

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: RACING, CLASSING, AND GENDERING
SCHOOL-RELATED VIOLENCE IN THREE
JOHANNESBURG SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Illana Michelle Lancaster, Doctor of Philosophy,
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The prevalence of school-related violence in the U.S.A., Canada, and the U.K. is well-documented. Yet, most of the literature on violence in schools tends to be quantitative in nature with a focus on surveys. Less common is qualitative research in the secondary school context exploring how learners experience violence. In recent years research on school-related violence in primary and secondary schools in the African context has been emerging. With its recent celebration of its thirteen-year anniversary marking the end of white minority rule and its subsequent rebirth as a democratic nation, South Africa offers an interesting case for evaluation.

Given the legacy of apartheid and the endurance of inequality and inequities that exists today, it is important to understand the varied experiences of South African learners with violence. More needs to be known about the kinds of violence learners experience, the factors that contribute to the violences experienced, and the role the larger school communities play in school-related violence. Only when the

experiences of learners are understood can effective policy be developed and implemented to address school-related violence.

The purpose of this critical qualitative study is to explore how learners in three secondary school communities in the Johannesburg metropolitan area experience violence and how these experiences of violence are raced, classed, and gendered. This study offers a sociohistorical contextualization of violence in schools and explores the articulation points across the levels of structural-cultural, institutional, and interpersonal violence.

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RACING, CLASSING, AND GENDERING SCHOOL-RELATED VIOLENCE IN
THREE JOHANNESBURG SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

By

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
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Chapter 1: Introduction

October 12th 2006- The front page of Johannesburg's daily *The Star* reads "Enough is Enough" (Maughan, et. Al, 2006). Below the headline is a half-page color photo of a shirtless man battered and bruised pushed up next to a gated storefront door. Half of the man's pants are in the hands of another man. The caption reads "Frustrated: Mob justice attacks, like the one in this picture taken in downtown JoBurg last year, are becoming increasingly common." On October 23, 2006 *The Star's* front page headline reads "Child Sex Crime Shame: Youngsters Who Rape Other Kids Blame the Scenes They See on TV" (Maughan, 2006). "Streamlining¹: Young Men Talk About Their Gang Assaults" and "One in Five Pupils Rapes and Gang Sex is Linked to Higher Social Class" were two bylines of the "The Rapists in School Uniform" feature article on page 6 of the *Sunday Times'* October 29, 2006 edition (Davids, 2006).

In South Africa reports of violence and violent crime dominate the press. While South African newspapers may sensationalize the issue to sell more papers, violence and the threat of violence are real. Violent crime in South Africa is persistent and pervasive. It is a national obsession penetrating the country's psyche. Violence and the country's inability to control violence is a daily topic of conversation. It seems that almost everyone in the country's booming metropolis of Johannesburg has been victimized or has had a close friend or family member victimized. Carjackings, house burglaries, and muggings seem to be the most common crimes that South African citizens endure. High crime is such an issue that it is often cited as the reason why large numbers of

¹ "Streamlining" refers to gang rape, as does "Jackrolling".

occupationally mobile South Africans are leaving the country to take up residencies in England, Australia, and New Zealand, some say contributing to a brain drain.

Violence took on new significance when in May of 2008 xenophobic mob attacks killed more than 50 foreign nationals residing in Johannesburg and displaced another 30,000 foreign nationals from their homes. Many of the attackers were school-aged. As a result of the heinousness of the attacks, the country, or at least the public discourse, engaged in a collective soul-searching in which the decomposition of South African society and the commonplace of violence were explored. The African National Congress (ANC) spokesperson Tiyani Rikhotso said of the mob violence: "Such acts can only take society backwards and open the wounds of racism and intolerance against which so many of our people fought...the... recent attacks... are an attack not only on foreigners, but are an assault on the values of our democratic society" ("Xenophobic Attacks", 2008). The South African Institute of Race Relations condemned the violence and attributed the violence to "poor and ineffective governance" that has failed to "bring levels of violent crime under control" (SAIRR, 2008).

Crime rates in South Africa are among the highest in the world, and Johannesburg is "popularly believed to be the 'crime capital' of South Africa (Palmary et.al, 2003). Every 24 hours, 52 South Africans are murdered. An Interpol study reveals that South Africa leads the world in rapes. According to a 2006 National Institute of Crime Rehabilitation report, 1,300 women can be expected to be raped a day in South Africa. Perhaps equally troubling are the statistics on youth violence. Victimization data shows that children are four times more likely to be victims of violent crimes than adults (SAPS, 2007). According to the South African Institute of Race Relations, "young people

between the ages of 12 and 22 are victims of crime at twice the adult rate, with even higher rates for violent crime” (Blaser, 2008). While violent crime in South Africa has decreased in recent years², the rate of child murder increased by 22.2 percent between 2007 and 2008, and most of the victims were between the ages of 16 and 18 and killed by their peers (Shakman, 2008). With youth under the age of 24 constituting 26% of the country’s total population, youth violence is of grave concern.

For South African youth the school is the most common site of theft, assault, and sexual violence (Burton, 2008). Learners are repeatedly victimized in school and such a pattern suggests that repeated victimization is “being entrenched during childhood and adolescence” (Burton, 2008, p.31). In response to a series of school murders in 2006, the Department of Education’s MEC Angie Motshekga warned that schools were fast becoming breeding grounds for criminals (Hosken, 2006). Schools do not exist in isolation; rather, schools are embedded in their communities and for many young South Africans their communities are impoverished and crime-ridden. Burton (2008) says of the school - community relationship:

Learners are... exposed to ongoing violence in their communities. Almost half the primary school learners have been exposed to people outside of their home intentionally inflicting harm on someone, while two in three secondary school learners have witnessed such incidents... A strong relationship exists between those learners who report living in a neighbourhood characterized by much crime and fighting, and those who have been victims of violence in school” (Burton, 2008, p. xiv).

Violent crime in South Africa permeates schools, neighborhoods, and the society at large.

² Murder has decreased by 4.7 percent and rape has decreased by 4.7 percent from April 2007 to March 2008 (“Crime Rate Falls in South Africa”, 2008) .

The Case of South Africa

Seekings & Natrass (2005) offer four compelling reasons why South Africa offers a valuable example for comparative study. Their political economy perspective offers comparative educators concerned with issues around social justice a useful starting point. Two of Seekings & Natrass' reasons are particularly relevant to this study; the first being the idea that "no other capitalist state (in either the North or the South) has sought to structure income inequalities as systematically and brutally as did South Africa under apartheid" (p.2); and secondly, South Africa's current government has "a clear public commitment to, and a political interest in, mitigating inequality" (p.2). South Africa, like so many other nations in the world has had a brutal history of oppression and inequality. But unlike other countries in the world, South Africa's current government's public agenda and discourse espouses redress and redistribution of resources and wealth. In exploring South Africa, comparative educators may better understand how a country can undo the legacies of decades of oppressive policies in the education realm.

Background of the Study

On a daily basis in schools across the nation, South African girls of every race and economic class encounter sexual violence and harassment at school that impedes their realization of the right to education. (Human Rights Watch, 2001)

The existing literature on school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) in South Africa suggests that gender violence exists throughout all racial, ethnic and socio-economic communities (Brooks & Higson-Smith, 2005; HRW, 2001; CIET, 2000). At the same time the literature locates gender violence in particular communities oppressed by the legacy of apartheid (Burnett, 1998; Vally, 1998; CIET, 2002). These communities are sometimes named explicitly as African or Colored (Mayeskiso & Bhana, 1997) or

implicitly suggested, as in the literature linking gender violence and poverty in which poverty is raced (Finerman et al, 2003; Holdstock, 1990; HWR, 2001; Leach et al., 2003; Vally, 1999; Vogelman, 1990;). How can poverty be raced, classed, and gendered, but experiences of violence be universal?

