, 22 educators and one support staff member.³ Teachers and learners come from isiZulu-speaking and a few from isiXhosa-speaking backgrounds. When asked, the teachers indicated that there *was no diversity* in the learner population. All come from poor homes – the unemployment rate is very high. Many of the children are cared for by grandparents. Families are either single parent or fathers work in Johannesburg. They do not include anything about multicultural education in the lessons because it is not really an issue at the school. However, first, the teachers indicated that some children at the school do face barriers to learning:

We do have children with problems like sight and hearing problems. We also have high numbers of learners with a problem of being underachievers, not disabled learners.

Another described the school's response:

In my class, children are divided into three categories. I decide on these categories by watching how they cope with activities assigned to them. There are those who are quick to learn, those who are slow to learn, and those who 'drive teachers mad' – by this I refer to learners who are extremely slow.

Second, a member of the SGB expressed concern about child abuse in the community – and even at the school. At a community meeting, a mother of a learner (age 16 and in Grade 6) who was raped by a teacher at the school explained what happened:

My daughter left school before writing June exams last year. I did not know what was wrong because she disappeared and I searched for her all over and my limited money was exhausted in that search. I got her at her granny's house. When I got there and tried to talk with her she ran away ... She just cried, saying she did not want to go to school ... Since this incident she has not told me that Mr K raped her. I thought of putting her in one of the schools in Winterton, but the problem is transport – she must take a bus or taxi to school and I don't have that money.

Parents and community members are extremely concerned that no appropriate action has been taken against the teachers involved. Parents feel that teachers are not committed to the school or to the learners. None of them is from the area, and they travel in every day. None of them has their children at the school. As one parent said, all have their children in 'white or Indian schools in the town. So they don't care about our children. They come late to school, stay away often.'

Conceptualising diversity issues

What do the above responses tell us? The three excerpts point to the complexity of the issues that confront teachers in all classroom contexts. The unequal power relations and oppressive behaviours that result from them mean that, at any one time, different factors related to individual and group identity (race, class, gender, sexuality, religion and so on) can interconnect to negatively

impact on teaching and learning. These factors range from racial/cultural discrimination, gender-based violence (including sexual abuse, harassment and rape), ability/disability, social class, language, and others, which act to exclude or alienate certain learners from schooling and learning. In this paper, we argue that these do not act in isolation. Rather, two or more interact to impact on an individual's ability and/or willingness to learn and remain in school. This means that conceptualisations of diversity and interventions that isolate and deal with one and exclude the others (as for example anti-racist education does) may not work. Rather, a framework that encompasses all forms of oppression resulting from unequal power relations needs to inform teacher education and professional development interventions.

In South Africa and elsewhere, such movements as multiculturalism and anti-racist education have historically informed debates around issues of diversity in education. While these are useful frameworks for the South African context, they have significant limitations. Firstly, as Akhurst (1997) has argued, multiculturalism, which encourages contact with other groups in the hope that this would lead to intercultural understanding and changes in attitudes as similarities are discovered, is limited in its capacity to address issues of diversity. Critiques of multiculturalism include the fact that it fails to actively address issues of unequal power relations, which perpetuate different forms of discrimination (Cole 1989 cited by Akhurst 1997). Second, while anti-racist education goes a step further and locates itself in opposition to more forms of inequalities (race, class, gender), it still falls short of acknowledging all sources of unequal power relations and the forms of discrimination they perpetuate. For example, HIV/AIDS stigma, child abuse and other forms of gender-based violence, ability/disability, and the different ways all these factors may interact to exclude certain individuals and groups from social institutions, including schools, are not automatically addressed in an anti-racist framework.

To address this, we argue for a human rights framework, which examines the relationships and intersections between race, class, gender, HIV/AIDS status and other forms of difference and inequity in schools, their communities and society in the context of shifting power relations. This kind of analysis will need to be context-specific in order to expose the processes through which inequity and injustice are experienced and perpetuated. In other words, there is a need to deconstruct concepts of oppression, inclusion and exclusion in relation to how relevant they are in addressing questions of equity, equality,

and social justice, and human rights within schools and their communities. The scenarios presented in this paper suggest that patterns of inequity play themselves out in insidious and complex ways in schools, and highlight the interplay of factors that contribute to exclusions and oppressions. Thus, this paper argues that debates around issues of diversity need to be located in the context of the social exclusion/inclusion debate from an equity and human rights perspective.

Given the above scenarios in the different school contexts, what is the role of teacher education in South Africa? How should teacher education programmes be preparing teachers for this role?

Teacher education and research for integrated schools

Given what we know about the ways in which diversity is played out and managed in schools, the role of teacher education and the extent to which it enables present and future teachers to address issues of diversity in their classrooms and schools needs to be examined. Due to the paucity of teacher education interventions and research into such programmes in South Africa, it is not yet possible to address these questions from our context. Thus, in this paper, we draw on some of the rather limited research available from the US and elsewhere on the impact of interventions in teacher education designed to address diversity in education.

In particular, we develop our framework from the works of Hargreaves (2001) on the emotional geographies of teaching and Paccione (2000) on developing a commitment to multicultural education among student teachers. However, we argue for the extension of this work to include a commitment to human rights and inclusive educational practice. We acknowledge the numerous questions about context and relevance, which the use of such research from the North raises, but see in it the potential for drawing lessons for mapping out a research and teaching agenda for the South African context.

Thus, in seeking to understand the forms of teaching and research interventions in teacher education that are necessary for effectively responding to the challenge of diversity in schools, the next section attempts to map some of the issues that confront such a research programme, as well as the forms of interventions that would best address diversity in our context.

What constitutes good practice internationally in this area?

It is notable that relevant research focuses on a broad range of learning outcomes – not just conceptual understanding but also change in attitudes, knowledge of relevant historical events, a commitment to certain values regarding democracy and equity, and a willingness to take action against oppression. To this effect, knowledge of diversity, skills for effectively working with diverse populations, and transforming attitudes towards cultural diversity are all goals for a teacher prepared in interventions that address issues of diversity (Paccione 2000).

Understandings of diversity

As argued above, we believe that only a particular, shared understanding of diversity may help a school and teacher education institution to develop interventions that effectively respond to issues of diversity in the South African context. Thus, a starting question in the research and teaching agenda would be: What understandings of diversity underpin existing teacher education and school interventions?

To illustrate, for the US context with majority white teachers, Lawrence and Tatum (1997) focus on anti-racist action as a key aim for a programme working with teachers. In the South African context, while the anti-racist approach may be relevant for historically white schools, which are still staffed by predominantly white teachers, many African schools remain uni-racial in their staff and student enrolment, and would require a different response. Thus, an appropriate response must involve a more contextual analysis as different local environments would require varied responses. Such a response must reject the cultural stereotyping exposed by LeClerc-Madlala (2003) in the first scenario presented above, and focus instead on the way social power is allocated inequitably on the basis of difference.

For us, diversity involves the interrelationships among race, class, gender, ability/disability, HIV status, and others – failure to address one area of experience may impede development in another. For example, when introduced to the work on sexism in the module ‘Diversity and learning’ in the first year of our BEd degree, white women students tend to see sexism as impacting seriously on African and Indian women, while viewing themselves as unaffected by it. Our view was that racism is operating to distance white women from issues of gender that affect all women.

A critical element in the understanding of diversity should not only highlight the ways in which privileged groups collude with the system. The collusion of subordinated groups with the system must also be examined. Thus, concepts such as 'internalised domination' (Adams, Blumenfeld, Castaneda, Hackman, Peters & Zuniga 2000) and 'internalised racism' (Lipsky 1977) are valuable, as they shift the analysis to an understanding not just of power relationships, but also to the ways in which participants in a system act in ways that maintain rather than challenge them. We contend that this approach to diversity is more helpful than one that focuses primarily on the challenging of oppressive practices and attitudes. Such an approach will be more effective in addressing the needs of African or white staff in uni-racial schools, as well as staff dealing with other forms of social exclusion, including HIV stigma, sexual harassment, sexual abuse, religious intolerance and others. Different interventions may thus be based on quite different premises, and research needs to highlight the nature of these differences.

Student teacher biographies

As many researchers have argued (for example, Paccione 2000; Tatum 2000), teacher education institutions need to consider the personal and academic attributes of the applicants before accepting them into their programmes. Questions regarding the nature of student teacher biographies (identity) and how this impacts on their commitment (and ability) to support their learners' positive development of their identities (Tatum 2000), need to inform the research agenda on recruitment into, as well as the content of, teacher education. A research agenda in this area needs to analyse the different kinds of life and educational experiences student teachers have had that may contribute to, or act against, a commitment and ability to effectively deal with issues of diversity and discrimination in their own classrooms. Most importantly, the question, can commitment to socially just practices in teaching be developed or is this determined by one's biography (Paccione 2000), needs to be addressed.

In the South African context, given the fact that most of our student teachers (at least at our own institution) are white and largely young and female, it is important that teaching and research interventions seek to acknowledge and understand their personal, social, and political fears and insecurities. These may include fears about affirmative action, as well as perceptions of reverse racism, which tend to legitimise, at least in their own minds, prejudice against the 'other', and to perpetuate discrimination.

Emotional and relational aspects of teaching

Teaching and learning in post-apartheid South Africa is, of necessity, laden with emotions. For example, as teachers and learners confront issues of poverty, child abuse, HIV/AIDS orphans, rape and others, schools become much more than places for academic learning. Rather, they become community centres in which all sectors of the community expect to benefit from social, emotional and educational services. In this context, teachers perform multiple roles and provide a variety of services to a constituency wider than their learners. In such an endeavour, they need to be able to confront their own and their constituencies' emotional reactions as they tackle the various issues of discrimination and diversity in their schools and communities.

Thus, a research agenda that investigates the emotional and relational aspects of teaching in diverse settings, and how teachers understand and act on these (Hargreaves 2001), needs to be developed. According to Denzin (1984), teachers need to develop an emotional understanding or an 'emotional intersubjectivity that people are able to create in their interactions' (cited by Hargreaves 2001: 1058) with those with whom they come into contact (learners, parents and community members). When this understanding is lacking, emotional misunderstanding, in which 'people believe they know what others are feeling but are fundamentally mistaken', may occur. A research and teaching agenda needs to work towards developing interventions that aim to reduce what Hargreaves calls the emotional geographies that separate individuals (teachers) from others (parents and learners). According to him, these refer to the 'excessive forms of distance ... in human interaction that threaten [the] basic bonds and relationships that are essential to emotional understanding and the high quality interaction that arises from it' (Hargreaves 2001: 1059). The alienation of parents, particularly Africans, from schools is well documented in South Africa, with teachers complaining about poor parental involvement (Moletsane 2002). This may be due to the emotional misunderstanding between them and their children's teachers. Closing this gap may help towards bringing parents back into the educational process and in assisting teachers and schools in dealing with educational and social challenges, particularly in the era of AIDS and poverty.

Understanding learner characteristics

Based on the above, understanding and working with learner characteristics is essential if issues of diversity are to be effectively dealt with in schools. As

teacher educators and researchers, it is important that we engage with teachers (and their learners) as they really are, not as we would like them to be or expect them to be, and that we assist them to do the same. Thus, we need to ask: Do teachers and teacher trainees know who their learners really are? If they do not, can we really expect them to provide learners with equal opportunities to learning and success? What strategies can we employ to develop this understanding?

Creating democratic teaching and learning spaces

In a chapter that examined the ways in which educational institutions serve both to reinforce oppressive behaviours and to promote liberation of people, Osajima (1995) concluded that to do the latter, it is important that institutions create and maintain democratic teaching and learning spaces. These would include safe spaces for teachers and their learners in which to engage in frank discussion and dissent on issues pertaining to power relations and privilege among a few and the oppression of the majority. Concurring with Hargreaves (2001), Osajima concludes that the presence of difference, conflict and emotion in the teaching and learning situation presents teachers with challenges that require directed intervention. In this context, the design, content and delivery of interventions are crucial – otherwise they can be counterproductive. Classroom pedagogy and environment need to provide student teachers with genuinely supportive opportunities to explore issues in relation to ‘self’ and others.

So, what would such interventions look like?

The design and delivery of programmes

This paper argues that teacher education courses need to integrate debates on processes of oppression and social exclusion. These processes are located within the wider social and political contexts of society. They imply a denial of human rights. Thus, they need to engage with oppressions within a human rights framework. The scenarios presented earlier in this paper reveal blindness to and silence around human rights violations children suffer daily in schools and communities.

In referring to the aims of teacher education interventions that address issues of diversity, Paccione (2000) uses the concepts of cultural awareness, cultural

sensitivity and cultural competence. Citing Chen (1997), Paccione suggests that cultural awareness refers to the cognitive domain, cultural sensitivity to the affective domain, and cultural competence to the behavioural domain. Such a broad range of competencies requires attention to the particular pedagogical processes in teacher education, a point we return to below.

Contextualised programming

This paper argues that interventions aimed at educating teachers for diversity must not be decontextualised electives. Rather, they must provide students with real opportunities to deal with real issues in the communities they are aiming to serve. To this effect, Paccione posits that ‘two specific areas of intervention are most influential in the development of educators on issues of diversity. Foremost is the support for cultural immersion experiences and coursework ... that evokes a critical analysis of the socio-political status quo [in society]’ (2000: 980). Research from the US suggests that this is particularly understood as ways of placing students in culturally diverse contexts. However, schools of education, ours included, provide two forms of cultural immersion themselves: the experience of being in the institution, and that of teaching practice. Both of these expose students to new social environments that may promote or impede specific understandings of diversity.

Institutional experience

In relation to institutional experience, in May 2003 a campus forum of staff and students identified a series of specific complaints regarding racism on our campus. These comments were made mainly but not only by black students. The complaints included disrespect shown by white students to black staff and by white staff to black staff and students, as well as a racialised social life amongst students. The implication is that despite diversity amongst staff (50 per cent of academic staff are black – Indian, coloured and African) and students, a norm of white privilege is communicated through the social relationships on campus. This takes place through the perceived relationships between white and black academic and administrative staff, through the perceptions of authority as vesting in white staff, through the marginalisation of black languages in social interaction, and through the exclusion of black foreigners. We doubt if this is an atypical situation in a historically advantaged university in South Africa. The implication is that the existing socialisation of

students into racial roles is being reinforced rather than challenged by the experience of university life, and that the commitment towards a more inclusive institution, embodied in university policies, is not evidenced in the relationships amongst staff and students.

While these complaints were put forward by student teachers, in-service students enter the same institution hoping to achieve a more productive intellectual and professional life, and if these negative features are in place they represent an obstacle to the achievement of that hope. Thus, there is no doubt that to provide students with a more inclusive environment the institution needs to actively seek to challenge and change exclusionary values and practices.

Second, teacher education courses that address issues of diversity and the different forms of oppression need to be developed and implemented. Again, such courses need to be informed by a shared understanding of diversity as the interaction among a wide variety of identities and life experiences among individuals and groups. A number of programmes are emerging specifically in the area of gender and inclusive education, but relatively few in the area of racism, and still fewer that integrate and holistically address the various identities and life experiences that impact on individuals.

The limitation of coursework is precisely that – even though a model of inclusive practice may exist that is coherent with shared aims and values within a course, it may not cohere with the rest of the curriculum within pre-service education in particular, which has four years of study. Thus, ideally, inclusive education values and practices must permeate all levels of the students' four years of experience in the institution. However, our experience in having one course that addressed issues of diversity in a systematic and critical way was that it has become a reference point for students who could identify with its vision and values, and who are committed to issues of diversity. Thus the same campus forum that expressed concerns over racism made a recommendation that all students, and all staff – academic and administrative – be required to take the same course.

Teaching practice

Teaching practice is significant in initial teacher education as the opportunity for skills development and as the site for socialisation into the profession, as well as for the integrated assessment of the different elements of professional development. In 2002 we began raising questions as to whether teaching

practice is being conducted in a way consistent with our understanding of diversity. To understand this, Quin conducted an exploratory investigation into these issues, and observed:

a student's behaviour in response to a vociferously keen black girl during a question and answer session on the mat in a Grade 3 class. This girl's behaviour was just like the white boys', but the teacher consistently ignored the pointed, eager hand in front of her nose with a sort of 'I won't respond to bad manners' look. Yet she indulged all the boys who behaved in a similar manner and obviously appreciated their active participation. In essence, owing to their gender/race combination, the boys were being affirmed for their active enthusiasm, while the girl's race/gender combination meant that her assertive eagerness was repressed – an example of 'passive' sexism and/or racism. (2002: 10)

Quin identified the lack of any assessment criteria related to the management of diversity. A positive feature that she noted is the willingness of many student teachers who had *not* previously engaged in coursework in this area to hear and to understand comments on the problems of such situations.

There are also questions around the allocation of students to specific schools. A particular problem has been the allocation of white students to schools in black areas, and the fears of white students and parents about such placements. The issue of allocation is not a simple one, as preferences of students need to be taken into account – for example, some black students have raised the same concerns as white students about security.

One way of addressing this may be informed by Paccione's (2000) stages of development of an active commitment to diversity education, from contextual awareness, to emergent awareness, transformational awareness and committed action. Using this framework, the development of individual students needs to be understood and handled carefully, in moving students from what they experience as safe and familiar surroundings towards moving out of their 'comfort zones'. For example, the placing of a white student in an African school, or vice versa, should be handled in the context of the student's level of commitment to inclusive education practices. As Paccione warns:

for an individual who is still in the stage of contextual awareness, a cultural immersion experience may have traumatic consequences. (2000: 21)

A problem unique to South Africa is the placing of foreign black students in isiZulu or other African language environments without specific planning and support. Such students may experience an expectation (by locals) that white students would not face – that they communicate in the vernacular – and hence be particularly disadvantaged. It is essential that the operation of teaching practice extend and sustain students' development with regard to diversity.

The difficulties of managing teaching practice are leading to new emphases, for example the training of school-based teachers as mentors. A key problem with the mentoring approach is that it may too readily assume that a foundation of good inclusive education practice is in place and that mentors would be equipped to support trainee teachers in relation to issues of diversity and inclusion. Given our history, and the history of teacher education under apartheid, this would not be a reasonable assumption. Such training in our view should be credit-bearing, as it would be an opportunity for teachers to strengthen their professional development as teachers, and not simply as mentors. This would then include specific attention to issues of diversity. In addition, best practices elsewhere in the country (for example, the University of Pretoria's placement of white students in African township schools) need to be carefully studied and adapted for other settings.

As the intersection of formal education and workplace learning, teaching practice is a highly productive area for the development of research work, and within that area, issues of diversity should be foregrounded, as they are central to the development of a more critically informed profession.

Conclusion

This paper has addressed the extent to which pre-service teacher education is preparing teachers effectively for teaching in integrated contexts, as well as the extent to which practising teachers educated under apartheid systems are being properly and adequately re-skilled to teach in a changing schooling and societal context. Our experience and research in this area suggests that teacher education programmes are still utilising strategies that reinforce unequal

power relations, which in turn perpetuate discrimination and exclusion in society and schools. To disrupt this we recommend intervention at three levels: developing the institutional culture; changing the teaching practice experience; and revamping the teacher education curriculum. Given the salience of the above aspects, we propose that research into teacher education and diversity focus on such questions as:

- What understandings of diversity underlie pre-service and in-service teacher education, and what specific interventions are in place as a result of these?
- To what extent do these understandings of diversity inform practices regarding the different forms of exclusion on campus and in schools?
- What is the nature of teacher biographies (teachers' lives) and how do these impact on individuals' commitment (and ability) to support learners' positive development (Tatum 2000)?
- What pedagogical processes should be employed in teacher education courses to facilitate reflection, engagement with 'self', and students' own biographies?

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Notes

- 1 Adapted from Leclerc-Madlala, 2003.
- 2 Compiled from observation field notes, July 2003.
- 3 Compiled from notes during teaching practice supervision, August 2003.

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A review of national strategies and forums engaging with racism and human rights in education

Shameme Manjoo

Introduction

This paper reviews the national strategies that engage with issues of racism and human rights in the education sector. I will begin by discussing, in some detail, two specialist national forums convened by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), namely the Discussion/Consultative Forum on Anti-Racism in the Education and Training Sector (CFRE) and the National Forum on Democracy and Human Rights Education (NFDHRE). Before describing other strategies currently operative in the national arena I will reflect briefly on the implications of the involvement in these forums for a range of education stakeholders, the successes and challenges experienced by the CFRE and the NFDHRE and conclude with some recommendations that may inform the workings of other national strategies.

Specialist forums convened by the SAHRC

The Discussion/Consultative Forum on Anti-Racism in the Education and Training Sector (CFRE)

The CFRE was hosted by the SAHRC over the period October 2000 to September 2002. The SAHRC no longer hosts the Forum, which is presently not active. The products and lessons generated by the CFRE have relevance for communities of practice engaging with the challenges that continue to arise from discriminatory practices in schools, educational establishments and training institutions in South Africa.

The Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal, officially launched the CFRE on Robben Island on 18 October 2000. Representatives from the national and provincial departments of education, teacher unions, learner organisations, school governing bodies, NGOs, academics and practitioners attended the launch. The CFRE held four meetings over three years. An attempt was made to hold these meetings in three different provinces: Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and Western Cape. Members constituted a group of actors recognised for their expertise and active participation in the field of anti-racist education. The CFRE received financial assistance from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation.

Background to the CFRE

Given the legacy of apartheid, it is not surprising that the highest number of complaints recorded by the SAHRC on a thematic basis are around the theme of 'unfair discrimination, racism and racial discrimination'. Most of the complaints and reports received by the SAHRC in the period 1996 to 1998 alleging racism and racial discrimination came from the education and schooling sector.

Based on complaints received from schools, the SAHRC was obliged to conduct the first major study on 'racial integration' in South African schools and a report entitled *Racism, 'racial integration' and desegregation in South African public secondary schools* (Vally & Dalamba 1999) was released in 1999. The report (which is available on the SAHRC website) highlighted the following:

- The fact that racism in schools is extremely prevalent, intense and is disturbingly seen as 'normal';
- Denial that racism still exists in schools;
- A false belief that equal access to education by all racial groups is *ipso facto* proof that there is no racism in schools;
- Lack of understanding of how racism manifests itself in different forms;
- The belief that racism exists only in its overt form;
- Unacceptable incidences of racial conflict in schools by parents, teachers, learners and school governing bodies.

The report made the following recommendations:

- An immediate intervention in 'hotspots' (working on short-, medium- and long-term strategies) was required;
- A proposal for more structures to facilitate anti-discrimination in schools and a parallel, independent co-ordinating and discussion forum or structure consisting of state departments and organisations in civil society;

- The formulation of an anti-discrimination policy in each school;
- Anti-discrimination training and education;
- In-service education and training (INSET) and pre-service education and training (PRESET) for educators;
- Understanding the need for school clustering;
- Examining social justice values in C2005. Critically examining education policies, legislation and implementation;
- Highlighting the importance of whole-school development;
- Designating a special day to focus on anti-discrimination;
- Promoting the role and importance of arts and culture.

The findings of the report and the recommendations made therein were discussed at the Conference on Racial Integration in Schools hosted by the SAHRC in March 1999. Flowing from the report the guiding theme of the conference was *Towards an anti-racist programme at all levels of education*. The working groups at the conference addressed and made recommendations on a number of issues. A strong recommendation that emerged was the need to set up a structure that would enable policy makers, researchers and practitioners to share ideas and develop common strategies and interventions.

Objectives and purposes of the CFRE

The objectives and purposes of the Forum were:

- To pull together expertise, scope the field for anti-racism practices, bring together the crucial role players and practitioners in the education field with the aim of developing a conceptual framework and ‘shared’ understanding of the nature and extent of racism and racial discrimination and how it might be eradicated;
- Capacity building amongst different role players in order to take responsibility for assisting in combating racial discrimination;
- Auditing and indexing racism as a means to develop informed interventions and progress;
- Information dissemination and development of databases with the broader public, government departments, service providers, etc. as beneficiaries;
- Developing anti-racism standards, recommendations and guidelines on policies, practices, materials and assessment criteria to be applied in various sectors;
- In general, building capacity aimed at developing a culture of non-discrimination in the country and supporting anti-racism initiatives.