Statement of the Problem

Research that carefully examines the lived experiences of learners is necessary to challenge the pervasive assumption of a black culture of gender violence. Additionally, much of the research on SRGBV in the U.S., U.K., and South Africa focuses on female learners' experiences of violence. While research has been emerging suggesting males as likely victims of SRGBV (Madu & Peltzer, 2001; Welsh, 2000), little is known about the experiences of boys. Moreover, research into SRGBV has also revealed a continuum between children as victims and perpetrators (AAUW, 2001). That is to say, school children both experience violence and perpetrate violence against peers. Toward this broader effort, this study widens the lens of focus from school-related gender-based violence to school-related violence in general. In removing the marker of gender, we are better able to understand the complexities in which race, class, and gender operate together to inform the way in which a learner experiences violence in his or her school community.

Purpose of the Study

Given the legacy of apartheid and the endurance of inequality and inequities that exists today, it is important to understand the varied experiences of South African learners with violence. More needs to be known about the kinds of violence learners

experience, the factors that contribute to the violence experienced, and the role the larger school communities play in school-related violence. Only when the experiences of learners are understood can effective policy be developed and implemented to address school-related violence. The purpose of this critical case study is to explore how learners in three secondary school communities in the Johannesburg metropolitan area experience violence and how these experiences of violence are raced, classed, and gendered.

Significance of the Study

Anyon (1997) writes of the need to assess schools in their sociohistorical contexts. She suggests proper reform of a school cannot be undertaken without understanding that school's particular history. Anyon (1997) writes:

Assessing urban schools in the sociohistorical context that [has] produced them [has] provided a new method of studying school reform. Rather than excise educational events from their economic and political contexts, I give these latter forces an explanatory role. While not nearly sufficient for explaining everything that transpires in school buildings, economic and political understandings contribute important insights into underlying causes and therefore, meaningful solutions (1997, p.xvii)

Benbenishty and Astor (2005) echo Anyon's calls for contextualizing schools within larger systems. For Benbenishty and Astor this contextualization takes on significance in the development of a viable theory of school violence. They call for the exploration of:

Detailed questions about the policies, practices, and procedures, and social influences within the school setting as well as the impact of the variables external to the school... [A viable theory] must also include the views of all key school constituents around issues of victimization. Most theories of school violence rest mainly on student reports... At minimum, an understanding of the school's impact requires an exploration of perceptions surrounding violence, including multiple teacher, student, and principal perspectives (Benbenishty and Astor, 2005, p.7).

The significance of this study lies in its ability to offer a sociohistorical contextualization of violence in schools; its exploration of articulation points across the levels of structural-

cultural, institutional, and interpersonal violence; and its theoretical explorations of violence. A deeper, more comprehensive understanding of violence will help educators and policymakers to better understand that school-related violence cannot be eradicated by instituting such policies and procedures as school searches and disciplinary hearings. These kinds of policies only address the symptoms and not the causes of violence, and will yield only short-term solutions. Rather, in exploring the complexities of school-related violence, we will understand that comprehensive social policy reform across multiple sectors of housing, economics, and law must be put in place.

Limitations of the Study

In undertaking a project that attempts to open up philosophical inquiry and explore a “multiplicity of pathways and trajectories” (Mbembe & Nutall, 2004, p.349), one encounters theories and frameworks that are beyond one’s particular discipline and area of expertise. Opening up to the humanities can be a little intimidating for a novice scholar in that it requires a scholar to move past the comfortable confines of convention and explore theories in disciplines removed from her particular field. She is constantly questioning whether or not the line of inquiry she is pursuing will lead to any new understandings. It requires a certain sense of self-possession and fortitude to believe that a particular tangent may pay off, and as I have learned, at times it doesn’t. Once a novice scholar interested in the project of opening up to the humanities has gotten far enough into the project where she feels confident in her navigational skills, she is then tasked with presenting the voluminous and diverse theoretical and conceptual ideas into a coherent argument.

This expedition has led me to the unfamiliar disciplines of Urban Studies, Architecture, Political Economy, History, and Legal Studies. I have attempted to make sense of a variety of bodies of literature and theories from these disciplines and integrate them into the narrative of this project. However, because I do not work in these disciplines, I may be clumsy in my attempts to analyze and synthesize the relevant literature. My understandings may be incomplete or nuances may be lost. I do hope that despite my lack of expertise in these disciplines I may have stumbled on some useful synergies across the disciplines, and that the risk I have taken yield benefits to the field.

Organization of the Study

The next chapter, the literature review offers a cursory understanding of the theories and conceptual frames in an effort to orientate the reader to the research at hand. Because the theories and conceptual frames are integrated throughout the dissertation in an effort to capture the dialectical relationship between data and theory, the literature reviewed in this section of the paper is somewhat cursory. It begins with a review of the social theory around violence and education, moving next to the more practitioner-oriented literature, and ending with a closer examination of the research around School-Related Gender-Based Violence.

The third chapter outlines my methodological considerations. I share my epistemological orientations of critical and womanist/ feminist thought and then discuss the intent behind this project as one that combines historical, political, and philosophical inquiry. The interpretive approach of this project allows for a more philosophical tone in which interpersonal, situational, and institutional factors of violence in schools can be explored.

The fourth and fifth chapters offer the sociohistorical contextualization of the city and the nation and explore the development of policies that have brought about the structural inequalities that inform the violence learners experience today. Together the two chapters intend to demonstrate how education, labor, and urbanization have been intricately intertwined throughout South Africa's history. The fourth chapter explores how education policies have been developed in dialogue with broader global forces and influences. The chapter also illustrates how today's education policies reflect an ongoing pulsating tension between redress and economic growth. The fifth chapter examines how Johannesburg has been socially engineered under colonial and apartheid regimes to create a context in which the majority of school-age residents are traveling significant distances from their homes to access "better education". I explore how the city has historically been constructed as an exclusively white space restricting access to the majority of the country's Black citizens. In today's democratic South Africa, the city has a symbolic significance far greater than access to a geographic location.

Chapter 6 marks the first of three findings chapters. Entitled "The Movement of Learners" this chapter builds on the previous chapter's exploration of how spatial engineering has kept learners' residential lives and educational lives in very separate spheres, requiring them to travel great distances to access schooling. I argue that this commute is in itself structurally violent and at the same time exposes learners to a variety of interpersonal violences based on their raced and classed identities.

The seventh chapter, the School-Community Interaction chapter, examines how the school and community interact. I use a socioecological perspective to frame how school communities are nested within larger systems. I argue that each of the three

schools finds itself nested within a particular context, and that the boundaries between the school and the community have varying degrees of permeability. The degree of permeability dictates the levels and kinds of violence learners experience in their school communities.

The last findings chapter takes a closer look at the level of institutional violence through the exploration of school culture. The chapter employs a conceptual framework to assess the culture of the school and determine how violent the school's culture is to the learners attending them.

I conclude with extending Critical Feminist Legal Studies' notion of spirit injury to suggest that there seems to be differentiated degrees of injury to the spirits of the learners at the three different schools and policy implications for making schools safer places.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The literature used to frame the entirety of this project is varied and interdisciplinary. Theories and conceptual frames are integrated throughout the dissertation in an effort to capture the immediate applications and relevance at the precise moments at which the data are presented. In doing so, a dialectical discourse will emerge in which individual and society are interwoven. Peter McLaren (2003) describes this process of dialectical theorizing in this way:

The individual, a social actor, both creates and is created by the social universe of which he/she is part. Neither the individual nor society is given priority in analysis; the two are inextricably interwoven, so that reference to one must by implication mean reference to the other. (p. 69)

The literature reviewed in this chapter serves as a starting point for an initial engagement of the research topic. It is meant to serve primarily as a foundation from which the exploration of the racing, classing, and gendering of violence in the three high schools can proceed.

A broad survey of relevant literature on violence in schools reveals two distinct orientations in the literature. One body orientates itself more toward a social theory of violence in which such critical theoretical themes as social reproduction, hidden curriculum, social capital, and the like are explored in detail. The second body of literature is perhaps more easily accessible and immediately relevant for communities of practice. The literature in this latter category tends to be more descriptive and case-based, offering symptoms, anatomies, and typologies of violent schools and communities. What both the orientations have in common is the attempt to offer causes of school violence. The intent is what distinguishes the two. The more descriptive, practitioner-oriented literature, clinical in its approach, seems to want its readers to anatomize school violence in order to move the audience towards identifying solutions for its eradication. The social theoretical pedagogy of violence literature offers a theoretical lens through which to understand society in general and schools as institutions of larger society. This body of literature has as its intent the informing of the epistemological orientation of educators and policy-makers. Straddling theory and practice is a conceptual model of violence offered by Van Soest and Bryant that seems to bridge the divide. It will be employed as an overall framework to assist with this project's effort to offer a more comprehensive and robust view of school violence. For clarity and ease of discussion, the chapter is

divided into three broad thematic sections: school and society, violence in schools, and school related gender-based violence.

School and Society

Critical theorists assert that schooling itself is a violent enterprise.

Building on Gramsci's notion of hegemony and Foucault's notion of regimes of truth, critical theorists suggest that school functions to reproduce dominant ideologies. Writing within the Marxist tradition in fascist Italy in the 20's and 30's, Gramsci (1977) asserts that capitalism is a violent system that, in addition to being politically and socially coercive, is ideologically coercive. This ideological coercion, named "cultural hegemony", is a form of social control in which dominant groups exercise power over subordinate groups. The cultural values of the bourgeoisie have become the "commonsense values" of greater society as the working class adopts the bourgeoisie's values as its own. Foucault (1977) asserts that modernity is violent; or at the very least the social institutions of modern society are violent. Such institutions as prisons and schools are oppressive in that they regulate people's lives to the point of docility and obedience. Foucault proposes the notion of "regimes of truth" to refer to the way in which particular knowledge is actively being legitimated through the process of power.

Social Reproduction

Social reproduction theorists assert that schools' primary function is the reproduction of a stratified labor force. Social reproduction theory can further be divided into two orientations: that of correspondence theory and that of resistance theory. Bowles and Gintis' (1976) correspondence theory suggests that power is the exclusive purview of dominant groups used to reproduce class, gender, and racial inequalities in order to

maintain capitalist goals. Correspondence theories examine the relations between capitalist production and schooling. Bowles and Gintis argue that education, “is best understood as an institution which serves to perpetuate the social relationships of economic life through which these patterns are set, by facilitating a smooth integration of youth into the labor force” (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p.11). Rejecting correspondence theory as far too deterministic and absolutist in its underlying assumptions, resistance theorists restore individuals’ capacity to exercise agency through close examinations of the processes and mechanisms of social reproduction.

Giroux (1981), Willis (1981), and Bourdieu and Passerson (1977) contribute to reproduction theory by creating spaces for culture to mediate the relationship between schooling and capitalist production. Resistance theorists view schools as semi-autonomous sites in which individuals resist and contest the process of being subordinated to dominant culture. Giroux (1981) explains:

One of the most important assumptions is that working-class students are not merely the by-product of capital, compliantly submitting to the dictates of authoritarian teachers and schools that prepare them for a life of deadening labor. Rather, schools represent contested terrains marked not only by structural and ideological contradictions but also by collectively informed student resistance. In other words, schools are social sites characterized by overt and hidden curricula, tracking, dominant and subordinant cultures, and competing ideologies. Of course, conflict and resistance take place within asymmetrical relations of power which always favor the dominant classes, but the essential point is that there are complex and creative fields of resistance through which class-race-and gender-mediated practices often refuse, reject, and dismiss the central messages of the schools. (p.260)

Willis explores asymmetrical power relations present in his 1977 study on English working-class schoolboys. Willis observes that in their effort to reject middle-class values

that privilege academic success in favor of remaining true to their working-class identities, “the lads” ultimately participate in their own continued subordination.

Bourdieu and Passeron contribute to resistance theory with their theory of symbolic violence. Lakomskici (1984) suggests that the theory of symbolic violence departs from “traditional functional analyses of education in three respects: “(1) It examines how education functions to safeguard the dominant position of certain groups; (2) it emphasizes the unequal communication of the dominant culture; and (3) it defines the concept of socialization as occurring through misrecognition of the arbitrary nature of norms.”(p.152). Perhaps Bourdieu and Passeron’s most significant contribution to the theory of education is the notion of cultural capital. According to Bourdieu and Passeron, schools reproduce existing social structures by promoting “those students who enter equipped with cultural privileges... [while] progressively eliminat[ing] others whose cultural capital differs significantly from that of the dominant group” (Lakomskici, 1984, p.153). The notion of cultural capital will be explored throughout the findings chapters.

Categorizing and Conceptualizing Forms of Violence

Segueing from the social theory literature on violence to the more practice-based literature are the works of Salmi (1993) and Van Soest and Bryant (1995). In *Violence and Democratic Society*, Salmi (1993) offers a comprehensive framework to understand violence. He begins by submitting a definition of violence that moves beyond the more commonly held behavioral science understanding of violence. For Salmi, violence is “any act that threatens a person’s physical or psychological integrity” (Salmi, 1993, p. 16). Four main analytical categories are detailed: direct violence, indirect violence, repression,

and alienation. *Direct violence* is the deliberate acts of violence that threaten an individual's right to life. They would include homicide as well as "coercive or brutal actions involving physical or psychological suffering" (i.e. rape and torture) (Salmi, 1993, p.17). *Indirect violence* is the violation of the right to survival. It does not "necessarily involve a direct relationship between the victims and the institution person or people responsible for their plight" (Salmi, 1993, p.17). There are two types of indirect violence: *violence by omission*, the failure to intervene when a life is endangered or the failure to provide for basic human needs, and *mediated violence*, harmful acts against the natural or social environment. Violence by omission would include the existence of hunger and preventable illnesses and mediated violence would include global warming. *Repressive violence* includes the deprivation of civil (i.e. freedom of religion), political (i.e. right to vote), and social rights (i.e. the right to join a labor union). The last category, *alienating violence*, is the violation of an individual's "higher rights", that of emotional, cultural, and intellectual well-being (p.21). Instruction in a language other than mother tongue and a curriculum that fails to validate a child's cultural background as alienating violence are examples of alienating violence.

Tri-level Nature of Violence

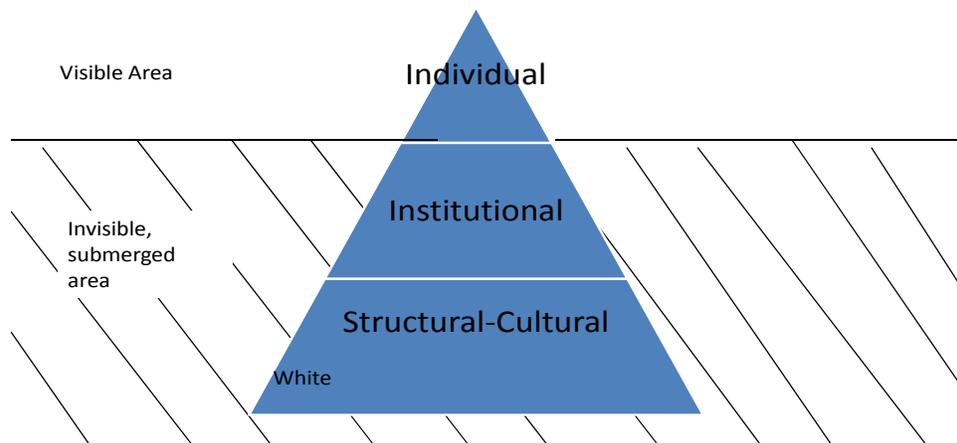
Building on Salmi's analytic framing of violence, Van Soest and Bryant (1993) offer a particularly useful conceptual framework for understanding violence. The tri-level nature of violence framework attempts to unearth the legitimated and unchallenged forms of violence. This conceptual model of violence will be employed as the overarching framework in which I will situate my research and structure my analysis.