Achievements

- In terms of documenting the activities of the CFRE, a comprehensive report of its activities, including the products that had been developed, was circulated at the end of 2002. The products included:
 - A report on *Racism in South African schools* by Salim Vally and Samiera Zafar;
 - A monitoring report;
 - A database of organisations;
 - A paper on *Macro-indicators of racism in the schooling system* by Monica Bot, Adele Gordon and Firoz Patel;
 - A space on the SAHRC website (see www.sahrc.org.za – on the SAHRC homepage – the link is ‘Information for teachers’).
- Initiatives and best practices in anti-racist training were showcased and workshoped at the meetings of the Forum.
- While educators generally were represented in the Forum by unions and national and provincial departments of education, a singular strength of the Forum was the intense level of engagement and contribution of a group of educators within the Pietermaritzburg Anti-discrimination Task Team. Thus the Forum provided a space for this group of practitioners to use the conversations within the Forum to facilitate transformation in their staffrooms and at their schools. Unfortunately this was the only grouping of teachers represented in the Forum.
- Individuals representing their organisations were very active in their organisational capacity in significant policy processes.
- Despite the limitations of the Forum and the problems related to it, members were positive about the value the Forum added to their work. This was aided by the specialist nature of the Forum.

Challenges

- The Forum’s operations were hampered by problems that included management, co-ordination, communications and limited initiatives from working groups – fairly generic issues confronting most networks/forums.
- Members had varied expectations of the Forum beyond its stated objectives and purposes. While this in itself reflected the commitment of members, the nature and structure of the Forum posed inherent limitations on what the Forum could achieve and on how it should operate. In many instances these expectations fell outside the initial scope of the work of the Forum.

- The Forum was not able to initiate a co-ordinated Forum activity. This had never been an objective of the Forum though discussions within the Forum had indicated interest in such an idea.
- The public profile of the Forum was not high.
- The products need to be made more widely available to the education sector.

The National Forum on Democracy and Human Rights Education (NFDHRE)

The NFDHRE is co-convened by the SAHRC and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). The NFDHRE brings together practitioners with particular experience in human rights and democracy, human rights law, diversity and anti-racism work. Some of the approaches supported by member organisations in combating racism include peace education, conflict resolution and civic education.

Background to the NFDHRE

The NFDHRE was established in 1996, following a consultative conference organised by the SAHRC and Streetlaw (then based at the Centre for Socio-legal Studies at the University of Natal, Durban). At the outset, the main aim of the Forum was to facilitate the institutionalisation of human rights education by ensuring the inclusion of democracy and human rights and inclusivity in the new curriculum, and to provide support to this process. The NFDHRE mission statement has since been redrafted to include a broader scope of interests and activities in the field of democracy and human rights education. Since its inception, the NGOs and other civil society organisations (CSOs),¹ government departments and state institutions have played an essential role in this partnership. This close partnering with CSOs is in line with the Paris Principles (Commonwealth Secretariat Report 2001: 18), which lays down best practice for national human rights institutions such as the SAHRC. These principles include the responsibility to partner with civil organisations, governmental organisations and international organisations to entrench and build a culture of human rights. Most of the NGOs/CSOs deliver educational services in the field of human rights and democracy, act as agents for innovation and initiate new approaches and methods.

Achievements of the NFDHRE

- The NFDHRE has served as a consistent touchpoint for the synergy that has developed amongst CSOs, government departments and state institutions. Symbiotic relationships have emerged – in October 2002, for example, the NFDHRE showcased the Values Network developed by the Race and Values Directorate of the Department of National Education, with the DoE, in turn, using provincial NFDHRE forums to relay information to members.
- The membership of the Forum is multi-disciplinary, committed, representative and varied, for example it has democracy and human rights education theorists and practitioners, lawyers, paralegals, children's rights specialists, Chapter 9 institutions, teacher unions and provincial and national departments of education. However, the fluidity of representation from the different organisations has been both a strength and a weakness. The various individuals who have participated have enriched the discussions and driven projects successfully. However, some initiatives have fizzled out when certain individuals left the Forum.
- The establishment of provincial forums in the Free State, Gauteng, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, Western Cape and the North West provinces can be considered to be a major success.
- The Forum successfully lobbied the formal educational sector to recognise the need for democracy and human rights education – the Revised National Curriculum Statement on Human Rights and Inclusivity and the establishment of the Standard Generating Body (SGB) for Democracy, Human Rights and Peace Education in July 2003 may be attributed to the energy and commitment of NFDHRE members who monitor and report on developments such as these. The SGB was registered in 2001 and formally constituted in 2003. This year, SGB members have prioritised capacity building around the generation of unit standards and qualifications.
- The Forum is an effective reference group.
- Forum members are kept up to date with national and provincial developments in the field of human rights and democracy.

Challenges

- The NFDHRE is not funded and depends solely on the resources of member organisations to sustain its programmes.
- The Forum needs to raise its profile; there has been no concerted marketing campaign.

- It needs to enhance the exchange of information and resources amongst its member organisations.
- 2003 was a challenging year. The national Forum will only be able to meet once this year. Intense periods of engagement have alternated with lulls, and periods of apathy.

Reflections

I would like to reflect briefly on the existence of these forums using the concepts of 'communities of practice', and 'identity formation' from the literature. Dison (2003) has developed a theoretical framework in which she examines the research capacity of researchers through the lenses of identity formation and how this relates to their practice. She defines identity formation as being linked to organisational practices, structure and processes of socialisation. Her description of the role of concepts of communities of practice, activity systems theory and academic identity, among other complex factors, enhances understanding of how learning involves becoming a full participant in relation to a community of practice. This, she argues, necessitates shifting one's identity in accordance with a particular community of practice.

This begs the question: To what extent do members of communities of practice, such as forums engaging with issues of racism and human rights, shift their identities to be in alignment with human rights values? Sustaining dialogue and meaningful conversations within forums is an interactive process demanding what Lave and Wenger describe as involving the 'whole person' in learning (in Dison 2003: 3). This demands that the person relates to the social community s/he is engaging with by becoming a full participant, a member, a 'certain kind of person' – a person, it may be argued, who models human rights values in the way in which they engage with others and within processes.

The process of engaging within forums has a triple agenda. Firstly, there is a focus on particular problems or issues. Secondly, there is a focus on the relationships amongst and between parties – on building alliances and networks. Thirdly, and least obviously, there is the opportunity for participants to model their practice, to 'live' or 'walk the talk' – to demonstrate a certain 'embeddedness' of constitutional values of equality, respect and human dignity. These constitutional values would also be the values of the community of practice to which they belong. It is the third agenda that participants are often least aware of.

There is clearly a need to theorise more in this area and to develop further the understandings in relation to members of forums such as the CFRE and the NFDHRE.

Most members of human rights/anti-racism forums operate in contexts where there are definite similarities in values at a number of levels: the values and objectives of the institutions they work in on a full-time basis, the values and objectives of the CFRE and NFDHRE with which they relate sporadically, and the broader national South African context which embraces constitutional values. There is also a fourth level – the personal level. This quadruple resonance should certainly enhance the nature of their identity formation.

There are richer and multivarious ethnographic and other theories that can be drawn on to fully explore the ways in which the identities of individuals develop. For now, members of human rights forums should accept the challenge of imbuing constitutional values into their ways of relating and in their identity formation. Geertz (in Dison 2003) suggests that a community of practice affects one's personal commitment and one's way of being in the world. To take this one step further, if human rights forums are informed by a constitutional values framework, then conforming to those values could ultimately begin to define a great part of one's life. This has implications for the way one becomes a full participant in the community of practice, and might imply identity shifts in order to become one.

Overview of anti-discrimination forums in South Africa

A brief overview of existing strategies and initiatives that have been set up to address racism in South Africa, and which examine effective ways to combat racism, follows.

The National Consultative Forum Against Racism (NCFAR)

This forum was set up in 2002 in accordance with the recommendations made by the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) in Durban during 2001. According to recommendations, each country is to set up a National Action Plan in order to determine effective ways of addressing racism in their respective countries.

The National Conference Against Racism hosted by the SAHRC in 2000 also made a number of recommendations. As a result, the government (led by the Department of Justice), Foreign Affairs, the SAHRC and civil society met during 2002 to discuss setting up a forum in order to combat racism. One of the major features of this forum is to monitor racism in the country and also utilise effective mechanisms to address it. Presently the Department of Justice is leading the Forum and the SAHRC (as its partner) is to act in a monitoring capacity. Civil society has however set up its own forum (which will be discussed next). The Forum based within government is known as the National Consultative Forum Against Racism (NCFAR).

Two consultative meetings have been hosted by the NCFAR thus far. Invitations were extended to government departments, Chapter 9 institutions, faith-based organisations, as well as business. Out of these meetings a task team has been selected to look more closely at implementation issues. The Forum was launched in July 2003 by Minister of Justice Penuell Maduna.

At present the NCFAR has drawn up a framework National Action Plan utilising the format of the National Action Plan (NAP) for Human Rights. The framework looks at each of the rights as set out in the Bill of Rights and asks the relevant government department to indicate what policy-making, legislative and administrative steps have been taken to address racism.

The NCFAR will be working together with the civil society anti-racism forum, the National Consultative Forum for Human Rights, as well as the SAHRC.

Civil society forum – Faze 2

This forum is derived from the civil society secretariat whose task it was to prepare for the WCAR held in Durban in September 2001. The secretariat has now formed itself into a Section 21 organisation known as Faze 2.

This forum held a civil society national summit in July 2003 to gauge from civil society what the most urgent needs are. A concept paper was drawn up by the forum and distributed to participants for comment. Approximately 63 participants representing different organisations nationally attended the summit. A number of important issues came out of the discussions. These were:

- Access to services can be hampered by racism in that poorer people have less access to information, less access to service points and are not as mobile as rich people;
- Better support for services should be requested through the media and community radio;
- Issues of xenophobia need to be addressed;
- Youth have been marginalised yet have a lot to offer. There is a need to ensure effective youth participation;
- Requests for inter-faith dialogue and for different faiths to unite around racism;
- Concerns were raised about racism still being perpetuated through the media and the lack of access to resources by black journalists and communities;
- Need for anti-racism training amongst teachers and scholars;
- Need for gender conceptualisation.

The Anti-discrimination Forum has hosted three debates looking at issues of youth and racism, racism and the law and inter-faith dialogue. The Forum aims to deal with the following issues:

- Promoting anti-racism in schools;
- Monitoring racism in civil society and government especially during the run up to the elections;
- Providing professional and psychological counselling for victims of racism;
- Continuing to host dialogues throughout the country on issues of racism;
- Hosting provincial meetings to determine major issues of racism.

The two forums are currently working together in order to best serve the interest of their different constituencies.

National Consultative Forum for Human Rights (NCFHR)

The National Consultative Forum for Human Rights (NCFHR) arose out of the NAP that was launched in 1998. The NAP sets out the policies, legislation and administrative steps completed by government since the start of the new democracy in 1994. The document also lays out special challenges that remain for government to address in trying to fulfil its human rights obligations.

The NCFHR has been set up comprising government departments, Chapter 9 institutions as well as civil society. A small secretariat exists whose aim it is to monitor human rights implementation by government. An interim report has been completed since the launch of the action plan in 1998 and has just been submitted to Cabinet. This report covers the period 1999–2001. A further report up to the period ending 2003 is currently being planned by the secretariat in order to determine how far government has gone in meeting the challenges of human rights.

This Forum will act as an important link for the new NCFAR as much of the information will derive from the NCFHR. Information sought by the NCFAR will however focus specifically on racism rather than on human rights broadly.

Recommendations and good practice for forums/national strategies

Individuals or organisations who participate in the national strategies listed may wish to consider the following lessons from the SAHRC engagement with its own forums in order to enhance the efficacy of NCFHR, NCFAR and Faze 2.

- One of the strengths of a forum is that it creates a space for discussion, reflection and for a pluralism of ideas, relieving the isolation of practitioners in their individual contexts. Practitioners across sectors should seize the opportunity offered by forums to enjoy the time and space to talk, deepen understandings and insights, develop theory, forge close bonds, listen, think and bounce ideas off one another. The value of the ‘talk shop phenomenon’ cannot be underestimated. However, all understandings should be geared towards practical implementation.
- The SAHRC’s engagement with the CFRE has highlighted the need to develop and strengthen anti-racist social movements and departmental initiatives, and at the same time address the problem of school fees. School fees are impacting on equity in education, as are the cultural, security and curricula factors that discriminate against women and girls.
- Specialist forums are more focused, while broader cross-sectoral national strategies demand greater co-ordination efforts. The latter should ensure that programmes for intervention should extend from the education and training policy level to programmes for grassroots organisations. Zafar (2001) contends that for any National Action Plan to succeed, co-ordinated

inter-sectoral approaches need to be backed by political support and dedicated funding. She advises that anti-racist movements should be cross-sectoral and mass-based and should tackle poverty and unemployment directly – crucial to combating racism is the need to challenge other related intolerances (and, I would add, inequalities) both in the education system and in broader society (SAHRC 2002: 36; Zafar 2001: 27).

- Both the CFRE and the NFDHRE are specialist forums conceptualised and inaugurated to respond to the needs of the education and training sector. The transfer value of lessons and products of the CFRE for application in other sectors has not been explored and needs attention.
- Forums showcase and draw on the expertise, resources and experience of members. However, there is a need to utilise the expertise in a more concerted way.
- Most achievements of forums discussed in this paper are as a result of the energies of individual members and rarely comprise joint projects or co-ordinated campaigns. The work of the NCFHR, Faze 2 and the NCFAR will be enhanced by the deliberate pursuit and organisation of joint projects and co-ordinated campaigns.
- The very nature of a forum is often a loose network – a forum is only as strong as the participation and commitment of its members.
- If our objective is to eradicate racism and discrimination in schools, we should actively forge linkages to broad social movements and pursue viable partnerships among all actors in the field of education.
- The raising of the public profile of all national strategies is imperative for success. The development of support networks of information and the dissemination and promotion of the information to create public awareness is a key recommendation of the WCAR NGO Forum (2001: 48).
- In the multiplicity of forums that have been inaugurated since 1994, to what extent are different strategies duplicating and/or feeding off each other, or informing each other? Many forums end up being parallel initiatives, with much energy consumed in reinventing and reorganising strategies, programmes and approaches. Research energy should be devoted to monitoring forums and developing cumulative agendas with lessons and questions sharpened and carried from one meeting to the next, building on and documenting a common body of knowledge that could be utilised in an inter- and intra-forum way.

In conclusion, the commitment of Chapter 9 institutions, government departments, NGOs and CSOs to network, to co-ordinate their actions and to reflect and act together is laudable and has impacted positively on developments in the field of human rights and democracy. There is adequate proof of the great success of their efforts to work and to act in association.

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Notes

- 1 CSOS – an umbrella term for non-governmental, non-profit, community-based and faith-based organisations.

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Part 2

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

The American experience: desegregation, integration, resegregation

Gary Orfield

Introduction

The American experience of racial change in our schools is the most important experiment in American life about creating desegregation, and, sometimes, about developing integrated institutions, in a society that has always been divided by race. Most of the experience has come in the South, in the region which has always been home to a majority of blacks and which rigidly excluded blacks from white schools for many generations before the civil rights revolution in the 1960s. Although there is a long and complex multi-racial history, this paper will focus largely on black-white desegregation and give special attention to the Southern experience.

Educational segregation is a great legal, political, educational and social issue in the US and has been for half a century since the Supreme Court, in the most important decision of the twentieth century, struck down the apartheid system of education prevailing in 17 states and the national capital, ruling that it was prohibited by the guarantee of 'equal protection of the laws' written into the Constitution after the Civil War. Since education is the dominant answer to questions of equity in American public beliefs, and since race has always been our deepest social cleavage, this decision went to the core of American values. It also represented a massive challenge to the American system of government in which education is very decentralised at the state and local level and the federal government has traditionally played a very modest role, financing less than a tenth of the total cost.

Educational exclusion and segregation had been imposed on the great majority of blacks and virtually all in the South for the better part of two centuries when the Supreme Court made its desegregation decision in 1954.¹ During

slavery it had been a crime to educate or even give books to a slave. There were very wide discrepancies between the level of education provided in black and white schools in the nine decades between the Civil War and the *Brown* decision.

Most of the time in the US, segregation is simply accepted and most ideas about school policy are discussed without mentioning one of the most obvious conditions or seriously considering its implication for the way in which the policy might work. Except when external forces raise the issue very strongly, there tends to be a denial that it need be discussed and an assumption that there are known ways to provide equal education within segregated schools, even though there are striking relationships between segregation and educational outcomes. At the school level, educators are often uncomfortable talking about race and assume that they are fair and treat all students the same, often with little knowledge and no training in cultural differences or in methods for reaching across lines of social division and producing positive classroom interactions. Successful interracial teaching is a learned behaviour and teachers often come from segregated backgrounds where they have not gained this understanding and they need training to be effective in interracial classrooms.

The movement for desegregation

The US is an individualistic, market-based society where the dominant ideology sees education as the means that enable individuals to compete and to have a fair chance in winning more success in a system that does not value equality in outcomes but does value equal opportunity, particularly in education (Welter 1962). There is fierce debate in American politics over the nature and scope of government provision of social services but, usually, a broad agreement that provision of educational opportunity is a basic public responsibility. The first major national subsidy to public schools, the grant of land to new state governments to pay for school costs, took place even before the US Constitution was adopted in 1789. Almost nine-tenths of US students go to public schools and 80 per cent of those who do not go to religious schools that receive no public funds and enrol an even smaller share of non-white students. Private schools are even more segregated than public schools (National Center for Education Statistics 2001a; Reardon & Yun 2002).

The desegregation movement, which began with a court decision, and became a basic objective of a large social movement, is far from over. In fact, there is a good deal of evidence both that crucial elements to move schools toward real integration were rarely fully realised and that the country has been moving backward since the 1980s (Orfield & Eaton 1996). Southern schools and those in a number of big cities are moving back toward intensified segregation, now based largely on residential segregation in the metropolitan areas where four of every five Americans live.

We have had a half-century of widely varying experiences in thousands of American communities and many hundreds of reports and studies have been prepared on the results. The results are not uniform, and both academic and political debates continue about many issues, but research does indicate that well-implemented desegregation policies have a variety of important benefits for minority students, for white students, for communities and for American society. It also shows that, with few exceptions (and those mostly at the primary level), segregated students in segregated schools perform worse on average and have less success in graduating prepared for college and succeeding in post-secondary education. School desegregation by itself, of course, cannot resolve all the inequalities of a society but it is a feasible and valuable, if complex, policy.

Though the American experience has many elements shaped by US history and institutions, it also contains lessons that may be of interest to countries attempting to address deep historical inequalities through schooling opportunities and to the many nations now becoming increasingly diverse and stratified through international immigration. The US has experience with a variety of approaches tried over a half century in 50 quite different state systems of education and in thousands of school districts that differ very dramatically in demography, wealth and poverty, population density, culture, rural, urban and suburban settings, history and the ideology of the political leaders. (In the US all elected officials except the President and Vice President are nominated and elected by state and local electorates, the national political parties are weak and decentralised, and the vast majority of public officials, 98 per cent of education employees, work for state and local governments – so local variations matter a great deal.)

Any single aspect of the half century of experience could easily fill a major paper or book – and often has. The intent of this paper, however, is to give an

overview of the history, the law, some basic statistical trends of segregation and desegregation, a brief summary of some of what is known about the impacts of desegregation, and a discussion of some of the lessons of the American experience. This can only provide a broad overview and interpretation together with citations linking readers to more detailed analysis of various issues.

American educational apartheid

Any discussion of desegregation in the US must start with segregation. The long struggle for desegregation was based on a belief that segregation could not be equal. Before there was a campaign for desegregation there were generations of struggles to attempt to equalise segregated schools. The history of black communities is full of unsuccessful requests to local authorities for equal school opportunities. Even the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the mass organisation attacking discrimination against blacks that eventually spearheaded the desegregation battle, began with struggles for equalising funding, teacher salaries, and other conditions (Kellogg 1967). The campaign of black leaders for desegregation was built on demand for equal educational opportunities, and followed generations of efforts to attain equity within segregation. When the US Supreme Court declared segregated schools 'inherently unequal' a half century ago, that conclusion was based in part on the history of that failure and, in part, on a developing recognition that there were goals that could not be accomplished within segregated schools.

Though desegregation was written into American constitutional law in 1954, and the 50th anniversary of the decision will be celebrated across the country in 2004, the issue has always been contentious. There have always been many within both the minority and white communities who insist that segregation can be equal. Pioneering black sociologist, E Franklin Frazier (1951) noted the division in the black middle class as the desegregation era began in the 1950s. Many scholars have noted the divisions and ambiguities in white opinion, which has increasingly accepted the goal but rarely supports action to attain it (Schuman, Schuman & Steeh 1997). Though the issue has been strongly argued for generations, the only period in US history that there were strong and consistent national requirements for change supported by the leading elected and

judicial officials was during the 1964–1968 period, the period that transformed the schools of the South (Orfield 1969). Once President Richard Nixon was elected in 1968 that era was over, though the Supreme Court continued to expand desegregation requirements for several more years until Nixon's judicial appointments brought that to a halt with decisions against equalising school funding in 1973 and against desegregating the suburbs in 1974.²

Since that time the issue has received little serious attention during Democratic Administrations and faced considerable opposition during Republican Presidencies. The leading educational law of the early twenty-first century, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 does not mention the growing segregation in US schools and concludes that schools must attain universal educational proficiency for every group of students within 12 years, creating serious penalties for those that are not on the path toward success after just two years, and ignoring the differences between schools serving poor minority children and more affluent white and Asian middle-class children. The schools targeted for sanctions in 2003 under the new law include many high-poverty segregated minority institutions.

Although millions of US children have attended desegregated schools for at least part of their education under desegregation plans and policies, American schools are and always have been largely segregated. Segregation was perfectly legal for most of American history. The Supreme Court explicitly authorised segregation in public institutions in the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision.³ That decision was followed by the adoption of laws requiring or permitting overt segregation in more than 20 states (Ashmore 1954). Just three years after the *Plessy* decision required 'separate but equal' public institutions, the Supreme Court decided to permit a Georgia school district to totally eliminate secondary education for blacks.⁴ Once the colour line was legitimised, the officials on the dominant side of the line were allowed to decide what was 'equal'. The schools that evolved in the South were profoundly unequal, and along some dimensions the gaps grew wider and wider for generations (Margo 1990; Wilkerson 1939). There was no self-correcting mechanism that equalised resources.

Only the threat of disrupting the racial patterns stirred the South to take some corrective action. Once black litigators developed a strategy at Howard University Law School and in the NAACP and began systematically trying to prove that separate but equal was a total fraud and segregation must be

eliminated there was a belated rush to close part of the most obvious gaps between schools serving the two races (Tushnet 1987). Only during the period when the system of segregation came under strong attack from civil rights lawyers and parts of the federal government did Southern officials rapidly begin to make teachers' salaries, buildings, school years and other basic features less unequal, but inequalities remained large as the Supreme Court debated the legitimacy of the entire system in 1954 (Ashmore 1954).

Even after the Supreme Court struck down segregation, it was remarkably persistent, in part because the Court created no clear standards and no deadlines, delegating the task to judges in the various states (Shoemaker 1957),⁵ a decision that the Court itself later regretted since it encouraged resistance and brought the process to a virtual standstill until Congress and the President acted a decade later. Historically, from the beginning of public education in the South to the middle of the twentieth century, segregation had always been required by law and very few communities in the South complied with the Supreme Court decision without being individually sued (Wilhoit 1973). Southern politicians began to see great political advantages in defying the Court's decision and eventually President Dwight Eisenhower had to land armed paratroopers in Little Rock, Arkansas to prevent a state government from totally defying the High Court in 1957.

A decade after the Supreme Court acted, 98 per cent of blacks remained in completely segregated schools. A central demand of the civil rights movement that emerged in the South in the 1960s was for serious enforcement of the decision. Perhaps the most important impact of the Civil Rights Act, proposed by President John F Kennedy before he was assassinated and enacted under President Lyndon Johnson, which produced the longest and most intense debate in US history, was to give the executive branch of government the mandate and the tools to enforce desegregation law (Whalen & Whalen 1985).

There was only a very serious national effort to eliminate segregation for a brief period in the 1960s and 1970s (Orfield 1978) and those efforts did produce some very striking changes, particularly in the South, some of which have lasted for generations. That period of social movement and vigorous enforcement also stimulated the Supreme Court to finally define clearly the goal of desegregation, which it said was to eliminate segregation 'root and branch', to do everything possible to produce schools that were not identifiable by race,

and to comprehensively desegregate the faculty and the educational offerings as well as the student body.⁶ The following year the Court said that no further delays were permitted and that desegregation must occur immediately once a court ruling was issued. Two years after that, in 1971, the Court extended desegregation requirements to Southern cities, supporting transporting students from segregated neighbourhoods to integrated schools. The final expansion of the law came in 1973 when the Court ruled that desegregation orders could be issued outside the states with formal segregation laws if there was proof of a history of discrimination, extending desegregation to Northern cities. The expansion halted, however, when additional conservative judges were appointed to the Supreme Court in 1974, blocking integration of the Northern suburbs where most whites in the region lived. In the 1990s, what was now the most conservative Supreme Court in generations issued a series of decisions leading to the termination of many desegregation orders and the rise of segregation (Orfield & Eaton 1996). The history was one of a moderately serious effort to actually desegregate schools in the South and a limited effort elsewhere. The statistics of desegregation reflect the changing policies.

Announcing a policy does not mean the policy is realised: conditions for success

Legislators often act – and newspapers report – as if the enactment of a law or the issuance of a regulation or the statement of a leader actually produces the intended change. In reality, however, it takes a combination of legal authority, clear policy goals, firm enforcement, measurement of and accountability for the results, and a combination of incentives, persuasion and consistency to produce results, especially on controversial issues requiring difficult change. When a policy is opposed by powerful forces, a legal change permitting reversal is much more likely to be relatively self-executing than one requiring change that helps minorities and the poor.

At the time of the 1954 Supreme Court decision about two-thirds of black children lived in the 11 states that had rebelled and formed the Confederacy, leading to a civil war over slavery. Since all of these states had mandatory segregation laws and the Supreme Court's decision was about ending legally mandated discrimination, not about the housing-based segregation of the North, the enforcement effort was concentrated in those states.

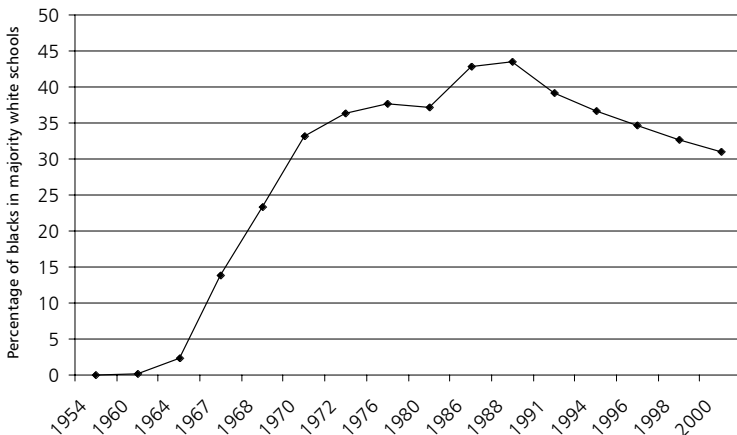
The real breakthrough took concerted action by the President, the Congress, and an increasingly assertive Supreme Court and the mobilised energy of a major social movement that was embraced by the nation's majority political party after a huge electoral victory in 1964 brought in the most liberal Congress of the twentieth century. Once there was a concerted effort, there was a huge and rapid change. The Southern states went from virtual apartheid to become the most integrated part of the US – in terms of schools – in just five years and this difference remained strongly present for another 30 years. It is clear that governmental determination can make a difference even in changing basic institutions in rigidly stratified societies with hostile local leadership.

Beginning in 1964, the government had the legal tools to force change and, for a few years, the determination to exercise them. In 1965 the enactment of the largest Federal Aid to Education Bill in US history gave the federal government financial leverage should it choose to exercise the fund cut-off mechanism that was part of the historic 1964 Civil Rights Act. The Act also authorised the lawyers of the US Department of Justice to sue any school system that did not obey desegregation requirements, even if it was prepared to sacrifice federal funding. The combination of legal power, clear requirements embodied in federal guidelines, and a proven determination to use the power (more than 100 districts actually had their funds cut off and many lawsuits were filed) produced more rapid change in a single year than in the previous decade. As the standards were tightened year by year and the courts responded by tightening judicial requirements, school officials and local political leaders finally recognised that change was inevitable. Under these circumstances, changes that had been unimaginable in many traditional communities, such as black teachers teaching white children, became normal. By 1970, Southern schools were more integrated than those in the North and they have remained more integrated for the next three decades.

The distinctive apartheid system of public education of the South was gone, replaced by a system of lower segregation based on residence, which became the focus of the judicial battle over urban desegregation that would rage over the next three decades before a Supreme Court, now dominated by justices appointed by conservative presidents who had opposed urban desegregation, reversed itself and approved shutting down urban desegregation plans in three decisions in the 1990s (Orfield & Eaton 1996).⁷ Table 5.1 and the following graph on the level of integration of blacks in the South clearly show the

Table 5.1 Change in black segregation in the South, 1954–2000

Year	Percentage of black students in majority white schools
1954	0.001
1960	0.1
1964	2.3
1967	13.9
1968	23.4
1970	33.1
1972	36.4
1976	37.6
1980	37.1
1986	42.9
1988	43.5
1991	39.2
1994	36.6
1996	34.7
1998	32.7
2000	31.0

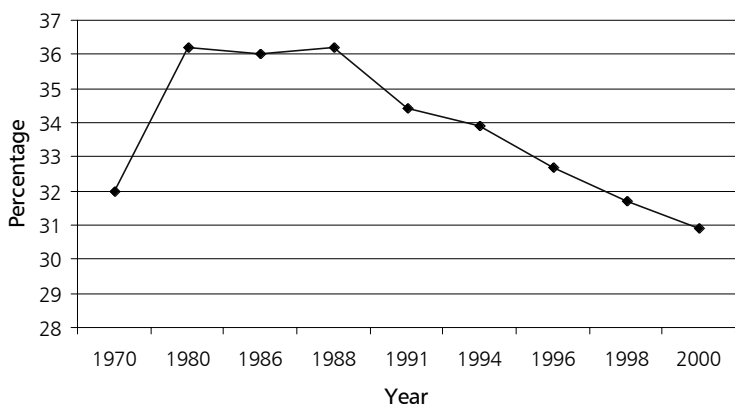
Figure 5.1 Change in black integration in the south

Source: Southern Education Reporting Service, In R Sarratt (1966) *The ordeal of desegregation*. New York: Harper & Row:362; US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Press Release, May 27 1968; Office for Civil Rights data tapes; National Center for Education Statistics, *Common Core of Data 1992–93, 1994–5, 1996–7, 1998–9, 2000–1*.

dramatic increase in the presence of blacks in predominantly white schools that occurred in the 1960s and early 1970s and the reversal that took place after the Supreme Court changed direction in 1991.

The national pattern is similar but less drastic in its changes because the policies directed at the North came two decades later, and were critically limited by the Supreme Court's decision in 1974 to protect the residentially segregated suburban white communities, which have their own independent school districts surrounding many northern central cities. (In the South schools are often run at the county level and a single district often contains both the central city and suburbs.) The courts made it much more difficult to obtain a desegregation order in the North and the orders were much less effective since rapidly spreading housing segregation and white suburbanisation were making almost all the large city systems overwhelmingly non-white, offering limited possibilities for meaningful desegregation. When desegregation was implemented in such circumstances, it tended to be least stable, sometimes accelerating the long-established pattern of white suburbanisation or increasing private school enrolment. The net result was that the national pattern was one of relatively modest increases in desegregation of blacks during the busing era, followed by stability until the courts began to dissolve orders, then followed by steady decline in black exposure to white students.

Figure 5.2 Percentage of white students in schools attended by the typical black student



After the Courts reversed desegregation policy and authorised a return to segregated 'neighbourhood schools' in the 1990s, there was a steady increase in segregation. Segregation is now increasing for both blacks and Latinos in all parts of the country and is strongly related to educational inequality (Orfield 2001).

Attitudes

Critics often claim that desegregation policies have had negative impacts on public opinion and that the country would have been better off with voluntary approaches. However, attitudes improved after the enforced change, not before. People adapt to new realities, particularly when their fears were based on stereotypes and when the policy environment creates a sense of inevitability. The experience in civil rights enforcement in the US is that those who said we have to wait for attitudes to change first were wrong. So were those who believed that positive attitude changes would be permanent. We have substantial evidence of declining support for race-conscious policies for government action in periods when leadership criticises them. The way in which public leaders frame issues can make a major difference, particularly when two values – equal opportunity and individualism – come into direct conflict.⁸ Experience can lessen prejudice and hostility to racial change but stereotypes can be re-activated with bad leadership. People and leaders are much more likely to accept and work to make successful a change that has become inevitable compared with one that may be blocked by resistance.

There are many paradoxes in public opinion on school desegregation in the US. The evidence has shown generally that those families that actually experienced desegregation, even in controversial urban busing plans, usually reported positive experiences and were much less likely to be opposed than those who had no children in school, suggesting that ideology and fear were more powerful for those who did not have experiences counterbalancing stereotypes (Orfield 1995). Even as the courts were moving to return to segregation, most Americans said that more should be done for integration. In a 1999 Gallup Poll more than two-thirds (68 per cent) of Americans polled thought that desegregation had improved black education and half that it improved schooling for whites. Fifty-nine per cent said that more should be done to produce integrated schools.⁹ Americans express strong support for

their children learning how to deal with diversity, as reflected in 1999 Gallup Poll questions. When the public was asked how important it would be 'having your child exposed to a more diverse student body', 41 per cent said very important, and 38 per cent said fairly important. On another question regarding what 'should be taught' in public schools, more than nine-tenths said 'acceptance of people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds'.¹⁰

During this period, several of the large school districts with the most far-reaching desegregation plans went into court asking that they be continued. The desegregation experience did not make expressed attitudes worse, quite the contrary. There was, however, no visible white pressure to enforce desegregation and little public white reaction in most cities when the courts ended desegregation.

There is substantial evidence to suggest that the most drastic plans, those that covered entire city and suburban complexes, embracing entire housing markets in single plans and often transferring students long distances from their homes, achieved the highest level of lasting desegregation and sometimes became genuinely popular, supported by the electorate and the leaders of communities. These plans were most successful, perhaps, because they offered few practical alternatives, they put the great majority of students in predominantly middle class, majority white schools, and they created a very strong common interest of the larger community across all racial and class lines in making the large combined school system work (Hochschild 1984; Orfield 1978, 1996). This would suggest that it is much more important to think about the resulting composition of a school and its relationship to the urban setting and the choices available than it is to start with an abstract idea of equity. It also suggests the need for careful thought about the relationships between school racial decisions and housing markets. The goal is to create the greatest possible access to lasting beneficial integration with a critical mass of the other racial group(s), not something that self-destructs.

Race and class segregation

A key to many of the benefits and some of the problems of desegregation is the relationship between segregation of students by race and by class, two factors that are often confused in thinking about the issues and impacts. High-poverty

schools usually experience a lack of resources, experienced and credentialed teachers, lower parental involvement, and high turnover rates, which are common in such schools. Black students attended schools with far more poor children than whites.

In 2000, almost half of all schools had very few blacks and Latinos, less than a tenth. Five out of six of those segregated white schools had middle-class majorities. In contrast, almost nine-tenths of intensely segregated black and Latino schools (86 per cent) had a majority of poor children eligible for subsidised lunches.

This relationship between social class and race often leads both observers and participants to confuse the effects of class and race and attribute gains resulting from attending white schools to race when they may be products of middle-class advantages and networks, while attributing to minority culture problems that may be the result of poverty. These are very important issues to sort out in analysis of desegregation and of a wide range of school issues.

Desegregation and integration impacts

Desegregation is not integration; desegregation is about ending exclusion. Getting black students into better white schools does not produce equal opportunity or equal results in many cases. Opportunity is very different between schools but it is also often very different within schools and even within classrooms. In general there are gains on average from getting into a better school, but the scope and nature of those advantages will depend to a considerable degree on the success or failure of efforts to create genuinely equal access and respect within a diverse setting. The average test score gains in the first year of desegregation are significant but modest (Cook 1984). To get the largest gains, it is necessary to implement training, reform and equity policies within the school.

School integration is not a zero-sum game. While black students gain, white students do not lose in measured achievement in well-integrated schools. While minority students gain, middle-class students often gain in understanding and ability to function well in interracial settings because schools have larger achievement impacts on poor and disadvantaged students and families have more powerful achievement impacts on middle-class students. Thus

there can be a substantial net gain for poor students with little or no loss for middle-class students. On other dimensions both groups gain. Research on other school interventions, such as lowering class size, also suggests that school policies have larger potential impacts on low-income students (Mosteller, Light & Sachs 1996). Many middle-class parents do not believe that their children are not harmed in substantially integrated schools, particularly if they have lower average test scores, and it is a root cause of resistance, so showing and explaining this pattern is very important. Most desegregation plans in the US avoided putting white children in concentrated poverty schools with large non-white majorities and those that did tended to lose most of those white students rapidly.

There are trade-offs to be considered in the degree and type of integration to be attempted, particularly if the goal is stable and lasting desegregation, which is crucial for many beneficial effects and to retain public support from all groups for the public schools. There have been many experiments around these issues in the US, particularly since the Supreme Court decision in 1974 shielding the suburbs from integration and forcing many school systems with large non-white majorities and majorities of poor children to figure out what was the optimal strategy.

Magnet schools, schools of choice with specialised curricula and racial enrolment targets, were developed in the mid-1970s to try to address this dilemma – create a tangible attraction and special opportunity for students who voluntarily choose an interracial school. By the early 1990s there were 2 433 magnet schools in the US enrolling 1.2 million students and the federal government had been supporting them through special grant programmes. Ninety per cent were developed in districts with desegregation plans (Steel & Levine 1994). Although assessment of the educational impact of these programmes is difficult because of issues of selection bias, there is evidence of academic gains from these programmes (Gamaron 1996).

The very different outcomes in two similar cities, Cleveland and St. Louis, which used very different desegregation strategies in the 1980s, suggest the need to consider the differential response to differing levels of racial contact and different means of achieving this. Both were poor and declining cities with about three-fourths black students at the outset of their plans. Cleveland assigned all students to schools that were supposed to be three-fourths black if

the white students enrolled (many did not). St. Louis, on the other hand, desegregated partially, created a system of 16 magnet schools set to be 50–50 with specialised programmes, gave more money to the remaining segregated black schools and eventually developed a transfer plan to enable about a fourth of black students to transfer to majority white suburban schools.

Although the Cleveland plan seemed more equitable, the city lost much more of its white enrolment, while the St. Louis plan was more limited but much more stable and actually produced substantially more lasting integration as well as clear evidence of higher achievement in the magnet schools and much higher graduation rates and college enrolment for the students who transferred to the suburbs. The contrast suggests the difficulties and the necessity of thinking carefully about long-term trends and incentives in devising desegregation plans. The plan that seems most fair in the abstract may fail. This suggests an urgent need to monitor the actual impact of various policies on race relations.

Benefits of desegregation/costs of segregation

There are programmes and policies that can improve the results of interracial schooling. Dr King recognised that desegregation is just the first step on a longer and more important path. ‘Desegregation’, he wrote, ‘... simply removes these legal and social prohibitions. Integration is creative, and is therefore more profound and far reaching ... Integration is the positive acceptance of desegregation and the welcomed participation of Negroes into the total range of human activities’ (cited in Washington 1986: 118). King did not believe that the goal of desegregation was simply to gain access to white privilege but to create transformed institutions in a transformed society; his ideal was not just legal equity but the creation of the ‘beloved community’ (Marsh 1999).

Pioneering research by psychologist Gordon Allport, half a century ago, showed that the greatest benefits of interracial contact depend on success in achieving ‘equal status interaction’ in which desegregation lasts over time, is supported by institutional leaders, and both groups are respected and treated equivalently, so that contact occurs in a positive and non-hostile setting (Allport 1954). Subsequent research by Elizabeth Cohen at Stanford, Robert Slavin at Johns Hopkins, and others, suggests that there are methods, some of

them relatively simple, by which school personnel can help create these positive conditions (Slavin & Oickle 1981). For example, the process of intentionally assigning students across race lines to work on collaborative academic projects can increase both positive race relations and achievement levels.

Desegregation was not ordered as an educational treatment but to end deeply-rooted patterns of illegal separation of students. The record is clear, however, that blacks sought desegregation to obtain better educational opportunities for their children, leading to better life chances, and as part of a campaign to end racial barriers in many American institutions. Desegregation costs energy and is a complex and challenging process, so it is essential to review what we know about the effects in the US.

It is very important to note that most of the research is about the first stage of desegregation (simply bringing students of different races together in the same school) not about integration (achieving a multiracial school structure in which the students and faculty work together in conditions of equal status and respect within the school). Unfortunately most of the studies are about the period that is most worrisome politically – the beginning of the transition, rather than later periods when the initial conflict and confusion is forgotten, something more like integration has been realised, and it is possible to observe students whose entire educational experience has been in interracial schools. Most of the research on desegregation took place during the 1960s and 1970s, when the policy was being actively pursued and few major studies were initiated after the conservative turn in US civil rights policy triggered by the Administration of President Ronald Reagan, which actually cancelled all the planned desegregation research of the National Institute of Education and asked the courts to cancel existing desegregation orders.¹¹

Summarising the available research it seems clear that desegregation, on average, both improves test scores and changes the lives of students. More importantly, there is also evidence that students from desegregated educational experiences benefit in terms of college-going, employment and living in integrated settings as adults (Braddock II 1980; Braddock II & McPartland 1989; Wells & Crain 1994). There are also well-documented and relatively simple instructional techniques that increase both the academic and human relations benefits of interracial schooling (Bowman Damico & Sparks 1986; Slavin & Oickle 1981).

A major federal programme was implemented to foster such programmes and to train staffs and student bodies in successful race-relations techniques and better management of interracial classes as well as development of culturally pluralistic curricular materials from the 1972–1981 period. This substantial programme of the federal government, known as the Emergency School Aid Act, which peaked at \$1 billion a year, was to train teachers, create curriculum and take other steps to achieve positive conditions within interracial schools and there was also pressure from civil rights enforcement agencies on some of these issues. The research conducted on the programme showed significant gains associated with such activities. During this period accreditation agencies for education schools also required such instruction. There was very substantial research on programme effects that tended to be highly positive (Hawley et al. 1983; Hawley & Smylie 1982). Research on US schools strongly indicates that positive forms of race relations are learned behaviour and that there are both kinds of knowledge and techniques that increase the chance for positive outcomes. Professional teachers and administrators believe that they know how to handle interracial situations, which often is simply a determination to treat all children in the same way. This means that they often do not think seriously about how they may be perceived across racial and ethnic lines, about the quality of relationships within the faculty across these lines, about accidental cultural misunderstandings, and about how to improve relationships with the parents of their students. These were the basic goals of the federal desegregation assistance programme, which was eliminated by President Reagan in 1981. There was very substantial research showing clear educational and social gains from such interventions (see Coulson et al. 1977; MacQueen & Coulson 1978; National Opinion Research Corporation 1973). School districts eagerly sought these funds.

Most minority high schools have much higher fractions of lower-income students from families without post-secondary education, but college, for six of every seven black students is a largely white, middle-class environment.¹² The normal transition to college is compounded by the need to make huge class and race adjustments in a setting that is very familiar to white middle-class students but has many unknown dimensions for students from segregated minority backgrounds. In addition, recent surveys show that both white and minority students in integrated school districts tend to report by large majorities that they have learned to study and work together and that they are highly

confident about their ability to work in such settings as adults. Students report that they have learned a lot about the other group's background and feel confident about the ability to discuss even controversial racial issues across racial lines. In other words, students report great confidence about skills many adults are far from confident about (Kurlander & Yun 2000).

The affirmative action battle: research lessons about diverse education

The major battle in the nation's courts over the future of affirmative action in higher education stimulated the largest outpouring of research on race relations in education in a third of a century as researchers sought convincing answers to questions that came to the Supreme Court in the 2003 *University of Michigan* case. After it became clear that the decision was to turn, in good measure, on whether or not there were major educational advantages to all groups of students and the university community from having diverse classes, many social scientists set out to measure results. In its June 2003 decision the Supreme Court took the unusual step of explicitly recognising some of this research.¹³

In addition to the expert studies and reports entered into evidence at trial, numerous studies show that student body diversity promotes learning outcomes, and 'better prepares students for an increasingly diverse workforce and society, and better prepares them as professionals'. Brief for American Educational Research Association et al. as *Amici Curiae* 3; see, eg., W Bowen & D Bok, *The Shape of the River* (1998); *Diversity Challenged: Evidence on the Impact of Affirmative Action* (G Orfield & M Kurlander eds. 2001); *Compelling Interest: Examining the Evidence on Racial Dynamics in Colleges and Universities* (M Chang, D Witt, J Jones & K Hakuta eds. 2003). These benefits are not theoretical but real, as major American businesses have made clear that the skills needed in today's increasingly global marketplace can only be developed through exposure to widely diverse people, cultures, ideas, and viewpoints.

Longitudinal research conducted at the college level shows long-term gains in understanding complexity from integrated educational experiences. Years later

students who have had racially diverse classes tended to think about issues, in general, at greater levels of complexity, being able to consider more perspectives.¹⁴ A recent study of elite law schools shows, for example, that almost all of the black and Latino students who made it into those schools came from integrated educational backgrounds (Orfield & Whitley 1999). Minority students with the same test scores in the nation's urban communities tend to be much more successful in college if they attended interracial high schools (Camburn 1990).

Studies exploring the life experiences of black students attending suburban white high schools show that such students experience far higher graduation and college-going rates than those left in central city schools, frequently attain an ability to be fluently bicultural, and, as adults, are often able to work with and offer guidance on issues that require these skills (Eaton 2001).

Interestingly enough, the period of growing desegregation coincided with the period of the most dramatic narrowing of the test score gap ever recorded for blacks and whites. This cannot be attributed simply to desegregation but may well be a product of the broad reforms that were associated with the civil rights era according to a 1998 study by Rand researcher David Grissmer and an earlier study by Daniel Koretz (Grissmer, Flanagan & Williamson 1998; Koretz 1986). In the 1990s, on the other hand, racial gaps in achievement have been growing and the high school graduation rate of black students is decreasing (see Kaufman & Associates 2000; National Center for Education Statistics 2000, 2001b). The integration period was a time of major gains and gap closing for black students and the resegregation era is showing signs of retrogression. In a 2002 study from an immense longitudinal data set following more than a million Texas students through school, economist Eric Hanushek, a well-known sceptic of school-effects literature, found a powerful impact on black achievement at predominantly white schools, particularly for higher achieving black students. A massive new study in the San Diego public schools shows that the ability of the average student in the school has a substantially higher impact on the level of student achievement, reinforcing a theme first put forward dramatically in US education with the 1966 federal survey report, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*¹⁵ (often known as the Coleman Report).

When the Supreme Court said that separate schools were 'inherently unequal' it was discussing the impact of discrimination, not the talent of minority

students. Although there is a great deal of debate about the scale of the benefits produced by desegregation, there is no doubt that segregated schools are unequal in easily measurable ways. To a considerable degree this is because the segregated minority schools are overwhelmingly likely to have to contend with the educational impacts of concentrated poverty (defined as having 50 per cent or more of the student population eligible for free or reduced lunch), while segregated white schools are almost always middle class. This study shows that highly segregated black and/or Latino schools are many times more likely than segregated white schools to experience concentration of poverty. This is the legacy of unequal education, income, and the continuing patterns of housing discrimination. Anyone who wants to explore the continuing inequalities need only examine the test scores, dropout rates and other statistics for various schools in a metropolitan community and relate them to statistics for school poverty (free lunch) and race (per cent black and/or Latino) to see a distressingly clear pattern.

The state testing programmes, which now publish school-level test data in almost all states, identify schools as low performing, many of which are segregated minority schools with concentrated poverty. There is a very strong correlation between the per cent poor in a school and its average test score. Therefore, minority students in segregated schools, no matter how able they may be as individuals, usually face a much lower level of competition and average preparation by other students. Such schools tend to have teachers who are themselves much more likely to be teaching a subject they did not study and with which they have had little experience.¹⁶ This, in turn, often means that there are not enough students ready for advanced and advanced placement (AP) courses and that those opportunities are eliminated even for students who are ready because there are not sufficient students to fill a teacher's advanced classes. Many colleges give special consideration to students who have taken AP classes, ignoring the fact that such classes are far less available in segregated minority high schools. There are many ways that middle-class and upper middle-class schools confer advantage compared to poverty schools.