Van Soest and Bryant's framing articulates three levels of violence: structural-cultural, institutional, and individual.

Figure One

Trilevel Nature of Violence

Van Soest & Bryant (1995)



At the base of the triangle is structural-cultural violence. Structural-cultural violence is “the structure of social reality, conventional values, and everyday social relations that form a collective way of thinking... that becomes part of both individual and societal psyches” (p.551). The foundational level of structural-cultural is perhaps the most insidious of the three levels in that it is normative. It is the ideological origin on which institutional and individual violence can take form. Its insidiousness comes from the status quo, the social norms and assumptions that go unchallenged. It is the “passive acceptance of inequalities and deprivations” and “the denigration of different cultures, acceptance of mainstream culture’s stereotypical negative assessments” (p.551). It may be useful to think of structural-cultural in the Gramscian sense.

Situated atop socio-cultural is institutional violence which is the “violence not seen as such.” Institutional violence is subtle and indirect. It is often produced by bureaucratic functionalism and “oppressive” social policy that “obstruct the spontaneous unfolding of human potential” (p.551). In the context of this research, institutional violence is the catalogue of apartheid policies that has structured education, work, housing, and the economy; and the resulting and resounding legacies. Institutional violence is Foucauldian in its orientation. At the top of the pyramid sits individual violence: “harmful actions against people and property” (p. 550). It is the violence “most often considered and quickly condemned” as it “involves direct actions and means and immediate consequences”. It is often conceived as criminal violence. It is assault, robbery, theft, harassment, rape. Individual violence has a perpetrator and a victim.

Van Soest and Bryant suggest that the three levels are “interrelated and cannot be understood apart from each other” (p.552) and therein lies its value. Most of the research

on school violence focuses on one of the levels. The more practice-based literature, and the most visible level, examines individual violence, while institutional and structural-cultural violence seem to be more the domain of social theorists. Very little literature explores the articulation of the three levels. This dissertation traces the points of articulation between structural-cultural, institutional, and individual violence.

Violence in Schools

Building on ecological development theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Rappaport, 1977), which suggests that violence be conceptualized as the interaction between an individual and his or her environments, is the literature offering conceptual frameworks embedding schools within larger systems (Benbenishty & Astor, 2005; Jordon, 2002; Goldstein, 1994). De Four (2005) writes of this adoption of an ecological systems view:

An ecological view is a theoretical perspective that maintains that human behavior is best understood in terms of the interaction between a person and his or her environment. It also conceptualizes institutions as systems that are embedded within larger systems. As a result of this, what happens in an institution will impact as well as be impacted by the larger system within which it is nested. In addition, arrangements within the particular institution will influence the behavior of its inhabitants. In thinking about schools, this means that some of the violence that takes place inside of them will start with the environmental conditions of the community of which they are a part... What happens to children outside of school in terms of exposure to violence may produce fear that results in violent behavior in the school. Students may be indirect victims of violence. They may be aware of someone in their neighborhood who was victimized. They may live in communities where violence is commonplace. Thus being located in a community where there are high rates of violence will clearly impact violence in school. (p.87).

Distinctive from other ecological models, Benbenishty and Astor's heuristic model places the school at the center of the ecology instead of the individual. Defining victimization as "a student's report that another student or staff member perpetrated violence against him

or her”, the model nests the various subsystems within each other so that the student is nested within the school, the school is nested within the family, the family is nested within the neighborhood, and the neighborhood is nested within culture. Thus, victimization:

Is influenced by...personal characteristics (e.g. gender) and by... wider social contexts, such as the school neighborhood characteristics (e.g. crime and poverty), student’s family characteristics (e.g. ethnicity, religion), students’ family characteristics (e.g., education, socioeconomic status), and students’ cultural context (e.g., ethnicity, religion). Yet, the influences of the external contexts are both mediated and directly affected by within-school contexts... For instance, consistent and appropriate school policies regarding violence may mediate the influences of a violent neighborhood (p.7).

The supposition that schools mediate violence occurring in the broader ecology of a student’s life necessitates a cursory review of the literature on school culture.

School Culture

School culture has been identified as one of the most significant factors associated with victimization. Developing a positive school climate reduces school violence. There is a wide-range of vocabulary and a proliferation of meanings to denote school culture. Terms vary from country to country, and terms also seem to reflect the particular orientation (discipline, education field, and methodology) of the researcher. ‘Climate’, ‘Ethos’, ‘Atmosphere’, ‘Character’, ‘Culture’ and ‘Tone’ are some of the terms used to denote the broad feel of a school. According to Jon Prosser (1999), ‘climate’ is preferred by quantitative researchers and ‘culture’, ‘ethos’, ‘atmosphere’ or ‘tone’ is preferred by qualitative researchers. This “looseness” of terms is highly problematic as it has contributed to undermining “critical reflection” and has “impeded school culture research (Prosser, p. 4)”. Prosser sifts through the literature and offers four broad meanings of school culture: 1.) Wider Culture; 2.) Generic Culture; 3.) Unique Culture; and 4.)

Perceived Culture. *Wider culture* explores the links between a nation's culture and its schools. *Generic Culture* "reflects [the] similarities in terms of norms, structures, rituals and traditions, common values and actions" of a broad category of institutions (p. 8). For example, the generic culture of schools is very different from the generic culture of a prison. Individual institutions within each broad institutional group interpret its group culture differently. This *unique culture* is based on a particular set of rules that dictate how individuals within that institution function. *Perceived culture* encompasses both the perceptions of those who operate within the school regularly as well as those outsiders who have limited if any interaction with the school. Perceived culture may or may not be aligned with a school's unique culture.

School-Related Gender Based Violence

Definitions of gender violence tend to be consistent across literature (AAUW, 1993, 2001; Leach et al, 2003; Stein, 1999; USAID, 2002/2003). Gender violence includes not only sexual and physical forms of violence, but any form of violence (interpersonal, organizational, or political) that targets victims on the basis of gender identity, sexuality, or a particular location within hegemonic structures. Gender violence encompasses a range of behaviors: harassment, bullying, assault, and rape. Sexual violence is defined as "any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including, but not limited to home and work (World Health Organization as cited in USAID)".

Sexual harassment in an educational context refers to “unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature when the conduct is sufficiently severe, persistent, or pervasive to limit a student’s ability to participate in or benefit from the education program, or to create a hostile or abusive educational environment” (Stein, 1999, p.3). Sexual harassment can be further delineated into quid pro quo and hostile-environment: quid pro quo referring to a school employee conditioning “a student’s participation in an education program or activity or bases an educational decision on the student’s submission to unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, or other verbal, nonverbal, or physical conduct of a sexual nature” and hostile environment referring to “unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal, non-verbal, or physical conduct of a sexual nature by an employee, by another student, or by a third party... limit[ing] a student’s ability to participate in or benefit from an education program or activity” (Stein, 1999, p.3).

It is important to note that the term “school-related” is preferred to “school-based” because “school-related” denotes the fluid continuum between school and community. Gender violence occurs not only within school property, but also on the journey to and from school, as well as within nearby homes and community spaces. The term *school-related gender-based violence* or *SRGBV* will be used in this paper to refer to the full continuum of gender-based violence, from sexual harassment to rape and assault, which occurs within the larger school community. The terms gender violence and sexual violence will also be used interchangeably.

SRGBV Research in the U.S.A.