These problems are most serious when racial segregation is reinforced by class segregation, but they are also serious for the black middle-class schools. The College Board is supporting a study examining the achievement gap for black middle-class students, since students in middle-class black schools perform at a much lower average level than would be predicted on the basis of their

economic level (Jencks & Phillips 1998). Part of this difference is due to the fact that black middle-class families tend to live in communities with far more poor people than white middle-class families and often live near and share schools with lower-class black neighbourhoods (Patillo-McCoy 2000).

The basic message is that segregation, as normally seen in American schools almost a half-century after *Brown*, produces schools that are, on average, deeply unequal in ways that go far beyond unequal budgets. Integrated schools, on average, clearly have better opportunities. There are, of course, exceptions. Even if integrated schools have better opportunities, this does not assure that minority children enrolled in those schools will receive fair access to those opportunities. That depends on the policies and practices under which the school operates. Desegregation at the school level is a necessary but far from sufficient condition for assuring equal opportunity in practice. A great deal is known about the conditions under which interracial schools operate more or less effectively and fairly. There are a variety of things that children learn in interracial schools about understanding and working together with people of other racial and ethnic backgrounds, things that are difficult or impossible to learn in segregated schools.

The Civil Rights Project has collaborated with the National Association of School Boards Council of Urban Boards of Education, the National Education Association, and seven school boards to study the attitudes of high school students toward their segregated or integrated schools and classes. This large research enterprise has identified a number of non-test score outcomes that are very important to schools and to communities in a nation that is already 40 per cent non-white in its student population and projected to have a school age population that is nearly 60 per cent non-white and profoundly multi-racial by mid-century. The research shows that high school students in interracial schools and classes report very high levels of confidence in the value of their school experience in preparing them to understand each other's group, to work in interracial settings, to comfortably discuss sensitive issues across racial lines, to support candidates of other races for office, and many other dimensions of building a successful post-segregation society (Orfield & Kurlaender 2001). Students of various racial and ethnic backgrounds tend to report very similar and high levels of satisfaction with these goals in a way that is related to the level of integration of their school; in some school districts they also report high and similar cross-race levels of support from teachers

and advising for post-secondary education. The three studies released from this project so far have had major impacts on communities considering desegregation policies. In Cambridge Massachusetts, an extremely diverse old city with a majority of black and Latino students and a very affluent white population, the school authorities adopted a new policy for both race and social class integration. In Lynn Massachusetts a federal court ruled in 2003 that the evidence from the students showed that the city had a compelling reason to pursue conscious strategies for desegregation and that the strategies had helped stabilise a racially changing community. In Louisville Kentucky the research was used in testimony in a lawsuit that resulted in a ruling supporting the continuation of a desegregation plan encompassing the city and suburban schools. The research was also included in a book cited by the US Supreme Court in its ruling that integration enriched the education of US college students. Research of this sort, examining the benefits of positive interracial experience for the historically dominant as well as the historically excluded groups and showing the way in which it may prepare students and communities for successful diversity, can be a significant contribution from the academic world to the policy process and to public understanding.

Possibility of rapid and dramatic change

The US experience shows that it is possible to achieve sudden and very dramatic change and for it to work out successfully under the right conditions. In the late 1960s and, particularly, in the early 1970s, there were a series of administrative and political decisions that produced rapid simultaneous and deep change in hundreds of school districts at the same time. Regulations enforcing the 1964 Civil Rights Act produced dramatic change in school districts across 17 states between 1965 and 1968. A Supreme Court decision in 1969 requiring immediate compliance with desegregation obligations, forced a number of school districts to suddenly reassign their students in the middle of a school year. The Supreme Court's 1971 decision on transporting students for desegregation in large urban areas produced changes the next fall in scores of cities. Even in areas where there had been intense political resistance, most of these changes were implemented without any lasting disruption in what had seemed an impossibly short period of time. Afterwards, of course, there were many mistakes to clean up and adjustments to make, but the difficulties of the

transition were over and the racial issue tended to rapidly disappear as communities sorted out the problems and produced plans more adapted to local conditions.

The most difficult politics tended to develop when there was substantial time between the time that the threat of a difficult change became visible and the time it actually happened. This is clearly what happened with the mobilisation of Southern political leaders in a policy of 'massive resistance' in the years following the Supreme Court's 1954 decision. The reason was that the delay gave time for politicians to exploit the fears, spread rumours and mobilise resistance, sometimes winning elections they would have lost otherwise – a classic demagogic strategy. Once major change was done, however, there was no more political mileage in resistance and it became in everyone's interest to make it work and, of course, the day-to-day reality soon proved that many of the stereotypes and fears were simply wrong. The research on public opinion clearly shows this pattern – resistance peaks at the crisis time, both in terms of level of white opposition and in terms of the saliency of the issue – and then the issue soon becomes much less salient and attitudes gradually become more favourable. An interesting dimension of the urban desegregation (busing) issue was that the attitudes of families who actually experienced the desegregation were far more positive about the experience than those who had not. The lesson of this process is that to the extent possible it may be best to rapidly implement any major change in this issue. Clearly the way issues are framed makes an important difference.

White fears

The history of the desegregation battle in the US clearly indicates that there are serious white fears and avoidance behaviour in some desegregation situations. These have been interpreted in very different ways by US researchers and advocates. It has been clear, at least since the first 'white flight' studies in the mid-1970s, that desegregation plans may accelerate the process of racial change in communities. Many white adults in many US cities have had no personal experiences of stable school and community integration. Some interpret the withdrawal of white children from schools or neighbourhoods with growing numbers of black residents as a generalised white resistance to interracial contact, but others have suggested that the real fears are more about white

minority status, about resistance to social class change, and about fear of racial transition, which would leave the white child isolated in a virtually all-minority school with few middle-class students. There is a very clear difference in the long-term pattern of increasing white acceptance of schools with up to half minority students and the pattern of attitudes toward majority non-white schools. This has become a serious problem in many city school systems, since patterns of spreading residential segregation mean that the desegregation planners faced the decision between creating a smaller number of schools desegregated with larger numbers of white students in each and a large number of schools with small white minorities. When white children were assigned to such schools there was a very substantial loss of white enrolment and the schools ended up with significantly smaller white minorities than the plan originally suggested, raising the question of whether it was worth it.

The poll evidence from minority families strongly indicates that they are attracted to white schools not by their whiteness but by their quality, which is widely seen as superior and which many researchers see as primarily linked to the home advantages that more privileged children bring to school with them and the better and more experienced teachers these schools are able to attract and hold. Is there any significant gain either in quality of the education or interracial learning from having a few white students assigned to a previously black school with few middle-class students?

There are other related issues to be considered. If the primary academic gain comes from enrolling children from high-poverty schools in middle-class schools, then is there a significant gain for low-income students from placing a small number of middle-class students in high-poverty schools? If not, is there a risk that the middle-class students will lose from such placements? Are such placements likely to produce better or worse race relations? Under what conditions? It is important to consider the class as well as the race dimension when planning strategies and goals.

Reflections on implementing change

There were great barriers to desegregation. Education has been primarily a function of state and local, not national, government in the US and state and local governments were hostile. Until the 1960s, schools were often overtly

racist. More than 98 per cent of education employees in the country work for state and local governments, and in implementing desegregation, the courts and executive agencies had to find a way to implement controversial and difficult changes through agencies where they have no personnel and no direct control. The only tools of federal control were the threat of lawsuits and fund cut-offs, both of which were very difficult to carry out without severe political resistance from local officials and citizens. These sanctions were only rarely employed since they had high political costs. Otherwise the main tools were lawsuits by private civil rights organisations and funding for policies that supported desegregation such as the creation of specialised 'magnet schools' that offered special educational opportunities to children whose parents were willing to enrol them voluntarily in an intentionally integrated school in order to obtain the special programme. There was an eager response to the magnet approach, particularly when the alternative was a mandatory transfer of students and many hundreds of such schools were created, particularly in large urban areas. Finally, for a decade there was a programme of federal aid to help schools do race relations training for teachers and students, to create new relevant curriculum and other approaches designed to facilitate success in interracial education. These efforts, which also fostered important experiments and research findings, produced positive results while they lasted.

The most successful plans in many ways, however, were the most massive, that included all students over large areas and forced comprehensive change. The dilemma was that the kind of change that would be the most far reaching also had the greatest initial political cost and generated the most initial strife. The common result was to settle for something much more limited that worked much less well and sometimes not at all. The most devastating limit, clearly, was the exclusion of the suburbs from the desegregation of the large cities. Probably the best bet is to accomplish the largest amount of educationally sound desegregation over the largest area relatively quickly and include training, funds, and the possibility of creating new educational options for all children. The worst result came when pushing mandatory change in ways that produced greater instability of population, little educationally beneficial desegregation, and nothing that lasted for very long. Policies of that sort discredit the goal.

Sound desegregation planning requires hard thought about demography, about underlying trends, about conditions for holding middle-class families in

the public schools, about training and changes needed to assure fair and effective leadership and teaching in interracial schools and about fairness in access to school choices for all groups of students. There was nothing easy about this, but when done well there were many important potential gains for the students and the community, some of which simply cannot be attained within a system of segregated education.

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Notes

- 1 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 347 US 483 (1954).
- 2 *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez*, 541 US 1 (1973), *Milliken v. Bradley*, 418 US 717 (1974).
- 3 *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 US 537 (1896).
- 4 *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education*, 175 US 528 (1899).
- 5 *Brown v. Board of Education II*, 349 US 294 (1955).
- 6 *Green v. Board of Education of New Kent County*, 391 US 430 (1968).
- 7 *Board of Education of Oklahoma City v. Dowell*, 498 US 237 (1991).
- 8 For general patterns of attitude changes, see Schuman et al. (1997). For a sophisticated analysis of how leaders framed issues in the California affirmative action debate, see Chavez (1998).
- 9 'Gallup poll topics: Race relations', poll conducted September to November 1999.
- 10 LC Rose & AM Gallup, 'The 31st annual Phi Delta Kappan/Gallup Poll of the public's attitude toward the public schools', Sept. 1999, [www/pdkintl.org/kappan/kpo19909](http://pdkintl.org/kappan/kpo19909).
- 11 'Gallup Poll topics: Education', poll conducted August 1999. (Gallup.com website).
- 11 The author was chairman of the NIE Study Group that conducted the national grants competition, which led to the selection of the basic research projects which were summarily cancelled.
- 12 In 1996, 14.8 per cent of black collegians were enrolled in historically black colleges and universities, some of which are now significantly integrated.
- 13 *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 137F. Supp. 2d 821 (E.D. Mich. 2001) and 288F 3d 732 (6th Cir. 2002).
- 14 Expert Report Of Patricia Gurin, *Gratz, et al. v. Bollinger, et al.*, No. 97-75321 (E.D. Mich.) *Grutter, et al. v. Bollinger, et al.*, No. 97-75928 (E.D. Mich.).
- 15 Washington: Government Printing Office, 1966.
- 16 The various inequalities are described in Aronstamm, Young & Smith 1997; see also Lippman 1996.

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Understanding 'inclusion' in Indian schools

Sarada Balagopalan

Introduction

'Caste' serves as a metonym for India and, similar to 'race' in the context of South Africa and the United States, is central to any discussion on inclusive schooling practices. Its pervasive, invisible and multivalent presence has ensured the hegemony of the upper castes in the post-independence Indian bureaucracy, business, institutions of higher learning, multinational corporations and within civil-society organisations. Although the Indian Constitution has – for over 50 years now – contained provisions to make education available for all, it was only after the Jomtien Conference that outlined an Education For All (EFA) agenda that serious efforts have been made by the state to universalise schooling, particularly primary schooling. Prior to this the state had, within discourses that recognised the difficulty of all children in attending school (because of their need to work and not in an explicit language of caste), delineated non-formal education as more suitable for these children.¹

The past decade has witnessed a reversal of the Nehruvian negligence of primary education within discourses that centre on quality of schooling issues as well as highlight the reasons why children, particularly girls, drop out or do not enrol. There have been significant efforts to map patterns of attendance and dropout; to link nutritional intake to attendance through the midday meal programme and reduce the cost of schooling expenses through providing free tuition and textbooks for *dalit* (lower-caste) students; as well as to introduce innovative teaching-learning methodologies. This three-pronged effort around issues of access, learning and retention² has helped ensure a significant increase in the numbers of children enrolled in primary school. It has also helped transform earlier discourses that centred around the 'negligence' and 'apathy' of poor parents to one that recognises that the reasons that poor

children are out of school is because they are 'pushed out' rather than their 'dropping out' at the insistence of their families.

However, within these efforts to retain children in school what has been less studied, in the Indian educational context, are the processes that affect the creation of schooled identities amongst recently 'included' marginalised children. Although there has been increasing recognition and efforts directed at reforming schools into spaces that enrol and retain these students as well as ensure certain minimum standards of teaching-learning practices, the emphasis has been more on the technicality of ensuring that certain empirically verifiable policies and programmes are set in motion by the state and that teachers are held accountable to these. And though the necessity of these efforts cannot be underlined enough, it is the failure of the very same to take into account the upper-caste cultural hegemony that dominates spaces of formal schooling and invariably affects the experiences of first-generation *dalit* students, that demands attention.

Despite the vastness of the country it would neither be factually incorrect nor reductionist to say that public schooling in India (including in a state like Kerala, which is well known globally for its idealised 'development model'), particularly at the elementary level, has been abandoned by the middle class and increasingly by the lower middle class.³ This has in effect led to *dalit* students forming a majority presence in public schools. This is further complicated by the fact that the *dalits* or the lower castes consist of a variety of specific *jatis*, or occupation-specific sub groups (like potters, tanners and so forth), some of whom have been able to successfully move away from their traditional occupations, which were considered defiling. The *dalits* who are now entering public schools, particularly in urban areas where greater school choice is available, are those who rank lowest within the *dalit* hierarchy and, given that caste status is indelibly linked to the 'purity' of one's occupation, these are the children of the most polluted. How do the everyday practices of formal schooling shape these children's experiences as first-generation learners? How do certain upper-caste assumptions that are integral to the functioning of the space of the formal school affect the subjectivities of these children? In what ways do the recently adopted policies around inclusive schooling practices influence the ways in which upper-caste teachers involve and simultaneously construct these *dalit* populations?

Proceeding at this point, however, without offering a rudimentary discussion of the caste system in India would be like building a palace with a deck of cards; all the externalities of a neat argument in place without any real idea of the foundation that it is being built on. I will provide only a summary explanation here. Caste can be roughly understood as an endogamous, hereditary and usually localised group that has a traditional occupation associated with it and is graded in the local hierarchy around notions of pollution and purity that define the relationships that it has with other castes. Although it is the four-fold classification or the *varna* system that is often understood to be the dominant classification system of caste hierarchy, the everyday ways in which people in India articulate their caste identities are more based on their *jati*, or hereditary occupational identity. Therefore, as pointed out earlier in this paper, within the *dalits* there are several *jatis*, some of whom are considered more polluting than others. There are, however, several *dalit jatis* who have availed of affirmative action policies of the state as well as constituting themselves as important electoral vote banks, for example, in the state of Maharashtra, the Mahars to which *jati* India's most renowned *dalit* leader Dr BR Ambedkar (the chief architect of India's Constitution) belonged. While Louis Dumont's seminal work on caste has based its thesis on this notion of pollution and purity, which he traces from ancient Indian scriptures, other anthropologists (Cohn 1987; Dirks 1992) have argued that colonial rule – with its need to enumerate and classify populations – made caste increasingly rigid and inflexible. Their research provides evidence that caste was not so rigid in the pre-British period and that groups could move up and down the local hierarchy through capturing political power, through acquiring land, through trade and through migration. In contemporary India, caste – especially amongst the urban professional middle class – has no salience in these professionals' everyday lives and only arises at the time of arranging marriages when endogamous unions require to be maintained (Beteille 1997). This transformation in caste relations in urban India has largely to do with the growing disassociation with the hereditary occupation, although research (Karanth 1996) has pointed out that it is often easier for castes above the pollution line to change their occupation because no existing perception of inherent defilement is involved.

This paper will address the theme of inclusive schooling practices through providing narratives from two schools in a city in northern India. The effort is

to juxtapose the experiences of *dalit* children in a primary and a high school (with each school being dominated by one particular *jati*) and to point out the differences that frame the experiences of these students and affect the functioning of the school space. Unlike the primary school, the experiences of *dalit* high school students appear less 'exclusionary' because teachers have greater faith in the learning abilities and potential of these students. How are their self-constructions as *dalit* students affected by their successful integration into formal schooling? How does this differ from those *dalit* students who are just beginning school at the primary level? How do *dalit* parents of different *jatis* articulate their ideas about the aspirational metamorphosis that formal education inheres? How does the relative position of each of these *jatis* within the *dalit* hierarchy as well as the prior history of these various *jatis* in the city affect these communities' relationships to formal schooling?

The discussion of this research begins by providing a brief background of the urban location and specific schools in which this research was carried out as well as detailing aspects of how the data was collected. It will then focus on the particularities that frame each of these *jatis*' experiences with schooling. As first-generation learners in primary school the experiences of *Valmiki* (or sweeper caste, which is considered the most polluted and polluting) children are strikingly different from those of *Bairwa* (or leather-worker caste) adolescents in high school. In comparing both *jatis*, experiences with schooling this paper is trying to highlight the diverse nature of *dalit* experience with formal schooling. However, as the paper will make clear, the irony lies in the fact that this increasing *dalit* presence in formal schools, as well as the *dalit* child's growing sense of comfort in high school, has not in any substantial way transformed the pedagogic foundations of the formal education system in India, that continue to be governed by certain upper-caste cultural assumptions which function as the norm.

On research methodology

This paper is based on ethnographic research conducted as part of a UK Department for International Development (DFID)-funded comparative study on 'Learning about inclusion and exclusion in education: Policy and implementation in India and South Africa.' Using race and caste as the primary signifiers, this research project explored the mechanisms and processes in

place for the educational inclusion of these marginalised populations as well as provided policy makers with an account of the effects of specific inclusive policies. In India the study focused on the schooling experiences of *dalit* (lower-caste) and *Adivasi* (tribal) populations in the two states of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, both of which were until fairly recently considered amongst the educationally-backward states in the country. Given the vast variation in the functioning of schools as well as the differing approaches to policy making and implementation in both countries the research report, which is in the process of being written up, will focus on certain themes that are integral to issues of an inclusive educational space. These include the key issues of access, governance, curriculum and identity, with school 'ethos' providing the dominant frame within which the above issues will be further analysed.

Since the research sought to document how inclusion of these marginal populations into formal schools affects the self-constructions of students, their families, the larger community, as well as the teachers in the school, qualitative tools were adopted as part of this study. As ethnographic research is often more open-ended and flexible than conventional survey-based research, it utilises various methods to generate a more substantial and context-specific understanding of the issue/community under research. In refusing to make any sweeping generalisations about people's lives, ethnographic research seeks to point out how communities possess particular histories and act in specific contexts. The rationale that underlay the adoption of this methodology was that the creation of new subjectivities through their insertion into formal schooling could only be documented through tools that allowed the researchers time and space to know and become part of the communities being studied. These tools included participant observation, in-depth interviews, classroom observations, researcher diaries and focus-group discussions. Two researchers spent an average of six months at the schools focused on in this paper and made daily recordings of their observations, conversations, experiences, in addition to filling out the formal interview and classroom observation schedules. This paper is based on their detailed reports from the field.

Unlike the detached empiricism of sociological enquiry, ethnography is usually worked to serve as a space in which the 'informants' themselves are concomitantly engaged in a constant questioning and interpreting of their own lives along with the ethnographer. However, this research, given its scale, the

need for standardisation and the relative inexperience of the researchers, leaned more towards a sociological enquiry rather than the open-endedness and reflexivity essential to any ethnographic study. However, within this it was more expansive than survey-based empirical research and made use of various techniques that ethnographic research often utilises. The most distinguishable of these is the substantial investment of time spent in the field by researchers – that extended beyond the filling out of research tools – to include their participation and observation of community life on a regular basis.

On Ujjain city and the schools

Ujjain city in the state of Madhya Pradesh in central India contains the paradox of serving as a prominent pilgrimage centre for Hindus while containing a sizably significant *dalit* population. Beside the religious economy of the city in which the *dalits* do not play any significant part, the cotton mills, the first of which was set up in 1891, were crucial to both the city's and the *dalit* economy until the 1980s when they began to close down. The *Ujjain District Gazetteer* (1982) lists several *dalit jatis* as residing in the district including *Bairwas* and *Valmikis*. While the *Bairwa* population in the city did quite well economically as a result of the employment they were able to get in the city's cotton mills (and hence moved away from their hereditary occupation of working with leather), the *Valmikis*, whose traditional occupation is cleaning night soil/scavenging/sweeping, continue to remain at the bottom of the *dalit* hierarchy.

The *Valmikis*, or the '*bhangis*' as they are derogatorily known, continue in their traditional occupation as sweepers but now within the formal economy of the city's municipal corporation. Their jobs in cleaning the city's streets are more or less assured as there is no one else who is willing to take up this task and both men and women are engaged in this. Most of the *Valmiki* parents have never been to school and their occupational work, combined with the fact that they raise and eat pigs, heightens the sense of their being unclean amongst the upper castes. The *Bairwas*, whose traditional occupation included working with leather, migrated to Ujjain from Rajasthan in 1925 because of famine and easily got work in the textile mills. A formal job with a steady source of income allowed the *Bairwa* community as a whole in Ujjain to make an unparalleled social ascendance and gain greater social and cultural acceptability than any other *dalit* group in the city. While *Bairwas* in the city have jobs in the

government and the business sector, the particular group on which the research focused were former mill employees who had lost their jobs and now worked in daily-wage jobs, while their wives assembled incense sticks at home for some additional family income. At least one of the parents, mostly the fathers, had had some formal schooling and the greatest difficulty their children experienced in school was that they needed to combine this with some income-earning activity in order to help with household expenses.

The primary school, located in the midst of a settlement of about 100 *Valimiki* houses, is attended by a majority of children from this community. The school began in 1952 and was until recently a boys' school that became co-educational due to falling enrolments. The school is housed in a well-kept old building with adequate space and staff (five) for the 152 students. All of the staff except for the principal (who is a *Bairwa*) are upper caste and, even though many of them have had a long history of being at the school (one teacher has worked here since 1961), they do not interact with any of the members of the *Valimiki* community. They neither share the same source of drinking water with the students nor with the principal. The teachers are averse to using the teacher toilet at the school and instead utilise the short 15-minute recess to go home!

The secondary school has traditionally been a *dalit* school, having been started by the manager of one of the textile mills in 1960 to benefit the children of the *dalits* who worked for him. The school had a majority of *dalit* children until 1975 when this mill manager handed over the school to the government, which opened admission to children of all caste backgrounds. The school has a relatively favourable reputation when compared with the other government and even some private high schools in the city as its upper-caste principal is a well-known educator and the school's alumni have easily made it to the ranks of the army (which is considered a prestigious and permanent job amongst the middle and lower-middle classes in India).

On the *Valimiki* community and the primary school

Almost all *Valimiki* parents stated that they were sending their children to school, irrespective of gender, in order for them to become literate and numerate. They stated that the time for illiterates like them had long gone and that it is impossible for someone to function in this day and age without gaining at

least some amount of literacy and numeracy skills. Access to the primary school that is located in the midst of their settlement has been in large part facilitated by government policies including minimal fees, the free distribution of textbooks and uniforms and the monthly distribution of wheat, which is directly linked to the child's attendance record. However, for the mainly upper-caste teachers – most of whom have extended histories of teaching in this school – the presence of these *Valimiki* students is articulated in terms of a decline of standards.

Ironically, *Valimiki* parents also use a similar discourse around a decline of standards to describe the existing state of functioning of government primary schools. Although they are not in a position to act upon their perceptions of the ineffectiveness of these schools – for mainly economic reasons – it is the hegemony of private schools, as those that provide a better education, that dominate the minds of these 'illiterate' *Valimiki* parents. Their articulations help point to a growing awareness amongst parents of first generation learners around quality of schooling issues. The absence of regulation⁴ has led to a large percentage increase in private primary schools (De, Majumdar, Noronha & Samson 2002). While the quality of these schools leaves much to be desired,⁵ it nonetheless – given the upper-caste flight from government schools – serves to create in the minds of disenfranchised parents the understanding that private schools function better and thereby ensure a more academically secure future for the child.

Around 50 per cent of the children in this *Valimiki* locality attended a private school. Given this, the entire community had not only imbibed the culturally hegemonic language around the failure of government schools, but also used this to criticise the lack of academic rigour in the local primary school. What their narratives reveal is that the academic mobility that private schooling is *imagined* as making available acts as the yardstick with which government schools come to be measured as failing in these communities. At the primary school the larger politics of teacher transfers and the non-hiring of permanent teachers had helped ensure that this coveted city posting had teachers who were all close to retirement and did not possess the inclination nor the ability to match the agility and energy of young children. Moreover, the prolific rise of private schools has also meant that these teachers are under increasing pressure to 'double enrol' children who already studied in private or denominational schools, and let these children leave early to attend these

schools. The pressure that the teacher feels is a result of state policy that requires government primary schools to maintain a ratio of 40 students to one teacher, to avoid being transferred.⁶ The *Valimiki* parents spoke of teachers who ‘knit rather than teach’ and who refuse to take responsibility for their children’s academic results. Therefore, for *Valimiki* parents, the teachers’ inability to teach, combined with the compromises that teachers made in double enrolling children, made most parents construct this school only as a temporary space for their children until they could put them into private school, although whether this option was realistic, given the costs associated with private schools, remains a contingent issue.

This pressure that teachers felt to increase enrolment to maintain their jobs in the face of increased pressure from private schools did not translate into improved classroom practices. At the primary school the third grade teacher sat on her chair and read out loud or wrote on the board while the children sat on the floor and copied. There was an excessive reliance on homework and there was no evidence of any effort to gauge whether children were learning although the teacher knew (and called upon) those who were the academically better performing students in the class. And although some of these better performing students included *Valimiki* children the teachers often discussed the *Valimiki* home environment as being an impossible one for children to study in and therefore blamed parents for a lack of interest in their children’s education.⁷

Education theorists have – in the context of race in the US – pointed out the significance of factoring in teachers’ constructions of students’ ascribed learning potential as an integral part of understanding classroom transaction processes. Referred to as ‘educability’, this concept is particularly useful for analysing teachers’ constructions of first-generation *dalit* school-goers in government primary schools. Given its focus on *dalits* and their inclusion in formal schools this research anticipated finding instances of overt discrimination against these children. But what was found, particularly in primary schools, was the systemic nature of this discrimination and its damaging impact on teachers’ constructions of the ‘educability’ of particular *dalit jatis*. It was observed that teachers do not refer to the innate inability of *dalit* students to learn but rather use metaphors that focus on the environment in these children’s ‘home’ and ‘*moholla*’ (locality). The third grade class teacher, an upper-caste woman said:

These *Valimikis* are illiterate or have very little education and because of this there is no ‘*mahoul*’ [atmosphere/environment] in the house for studies. The parents drink and fight and are unable to help their children with homework. This school now has children of poor parents who do not care about their children.⁸

The lack of care that the teacher discusses is in large part about the students’ inability to do homework. *Valimiki* parents recognise their inability to help their children, most of whom are first-generation learners, and state that it should be the task of the teachers and the school to ensure that their children learn. Instead they emphasise that they do try to create the right environment at home by reducing (and themselves taking on) the household tasks that their school-going children are responsible for thus freeing up their time to study while at home. But this they realise does not help the child necessarily perform better academically because the child is often unable to do his/her homework alone. The assumption that underlies the school’s reliance on the child’s home – in reinforcing school work and preparing the child academically – is that this space is a literate one in which parents possess the required cultural capital to be able to quite naturally take up this task. It is this absence that teachers construct as the lack of an adequate home environment. *Valimiki* students who do perform well in primary school usually have older siblings who help them with their academic work. But for the large numbers who attend this government primary school, their continued felt lack of adequate academic skills causes most of them to discontinue schooling.

Valimiki parents were keen that their children continue with their formal schooling and not take up the sweeping jobs they were engaged in. The ideal job for their children is one that is considered non-polluting, that is, without stigma, and which would thereby elevate their status in the caste hierarchy. However, their complete lack of economic and social capital meant that large numbers of their children had dropped out of school by the time they were adolescents and had started ‘raising pigs’, a job that is considered as socially polluting as the cleaning tasks that *Valimiki* parents undertook. Discussing why this happens a 60-year-old grandmother said:

Earlier thinking that God had made our *jati* inferior [meant] we would do this dirty work unquestioningly. There are some educated members of the community who do not want to do this any

more. They look at people from other *jatis* who have better jobs and are doing better work and then ask themselves why is the *Valimiki* community continuing to do this work? Our community has educated boys. But most of them cannot study further than the 8th grade. By this time they quit their studies because they know that the sweeping job in the municipal corporation is assured and both parents and children are quite unsure what further education could potentially ensure for the child. High-caste people occupy the higher posts in the Municipal Corporation. Our people only clean and sweep.

Thus, while *Valimiki* parents vehemently stated that they did not want their children to take up the same tasks that they were working at, the possibilities for economic mobility through non-stigmatised occupations appear a distant dream for most *Valimikis* in this locality. They are neither plugged into social networks that provide them the opportunity to construct different life worlds through transforming the polluting work they are engaged in, nor does insertion into formal schools enable them to imagine different futures that are based on the creation of new subjectivities as educated individuals.

On the *Bairwa* community and the high school

In contrast to this irony of stigma being perpetuated through a secure livelihood (in the municipal corporation) – which affected the relationship of *Valimikis* with formal schooling – the *Bairwas* had a history of working in the textile mills and had therefore successfully broken away from their stigmatised traditional livelihoods of curing leather. This history of formal employment – which has subsequently been lost due to the closure of mills – affected the ways in which they framed the aspirations for their children. These parents believed strongly in the ability of a high-school degree to ensure some degree of economic mobility through making available certain career opportunities. They stated that they had chosen this particular high school (a boys' school) because the school's intense training in field hockey helped students gain admission more easily into the National Cadet Corps (NCC) and the army. These parents spoke of the pressures felt in making sure that their high-school child completed school and received his certificate as they had invested money and time in him studying thus far. This investment also often meant that there were

other siblings who had either dropped out of school or had been forced to quit so that one child could continue studying.⁹ There were several members of the *Bairwa* community who had started shops, worked in computer-related jobs, had joined the army and so on. As a result, *Bairwa* parents were much more aware of what opportunities the acquisition of a high-school degree facilitated; more plugged into the networks that provided access to crucial information as well as the connections necessary to gain a foothold into these trades.

While a former mill owner had originally built the high school for the children of his *dalit* employees, the school's reputation for excellence had transformed it into one of the better run and more integrated (in terms of caste) government schools in the city. The school's principal was considered an outstanding educator in the city and this greatly contributed to the enhanced academic reputation of the school. The school had 394 students of whom less than half, namely 187 were *dalit*.¹⁰ None of the teachers discussed the academic abilities of *dalit* children separately (or in lower terms) than their upper-caste counterparts. Rather, when asked about how *Bairwa* children performed in school, the teachers remarked that it was quite outstanding that these children could combine part-time jobs with schooling and still do relatively well academically. *Bairwa* students stated that they did not feel discriminated against by teachers and said that their best friends included upper-caste boys. In fact it was observed that unlike the primary school where student friendships were largely determined by caste, at the high school the divide was more between urban and rural students with each of these groups containing a mix of upper-caste and *dalit* students.

Classroom transactions at the high school were quite similar to those that were observed at the primary school, with the teacher essentially sitting behind his/her chair and reading out aloud from the textbook. The reliance on homework continues at this level and is enhanced by frequent tests that the students are required to take. Seating in the classroom is done on a voluntary basis with the brighter students – most of whom were from the city – usually seated in the front and, as pointed out earlier, this included *Bairwa* children as well. *Bairwa* parents, while more educated than their *Valimiki* counterparts, often spoke of not being able to help their children academically at home. Like *Valimiki* parents they also took upon themselves the household tasks of their high-school children and made sure that these children studied.

Given these *Bairwa* parents' stated inability to help their children with homework and given the analogous nature of classroom transaction processes in both schools, the absence of teacher discourses around the non-performance of *Bairwa* students is striking. This silence is further confounding given the heavier academic load that is implicit in high school. Is this silence due to the greater sensitisation of teachers to *dalit* students given the particular history of this school? Or was it just fortuitous that this school had the brightest of *dalit* students? The explanation, unfortunately, lies in a more mundane and less ideal reality that characterises Indian education – namely the prevalence of private academic tuitions that all of these *Bairwa* children pay to attend and which are usually provided by the teachers who teach them the same subjects at school. These high school teachers similar to those of the primary school appear to take no responsibility for their classroom transactions and instead ensure that the same students spend extra time and money on studying the same subjects with them after school. Unlike the *Valimiki* child in primary school who is very aware of his *dalit* identity because of the teacher's constant reminders to this effect, within the space of the school the *Bairwa* child is quite an indiscernible presence. However his lack of distinction has less to do with the changed nature of the school space and more to do with his adapting to certain hegemonic upper-caste cultural assumptions that function as the norm in Indian education.

Thus, primary school teachers are much more vocal about the educability of *dalit* students than middle and high school teachers. This – as the example of *Bairwa* students in high school makes clear – has less to do with the students being *dalit* and is ironically an indication of the greater academic burden that primary school teachers believe they carry. This burden is articulated within discourses that characterise the *dalit* home as inadequate but this is nothing more than a reliance on a literate home environment that *dalit* homes fail to live up to and which is integral to schooling practices in India. Teachers in high school do not feel the same burden because in India making use of private tuition and study guides increases in direct proportion to class grade and concomitantly reduces the burden on the upper-grade teachers to teach. Moreover, by the higher grades a sieving process has already taken place in terms of family decisions of which child to continue with in school and this is most often the brightest, most academically able child in the family.

Rethinking inclusion

As pointed out in the introductory section of this paper, the post-Jomtien effort to universalise elementary education in India has greatly facilitated the entry of all children into school. The presence of the *Valimiki* child, or symbolically the most ‘polluted’, in primary school is evidence of the success of policy efforts to ensure universal access to schooling. In all of the government primary schools researched parents did not have any problems in gaining admission for their children. Admission in primary school is all year round and involves paying a small fee ranging from Rs.2–Rs.5. A *Valimiki* mother remarks on this ease stating, ‘To admit Madhu into school I just went to school and gave them Rs.2 and then the teacher filled out a form for me which I signed and that was the end of the admission process.’ Some of the children at the primary school also said that they had come to the school with a friend of theirs and enrolled themselves without the help of their parents. This is significant if one considers the fact that this is the first time the state is making a conscious effort to include *dalit* populations within formal education.

Another prominent step that the state has undertaken through its various policies is to democratise primary schooling through promoting parent participation in school. Through the institutionalisation of school education committees the state has attempted to push parents to the forefront as ‘active’ agents who have an important role to play in the everyday functioning of the school. However, this research found that these formal mechanisms set up to promote parent-teacher interactions were found to be quite ineffective.¹¹ Rather than this being read as the ‘failure’ of administrators or teachers, the non-functioning of these committees requires an analysis of underlying structural reasons. Several post-colonial historians and anthropologists (Chakrabarty 2002; Chatterjee 1997) have discussed the social realities that govern democratic practice in India, pointing out that while universal adult franchise has allowed certain *dalit* communities to challenge older hierarchies, the everyday functioning of social relations has not become liberal nor democratic in any recognisable way.

The historic burden of backwardness and untouchability that frames the dominant upper-caste construction of these *dalit* identities is not formally addressed within the setting up of these committees and ironically the responsibilities of a school education committee at the primary level is restricted to

surveying the community to make sure all primary school-aged children are in school. As members of the school education committee parents have not been given any real control over school functioning but are expected to voice their opinions to the teachers. Given that historically caste hierarchies have been justified and consolidated on the basis of upper castes taking on the work of the brain and the lower castes being limited to manual work, it is difficult to imagine that the sudden entry of their children would empower these marginalised parents to suddenly become articulate and confident – this especially when the space of the school is constitutively weighed with a certain academic cultural capital that these parents have historically been denied.

It is this same cultural capital that takes as a given that school-going children must have a literate home environment that can aid them with academic work and reinforce the skills learned in school. This normalisation of a literate home environment and the subsequent burden of homework that is implicit in Indian schooling have particular caste-specific implications. The historical relegation of *dalits* to manual labour occupations, the unrelenting upper-caste constructions of them as being inherently inferior, the systemic denial of entry to institutions of formal learning, all of this gets masked (and therefore remains unaddressed in state efforts) within the schooling system's existing reliance on a literate home environment.

Thus, a *particular* home environment works as the commonsense understanding of the entire educational edifice. This invisible functioning of a literate home environment as the norm facilitates teachers' blaming of *dalit* parents for the lack of academic skills in their children without any introspection into their own classroom transaction processes. This norm condones teachers earning an additional income through private tuitions with the same students that they are responsible for teaching during school hours. This norm engenders discussions amongst upper-caste parents on the 'declining standards' of government primary schools and justifies their withdrawal of their children from these spaces. This norm allows policy makers to assume that adequate measures have been taken to provide access and ensure retention through various incentive schemes and minor pedagogic modifications. This perpetuates the functioning of the meritocratic (annual exams and percentage-based) system of Indian education with no significant modifications to accommodate a historically disenfranchised population,¹² but simultaneously represents the entry of *dalits* in school as the provision of equal opportunity.

Thus, while policies to democratise primary schooling have ensured the entry of *dalit* children they have not begun to address what the presence of these first-generation school goers might require structurally of the system to compensate for the absence of a literate home environment. The fact that teachers across all primary schools researched discussed the *dalit* home environment as 'unsuitable' for academic learning points to the impossibility of analysing this phenomenon in terms of the individual pathology of teachers. While not undermining the academic responsibilities that teachers should constitutively assume within the school space, there is a need for understanding their behaviour as functionaries within an excessively bureaucratised state apparatus.¹³ This understanding of the teacher's role as just another functionary of the state, while being linked to the colonial history of Indian education,¹⁴ has been uncritically adopted by the post-independence state. As a result of this, teachers frame their loyalty through reward structures that focus on their administrative efficiency – since this is what gets inspected – rather than their skills in transacting curricula.¹⁵

This glaring negligence of curriculum transaction processes manifests itself in the fact that during the school day there is a complete absence of any formal time during which teachers meet with each other to discuss the progress and academic development of the students. While the teachers have to keep academic diaries recording their daily teaching activities, the only notation they make on the students in class relates to their attendance, their examination marks and the distribution of incentives. And while they were open in their praise for *dalit* children who performed well in class, no time was devoted to discussing those children who could not cope in the classroom.

Working towards inclusive schooling in India will require recognising that this space continues to be invested with certain upper-caste cultural assumptions despite the increased presence of *dalit* populations. If the challenges that first-generation learners produce (within a system that depends upon a learned home environment) are to be addressed adequately, then several interlinked reforms that focus seriously on quality of education issues will need to be the focus of future policy efforts.¹⁶ But the state, in its hurry to universalise elementary education with the active encouragement of international donor agencies, appears to be taking the numbers route with highly publicised statistics that make for good development 'indicators'.

Some thoughts on researching 'inclusive schooling'

Thus far, academic research on making schooling inclusive in India has focused its energies on bridging the gap between policy and practice and – while such research may contain the viewpoints and experiences of the marginalised and help to serve a certain policy watchdog function – it is positioned very much within a research framework dictated by the exigencies of state actions as well as within an empirically-focused 'development' rubric. What is starkly absent from this is any discussion of the formation and transformation of subjectivities that a school space inheres. These shifting subjectivities can only be gleaned through rethinking 'inclusive schooling' as not predetermined by a certain fixed understanding of what constitutes inclusion; thereby freeing it to some extent from its conflation with existing equity of schooling debates. Rather it is through ethnographically researching the everyday practices of formal schooling and documenting the desires and disjunctions that frame daily experiences that inclusive schooling debates can get at the crux of its dilemma: namely that the implicit, assumed subject of a schooled space is not the same as the new subjects for whom the state is currently engaged in facilitating school access.

This is best captured by Gayatri Spivak's discussion on 'academic freedom' in her TB Davie Memorial Lecture at the University of Cape Town in 1992. Spivak chose the historic moment of the dissolution of apartheid in South Africa and the consequent excitement of liberation to discuss the problem of 'academic freedom' in the context of decolonisation. She traces the academy itself as an aporetic form that cannot be denied and yet which operates as colonial legacy/violence. Spivak's question regarding why this colonial formal structure – the academy – cannot be simply wrested by the decolonised through the opening of its doors to all previously excluded groups or even by providing appropriate content highlights the heritage or history of such groups. She suggests that neither is it a matter of 'academic freedom' in the formal sense of the phrase nor appropriate content that could make the 'academy' continuous with the life worlds of the decolonised. The problem here revolves around that of the assumed Subject of the academy, implicitly the Enlightenment Subject who can desire the tradition of rights, reason and freedom that operates as the defining moment of this imagination called the Academy. Spivak writes:

We agitate for the formal possibility – in the academy as it is constituted in the name of the content, all races, all genders, all nations. But notice that the question of the subject drops out here, because the subject of academic freedom stands as a metonym for ‘the University’. It is constituted by the academy as it is already constituted – by the tradition of the public use of reason, the tradition that makes the revolutionary insider bet ... on a certain future around the corner and baffles the revolutionary outsider – the subaltern as such – not hitherto constituted by it. Since the future belongs in large part to the freedom and hence, *mutatis mutandis*, academic freedom of this latter group, the foreclosure of the question of bafflement (although it might seem necessary, if only by dismissing it as ‘unmeritorious’) is the beginning of the end, in all beginnings. (1992: 6)

The challenge that underlies any academic research on ‘inclusive schooling’ is the ability to look beyond the statistical spin-doctoring that the state engages in to meet international donor-driven targets and rescue this ‘bafflement’ that does not allow certain communities to unproblematically and smoothly occupy certain institutionalised spaces of learning, although their presence is marked in attendance registers and numerical recountings. It is to naturalise as part of the academic lens not only the history of these communities with formal schooling, but the institutionalisation of formal schooling as a hegemonic space that has historically privileged the cultural capital of certain dominant communities. These dominant communities had until recently (and even now to a large extent as this paper documents) held as commonsense the congenital lack of ‘academic’ abilities of marginalised communities; the latter being the communities whom the state in its new avatar, ironically, wishes to construct as self-assertive and ‘empowered’ in these little transformed spaces. Research on ‘inclusive schooling’ should focus on the new ‘subjects’ of schooling and understand the ways in which their subjectivities are constituted between the desire for schooling and the ‘bafflement’ that frames their experiences with this formal learning space. It is towards attempting to record this simultaneous existence of desire and bafflement that our academic research should ideally endeavour.

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Notes

- 1 The National Policy of Education 1986 explicitly states that non-formal education should be provided to children who are unable to meet regular school timings and attendance obligations. The country has had no mandatory legislation that compels all parents to send their children to school and there are several diverse viewpoints on the reasons for this. Myron Weiner, in his book *The Child and the State in India*, argues that it is the unwillingness of the upper-caste bureaucrats who dominate policy decision-making to change the status quo. However some civil society organisations argue that just making schooling compulsory and its attendant imposition of fines on erring parents fails to take into account quality of schooling issues and the inadequate provision of schooling facilities. In the immediate aftermath of gaining independence, not much focus was paid by the Nehruvian state to elementary education because its focus was mainly the creation of an indigenous scientific and industrial elite that could compare with the best in the world, through a focus on creating the best institutions of technical education. The institutionalising of an open, competitive examination system that was based on 'merit' was the way in which the post-independence state attempted to deal with caste inequalities and thus in effect served to make invisible upper-caste domination.
- 2 While access refers to the physical presence of schools in the vicinity of the child, learning refers to the quality of learning instruction within the classroom, and efforts at retention point to the high rate of dropouts that have plagued the government school system in India.
- 3 The middle-class (which was then mainly upper caste) exodus began in the 1960s when educational standards of public schools were viewed as being compromised with the increasing presence of backward classes and this, coupled with the unprecedented rise of English-medium private schools, made public schooling largely underutilised and ineffective until recent efforts to enrol poor, mainly *dalit* and *adivasi* (tribal) students. For example in Ujjain, which is the focus of this paper, while the government schools account for a 93 per cent enrolment rate amongst scheduled caste (SC) boys, this figure falls to 36 per cent in the case of upper-caste boys, highlighting the upper-caste flight from government schools. However the gendered nature of this upper-caste flight is also revealed in the fact that 94 per cent of upper-caste girls continue to study in government primary schools compared to 90 per cent of SC girls enrolled. However, by the middle-school grades the enrolment figures of upper-caste boys is in proportion to that of SC and OBC ('other backward caste') boys and the enrolment amongst girls of all castes is equal as well. This figure for the girls would indicate that in all communities irrespective of caste there exists gender discrimination, which causes the percentage of girls enrolled to reduce by at least 15 per cent in the middle grades.
- 4 In Madhya Pradesh (MP) private primary schools are allowed to function until the fourth grade with just a letter being written to the District Education Office to let them know of the creation of a new school.

- 5 Private schooling is not a homogeneous sector, but covers a wide range of schools with varying levels of infrastructure and also varying fee levels. Included as part of this research was a private primary school in a largely poor *Bairwa* locality. *Bairwa* parents complained about the lack of space at this private school as well as the quality of teaching. The entire school consists of one hall measuring 30x15ft, which is divided into several classrooms through the use of curtains made of cloth. One mother complained, 'The children have nowhere to play. A government school would have been better because at least it has the space for children to play. Here the teachers do not really teach. All they do is just maintain discipline and children learn only because some of the parents are able to teach them at home.'
- 6 Teachers in Ujjain thus often paid the school fees of students who were unable to pay, bought them pencils and notebooks and allowed for double enrolment. The teachers at this primary school also enrolled in the third grade, children who had studied until the fifth grade in private school. These were children who had not been permitted to write the fifth grade state examinations in these private schools as they could not pay the required fees.
- 7 This perceived lack of interest of *Valimiki* parents is also intrinsically tied to these upper-caste teachers believing that the incentives provided by the state are in large part responsible for the recent *dalit* influx into primary schools. In the post-independence developmental state, teachers have played the role of local functionaries in the government bureaucracy. They are instrumental in the collection of various census data, help with government literacy drives, provide information of various housing and livelihood loans and so on. Teachers have aided state efforts in gathering data about poor, mainly *dalit* populations and have been key agents in relaying information on government schemes. This engagement has inserted teachers within certain power networks of the state *vis-à-vis* these communities, within which teachers controlled and mediated the access of these communities to information and development funds, and for most teachers their previous engagement with these communities continue, to be reflected in their believing that parents send children to school only to avail of government incentives. *Dalit* parents realise that their child's recent participation in school is read through this lens and consistently state that the benefits that they get from government incentives are so marginal that they would continue to send their child to school if this were not provided. During this research it was observed that the paperwork tied to getting scholarships, the poor quality of wheat distributed, as well as the delay in distributing books in the school in effect did validate what parents said about incentives. For example, parents complained about the quality of wheat being so poor that they often fed it to animals instead of consuming it themselves.
- 8 When questioned, *Valimiki* parents provide a range of responses that reveal an inability to engage with the school on multiple levels, responses that mirror the prevailing dominant relations of power outside of the school space. It is significant to note that since almost all of the schools researched revealed a complete lack of any extra-curricular

activity, the parents' engagement with the school would have to focus mainly on academic issues and given that most of the children are first-generation learners this engagement *a priori* is weighed against the parents, with these *Valimiki* parents being extremely aware of their lack of upper-caste academic advantage.