One of the first investigations of sexual harassment in American schools was published in 1992 in a popular, widely circulated teenage magazine, *Seventeen*. “Harassment in the Halls” documented the pervasiveness of sexual harassment of girls in American schools by surveying the magazine’s readership of adolescent girls. The survey revealed the common forms of sexual harassment experienced, as well as the frequency of these experiences. The first large-scale representative national survey was commissioned by the American Association of University Women in 1993 in which secondary school students’ experiences with sexual harassment were investigated. Eight years later in 2001, AAUW revisited the issue and published *Hostile Hallways: Bullying, Teasing, and Sexual Harassment*. The report reveals that sexual harassment in American schools has been normalized and has become an accepted part of school life with eight in ten students having experienced some form of sexual harassment at some time during their school lives. These experiences mostly involve students harassing other students (Nine in 10 students report that students sexually harassed other students in their schools), though there is some evidence that staff also sexually harasses (38 percent of students report that teachers and other school employees harass students). Harassing behaviors include: 1) making sexual comments, jokes, gestures, or looks; 2) calling someone gay or lesbian; 3) touching, grabbing, or pinching someone in a sexual way; 4) intentionally brushing up against someone in a sexual way; 5) revealing body parts; 6) spreading sexual rumors about someone; 7) showing, giving, or leaving pictures, photographs, or notes; 8) pulling at someone’s clothes in a sexual way; and 9) blocking someone’s way or cornering someone in a sexual way. One-third of the secondary school students surveyed say they first experienced such behaviors in elementary school.

Boys are more likely than girls to be perpetrators (AAUW, 1993, 2001; Brooks, 2005; Stein, 1999), but an increase in the number of boys experiencing sexual harassment has been observed. The impact on a student's emotional well-being and behavior is great (AAUW, 2001; Finerman & Bennet, 1998; Stein, 1999). Emotionally, students who have been harassed feel embarrassed; are self-conscious; are less sure of themselves; feel afraid; have doubts about whether or not they can have a happy relationship; and are confused about who they are. The behavioral impact is equally troubling. Students experiencing sexual harassment avoid the perpetrator; don't talk much in class; don't want to go to school; change seats in class to distance themselves from perpetrators; limit movement in school and on school grounds; have difficulty in studying; lose their appetite and interest in eating; and stay home from school and cut class. The implications of emotional and behavioral impacts on academic success are enormous. In light of the fact that girls experience sexual harassment more than boys, we can conclude that girls are not being afforded equal and equitable educational experiences in American schools.

To this date, most of the research conducted on school-related gender-based violence in the U.S.A. explores peer-to-peer sexual harassment and bullying. The research tends to document the frequency of sexual harassment and the kinds of harassment experienced. Methodologically, the research tends to be more quantitative in nature, with national and state surveys making up the bulk of the research (AAUW, 1993 & 2001; PCSW, 1995; Strauss & Espeland, 1997). Qualitative research is limited. Little attention has been paid to capturing the lived experiences of students who have been sexually harassed. The research seems to be focused on national and state agenda setting

with the intent of moving the discussion of sexual harassment from the workplace and university setting (which has been well-documented) to the K-12 classroom. More severe forms of gender violence, such as rape and sexual assault, are difficult to find within the K-12 literature. This is problematic in that such an omission ignores how sexual harassment is linked to sexual assault. Absent is any deep exploration of the continuum of violence where sexual harassment leads to coercive sexual relations, assault, and rape. Areas requiring further investigation include: teacher-to-teacher gender violence; teachers and community members as perpetrators of gender violence; experiences of male victims of sexual violence; and same-sex school related gender violence.

SRGBV Research in South Africa

Similar to research conducted in the U.S.A., research into gender violence in the South African educational system began with investigations into sexual harassment on university campuses (Gouws & Kritzing, 1995; Mayekiso & Bhana, 1997). In 1996 at the University of the Transkei, a predominately Black university, researchers administered questionnaires to 827 students (out of a population of over 6,500 students) to assess student perceptions of what constitutes sexual harassment. The consensus between male and female students was that sexual harassment comprised of 1.) unwanted touching and fondling; 2.) rape and date rape; 3.) unwanted sexual advances; and 4.) sexually loaded noises, gestures or comments. Behaviors such as wolf-whistling, embarrassing whistling, howling; unwanted letters, phone calls, or materials of a sexual nature; and sexually loaded messages, gestures or comments were not identified as

behaviors constituting sexual harassment. These results led researchers to conclude that there is a high tolerance for behavior that would be considered sexual harassment elsewhere. Mayekio and Bhana (1997) suggest that their findings are consistent with previous research that finds that “African students tend to acknowledge the existence of sexual harassment far less than other groups” due to the endorsement of traditional sex roles that make them more tolerant of sexual-harassing behaviors.

Research into school-related gender-based violence at the primary and secondary level in South Africa has just begun in earnest recently (Vally, 1998; CIET, 2000). Early research exploring violence in primary and secondary schools has found violence to be school-sanctioned and endemic (Holdstock, 1990; Burnett, 1998). Schools tend to be authoritarian in nature and use corporal punishment to maintain a rigid hierarchy that positions children at the bottom. Burnett identifies a “culture of violence” that begins in impoverished homes and continues in school. The result of such violence is the socialization of children to accept “violence as a ‘functional tool’ to obtain social control” (Burnett, 1998, p.793).

In 1996 South Africa’s Department of Education commissioned a Gender Equity Task Force (GETT) to analyze the education system from a gender perspective. The GETT found that gender violence in schools was “severe and systematic” and that further data needed to be collected to establish the prevalence and identify of the perpetrators. Human Rights Watch’s *Scared in School* situated the issue of SRGBV on the nation’s public agenda and under the scrutiny of regional and international women and human rights organizations. Data presented in *Scared in Schools* were collected through a qualitative methodology in which 36 girls ranging in age from seven to seventeen in

urban schools in the three provinces of Kwa-Zulu-Natal, Gauteng, and the Western Cape were interviewed individually and in groups about their experiences with sexual violence and assault. Several girls who had been victims of sexual abuse and sexual harassment in schools, but who were no longer attending school were also interviewed. Schools served both “wealthier” and impoverished communities. Also interviewed were parents, teachers, social workers and therapists, human rights lawyers and activists, police, judges, prosecutors, journalists, provincial education officials, and government officials. The investigation found that South African girls are at risk of experiencing multiple forms of violence, including rape, sexual abuse, and sexual harassment. Their perpetrators tend to be mostly male students, but teachers and school employees and strangers are also implicated.

A Culture of Violence? The U.S.A. and South Africa

A culture of violence develops... in which violence becomes accepted as a norm rather than an aberration. It becomes the primary means of conflict resolution, and its use is so widespread that acts of violence do not produce any sense of outrage. Furthermore, the use of violence is sanctioned by the society. (Segal & Labe, 1990, p.255)

The literature on South Africa locates SBGRV in the larger context of violent communities. It can be asserted that violence in schools is merely an extension of violence in the community. South Africa reportedly has one of the highest rates of violence against women in the world (HRW, 2001; Itano, 2001). Since January of 2000, 32,000 rapes and sexual assaults have been reported to the South African police and 52,680 rapes and attempted rapes were reported in general (Itano, 2001). Infants as young

as nine-months old³ have been raped. One in three South African girls under the age of sixteen will be sexually abused (HRW, 2001).

Studies suggest that the high level of violence in schools reflects “a complicated combination of past history and recent stresses –on individual, school, and community levels—in a society marked by deep inequities and massive uncertainty and change within school operations” (Vally, 1999, p.1). The high levels of violence used by the apartheid government persist today. Vally (1999) asserts that violence in South African schools is raced, classed, and gendered:

The apartheid education system engineered race, class, gender and ethnic categories to serve and reinforce the political economy of the racial capitalist system. Present-day racism and violence in education in South Africa must be understood with reference to this history and to contemporary political and economic disadvantage and patterns of inequality in society. Racism in education does not constitute an autonomous form of oppression, but rather is inextricably linked to power relations and reproduced in conjunction with class, gender and ethnic inequalities. (p.2)

Violence in schools is the manifestation of political and economic disadvantages stemming from apartheid. However, a gendered analysis of apartheid offers a slightly different interpretation of the origins of SRGBV. Maitse suggests that apartheid was not the architect of violence against women within African communities; rather, apartheid was built on an unbalanced system of gender socialization that was already firmly entrenched. Apartheid compounded the oppressive situation of African women in which, “African men served as an extension of the state apparatus, because while the state oppressed all people in public, the men were legally empowered to oppress and exploit women in private for their own and the state’s maintenance of hierarchical and