- 9 This choice is usually a gendered one with the girl child often being allowed to continue with schooling if she is exceptionally academically gifted or if there are adequate economic resources in the family to educate all children. The post-primary schooling of the girl child is often also determined by the availability of an all-girls' school in the neighbourhood.
- 10 The teachers at the high school were also more mixed. Of the 33 staff members, 20 belonged to the upper caste, six to the backward castes, six were *dalit* and one was an *adivasi*. In contrast to this, the primary school had five staff, four of whom were upper caste.
- 11 In most schools this list of committee members for the school education committee was non-existent. Even where these lists did exist it was observed that teachers had written into these lists parents who when asked about their participation often did not even know that they were part of these committees. These committees had seldom met and no teacher who was part of this study expressed any feeling of responsibility towards any decision made by either the school or the village education committees.
- 12 Except for the system of affirmative action policies that reserve seats for *dalits* in institutions of higher learning. But as pointed out earlier in the paper, it is only particular *dalit jatis* – who are now part of the growing *dalit* bourgeoisie – who have benefited from these policies.
- 13 For the teacher this source of authority is constructed in the form of the educational bureaucracy for which time is spent ensuring that all extra-academic work is carried out and registers are updated, often at the expense of classroom teaching. This extra-academic role that teachers play is significant when one realises that the educational bureaucracy in India is centralised, providing teachers with very little independence to influence curriculum, change school timings, evaluate students performance (outside of marking examination papers) and make choices on what incentives might work locally to bring particular populations into school.
- 14 Krishna Kumar (1991) records how the colonial bureaucracy reduced the previous independent functioning of teachers within indigenous schools through introducing centralised teacher training, linking aid to the use of government textbooks and a pre-determined syllabus and through introducing a centralised examination system to determine scholarships for students.
- 15 Teachers, as this research documents, continue to take time out of their classroom teaching to make sure that their registers and other accounts books are in order because it is these that get inspected within centralised inspection systems that have historically not concerned themselves with evaluating classroom teaching practices.

None of the teachers could recall any inspection of their classroom teaching practices and instead discussed only the registers that the authorities often checked in minute detail. Within existing structures of authority and centralised decision-making, this absence of academic inspections – in light of other inspections that are often carried out – perhaps contributes to teachers placing a lesser priority, and therefore value, on their classroom teaching in addition to having ‘not enough time to complete the course given all this extra academic work’.

- 16 If the recent 93rd Constitutional Amendment that established the right to education as a fundamental right is anything to go by, then its deliberate leaving out of pre-primary education is evidence of the gap between the rhetoric and reality of inclusive schooling in India. As this paper has pointed out, this is more about a fundamental flaw in the conceptualisation of the problem than just the present unattainment of a certain underlying idealism.

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Part 3

CONSTITUTIONAL AND LANGUAGE CHALLENGES

Constitutional perspectives on integration in South African schools

Elmene Bray

Introduction

The term ‘integration’ is a difficult concept, and open to many interpretations. The *Collins Concise Dictionary Plus* explains ‘integrate’ as follows: ‘1. To make or be made into a whole; incorporate or be incorporated. 2. To designate (a school, park, etc.) for use by all races or groups.’

To establish an integrated South African society (or schools) one must acknowledge the legacy of a deeply divided and discriminatory past as well as the hopes and aspirations of building a truly democratic South African society. Seen against this background, how does one ‘make’ different and diverse communities (or population groups) ‘into a whole’; what does ‘being incorporated’ mean; what is the potential for diverse (and conflicting) views on ‘for use (for example, of a school) by all races or groups’? It is apparent that moulding the South African population into an integral whole does not mean fusing (melting together) constituent parts that in the process lose their own characteristics or qualities. One should therefore acknowledge differences and diversity in any process of integration.

A cursory examination suggests that reconstruction and reconciliation, acknowledgment and nurturing of diversity in a multicultural society, and nation building (a ‘rainbow nation’), ought to be included as objectives for the sound integration of South African society. Incidentally, most of these objectives have been included as foundational values and principles of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996).¹ The purpose of integration would then be to unite the different and diverse constituent parts (groups) of the community into an integral whole – the South African nation. In this sense, integration cannot be addressed in isolation, but requires

a multi-disciplinary investigation that takes into account socio-economic, cultural and political characteristics of constituent groups. It is from this premise that an integral and a united society with common values, aspirations and goals must be built.

The adoption of a new democratic constitutional order contributed to (and accelerated) socio-economic and cultural transformation in South Africa. Transformation is however an ongoing, evolutionary process that requires legitimate and democratic principles, processes and goals: the law should provide the foundational basis, instruments and framework for transformation, but it is only one of the disciplines at work in the process of societal transformation.² The school as a societal relation often illustrates the difficulties encountered in moulding together an integrated (school) community out of different and diverse interests groups (stakeholders), and also highlights the problem surrounding what the role of the law should be in the process of school (and education) transformation.³

Integration in schools should therefore take place within the process of democratic change and transformation in South Africa and constitutes a vast, complex and largely untapped field of research.⁴ This paper highlights only some of the legal perspectives on integration, more specifically, the role and impact of the new constitutional order on integration in schools.⁵

The constitutional setting

The Constitution is the product of a chequered past but has laid the foundation for a constitutional democracy in South Africa.⁶ It must be interpreted and understood against the background of past injustices and the disruptive and alienating effect of apartheid on almost every sphere of life, particularly education. The Constitution consequently abolished the previous apartheid system and constituted a sovereign democratic state founded on fundamental values of human dignity (the value and self-worth of every human being),⁷ equality (the equal enjoyment of all human rights)⁸ and the advancement of human rights and freedoms, non-racialism and non-sexism, to name but a few.⁹ The basic characteristics of the Constitution include: majority government, constitutional supremacy, a Bill of Rights, an independent judiciary, three spheres of government and accommodation of diversity. In the quest for

a reconstructed and reconciled nation, one of the greatest challenges remains the cultivation of a human rights culture in which respect and tolerance towards fellow human beings are paramount (Malherbe 2000).

Constitutional transformation in education has been intensive and expansive: laws and policies have been adopted to redress past injustices and advance the fundamental rights of all persons, including the right to education and other cultural rights, which are classified as socio-economic rights. Broadly speaking, the right to education constitutes the very foundation of good citizenship: it instils civic responsibility, ethical values, communication skills and objective knowledge to enable people to better communicate, make better decisions and reach consensus among themselves.¹⁰ Education is also decisive and indispensable in realising other rights that promote self-fulfilment and development (for example, political rights, the right to a profession and to trade) (Malherbe 1993), while other individual rights also have an impact on education (e.g. freedom of expression, and the right to freedom of language, culture and religion).¹¹

To better understand the constitutional principles underpinning the promotion of integrated schools, one has to examine the content and meaning of the constitutional values, and human rights and freedoms relevant to this issue. For the purpose of this discussion, only a few observations are made on values, the right to education, human dignity, equality and freedom of religion, culture and language.

Constitutional values and school integration

Legal rules are never neutral or value-free but reflect the values and aspirations of lawmakers and people. The Constitution is labelled as a 'value-laden' and 'value-driven' document because it reflects basic values that are identified and sustained by the community as common aspirations and goals for the present and the future (see Botha 1994; Devenish 1999; Venter 2001). These values are found throughout the Constitution but not all of them are expressed in precise terms;¹² their meaning must be deduced from the Constitution as a whole and the courts must always interpret the Bill of Rights within the context of these constitutional values, which is not an easy task.¹³ Values therefore establish the context within which fundamental rights function and determine the nature and extent of their limitation in certain circumstances.¹⁴

The promotion of an integrated society (and schools) on the basis of unity in diversity lies at the heart of the values, norms and principles enshrined in the Constitution and presents an enormous challenge to the democratisation of South African society in all its facets. For example, an examination of the foundational values of human dignity, equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms reveals that without respect for the self-worth and inborn dignity of fellow human beings (that is, learners, educators and parents), and a denial of equal opportunities in education (for example, through unfair discrimination based on race, and the denial of freedom to exercise a language, religion and culture of choice in a school of own choice), schools will never attain the goals envisaged in the Constitution for a truly integrated and united South African nation.

For the purpose of this discussion one may conclude that the following values enshrined in the Constitution constitute the point of departure for the promotion of integrated schools in South Africa:

- Healing the divisions of the past and establishing a democratic and open society based on social justice and fundamental human rights;
- Building a sovereign democratic state that is based on the values of human dignity, the achievement of equality and advancement of human rights and freedoms, non-racialism and non-sexism;
- Creating a society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law;
- Improving the quality of life of all citizens and freeing the potential of each person;
- Acknowledging and promoting political and cultural pluralism on the basis of unity in diversity.

Rights and freedoms in promoting integration in schools

The protection of human rights is primarily an undertaking by the state to shield individuals against the abuse of state powers.¹⁵ Some of the human rights and freedoms closely connected to the promotion of integrated schools include:

- The right of the learner to education;
- The right not to be unfairly discriminated against in education on personal attributes such as race, sex, gender and age;¹⁶

- The advancement of learners previously unfairly discriminated against in education;¹⁷
- The freedom of choice with regard to educational opportunities (for example, to choose between public or private education, to receive an education in a public school of choice);
- The right to choose an education in the language of choice and in terms of religious and cultural preferences.

Every person (for example, learner) has a right to basic education¹⁸ and to further education, which the state through reasonable measures must make progressively available and accessible.¹⁹ Basic education is therefore compulsory and a corresponding duty rests on the state to provide facilities and resources for the provision of such education.²⁰

A learner must also be afforded an equal opportunity to enjoy and benefit from compulsory basic education: the protection of equal opportunities and the prevention of unfair discrimination are found in the right to equality. In terms of this right, the state guarantees that everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law.²¹ Equality in this sense also implies that some form of differentiation is possible in law and that not every differentiation will amount to unequal treatment (for example, learners are treated differently to educators, the disabled learner also requires different treatment to other learners).

Equality also includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms, including the promotion and achievement of equality by learners or categories of learners disadvantaged by unfair discrimination – the so-called affirmative action right. Affirmative action is essentially about the redress of injustices of the past. It is not regarded as an exception to equality but rather involves procedures and mechanisms to promote and ultimately achieve equal rights and freedoms for those previously disadvantaged by unfair discrimination. This interpretation is in line with the objects of real or substantive equality (of outcome).²²

The right to equality further prohibits the state and other persons from discriminating unfairly against a learner on grounds which include race, sex, gender, age, birth, marital status, pregnancy, disability, religion, belief, culture, language and birth.²³ These individual grounds are not exhaustive and each of them could have a special impact on the right to education.²⁴

Rights that guarantee cultural (for example, own language and religious) freedom in education are imperative in a diverse, multicultural society:²⁵ on the one hand to protect the individual's own cultural preferences; on the other, to accommodate diverse cultures. The state is therefore actively involved in creating favourable circumstances for the exercise of religious freedom in public schools:²⁶ religious observances are conducted on an equitable basis and attendance is free and voluntary for both learners and educators (see Foster, Malherbe & Smith 1999). The freedom to choose a language of instruction and follow specific cultural preferences may include, for example, access to mother-tongue education but taking into account equity, practicability and the need to redress past racially discriminatory laws and practices.²⁷ The use of a language of choice and participation in a cultural life of choice may, however, not be exercised inconsistently with any provision of the Bill of Rights.²⁸ The right of the individual to belong to (associate with) cultural, religious and linguistic communities (for example, in the school context) is likewise protected but these freedoms may also not be practised in a manner that is inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights.²⁹

Most of the rights referred to above are composite, cross-cutting rights (Malherbe 1997; van den Berg 1990), but they do not apply absolutely because the bearer of a right always incurs responsibilities or obligations towards other bearers: the right to compulsory basic education at a school of choice may be limited when the school is full or when specific facilities (for example, for admission of disabled learners) are not provided for.³⁰ Rights and obligations must always be weighed and balanced to achieve a reasonable and justifiable outcome in an open and democratic society based on the constitutional values of human dignity, equality and freedom.³¹ In the South African context, human rights and freedoms may never condone racism, racial discrimination or prevent redress and perpetuate inequalities in education.

It is apparent that the constitutional values that protect human dignity, equality and fundamental freedoms are essential to the promotion of integrated schools in a nation united in its diversity. Although these values do not trump any of the other human rights, as founding constitutional values they constitute the nucleus of many other rights³² and provide the framework (parameters) for the interpretation (and limitation) of human rights. Needless to say, there will often be tension between equality (for example, equal access and opportunity in education to all learners) and freedom (for example, the

freedom of the individual to choose a school or language-instruction of preference), and because no obvious answers could have been provided in the Constitution for all these situations, difficult choices will have to be made in each individual case.³³

The Constitutional Court has developed an equality jurisprudence that offers valuable guidelines on the interpretation of the equality clause, including:

- The right to equality embraces both formal and substantive (real) equality; to attain real equality, the social and economic conditions of groups/individuals must be taken into account to achieve and ensure equality of outcome (see Albertyn & Kentridge 1994);
- Equality does not prevent the government from making classifications and from treating some people differently to others;³⁴
- Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms: in this sense it is regarded as an important (or core) right for achieving the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms;³⁵
- Unfair discrimination (including direct and indirect unfair discrimination) by the state and other persons (in the private-law sphere)³⁶ on the listed grounds is prohibited, but may be justified in terms of the application of the general limitation clause;
- Discrimination on other grounds (unlisted) must be proved by the complainant. A dignity-based approach to equality has been followed which determines, *inter alia*, that discrimination based on an unlisted ground that impinges on a person's human dignity, will be presumed unfair until proved otherwise (for example, justified) in terms of the limitation clause (see Carpenter 2002; de Waal, Currie & Erasmus 2000).

Conclusion

Integration in schools must be seen against the background of societal transformation in South Africa: education is the key to understanding and participation in the process of transformation. Central to transformation and integration is the ideal of 'nation building' that underscores recognition and accommodation of diversity in a multicultural society.

Integration seems to be an ongoing, evolutionary process: there is no blueprint for integration and neither can it be forced on society or on schools (generally

or individually) by the government, specific communities or individuals. However, the success (or failure) of school integration – in the context of the school as a societal relation – is often a reflection of the progress made with transformation and integration in society as a whole.

The new constitutional order has provided a platform and the legal framework for societal change. It has enshrined in the supreme Constitution foundational values, human rights and freedoms that are quintessential and indispensable to democratisation in general and the promotion of integration in schools in particular. However, the process of moulding a society (and schools) into an integral whole must be developed and implemented with the corroboration of all disciplines and stakeholders involved. One of the most challenging but obvious missions in this regard is the cultivation of a human rights culture and sensitising people to the inborn quality and equality of fellow human beings.

At the heart of school integration are the values, rights and freedoms that promote self-development and fulfilment of human beings, for example, human dignity, equality, education, freedom of expression and freedom in cultural preferences, to name but a few. The right to education imposes obligations on the state to provide compulsory basic education and adequate facilities for quality education; the learner, on the other hand, is compelled to undergo basic education but has the freedom of choice with regard to a school, the type of education and cultural preferences. Freedom of choice in education is reinforced through the protection of equal opportunities in education and is anchored in the right to equality. Equality is a composite, cross-cutting core right that not only promotes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms, but specifically guarantees non-discrimination by the state and other persons on the grounds of personal attributes such as race, sex, gender and age, and on the basis of cultural preferences such as religion, language and culture. Rights must always be weighed and balanced and, when limited, ensure a reasonable and justifiable outcome in an open and democratic society based on the values inherent in human dignity, equality and freedom.

The Constitution proclaims that ‘the people of South Africa believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity’.³⁷ In the education and school context, it translates into equal treatment (for example, to promote school integration) and freedom of choice (for example, to accommodate differences and diversity within an integrated school or in specific schools). The

potential for tension between equality and the freedom 'to be oneself' is apparent and the challenge is to find the right balance, which is daunting. However, the process of societal transformation involves more than a mere protection of rights on a clean canvas: it is primarily a matter of correcting and avoiding past mistakes, of building new relationships of trust in a diverse society dispersed by gross injustice and mistrust, and of fostering a human rights culture that values dignity and equality as basic qualities of fellow human beings (Foster, Malherbe & Smith 1999).

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Notes

- 1 Discussed below.
- 2 For example, transformation initiatives by the Constitution in the fields of labour, economics, health, welfare and housing, to name but a few.
- 3 Integration of schools in the legal sense provides only a threshold for the achievement of fully inclusive and integrated schools. Similarly, integration in a formal sense will not fully realise the right of the learner to receive equal opportunities and quality education to achieve his/her full potential if this is not backed up by appropriate multi-cultural education, training and supportive services.
- 4 A library search on the legal aspects of integration in schools (the education system) has produced little authoritative literature on the topic. Writings on education law cover related topics such as human rights in education, the right to education, equality and education, and so forth. Comparative works on education law mainly cover aspects of school integration or desegregation. For a concise comparative view on some of these aspects in the USA, Belgium, Germany, Canada and South Africa see Bray & Maile 1999: 249; Malherbe 1993: 687; Foster, Malherbe & Smith 1999: 211; Manley-Casimir 1999: 275.
- 5 This paper highlights only public schools. Independent schools are bound by the Constitution, particularly in terms of the Bill of Rights (for example, ss 8 and 29[3]) which, *inter alia*, provides for horizontal application in the private-law sphere, and a right to establish independent educational institutions provided they do not discriminate on the basis of race, are registered with the state and maintain acceptable standards comparable with public educational institutions. See Bray 2000: 276–277; de Waal, Currie & Erasmus 2000: 55–57.
- 6 The Constitution is a negotiated document adopted by consensus and compromise. See Devenish 1999: 1–8; de Waal, Currie & Erasmus 2000: 1–25; Malherbe 2000: 10–27.

- 7 Human dignity is both a founding value and an individual right protected in s 10. As a constitutional value society must acknowledge the value and worth of all its individual members, and laws that harm and devalue them in society constitute a palpable invasion of their dignity and a breach of s 10: *National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality v Minister of Justice* 1998 12 BCLR 1517(CC) par 28.
- 8 S 9. See equality below.
- 9 See Preamble and Chapters 1 and 2.
- 10 As pronounced in the landmark school segregation case in the USA, *Brown v Board of Education* 347 US 483 493 (1954). See also Hubsch 1989: 100.
- 11 For example, ss 10, 15, 16, 30 and 31. Also below.
- 12 For example, the Preamble of the Constitution and s 1. Other sections (for example, 7(1), 41(1), 152(1), 195(2) and 198) also describe specific values, some of which overlap with each other and with the founding values in s 1. See van Wyk 2001: 19–26.
- 13 On the role of values, see the Constitutional Court decision on the unconstitutionality of the death sentence: *S v Makwanyane* 1995 6 BCLR 665(CC) par 9.
- 14 See the role of constitutional values in the general limitation clause (s 36) and interpretation clause (s 39).
- 15 Human rights are also internationally recognised and regarded as interdependent and interrelated rights: for example, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (the single most important instrument defining and consolidating human rights standards [including education] for children); African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child; African Charter on Human and People's Rights; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: Davel 2000: 197–201, 202–213.
- 16 Very few cases of unfair discrimination in schools have reached the courts; procedural deficiencies seem to be the main obstacle in this regard. See *Minister of Education v Harris* 2001 11 BCLR 1157(CC) on age prescriptions for admission to an independent school.
- 17 The advancement of black learners disadvantaged by an inferior Bantu education system is of prime concern. See below.
- 18 S 29(1). While there are obligations on the bearer of the right (for example, the learner must attend school), a corresponding obligation rests on the parent (as legal guardian) to see that the child attends school. Compulsory education may not be suspended or disrupted due to the parent's fault (for example, failing to pay school fees in terms of a legal obligation to pay) and the governing body may not administer any test related to admission, or direct another person to administer such a test, except with special permission from the Education Department.
- 19 S 29(1)(b). Further education is not compulsory.

- 20 See ss 2, 7 and 237 for the constitutional obligations on the state. The South African Schools Act of 1996 provides that the MEC must provide adequate school places for learners in provincial schools (s 3); a public school must admit learners and serve their education requirements without unfairly discriminating in any way (s 5). Facilities for language, religious and cultural preferences must also be provided (see below). The state (and school) has an obligation to provide a safe school environment where quality learning for all learners can take place.
- 21 S 9(1).
- 22 S 9(2). See *City Council of Pretoria v Walker* 1998 BCLR 257(CC); Carpenter 2002: 42–45; Venter 2001: 39–40.
- 23 S 9(3) and (4).
- 24 For example, pregnant learners may not be prohibited from attending school on the ground of their pregnancy; disabled learners may not be discriminated against on the ground of their disability. However, these learners may well require different treatment under the circumstances. See also cultural rights below.
- 25 Sachs J held in *In re: The School Education Bill of 1995 (Gauteng)* 1996 4BCLR 537(CC): ‘Thus, the dominant theme of the Constitution is to achieve equality, while considerable importance is also given to cultural diversity and language rights, so that the basic problem is to secure equality in a balanced way which shows maximum regard for diversity’ (561A).
- 26 Religious freedom is an individual right protected in s 15. Religious observances are addressed in s 15(2). Public schools are prohibited from discriminating against learners on the basis of their religion and a wide range of religions, agnosticism and atheism is included. Admission policies need to be sensitive to the religious freedom of learners (and educators) and religious holidays, attire and expression must be respected.
- 27 S 29(2). Malherbe (2000: 66.)
- 28 S 30.
- 29 S 31. See for example, *Christian Education South Africa v Minister of Education of the Government of the RSA* 2000 4 SA 757(CC) where the administration of corporal punishment (allegedly part of the Christian Schools’ religious beliefs on education discipline for male learners), was held to be inconsistent with, *inter alia*, the right to human dignity (s 10) and the freedom and security of the person (s 12).
- 30 In addition, a learner cannot demand absolute freedom of expression when his vulgar speech offends the human dignity or right to a safe school environment of other learners.
- 31 The limitation clause (s 36) provides that a limitation must be imposed in terms of law of general application to the effect that the limitation is reasonable and justifiable in a society based on the constitutional values of human dignity, equality and freedom. Certain factors have to be considered in the process, including: (a) the nature of the

- right; (b) importance of the purpose of the limitation; (c) nature and extent of the limitation; (d) relation between the limitation and its purpose; and (e) less restrictive means to achieve the purpose. See also *Harksen v Lane* NO 1997 11 BCLR 1489(CC).
- 32 As emphasised by Mohamed DP in *Fraser v Children's Court, Pretoria North* 1997 2 BCLR 153(CC): 'There can be no doubt that the guarantee of equality lies at the very heart of the Constitution. It permeates and defines the very ethos upon which the Constitution is premised' (para. 20).
 - 33 See *Ferreira v Levin* 1996 1 BCLR 1(CC) where Ackermann J proclaimed: 'Rights of freedom and equality are not always reconcilable and in concrete situations difficult choices may have to be made ... [the interim Constitution] ... does not provide an obvious answer to the choice between freedom and equality' (para. 53).
 - 34 Differentiation must be for a rational purpose and not arbitrary; even the law makes legitimate classifications that treat people differently and have different impacts on their lives. Differentiation must be distinguished from discrimination. See *Prinsloo v Van der Linde* 1997 3 SA 1012(CC); *Larbi-Odam v Member of the Executive Council for Education (North-West Province)* 1997 12 BCLR 1655(CC).
 - 35 Affirmative action programmes must promote equal enjoyment of the right to education and must be tackled in an orderly way with supportive policy directives: see for example, *Public Servants' Association of South Africa v Minister of Justice* 1997 3 SA 925(T). Education legislation and policy guidelines promote the advancement of previously disadvantaged learners in various ways (for example, school admission policies, curricula requirements, and so on).
 - 36 The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 4 of 2000 was promulgated to give effect to the obligation to prohibit unfair discrimination in the private sphere (s 9(4)). See also De Waal, Currie & Erasmus 2000: 45; Wolhuter 1996: 512.
 - 37 See Preamble.

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Education and multilingualism

Thobeka Mda

Introduction

This paper recognises language as key to learning, and language rights as key to fundamental human rights.¹ In South Africa, the issue of language in education has always been an extremely political one. Language has been used as a basis for classifying and dividing people, and as the cornerstone of segregationist education policies. During the colonial and apartheid eras, Afrikaans and English were defined as ‘languages’, while indigenous African languages were viewed as ‘tongues’ or ‘vernaculars’. While the term ‘language’ carried esteem, rights, recognition and privilege, the reverse was true for ‘tongue’ and ‘vernacular’. African languages were marginalised as languages of learning and as such were not usually used beyond the primary school. Through legislation and other means, South African languages did not enjoy equal status.

South Africa’s new Constitution (Republic of South Africa 1996c) has redefined the status of South African languages, entrenched language rights and choice, and created opportunities for promoting language diversity and multilingualism in education and in society. Based on the Constitution, the Language in Education Policy (LiEP) for schools, and the Language Policy for Higher Education (LPHE) seek to redress inequities in education. Despite the introduction of new policies and legislation to redress the imbalances of the past – especially in terms of promoting African languages, and recognising language diversity, variety and choice – the status and use of African languages in education has not improved greatly. Examining this issue forms an important focus in this paper. The paper concludes with the view that broader social reconstruction, teacher training and deployment, shifts in language attitudes, and incentives for the wider recognition and use of African languages, are required for the effective implementation of the language policies in education and the promotion of multilingualism.