³ The rape of Baby Tsephang put “Baby Rape” on the public agenda. The rape occurred in an impoverished community in the Northern Cape. Six men, including the infant’s great-grandfather was arrested on rape charges. Shortly after this story broke, numerous baby rape cases were documented.

oppressive patriarchal structures” (Maitse, 2001, p. 202). Furthermore, the national liberation struggle sought to protect African identity and family without attending to problematic gender relations:

Nationalism fails to acknowledge overtly that within the ‘nation’ there are two categories, men and women, whose relationship to each other is that of the exploiter and the exploited... ‘Tradition’ becomes the exclusive prerogative which they use in defense of their subordination of women... Men cling on to culture as a way to reclaim African history which colonialism reduced to barbarism and superstition. Unfortunately, many women do not contest these arguments because women share cultural understandings as well as nationalistic feelings with men. Women, however, are denied the right to call on tradition to refute oppressive traditional practices of the past... As a result, nationalism and tradition are often used to construct images of femininity, womanliness and motherhood; for example, the ‘mother of the nation’... Nationalism and the struggle for national liberation in South Africa gave women a false sense of equality. (Maitse, 2001, p. 202-203)

Maitse condemns nationalist efforts that maintain patriarchal constructs and continue to oppress women in South Africa. Her argument coupled with Mayeskiso & Bhana’s assertion that African students tend to acknowledge the existence of sexual harassment far less than other groups (Mayeskiso & Bhana, 1997) instigates an interesting question with enormous and potentially explosive implications: Do Black South Africans have a cultural foundation that supports a culture of violence? South African media certainly would suggest that this is the case.

Gender Violence and the South African Media

In “The Scandal of Manhood: ‘Baby Rape’ and the Politicization of Sexual Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa”, Deborah Posel traces the trajectory of sexual violence as public and political discourse and discusses the “perceived crisis of masculinity” in which deviant sexual behavior is racialized. Prior to 2001 very little

public attention was given to sexual violence, but by the end of 2001 with the rape of five-month old Baby Tshepang everything changed, putting into play “a binary opposition of moral good versus evil”:

Public talk about sexual violence—and rape in particular—was incessant and prominent: a preoccupation of media talk shows, magazine articles, letters to editors, and regularly the topic of documentaries and other forms of social commentary. This media blitz both echoed and orchestrated calls from members of the public to break the silence and bring the dark unspoken secrets of sexual violence into the open. The issue moved rapidly to the epicentre of political furore. Waves of public anger brought protest marches to the streets. As various NGOs and community organizations challenged the politicians to take the lead in combating the scourge of rape, government spokespeople scrambled to express their disgust and despair at the unfolding saga of sexual assault. Parliament called for public hearings on child rape and abuse; the deputy President initiated a national convention to plan a mass regeneration campaign, debates about punishment for sexual crimes raged fiercely in parliament and in the media, with many calling vehemently for the reinstatement of the death penalty for rapists; and several vigilante groups took matters into their own hands and dispensed peoples’ justice to suspected perpetrators of rape. (Posel, 2005, p. 240)

Under apartheid, sexual violence existed at the margins of public discourse. Sexual violence was considered a Black issue and was associated with promiscuous and lascivious Black sexuality and traditional African practices. Rapists were considered anti-social predators who lurked along the margins of communities.

Public and political discourse around sexual violence shifted after 1994 when apartheid media censorship ended opening up new public space for discussion. In post-apartheid South Africa, television dramas depicting the urban township life became hugely popular with a diverse audience. Rape and sexual abuse were frequent story lines in these dramas that depicted Black men as rapists and abusers. The pathologizing of black men as violent sexual predators continued. The AIDS pandemic offered another opportunity for reinforcing beliefs of a Black propensity for violence when the virgin

myth⁴ surfaced in public arenas. Rapists were no longer strangers in dark alleys, but rather fathers preying on their own children. By the time the rape of Baby Tsephang hit media outlets, the pathologizing of Black men was well-entrenched and public discourse reached panicked levels centering around discussions on the moral decay of the new South Africa. Sexuality and sexual deviance was now mainstream public and political discourse with the black urban township as the site of deviant masculinity:

Within this newfound interest in matters of sexuality, within which the growing visibility of sexual violence was embedded, the Black urban township became the dominant site for its visualization and exposure. The media coverage of rape, more specifically, tended not to dwell explicitly or directly on the race of the perpetrators. Yet, in most instances, the reportage gave local readers abundant clues, such as geographical location of the crime, its venue (e.g., in a shack), the reasons for the absence of the mother (e.g., drinking in a shebeen⁵) to enable a racialized reading of the incident. (Posel, 2005, p.249)

With Posel's careful illustration of the shift of public engagement around Black masculinity, we can conclude that South African media outlets have played a significant role in perpetuating the notion of a Black culture of violence. Obvious parallels can be drawn to American media's perpetuation of public discourse around a culture of violence in the African American community.

SRGBV and School Climate

The body of literature in the U.S. offers a decontextualized analysis of SBGRV with almost no attempt to tether the culture of violence in schools today to the complicated past history of segregation and the resulting inequities. The U.S. literature presents SRGBV as an autonomous form of oppression. There is very little discussion of

⁴ The virgin myth refers to the belief that men with HIV can be cured by having sexual intercourse with female virgins. The virgin myth became highly politicized fodder for politicians, community organizers, and researchers.

⁵ A shebeen is an informal community bar hall located in urban townships.

how race, class, and gender intersects to form a comprehensive oppression. The predominant paradigm in the U.S. literature is a gendered one --- SRGBV occurs across racial and socioeconomic divides because of a patriarchal structure that denies girls and women bodily integrity. This is particularly surprising given the breadth and depth of research conducted investigating the inequalities and inequities of American schools. It has been established that poor children in American schools do not have the same experiences as their wealthier counterparts. How then can we assert that poor children experience gender violence in schools in the same way as do their wealthier peers? Here, too, must more research be done exploring the particular experiences of the range of socio economic, racial, national, and language locations.

School climate offers another useful point of comparison for analyses. School climate:

Includes the unwritten beliefs, values, and attitudes that become the style of interaction between students, teachers, and administrators. School climate sets the parameters of acceptable behavior among all school actors, and it assigns individual and institutional responsibility for school safety. (Welsh, 2000, p.89)

The South African literature suggests that a culture of violence has been cultivated in schools because of the authoritarian nature of South African schools. Faculty and staff in South African schools take on parental duties in absence of parents. This tradition of *in loci parenti* allows corporal punishment to flourish:

Children's relative powerlessness against harsh disciplinary measures is often exacerbated through the ideological justification as being essential punishment to make them conform. Ironically, the violence committed between pupils and teachers always followed more or less the same pattern. A cycle of violence is thus established and sanctioned as "sound educational practice" by teachers with children at the receiving end. (Burnett, 1998, p.792)

Physical force and other forms of punishment are used to motivate children and maintain discipline in all communities in South Africa (Holdstock, 1990). Violence is seen as a functional mechanism to obtain social control over others. The literature clearly establishes a relationship between authoritarianism and gender-violence, yet the nature of this relationship is not clear. Future investigations exploring the relationship would be useful.

The authoritarian culture of South African schools silences student voices. The American literature on SRGBV fails to attend to this particular aspect of school climate. There is little evidence to suggest that corporal punishment exists in any real fashion in today's schools in America. American schools see themselves as having evolved from an authoritarian historical tradition to a more democratic, student-centered practice. However, corporal punishment is not the only tool used to assert authority and maintain social hierarchies. There is a large body of research that suggests authoritarian school climates are very much present in high poverty minoritized communities (Fine & Weis, 2003). Through differentiated curriculum that is stripped down and test-driven and faculty and administration that refuse to critically engage its students in conversations about inequitable distributions of power, poor children are being silenced and educational empowerment is being undermined. The literature on SRGBV in the American schools once again fails to take into account the experiences of children in high poverty African American and Latino schools. If these schools have a more authoritarian school climate, how might gender violence be shaped or affected by this? Would U.S. students in more authoritarian school climates experience the same kind of gender violence with the same frequency as their peers in less-authoritarian, more affluent schools?