Legislation of languages and language in education after 1994

The new multilingual sentiment in South African education has been significantly influenced by the principles and values propagated and upheld in the Constitution of the first democratic government elected in 1994. The Constitution has several key clauses relating to language use and practice in South Africa. It adds the nine local African languages to the previous two official languages to make 11 official languages in South Africa (Chapter 1, Section 6). Chapter 2, Section 29(2) gives everyone:

the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where the education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single-medium institutions, taking into account (a) equity; (b) practicability; and (c) the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices.

Chapter 2, Section 30 provides ‘the right to use the language and participate in the cultural life of one’s choice’ and Chapter 2, Section 31 ensures that:

persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, with other members of that community (a) to enjoy their culture, practise their religion and use their language; and (b) to form, join and maintain cultural, religious and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society.

The Minister of Education formally announced the LiEP on 14 July 1997. It intends to promote multilingualism, development of official languages, and respect for all languages in the country including sign language, in recognition of the culturally diverse nature of the country as an asset; improve access of learners to education and success within education by doing away with the racially and linguistically discriminating language in education policy of the past; facilitate communication across the colour, language and regional barriers, towards building a non-racial nation; maintain home language(s) while providing access to, and effective acquisition of, additional language(s); and

grants the right to choose the language of learning within the framework of the obligation on the education system to promote multilingualism (Republic of South Africa 1997: Preamble).

The policy has implications for curriculum development, provision or redeployment of human as well as material resources, democratic governance, and access to education, which give access to full participation in society and the economy. The facilitation of the LiEP proposals requires initiatives, activities and changes in a number of areas of education including qualification routes, teacher training, syllabus design and classroom practice. It also carries a number of significant rights and obligations as far as learners, schools and education departments are concerned. Learners have the right to choose the language of teaching upon admission to a school and to request the provincial education department to make provision for instruction in the chosen language where no school in the school district offers the chosen language as language of learning and teaching. It is the duty of the provincial education department to provide education in a particular language of learning and teaching if there are at least 40 learners in Grades 1 to 6, or 35 in Grades 7 to 12, requesting the language. The provincial education department is also required to explore ways and means of providing alternative language maintenance programmes in schools and/or school districts where additional languages of teaching in the home language(s) of learners cannot be provided or offered.

School governing bodies are also given a pivotal role. It is the duty of the SGB to stipulate how the school will promote multilingualism through using more than one language of learning and teaching, through offering additional languages as fully fledged subjects, and/or through applying special immersion or language maintenance programmes. The SGB determines the language policy of the school in accordance with regulations in the South African Schools Act, 1996 (Republic of South Africa 1996b). Each learner or SGB has the right to appeal to the Member of Executive Council (MEC) against the decision of the head of the provincial department of education (DoE); and to appeal to the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) against the decision of an MEC (Republic of South Africa 1997: 4–6).

To support and to facilitate implementation of the new policies, structures such as the PANSALB (PANSALB Act No 59 of 1995, and PANSALB Amendment Act of 1999), the Working Group on Values in Education (Department

of Education 2000), and the South African Language Practitioners Council (2000) have been established. The Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology was also given the task of coming up with a national language policy '[t]o provide for an enabling framework for promoting South Africa's linguistic diversity and encouraging respect for language rights within the framework of building a united, democratic South African nation' (Republic of South Africa 2000).

The LPHE – the policy framework for language in higher education (universities and technikons) – focuses on languages of instruction, the future of South African languages as fields of academic study and research, the study of foreign languages and the promotion of multilingualism in institutional policies and practices of institutions of higher education (Republic of South Africa 2002a: 13).

In higher education, language has continued to be a barrier to access and success for second- and third-language English and Afrikaans speakers as the majority of them are not fully proficient in these two languages, which have remained the languages of learning in higher education. African languages have not yet been developed as academic, scientific and technical languages (Republic of South Africa 2002a: 8–9). These issues are addressed in this paper.

Multilingualism

Multilingualism may refer to:

- (i) An ability or skill located in one person, meaning an ability to understand and speak many languages with equal or almost equal skill, as in, 'She is multilingual', or the multilingual interpreter/translator;
- (ii) Being written or expressed in many languages, as in a multilingual memo, text, poster and so on; or
- (iii) The existence of many spoken languages in a unit or group, or containing/comprising many languages or language groups (for example, multilingual society, classroom, and so on).

Most people find it easy to relate to the third meaning. That way no one has to do anything, as:

- It is a fact/it is the state of affairs;
- It is not prescribed or legislated;
- It is an 'as-is' situation.

Policies and constitutions, therefore, do not refer to the third interpretation. Except for the newly arrived slaves in the Americas long ago, no law ever prohibits any group or individuals from speaking own languages. The Constitution and the language policies, therefore, are referring to the first two meanings. If different groups speak different languages, while remaining monolingual as individuals and groups, then that is not the proposed multilingualism. Multilingualism, as understood from our Constitution, refers to the use of multi-languages in an environment, all of them supported and respected. That necessitates basic understanding of local languages by all, for starters, enough to know which one is being spoken, even if one cannot hold conversation in that language.

Factors and tensions inhibiting the effective implementation of LiEP and LPHE

The language policies in education are admirable, ambitious policies whose philosophy and principles include equity, democracy and access, and subscription to the notion that learning through the home language is best. The policies and the principles behind them are aimed at the development and empowerment of languages that were formerly disadvantaged by past language policies. However, there are many factors that inhibit the realisation of these principles and goals.

Socio-political factors, language status and inequalities

One of the principal factors militating against the success of the policy is a lack of political will in leaders and in South African society. On paper, all languages are equal and are to be treated equally. In real life, the two former official languages, English and Afrikaans, are still held in high esteem by all who aspire to be successful socially and economically. The continuing state of inequality between the languages points to the difficulty of achieving 'respect for all languages', 'counter[ing] ... ethnic chauvinism or separatism through mutual understanding' and in 'building a non-racial nation' (Republic of South Africa 1996c: Preamble).

Haugen explains how lack of political will thwarts the success of bilingual education programmes, which appears relevant to multilingual education in South Africa:

If bilingual education raises problems in the school, these must not be sought primarily in the classroom. If it fails to produce the desired effects, we must look back at the ultimate policies, overt and covert, public or private, of the society in which education is taking place. If the language of the home is also dominant in the life of the nation and is supported by the prestige of an elite, then the introduction into the school of another language can become a valuable supplement to one's native competence ... But if the language of the home is looked down upon and is not supported by the prestige of an elite, then the acquisition of a second language which does have prestige may be disastrous to the pride and cohesion of the pupil's ethnic group. (1985: 14)

In the South African context, apartheid policies contributed to this situation since the 'African languages [were] deliberately underdeveloped and neglected' (Alexander 1998: 4). On the other hand, as Spencer correctly observes:

the apparatus of political apartheid increased the use of African ... languages in African education, thus reducing in effect the African child's access to the two [former official] languages: English and Afrikaans. (1985: 392)

Spencer also explains the danger of 'making ... people linguistically self-sufficient through the sole use of their mother tongue' as it leads them 'towards a linguistic and cultural ghetto, with all the economic and political disadvantage [that this] entails' (1985: 392). Since the two former official languages are still very powerful and continue to enjoy privileges as favoured languages, there are no incentives for non-African language speakers to learn African languages, or for African learners to exercise their rights pertaining to their languages.

The inequality among the languages is also demonstrated by the fact that Africans are generally expected to communicate with white, Indian or coloured people in English or Afrikaans. The African knows s/he has to switch to the other's language. Fanon, discussing the situation of the languages of

black people all over the world, points out that communicating in a language requires not only a knowledge of the structure of the language but a propagation of the culture and values embedded in the language:

To speak means to be in a position to use certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilisation. (1967: 17)

While LiEP aims to recognise and develop all South African languages equally, in practice this does not happen, as most Africans still have to speak the language(s) of the dominant (white) culture. The fears of many English- and Afrikaans-speaking parents about the future of their languages and the implications that integration and multilingualism in schools may have for their children play a major role in the marginalisation of African languages and their use as languages of learning. In addition, many African parents fear that their children could lack socio-economic access and mobility if they are taught in their home languages. Many white (and sometimes Indian and coloured) parents fear the loss of privilege (usually articulated as a fear of lowering of academic standards); Afrikaans parents fear the extinction of their language and culture; and African parents fear polarisation and non-access to the perceived economic benefits attached to English and Afrikaans (Mda 1997). These fears pose a real threat to the redress and democratisation process in South Africa.

Negation of African languages and preference for English

Many African language speakers – and other South Africans – perceive English as offering greater socio-economic and educational opportunities and as potentially ‘unifying’ a linguistically diverse nation. English is therefore preferred as a *lingua franca* and language of learning. In the background to the LPHE it is reported that ‘no requests have been received from [universities and technikons who have voluntarily adopted flexible language policies] for additional resources to support their language strategies’. Also, instead of a growth in this area, ‘enrolments in language programmes have declined in recent years resulting in the closure of several language departments’ (Republic of South Africa 2002a: 12).

Lemmer, having studied the establishment of language policies in Namibia and Zimbabwe, cautions:

language in education policies designed to redress former racial inequality may unintentionally create new class stratifications. Moreover, the proposed equal treatment of the indigenous African languages embodied in Constitutional documents often means their decline in practice in the light of their impotency to compete with the popularity of and perceived advantages associated with English. (1996: 20)

The recognition of all languages is seen to bring conflict, to be divisive, and to lead to inequities. Most people also fear the cost implications of recognising 11 languages and argue that recognising only English would be cheaper and more sensible since English is a 'world' or 'international' language. (I do not support this as it leads back to linguistic and cultural imperialism.)

Pattanayak, cited in Skutnabb-Kangas and Garcia, responds to negative attitudes towards language diversity in multilingual countries in these words:

The dominant monolingual orientation is cultivated in the developed world and consequently two languages are considered a nuisance, three languages uneconomic and many languages absurd. In multilingual countries, many languages are facts of life; any restriction in the choice of language is not only uneconomic, it is absurd. (1995: 221)

Choosing one language, English, may also be a way for African-language speakers to ensure that their language is not dominated by another African language. Moorehouse, commenting on this contradiction, notes that:

[t]he remarkable thing is that English has not been rejected as a symbol of colonialism; it has rather been adopted as a politically neutral language beyond the reproaches of tribalism. (Cited in Mazrui 1974: 102)

(Afrikaans speakers, on the other hand, are not likely to subscribe to this sentiment.)

While English is an international language, and a means to economic benefits, it is not without its problems, and is definitely not neutral (Mda 1997). An

investigation into the integration experiences of African-language speakers in English-medium schools in South Africa revealed that studying through English was frustrating, demoralising and even traumatic for many learners (Ntshakala 1997). While the populations of schools and higher learning institutions are linguistically diverse, the institutions remain monocultural, ethnocentric and monolingual (English or Afrikaans). Other cultures are either not acknowledged or suppressed. The minority learners experience 'othering' (Soudien 1997: 18) or 'become invisible' (Vally & Dalamba 1999: 22).

As Squelch reports, the tendency to 'respond to the languages of minority children by rejecting them and attempting to replace them with the language of the dominant culture' (1993: 45) is one of the mechanisms that contribute to the negation of some languages. In many situations the parents of learners whose languages have minority status encourage this tendency. Skutnabb-Kangas concurs with Squelch, and argues for linguistic rights as human rights, in these terms:

Respecting linguistic human rights (LHRs) implies at an individual level that everyone can identify positively with their mother tongue, and have that identification accepted and respected by others, irrespective of whether their mother tongue is a minority language or a majority language. (1995: 7)

The various African languages are either non- or under-developed as academic/scientific languages. This happened because African languages were only taught as subjects and not used as languages of learning across the curriculum – especially beyond the foundation phase – and were not developed to have more functions and roles. English and Afrikaans, on the other hand, were developed for specialised purposes and have, for instance, 'business English' and 'sake Afrikaans' (business Afrikaans) applications. The limitations of African languages mentioned above are seen by many as permanent limitations, and African languages perceived as characteristically (by nature) unable to cope with scientific, technical and technological subjects (PRAESA 1998). Investment in developing these languages for wider roles and functions is seen as a waste of time and money. However, most of the arguments against the use of African languages for such purposes, especially when propagated by African-language speakers, are evidence of self-deprecation and dependence, resulting from years of colonialism and oppression (Mda 2000).

Another sign of the self-deprecation and denigration of African languages is the reference to African languages as 'black' languages. This construction of the apartheid government has been internalised by some African-language speakers. They do not see the situation of Africans as similar to that of other people all over the world; that people in Europe are Europeans, and speak European languages, or that those in Asia are Asians speaking Asian languages (Mda 2000). Even the use of the words 'vernacular' and 'mother tongue', which have become almost synonymous with, and substitutions for, 'African language', is not problematised.

In South Africa, African children in multicultural schools speak English to one another and with their parents. They adopt English and forget, or prefer not to speak, their own languages in favour of English and, in so doing, reject African languages and 'Africanness'. Of course, there is the desire to 'fit' into, and not to be different from, the norm. Surveys of language preference and attitudes in institutions of higher learning show that most students whose home/first language is an African language prefer English as a language of instruction. This is understandable since their education (at least for the first 12 years) has been through the English medium. They either cannot envisage African languages as media of instruction, or they feel they have almost mastered the language needed in the South African economic sphere and to change at that later stage to one will not be useful in that sphere. This unfortunately reproduces power imbalances between language groups and maintains the status quo. In view of this tendency, the principle of choice as contained in the Constitution, the Schools Act, the LiEP, and, to a small extent, LPHE, may contradict and defeat affirmative action measures for African languages, as there is no guarantee that African-language speakers will choose their languages as the language of learning.

The principle of choosing the language of learning is also constrained by pragmatic requirements such as the availability of resources. In racially, culturally and ethnically integrated schools, teachers are not usually multilingual. Hence, the right of the learner or parents to request a particular language of learning from the provincial education department may not be easy to grant and implement, as it calls for effective resource deployment and redeployment.

Teacher training

There are limitations in teacher training institutions as regards multilingual education. The colleges of education, which trained most South African teachers, were mainly ethnically based. Until the publication of the *2002 Revised National Curriculum Statement* (Department of Education 2002) even in institutions where teachers of all races and ethnic groups were trained together, the methodologies for teaching different languages were separate, so that there was, for example, an Afrikaans method, an isiXhosa method and a Xitsonga method. In the above-mentioned policy document differentiation according to language has been done away with, and replaced by encompassing terms as in 'home', 'first' and 'second additional language' didactics.

It is reported in the LPHE that 'few institutions include an African language as a training requirement for undergraduate and postgraduate study, or offer short courses in African languages as in-service learning opportunities for professionals in practice' (Republic of South Africa 2002a: 12). Also, very few multilingualism programmes, such as the University of Cape Town's Postgraduate Diploma and Masters in Education: Multilingual Education, have been developed. Even for schools, most programmes on multilingual and multicultural teaching are developed and facilitated by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and not by the national or provincial Departments of Education. The educators who attend these formal and non-formal multilingual education courses or programmes may be doing so as individuals, for personal, academic and professional development. However, since there is no incentive of credit or remuneration from the DoE or higher learning institutions, there is no motivation for the majority of educators to take these courses.

Another weakness in language teacher training is that very few language-across-the-curriculum programmes have been established, nor are they widely practised. Where they do exist, they have been treated as just another subject, and regarded as a 'frill'.

I believe that the biggest constraint is in the will of all South Africans to recognise and affirm the African languages. Since there are presently few opportunities for, and benefits in, using African languages in higher education and in the economic world, it can be argued that it is a waste of the resources of the DoE to develop and promote African languages. It would seem to be an unnecessary complication to suggest multilingualism, instead of adhering to

the former government's Afrikaans and English (bilingual) policy, if the two languages are all that South Africa needs. However, given past imbalances and the neglect of African languages, the promotion of multilingualism is essential within the context of redress, equity and democracy in South Africa.

Another big constraint is what Delpit (1988) in the USA identifies as the 'culture of power'. Delpit analyses five complex rules of power that explicitly influence the debate over meeting the educational needs of black and poor students on all levels (1988: 80). Delpit examines this culture of power, specifically in classrooms, in a debate on instruction that contributes towards a more just society. In my view, Delpit's analysis of a situation of minority black and poor learners in the USA, in a predominantly white majority education system, is applicable to the South African situation of black learners who go to previously white schools, which have the traditions of the powerful white, middle-class and privileged society. Delpit (1988: 182–184) identifies and describes five aspects of power that are relevant to this discussion on powerful and powerless linguistic communities:

- (i) Issues of power are enacted in classrooms. These include the power of the teacher over the students and the power of the publishers of textbooks and of the developers of the curriculum to determine the view of the world presented. Also, since 'schooling prepares people for jobs, and the kind of job a person has determines her or his economic status and, therefore, power, then schooling is intimately related to that power' (1988: 283). In the context of this paper, the language of power is English, and to some extent, Afrikaans, and the issues of language power are enacted in South African classrooms.
- (ii) There are codes or rules for participating in power, that is, there is a culture of power. These 'relate to *linguistic forms, communicative strategies*, and presentation of self; that is, ways of talking, ways of writing, ways of dressing, and ways of *interacting*' (1988: 283, my emphasis). In the South African situation, the rules for participating in power include competency in the relevant language(s).
- (iii) The rules of the culture of power are a reflection of rules of the culture of those who have power. 'Success in institutions, schools, workplaces, and so on, is predicated upon acquisition of the culture of those who are in power. Children from middle-class homes tend to do better than those from non-middle-class. Children not from upper and middle classes

operate within perfectly wonderful and viable cultures but not cultures that carry codes or rules of power' (1988: 283). In our case, children whose home language is the language of instruction and language of the school, and also the language of commerce, will do better than those whose home languages do not carry codes of power.

- (iv) If you are not already a participant in the culture of power, being told explicitly the rules of that culture makes acquiring power easier. When implicit codes are attempted across cultures each cultural group is left confused. This could be compared to the situation of according official status to 11 languages, and yet elevating, and showing preference for, only one language, or having a multilingual national school language policy, and yet, practising and rewarding monolingualism or bilingualism.
- (v) Those with power are frequently least aware of, or at least willing to acknowledge, its existence. Those with less power are often most aware of its existence. 'For many who consider themselves liberals or radicals, acknowledging personal power and admitting participation in the culture of power is distinctly uncomfortable ... those less powerful in any situation are most likely to recognise the power variable most acutely' (1988: 283–284). The home/first-language speakers of English, for instance, and all those who have mastered the language, and in power, are least likely to be aware of the exclusion and lack of access felt by those whose (official) languages of communication carry no status.

Addressing constraints

In recognition of these tensions and inhibiting factors, the Langtag (Language Plan Task Group) language in education interest group identified a number of steps that needed to be taken to strengthen the language in education policy (Republic of South Africa 1996a: 129–131). These included, amongst others, language awareness campaigns at the broad public and at institutional levels; standards-setting mechanisms and processes in line with National Qualifications Framework (NQF) principles, especially in regard to the qualification and certification of teachers who have to operate in multilingual classrooms; promoting the status, corpus and acquisition of the African languages through the education system by means of newsletters, journals, magazines, and so on; streamlining information flows between institutions and state organs that

have an influence on the formulation and implementation of language policy in education; facilitating the establishment of community- or commercially-driven service centres at local level for language maintenance programmes in non-official South African and foreign languages; exploring the most appropriate language policy for tertiary education; exploring language issues in Early Childhood Development; and exploring more appropriate and equitable language assessment models, so that due weight is given to the real language competence of learners in a multilingual society.

In the LPHE, the Ministry of Education recommends: development of all South African languages for use in instruction; establishment of a task team to advise on the development of an appropriate framework and implementation plan, including costing and time frames; in close collaboration with the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, development of dictionaries and other teaching and learning materials; injection of substantial financial resources, over a period of time; encouragement of all higher education institutions to develop strategies for promoting proficiency in designated language(s) of tuition, including provision of language and academic literacy development programmes; curriculum development in South African languages and literature; amending funding grids for teaching inputs and outputs for specially selected languages, by, for example, providing earmarked institutional development funds for research, and facilitating offering of scholarships to students; offering these studies on a more cost-effective regional/national platform; requiring proficiency in an African language as a requisite for a range of academic fields of study and offering short courses in African languages; higher education institutions required to indicate in their three-year rolling plans strategies put in place to promote multilingualism, including progress in this regard; and all higher education institutions to develop own language policies and submit them to the Minister of Education by 31 March 2003.

Despite the difficulties and negatives experienced with the promotion of language diversity, there are organisations (mainly non-governmental), scholars, groups and schools from all over the world that have come up with positive strategies. In South Africa, one of the most important groups to do so is the University of Cape Town-based Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa. Some strategies from classrooms all over the world are: where some learners speak languages not spoken by the class teachers (a common situation in multicultural classrooms in South Africa), using, as language

resources, parents, volunteers from the community, including unemployed or retired teachers, other learners in the same class or other classes, and staff members who speak the language(s) of the learners; involving parents in education tasks by, e.g., letting parents direct the school's educational and language policy to allow for parents to bring their history, culture and values; collecting and creating parallel texts, books, alphabets, numbers, scripts, posters and story tapes in various languages; two-way dictionaries; pictures from magazines showing diversity and variety of people, and so on; and, when assessing the class, varying techniques and items to include written and oral tests, short- and long-answer questions, observation strategies, and being sensitive to the language of tests, and bias in examinations (Ohio Department of Education 1985: 35–37; PRAESA 1998: 4–5; Skutnabb-Kangas 1995: 12–17; Squelch 1993: 29–58).

Some guidelines and principles for multilingualism at school level, such as those proposed by Skutnabb-Kangas (1995), Skutnabb-Kangas and Garcia (1995) and Heugh (1998), would be difficult to implement – even though the latter are specifically suggested for South African schools – as they presuppose multilingual or at least bilingual administration and staff.

Although the so-called 'immersion', 'two-way dual language', 'maintenance', 'plural multilingual' and 'dual-language school' models are all relevant in different ways for multilingual South Africa, political, social and economic factors and language attitudes may make them difficult to implement. The greatest obstacles are monolingual teachers in the integrated suburban and city schools. Bilingual and multilingual programmes and models cannot succeed where teachers belong to one racial, ethnic and, especially, one linguistic group. It will take some form of social reconstruction to address the issue. There might have to be busing of bilingual and multilingual teachers to the monolingual suburban and city schools. Training of bilingual and multilingual teachers would have to be prioritised.

The publication, *The Power of Babel: Support for teachers in multilingual classrooms* (PRAESA 1998) also offers a selection of South African resources, mostly multilingual materials and materials in African languages, and a list of organisations, national and provincial, that give support or provide resources for teachers in multilingual classrooms. The PRAESA publication gives hope that multilingualism is not only desirable but also 'do-able'. It is heartening to find in this publication a long list of organisations devoted to this cause.

There are also indications that the national DoE is aware of, and wants to take action on, the perceived non-implementability of the language in education policy. The action envisaged is outlining for schools and school governing bodies clear strategies of implementation in an 'Implementation Plan' document. Such a process also takes time. It is hoped that in outlining the strategies, the DoE recognises the realities of choices being made and plans to strengthen choices for African languages, as well as paying serious attention to how English is taught in schools. These are far-reaching changes that will not be made quickly. The point of view from this paper is that this is a worthwhile project and investment in this process will pay off handsomely.

Conclusion

There is a need to *concretise and implement the multicultural ethos expressed in the Constitution, the Schools Act, the LiEP and LPHE in our wider society*. Stricter monitoring of implementation of the language policies needs to be done to ensure access and success of learners in education, which was the primary intention of these policies.

The definition and interpretation of the concept multilingualism needs to be interrogated. There is a need for *all groups to commit to the acquisition of the multilingual skill*. At this stage, that seems to be mainly the African-language speakers' domain. The majority of African language speakers speak English and/or Afrikaans, and at least one other African language in addition to their first/home language. While most white, Indian and coloured South Africans may be bilingual, that is limited to English and Afrikaans, the languages of white people, also the two former official languages, which do not include African languages.