At the root of school-related gender-based violence is patriarchal hegemony. Challenging such hegemony is an enormous task. Schools are sites for persistence of or resistance to this hegemony. While we may be able to diagnose the root cause of SRGBV, the factors that drive gender violence in schools are a little more slippery. More research is needed to get a better grasp of the complexities of SRGBV. Brooks and Higson-Smith (2005) call for the undertaking of a:

Far more systematic, rigorous and extensive studies involving baseline measurements through nationwide surveys of school gender violence that can distinguish between different forms and levels of gender violence in schools. Furthermore, measurements are needed which demonstrate what factors have significant explanatory power in relation to different forms and levels of violence in schools. Such research will facilitate a more detailed examination of interpersonal, situational and institutional factors that impact on gender violence and help us to determine the relevant areas for, and methods of, intervention. (p.127)

While Brooks and Higson-Smith seem to be suggesting a more quantitative approach toward research on SRGBV, perhaps having been influenced by the global discourse on efficiency, measurement, and accountability, the call for the exploration of interpersonal, situational, and institutional factors will be attended to in this project.

Chapter 3: Methodology

There have been limits to the capacity of the epistemological imagination to pose questions about how we know what we know and what that knowledge is grounded upon: to draw on multiple models of time so as to avoid one-way casual models; to open a space for broader comparative undertakings; and to account for the multiplicity of the pathways and trajectories of change. Where empirical work and local studies are carried out, generally they are poorly informed theoretically. As fresh questions emerge and new dramas take shape, the social sciences manifest a surprising lack of openness toward the humanities. Historical and political scholarship is not combined with fundamental philosophical inquiry, and this has led to a dramatic “thinning” of “the social”. (Mbembe & Nuttall, 2004, p. 349)

In my previous chapter, I outlined much of the theoretical frames instrumental in situating this research. In this chapter I will continue to draw on theoretical paradigms to frame the methodology of this project. In hopes of opening up to the humanities and fattening⁶ up the social, I will begin this chapter with explicitly stating how I have thought about my project since its inception, discussing in detail the theoretical paradigms from which I approached my research design. Once I have established the theoretical foundations of my methodological approach, I will discuss how I went about selecting my three sites, the methods I used to collect data, and finally, the process I used to analyze data with attention to validity.

Within Feminist and Critical Traditions

In the initial stages of this study I attempted to understand what feminist and critical research might look like, and how I might explore my research topic within the feminist and critical traditions. It must be stated from the outset that there is no one commonly shared understanding of what it means to conduct feminist research, nor is

⁶ I recognize the informality of the word “fattening”, but it is intentional in its use. Fattening is used to suggest an interplay with Mbembe and Nuttall’s use of “thinning”. Thus, we can imagine the “thinning” and “fattening” of the “social”.

there universal agreement on how to do critical research⁷. There are multiple understandings of feminism, multiple feminisms. To frame my research design it is important to make explicit how I understand feminism and feminist research.

Multiple Feminisms

In the introduction to *Feminism and Methodology* (1987), Sandra Harding interrogates the notion of a singular distinctive feminist research methodology by posing: “Is there a feminist methodology?” She argues against the idea of a distinctive feminist method and instead urges readers to think about “what is it that makes some of the most influential feminist-inspired biological and social science research so powerful” (Harding, 1987, p.1). She suggests that the difficulty in identifying a distinctive feminist method can be contributed to the fact that method, methodology, and epistemology are often conflated, with the term method often used to refer to all three aspects of research. Harding carefully disentangles the three: methods being the techniques used for gathering evidence; methodology being the theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed; and epistemology concerning itself with “adequate theory or knowledge or justificatory strategy” (Harding, 1987, p. 2).

The distinguishing feature of feminist research methodology is that women are being listened to carefully and critically, and with attention to how women “informants” think about their lives and men’s lives⁸. Feminist researchers observe behaviors of

⁷ Though there seems to be more cohesion within the critical tradition.

⁸ In the womanist tradition, I would add men to this equation, so that it is understood that both women and men are being listened to critically and carefully about how participants think about their own lives and the lives of each other. A more holistic understanding of men and women’s interconnectedness distinguishes womanist traditions from feminist traditions.

women and men that have traditionally been found insignificant by more mainstream researchers. Feminist researchers argue that “traditional theories have been applied in ways that make it difficult to understand women’s participation in social life or to understand men’s activities as gendered” (Harding, 1987, p.2). Harding wonders if feminist applications of these theories “succeed in producing complete and undistorted accounts of gender and of women’s activities” (Harding, 1987, p.2). Epistemology deals with researchers’ world view, grappling with the issue of whose knowledge is legitimated. Traditionally, women have been excluded as “agents of knowledge”.

Harding’s arguments seem to be based on a critique of the post positivist paradigm, one that is shared by many of her contemporaries, a paradigm that challenges the notion of an absolute objective measurable truth. Such challenges to objective measurable truths are addressed by Black womanists / feminists, bell hooks and Patricia Hill Collins, as well as Harding, who call for researchers to state their position or standpoint. Harding writes:

The best feminist analysis goes beyond these innovations in subject matter in a crucial way: it insists that the inquirer her/himself be placed in the same critical plane as the overt subject matter, thereby recovering the entire research process for scrutiny in the results of research. That is, the class, race, culture, and gender assumptions, beliefs, and behaviors of the researcher her/himself must be placed within the frame of the picture that he/she paints... Thus the researcher appears to us not as an invisible, anonymous voice of authority, but as a real, historical individual with concrete, specific desires and interests. (Harding, 1987, p.9)

Feminist researchers must clearly state their particular class, race, culture, and gender location and come to terms with how these locations influence their research. Since nothing can escape interpretation or value judgment, the researcher must make them transparent. In essence, the researcher must be explicit about how her own assumptions and orientations are filtering the belief and practices of the researched. By doing so, “we

hope to produce understandings and explanations which are free (or, at least, more free) of distortion from the unexamined beliefs and behaviors of social scientists themselves” (Harding, 1987, p. 9). By claiming one’s subjectivity at the beginning of the research process, one is in fact, working toward objectivity. To borrow from a positivist research paradigm, she is “controlling” for her particular biases and world views. This reflexive practice is shared by critical researchers, and has made tremendous contributions to qualitative research, especially in the realm of emancipatory research.

Moving Subjectivity: Stating my Positionality

Feminists in particular have debated and written about the importance of rejecting the dichotomous subject/ object relationship of positivist research and of acknowledging one’s identity and subjectivity in influencing research processes and analyses. (Blair, 1995, p. 249)

Feminist research pedagogy calls on the researcher to clearly state her position or standpoints so that her assumptions are explicit. I must make my class, race, culture, gender assumptions, beliefs, and behaviors clear, interrogating and analyzing them with the same scrutiny I employ with the community I research. While some of my subjectivity is fixed, others are more dynamic. I am, as Patti Lather states, a “constantly moving subjectivity”. My classed and raced identity is clear. I am an African American heterosexual upper middle-class woman who has been afforded tremendous opportunities. My culture is more difficult to capture and seems to change as I change. Certainly my academic self is influenced by many theoretical frameworks. I have a post-positivist, liberatory, humanist, critical perspective. A lot of my thinking is influenced by notions of human rights and universal justice. It is very difficult to delineate my assumptions and beliefs without situational references. I believe that these assumptions

and beliefs are dynamic, changing through experience and forever reformulating, so who I am today is not who I will be tomorrow.