We need to see *African languages functioning in many spheres*. Creating a language-friendly environment through signs, pictures and posters (mentioned earlier as one of multilingual classroom strategies) should not be limited to classroom walls or school notice boards. There should be signs in African languages in private companies and suburban complexes, including shopping malls, rather than limiting these languages to railway stations, police stations, hospitals and other public buildings, generally associated with semi-literate African-language speakers. Manufacturers and road sign writers

should be compelled to move away from writing only in English and Afrikaans. Labels on products and directions for usage or dosage in medicines and household products should appear in African languages. It is high time directions on a jelly packet, for example, appear in isiZulu, Sepedi, and so on. Why not mix English with alternate African languages, for example, with isiZulu or Tshivenda, and so on?

For the *white, Indian and coloured teachers*, there is an educational and constitutional requirement to acknowledge being a member of, or participating in, the culture of power, by virtue of their position, their numbers, or access to the particular code (language) of power, and having the authority to establish what is to be considered ‘truth’ in class. They must, therefore, concretely acknowledge the existence of other languages and cultures, and acknowledge their legitimacy, and that these other languages do not carry codes or rules of power.

In her concluding arguments, Delpit states, ‘The dilemma is not really in the debate over instructional methodology, but rather in communicating across cultures and in addressing the more fundamental issue of power, of whose voice gets to be heard in determining what is best for poor children and children of color’ (1988: 296). Also, ‘Teachers are in an ideal position to play this role, to attempt to get all of the issues on the table in order to initiate true dialogue ... by being unafraid to raise questions about discrimination and voicelessness with people of color, and to listen, no, *hear* what they say’ (Delpit 1988: 297, emphasis in original). This argument could also be used in South Africa, for the need to communicate across multicultural and multilingual classrooms, in addition to acknowledging the legitimacy of languages ‘other’ than the school’s dominant language(s).

It should be incumbent upon every teacher to have *operational competence in at least one African language*, and to be able at least to distinguish between the Nguni and Sotho languages even if the teacher does not speak all. In the *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy* it is stated: ‘all English and Afrikaans teachers will need to learn an African language’ (Ministry of Education 2001: 48).

Like Haugen (1985), I believe that while the LiEP and LPHE are education policies, their success lies outside the education arena, in politics (through legislation) and in the economy (through practical, visible and empowering policies). Public awareness of language rights is also very important and efforts

like the DoE's 1998 LiEP awareness campaign should be supported by, and involve, all sectors of South African society. The Manifesto referred to above, also acknowledges that multilingualism will become a reality and be viable only if the broader South African society validates multilingualism (2001: 49). Occasionally, one observes some efforts by some groups to incorporate multilingualism in practice, even if just symbolically. An example is the use by *Beeld*, an Afrikaans newspaper, of the headline in isiXhosa, 'Imini Emnandi' (a Happy/Joyful Day) on the occasion of the beloved former South African president, Nelson Mandela's 85th birthday (*Beeld*, 18 July 2003). Another example is the Africanising of some non-African language terms for national symbols, as in 'Amabhokobhoko' (the national rugby team, the Springboks).

It is hoped that accreditation of multilingualism through the NQF will be a reality soon. It is also hoped that parents and teacher unions/associations, the key participants in the process of implementation, will own the process and ensure its success. Finally, as the Values in Education Working Group recommended, '[a] language in education policy must ... be supported by initiatives in the wider society ... [and] multilingual proficiency must be rewarded' (DoE 2000: 8). Effective and meaningful rewarding of multilingual practices and promotion thereof is long overdue.

We need *demonstrated will by our leaders*, especially the African leaders, and *goodwill from people of coloured and Indian descent, the English and Afrikaners* (starting with all these here in this colloquium) to display just a little interest in African languages, not to do African language-speakers a favour, but because it is the right thing to do.

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Notes

- 1 This paper has been extracted and adapted from the chapter 'Language and Education' that I contributed towards the book L Chisholm (ed.) *Changing class: Education and social change in post-apartheid South Africa*, Cape Town: HSRC Press.

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Inclusion versus integration: the tension between school integration and the language policy

Brigid Comrie

Introduction

School integration and inclusion are promoted by the new curriculum and by the policies informing the curriculum. However, inclusion and integration is a process that takes different forms in different communities. To successfully facilitate the process it is important to understand certain factors that impact on successful learning. In this paper I will briefly discuss some of the implications of integration, and factors that affect successful learning. In particular, I will focus on problems of language mismatch where the learner's home language is not the same as the language of learning and teaching (LOLT) in the school, as well as the pace of the curriculum.

Orientation to the Revised National Curriculum Statement

The key principles of the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) for foundation phase learners include the following: inclusivity; human rights; social justice; a healthy environment; progression and integration. Several policies inform the curriculum including the *Language in Education Policy* (1997) and *White Paper 6* (2001), which contains the national policy on inclusive education.

The White Paper uses the term 'barriers to learning' thus moving away from a strictly medical model, which locates learning difficulties primarily within the child, to a more systemic approach (see the Appendix to this chapter for an

outline of some barriers to learning – Department of Education 2003). A variety of barriers may be considered systemic barriers to learning, including aspects of the curriculum. One of the most significant barriers to learning for learners in special and ordinary schools is the curriculum. In this case barriers to learning arise from different aspects of the curriculum such as:

- The content;
- The language or medium of instruction;
- The methods and processes used in teaching;
- The pace of teaching and time available to complete the curriculum (Department of Education 2001: 19).

In my view, it is not the framework of the new curriculum that creates barriers to learning, but rather the pace of curriculum as well as the teachers'/schools' limited understanding and interpretation of and ability to implement the curriculum. This can be compounded by parents' inability to support learners in relation to the curriculum.

The language policy, which came into being in 1997, is now being spelt out more clearly in the RNCS. The following extract from the Foundation Phase Guide explains the essence of the policy:

The Department of Education's Language in Education Policy promotes additive multilingualism. This means that learners must learn an Additional Language while at the same time maintaining and developing their Home Language. Additive multilingualism makes it possible for learners to acquire complex skills such as reading and writing in their strongest language. Learners can transfer these skills to their Additional Language (Department of Education 2003: 21).

The ideal situation in relation to language/s of learning and teaching would be an additive approach to language learning whereby learners start in their home language, add another language – generally English – and continue developing their home language throughout their schooling. Ideally both languages would receive 50 per cent of the allocated time. Research supporting this approach is referred to below.

Case study highlighting Grade 9 learners' difficulty in accessing the curriculum

In a recent collaborative project aimed at understanding and supporting inclusion in high school, six mainstream high schools in the Cape Town urban area were targeted. The following case study highlights the extent of barriers to learning experienced by Grade 8 and 9 learners. M is 19 years old. His home language is isiZulu. He attended school in Gauteng originally in Afrikaans, and later moved to an English school in Cape Town. He was identified by the Learning Support (LSEN) teacher as needing support in literacy. The LSEN teacher visited the school twice a week as part of our High School Inclusion Project.

The following is a copy of M's original diagnostic assessment by the LSEN teacher to ascertain the learners' strengths and needs.

4	hed	*	23. saw
5	vos		34. lost
6	bos		35. bela
7	vrok		36. foot
8			37. misuo
9	old	✓	38. Teran
10	sip		39. vean
11	Lak		40. Welo
12	raol		41. tod
13	tam		42. lar
14	wenk		43. monk
15	sil		44. taal
16	wepp		45. wedt
17	vah		46
18	open	✓	47. enese
19	sente		48. rovt
20	bas		49. rest
21	stow stow		50. havw
22	bon		
23	papa		
24	nap		
25	brad		
26	sand		

1. Grand-Pa ✓
2. ClubCard ✓
3. Modu ✓
4. Take ✓
5. your ✓
6. valid ✓
7. from ✓
8. CHICKS ✓
9. SAVE ✓
10. Good ✓
11. Blue Downs ✓
12. VALPRE ✓
13. slimslab ✓
14. Granola Bars ✓
15. OUTSPAN ✓
16. spoot ✓
17. Care ✓
18. less ✓

(15)

1. We all need jobs ✓
2. All of us are going to school ✓
3. All of us ✓
3. All prices include VAT and are correct ✓
4. All It is about a o clock ✓
5. It is about time you did some work ✓
6. How did you feel before school ✓
7. Before you eat you must say a prayer ✓
9. I was Before you in the line ✓
10. take good care of Before your health ✓
11. I had a cold ✓
12. We had sandwiches for lunch ✓
13. We had a nice day at church ✓
14. We had in Disprity hood ✓
15. I tried my best but I failed ✓
16. I had money but I lost I ✓
17. I went to school but I got lost ✓
18. I bought some food but, it was rotten ✓
19. I wrote my exams but I failed ✓

- A. Standardised spelling test where M has scored at a Grade 1 level.
- B. Non-standardised free vocabulary test used to find out what the learner can do. This gives the teacher insight into the learner's knowledge of phonics and, to a certain extent, language ability and learning style. (It is interesting to note that in test B the words do not relate to school but to the learner's world outside school and most are 'sight' words.)
- C. Sentences written by M later in the year, with the support of the LSEN teacher.

M has shown from the progress made in five months that he has learning potential. It would appear that M did not receive any literacy instruction (that is, specific teaching on how to read and write) after foundation phase. According to the LSEN teacher, M has very strong oral language skills and is not cognitively challenged. However, there are clearly 'gaps' in his learning.

Possible reasons why learners struggle with basic reading and writing in Grade 8 and 9

There are a number of factors that impact negatively on literacy development. Two of these crucial factors will be discussed.

Reading levels and the curriculum

Rose (2003) refers to three general phases of reading associated with schooling:

- Phase one early primary: Becoming an independent reader;
- Phase two middle to upper primary: Learning to learn from reading;
- Phase three secondary school: Independent learning from reading.

Phase one can be further subdivided into four levels: emergent, beginner, fluent and independent readers.

Rose (2003) points out that there is also a fourth stage – the pre-reading experience generally mediated to children by middle-class parents through interactive story routines where meaning is *scaffolded*. Thus, these children enter school with an advantage. Rose suggests that teacher training is based on these middle-class experiences of reading levels and that teachers base their teaching on these phases – assuming that all children have access to early literacy

interventions. When they do not make progress it is assumed that natural ability is lacking and that learners require 'remedial' support.

Rose refers to research conducted with indigenous students in Australia who are also missing out on the pre-reading experience: by the end of Grade 9 or 10 most indigenous students end their formal education unless they are able to access adult education later in their adult life. Primary school fails to give these learners what they need to close the literacy gap. This, coupled with the relentless pace of the curriculum, ensures that they will not succeed with the demands of secondary schooling, and that they do not expect to. They experience secondary schooling, not as an entry to adult life, but as a waste of time. I want to suggest that this is the experience of a large percentage of our learners. In fact, many of them may not reach fluent reading level in phase 1.

Language learning issues

In a recent presentation to the Education, Management and Development Centre (EMDC) Central, Cape Town, Kathleen Heugh highlighted the following key findings in relation to learning through home and additional languages from international and South African research.

South African and other international findings

- Threshold report, 1990: early exit from home-language medium of instruction to English in Grade 4. Research on African language speakers shows that this does not give learners enough time to learn sufficient English to manage the curriculum in English.
- Research in North America, Australia, India, Britain: students need at least six years of English as a subject before they can use it successfully as a LOLT.
- Home language must be retained as LOLT for six years after the child enters school.
- It takes 12 years to develop a high level of proficiency in home language (birth – Grade 6/7).
- Academic development of all children is affected by level of development of home language/mother tongue.
- Once learners cannot understand more than two per cent of the vocabulary of a text they are reading, comprehension declines rapidly. (Heugh 2003)

Effectiveness of various language learning models

Heugh (2003) provides a summary of a number of studies conducted in the US over the past 15 years:

- Intensive English ‘pullout’ system from Grade 1: learners improve in Grades 1–3; however, as the learners continue through school, results are poor. This may be considered a waste of resources.
- Early exit from home language/mother tongue and English taught through academic content as well as through English as a subject: under the best conditions the results are poor. This model gives little return on investment.
- Home language/mother tongue LOLT to end of Grade 6 (with English taught as a second/additional language) and then switch to English LOLT: learners’ results improve particularly with well trained teachers and resources. This gives a better return on investment.
- Dual-medium education throughout school system: learners perform best under these circumstances. This is the best investment of resources. (Ramirez et al. 1991, Thomas & Collier 1997 cited in Heugh 2003)

What is really happening in our schools?

Recently Grade 3 learners throughout the country have been evaluated to monitor progress in literacy and numeracy through a systemic evaluation process. The results were clearly higher in the Western Cape than the national norm because 80 per cent of learners wrote in their home language. In contrast to this, in Mpumalanga over 90 per cent wrote in an additional language.

Table 9.1 Literacy and numeracy in grade 3 learners in three provinces

	Overall percentage literacy score	Overall percentage numeracy score
Mpumalanga	33	23
Eastern Cape	48	31
Western Cape	61	38
National	48	30

Source: Heugh 2003

Conclusion

Inclusion and integration pose a number of questions and challenges, particularly in relation to learners' language proficiency and consequent literacy skills. A simplistic approach, which disregards how children learn or do not learn and why, could be detrimental to many learners. For this reason, I would like to suggest the following:

- Research on effective methodologies to scaffold and develop the reading process, and the implementation of reading teaching using scaffolding to Grade 6 and above if necessary. These strategies need to be implemented in conjunction with the RNCS.
- Development of an adapted curriculum for those learners who, for whatever reason, do not have time to close the literacy gap and need training to access the job market, either through mainstream schooling or Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET).
- Language policy understanding and advocacy via schools, the media and aimed at the general public so that parents can make more informed decisions and understand the implications for their children of learning in an additional language.

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Appendix to Paper 9

Summary of barriers to learning

Pedagogical	Medical disabilities	Societal	Systemic
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insufficient support of educators • Inappropriate and unfair assessment procedures • Inflexible curriculum • Learning styles • Tempo of teaching • What is taught (Content) • Management and organisation of classroom 	<p>Sensory disabilities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hearing loss • Visual impairment <p>Neurological disabilities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cerebral palsy • Learning disabilities • Academic learning difficulties • Communication disorders • Perceptual disorders • Motor disorders • Socio-emotional problems • Memory problems • Attention Problems <p>Physical disabilities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disorders of the skeleton • Muscular weakness and paralysis • Health impairments and chronically sick learners • Heart conditions • Tuberculosis • Rheumatic fever • Asthma • Haemophilia • Lead poisoning • Leukemia • Diabetes <p>Cognitive disabilities</p> <p>Intellectual disabilities are classified as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mild • Moderate • Severe • Profound 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Severe poverty • Late enrolment • The lack of early intervention programmes • Natural disasters and epidemics • Abuse, crime and teenage pregnancy • Gangs/violence in neighbourhood and at home • Gender issues in cultural groups and society • Attitudes • The lack of basic amenities such as water, electricity and toilets • Lack of basic and appropriate learning support materials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of assistive devices • Inadequate facilities at schools • Overcrowded classrooms • Lack of mother-tongue educators

Part 4

REFLECTIONS

Reflections and closing commentary on the School Integration Colloquium

Prudence L Carter

The task of redefining schools as resources for the social and economic advancement of racialised groups is a key aspect of the social change that is now underway in post-apartheid South Africa. Visions of truth, reconciliation, equality, respect, diversity and social justice serve as the driving principles and values behind educational research and evaluation of schools. A democratic South Africa faces the challenges of social transformation that have long characterised the United States since the landmark Supreme Court decision of *Brown v The Topeka Board of Education* 50 years ago. South African citizens are reframing schools as institutions designed to remedy the subordinate status of blacks, coloureds, Asians and other non-white racial/ethnic groups. Some might even argue that South Africa is taking a relatively more progressive route than many states, including my homeland, the US, with the radical inclusiveness of its national Constitution.

To have participated in the School Integration Colloquium sponsored by the HSRC with researchers, practitioners, politicians and NGO representatives from South Africa, India, Tanzania and the US was both a privilege and an enlightening experience. The papers and presentations posed challenging questions that confront not only South African schools but also schools across the globe as they seek to expand their social and cultural boundaries in the twenty-first century. As a scholar and researcher who focuses on issues surrounding social integration within the US, particularly from cross-cultural perspectives, I gained more insight into and awareness of the complexities that not only face educational researchers in their investigation of the viability and implementation of integrationist policies, but also those issues that confront both educators and learners. For the sake of simplicity and readability, I classify the three domains of issues primarily discussed at this colloquium as: (i) concepts and theory; (ii) the methodology; and (iii) policy and practice.

Briefly, drawing on a select number of presentations, I will attempt to summarise some of the main points with regard to each of these areas.

Concepts and theory

Colloquium participants vigorously discussed and even challenged each other on the question of what we mean by school integration. Both papers and discussions illuminated how we must more carefully consider the multiple dimensions of integration: demographic, social, linguistic, cultural and economic across both learner and educator populations. As some argued, school integration goes beyond a shift from homogeneous groupings to the mixing of different bodies – what I refer to as the ‘demographic integration’. For example, understanding the complexity of including students from various racial, ethnic, class and cultural backgrounds forces us to think about the linguistic challenges posed to schools by learners who not only speak a different language from the linguistic medium of the school but also who speak different languages among themselves. One risk of school integration, as Thobeka Mda’s paper indicated, is the diminution of languages that are not the privileged ones (for example, English or Afrikaans) spoken in an ‘integrated’ school. South Africa has declared 11 national languages. Yet, as Mda argues, schools and other national institutions (including the media) have done little to promote linguistic equality. On the one hand, learners across groups will have to share a language to facilitate interracial and cross-cultural communication. On the other hand, for a truly multilingual society, school practices should open themselves up to linguistically diverse practices. The great challenge, however, is how to achieve linguistic equality and also to fully prepare learners for economic competition in a global society that increasingly benefits English speakers.

The issues of linguistic diversity expose how we use school integration as a vehicle for assimilative processes. Assimilation and acculturation signify processes that in themselves suggest a melting away of non-dominant cultural features and an emulation of the privileged or dominant groups’ cultural practices. Thus, the question remains whether the intention of school integration is to fully prepare historically subordinated groups to acquire the skills and knowledge of dominant groups and/or to promote a radical cultural pluralism, akin to a vision that is egalitarian and respectful of the differences and

contributions of myriad sociocultural groups. Crain Soudien, Nazir Carrim and Yusuf Sayed's paper suggests that if we do not tackle this question and adequately address it, then inevitably the superiority of some groups will arise in a school context whose formal policy is to create parity among its diverse groups of learners. The Soudien et al. paper also highlighted another social problem that often gets supplanted in a society historically preoccupied with matters of race and racialism, and that is the increasing significance of socio-economic class. While listening to their presentation I almost experienced a moment of *déjà vu*, especially as I thought about the work of my colleague, William Julius Wilson, one of the most pre-eminent, contemporary American sociologists. In the late 1970s Wilson wrote a controversial and hotly debated book entitled the *Declining significance of race*. He declared that with expanded opportunities achieved after the US Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and various formal affirmative action programmes, the African-American middle class burgeoned. Yet without careful attention to the macro-social conditions that occurred in the national economy (for example, deindustrialisation, loss of factory and manufacturing jobs; large employers moving away from central cities, a shift to a service and more technological society) and that continued to either exclude or displace the poor, a large black underclass would be left behind the growing black middle class.

Though a different nation with its own unique economic history, South Africa, too, faces a widening chasm between its black poor, middle and upper classes. Soudien pushed a hot button issue and argued that as South African communities continue to tackle the issues confronting them about school integration, they must also handle the sensitive topic of the complicity of the black middle class in expanding the gap between the haves and the have nots – those who have access to quality education and better-resourced schools and those who do not. This fundamental difference has a consequential effect on the social and economic mobility processes of millions, and schools and families will collude in the social reproduction of inequality if they do not think more carefully about what it means to redistribute resources and access to resources across class lines, as well as racial and ethnic ones.

With increased mobility and access to opportunity, one of the dangers that face social groups once the veils of certain oppressions are lifted is succumbing to the marginalisation and subordination of others along social dimensions different from race and ethnicity. I am reminded of a quote from scholar

Nancy Hartsock, who wrote that depending on our standpoint in the social grid of life, none of us is purely victim or oppressor. That is, while one may hold a subordinate social standing on the dimension of either race or ethnicity, he or she can have privilege in terms of class, gender, religion and/or sexual orientation, to name a few. We know that school integration has occurred in a conscious and direct response to the emergence of a racial and ethnic democracy, but what about those other privileged identities that still characterise our societies? Not only must we consider the intersections among race, ethnicity and class in a school with a heterogeneous learner population, but we should also consider a host of other identities, which the Soudien, Carrim and Sayed paper, along with Balagopalan's paper on understanding 'inclusion' in Indian schools around caste, religion and language, discuss. Other social categories and multiple identities exist in South Africa, such as gender, sexuality, HIV/AIDS-status, as well as nationality and regional origins. No doubt, considering all of these domains of social difference and paying attention to them in school practice entails much commitment, strong educator training and sufficient revenue. However, if the goal is to aspire to the most expansive purposes of social integration, and consequently to attain a transformed society whereby all of the society's constituents have open access to its opportunity structure, then as the presenters have argued, these conceptual and theoretical areas must be addressed.

Methodology

Research methodology issues were raised both explicitly by the presenters themselves and implicitly by the conceptual social phenomena requiring further examination. As a member of a discipline (American sociology) with a strong positivist orientation, I was heartened by the reception that qualitative research, such as interviews and observations used by many of the presenters, has garnered among the South African research community. In addition, the descriptive, statistical data presentation of Mohammad Sujee on the demographic trends and shifts of schools in the Gauteng Province generated much interest. His paper provided critical and relevant regional information about the movement of learners across different school types, which has great implications for access and mobility outcomes across different racial and ethnic groups. Using provincial-wide survey data, Sujee informed us that the

deracialisation processes in schools are occurring more rapidly among learners than educators in the Gauteng Province. The reception of Sujee's presentation led to the recommendation by the colloquium participants that similar analyses be applied to all nine provinces in order to provide a nationwide portrait of the school integration scene in South Africa.

Overall, all of the methods employed by the contributors of the colloquium help to widen our understanding of how school integration issues have played out in the last decade. Still, given the complexity of the questions of intersections across different identities and the questions about the relationships among migration, assimilation and mobility, there exists a need for more utilisation of mixed methods, both quantitative and qualitative, to provide us with more insight into *why* and *how* these social processes occur. On one hand, more sophisticated statistical techniques employing representative data of national schooling patterns and trends are required. To complement these data, qualitative researchers will need to investigate more in depth how parents, learners and educators understand their actions and choices toward schooling? Moreover, how do the 'hidden curriculum' and invisible social dynamics in schools influence learner achievement? How and why do some groups of parents become more involved in their learners' schooling processes than others? These are questions that highlight the critical need for 'polyangulation' in research, the idea of moving back and forth among various data-gathering processes to validate the claims and observations from school settings, as Nazir Carrim argued. Finally, some discussion emerged about our responsibilities as researchers to be reflexive and address how our own identities, what we research, how we approach the research setting, how we are experienced by our informants, and how what we even address in our work influence the conclusions that we draw. These are all key and quite relevant questions for consideration as the research and evaluation of school integration in South Africa continues.

Policy and practice

Lastly, we come to the issue of 'walking the talk' of research. Researchers expend much time and resources in examinations of the social issues, but how do we implement our conclusions and recommendations effectively? As I reflect, this is an area to which an entire colloquium can be dedicated.

Although more attention was given to the first two areas in the colloquium, I can offer a few brief observations. Harvard University researcher Gary Orfield, one of the foremost experts on desegregation in the US, shared findings and insights about the complexities of integration in US schools. In his conclusion, Orfield stated that the most difficult challenge yet for educators is to develop curricula that immerse learners in each other's lives and create a milieu of interdependence such that the values, purposes and appreciations of school integration can truly be attained. Moreover, in a developing nation, another difficult challenge for implementation is effective resourcing of education. Some consensus emerged among the colloquium participants that increased private and public funding are needed to strengthen the social science research industry. Increased funding will be needed as schools attempt to level the playing fields across different social groups, especially the previously disenfranchised.

In sum, South African social scientists, educational researchers and policy makers will continue to seek explanations for the disparate educational achievement and socio-economic gaps among different racial and ethnic groups. As they seek to understand both the benefits and consequences of integrated schooling contexts in society, they will require more nuanced understandings of numerous social processes. The findings of both present and future research will highlight the impact of schools as structures of cultural, economic, social and political meanings. New research should lead not only to cutting-edge scholarship but also to substantial policy interventions that improve educational opportunities for all, but especially for historically and socially disadvantaged groups.

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