In “Race, Class, and Gender in School Research” (1995), Maud Blair writes about the “unpredictability of power in the research context”. She writes:

Researching racialized, classed and gendered institutions is itself a complex activity and the researcher can become unwittingly embroiled in the intricate web of relationships in the school context. Furthermore, the politics of ‘race’ and education are complex social arenas where the political agendas of different interest groups are often hidden. (p. 249)

It is important to note that communities, especially school communities are dynamic, complex places. Different members of the school communities likely engaged different parts of my identity, and this of course influenced the data collection. In addition to the relationship being influenced by the inherent research/ researched power dichotomy, the dichotomy itself is raced, classed, and gendered. Central to feminist research methodology is this built in feedback loop that allows for constant interrogation of positioning and power. It is the reflexivity of feminist discourse that makes feminist research particularly powerful and liberatory. I have attempted in my own research to ascribe to this reflexive process. If all feminist research begins with the researcher articulating her historical, social, and political location, then research certainly becomes less oppressive in that the power differential between researcher and researched lessens though never disappears.

Responding to Patti Lather’s call to move away from the notion of a singular distinctive feminist research methodology toward “what is it that makes some of the most influential feminist-inspired biological and social science research so powerful”, I turn to two critical ethnographies, Deborah Goldstein’s *Laughter Out of Place* (2003) and

Denise Brennan's *What's Love Got To Do With It* (2004). Their work greatly influenced the earlier iterations of my research, and exemplifies the more boundless capacity of social science for Mbembe and Nuttall's "epistemological imagination". Goldstein's effortless integration of the exploration of theory and data tells the story of three Black domestic workers in a favela of Rio de Janeiro with deep thoughtfulness, detail, and careful consideration. The interweaving of seemingly disparate themes of humor, "aesthetics of domination," and color-blind democracies expertly manages to sketch out Mbembe and Nuttall's "multiplicity of the pathways... of change". Likewise, Denise Brennan's work on female sex workers living and working in a small tourist town in the Dominican Republic explores in great detail the exercising of agency in an impoverished patriarchal community. The work of Brennan and Goldstein, in particular, wed philosophical inquiry with critical ethnography's political agenda of "us[ing] their work to aid emancipatory goals or to negate the repressive influences that lead to unnecessary social domination of all groups" (Thomas, 1993, p. 4).

Understanding Maldistribution of Power and Resources

Like Sandra Harding, Patti Lather has also developed a body of work on feminist research from a post-positivist paradigm. In her chapter "Research as Praxis" from *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy With/In the Postmodern*, Lather (1991) draws upon three post-positivist research programs— feminist research, neo-Marxist critical ethnography, and participatory research -- to explore the implications of emancipatory research. We can see that Lather (1991) makes her assumptions transparent in the first paragraph of the chapter by sharing some of her belief system. She writes, "There is no neutral education (Freire, 1973 as cited in Lather, 1991, p.51) and

there is no neutral research” (Hall, 1975; Reason & Rowan, 1981, 51 as cited in Lather, 1991). Lather sees emancipatory social science as a methodology that “would allow us not only to understand the maldistribution of power and resources underlying our society but also to change that maldistribution in ways that help create a more equal world” (Lather, 1991, p. 51). The goal of emancipatory research which is consistent with the broader goals of feminist research is to transform society into a more just and equitable one. My research into how learners experience violence intends to be transformative in that it attempts to get at Johannesburg’s maldistribution of power and resources. I will employ social-spatial analysis to understand how learners experience violence in their daily commute to and from school in the larger context of the city’s historical and contemporary socio-geographic engineering.

Site Selection

My research into how learners experience violence in three secondary school communities in Johannesburg and how violence is raced, classed, and gendered is a case study drawing on critical and feminist paradigms. Site selection for this research was facilitated by the Johannesburg-based non-profit organization People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA), with whom I had established an affiliation prior to my arrival in Johannesburg in September of 2006. In 2005 POWA initiated the “Breaking the Silences, Ending the Violence” campaign as part of the international public awareness campaign, 16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence, which received wide attention in South Africa. The “Breaking the Silences, Ending the Violence” campaign aimed to create awareness in school communities on violence against women and attempts to raise

awareness of POWA's services. The campaign offered workshops in the areas of Young Women and Violence, Violence in Dating Relationships, Date Rape, Emotional Abuse, Empowerment for Young Women, and Sexual Harassment. POWA had extended an invitation to me to join the Training and Public Awareness Department as a research associate. However, in the weeks leading up to my arrival in Johannesburg, it was difficult to reach the organization as they were busy with preparations for the 2006 Sixteen Days of Activism Against Gender Violence. I arrived in Johannesburg without having finalized details with POWA hoping that I would have more success in reaching them once in country. Fortunately, I had an institutional home at the University of Witwatersrand, where the department chair, Dr. Michael Cross, gave me an office and computer to use during my three month stay in Johannesburg. Salim Vally, senior researcher at the University's Education Policy Unit and director of Education Rights Project (ERP) assisted me in reestablishing communication with POWA. Salim Vally and Michael Cross also assisted me with their extensive networks in accessing policy-makers, legislatures, and academics whose insights helped me to understand the historical and contemporary contexts of the city, the nation, and the particulars of violence.

In selecting the three school communities, I wanted a selection that reflected the racial and socio-economic diversity in Gauteng and the nation as a whole. In attempting to understand how violence is raced, classed, and gendered, I needed to have a purposive sample. I had hoped to have a sampling of schools to include a township school, a school in the city, and a school in a more affluent suburban community. Schools in Gauteng are still, for the most part, highly segregated, but there are some schools with racially diverse student populations. Gaining access to more affluent schools proved challenging. POWA

and ERP's extensive networks were limited to communities of historically disadvantaged groups. To find an affluent school for my study, I would have to extend beyond POWA and ERP's professional networks, to more personal connections with acquaintances, educators, academics, and policymakers. In commenting on the difficulty I was having in gaining access to affluent white schools these informants told me that such schools would be reluctant to host me because of the sensitive nature of my research topic. They suggested that affluent schools would likely be reluctant to acknowledge the existence of violence in their communities. It was through the Dean of the College of Education at Wits that I was able to access the principal of a relatively mixed school located in an affluent close-in northern suburb. However, this contact came too late. By the time I met with the principal of the school it was determined by the school's administration and members of the School Governing Board that it was too close to the end of the year to conduct research as students were on abbreviated schedules.

Another compounding factor in identifying suitable school sites is the fluidity of class in South Africa. Class does not present itself in an obvious and structured way. Class in South Africa is much more fluid with individuals moving in and out of different socio-economic situations depending on household formation, access to jobs, promotion, death, marriage, and divorce. The socio-economic fortunes of many of the learners interviewed were fluid. I relied on self-identification to determine the particular class location of a learner. By asking, "What is your socio-economic status?", clarifying the meaning of the term when necessary, I was able to get a sense of how the student identified. I also gained insight into a learner's socio-economic status by asking who in the household was working and what kind of work that family member did. Another

indicator of a learner's class location came when I asked the learner to talk about his or her neighborhood. I use type of school transportation as proxy for socio-economic status. Although transportation to school is subsidized by the Gauteng provincial education department, subsidies are inadequate (Spren & Vally, 2006). School transportation can be costly and families with limited incomes struggle to pay transportation costs. Spren and Vally (2006) report that a community-based survey revealed that about a "quarter of children were not attending school because of prohibitive transport costs" (p. 359). Finally, the ability to pay school fees is another indicator of socio-economic status. Assessing the socio-economic status of the three school's student bodies is useful in framing my analysis *ex post facto*, rather than in identifying sites.

Ultimately, the three school sites that were selected have primarily Black student populations, though one school has some racial diversity. These sites were Special School, Christian School, and Township School. Special School, located in an older, close-in middle-class suburb, has diversity in its learner population: 70 % Black, 20 % Indian, and 10% Coloured. Christian School, located in an inner-city suburb, is 80% Black South African and 20% Black foreign national. Township School is located in a township and all of its learners are Black and poor. Both Special School and Christian School offer diversity in the class location of its learners, the details of which will be explored in the School-Community Interaction chapter.

I came to learn of Christian School through my relationship with, Nana, a support staff member at POWA. Her daughter attends the Christian School and Nana was friendly with the vice principal of the school, a fellow West African compatriot. Nana introduced me to the deputy principal of the school and also arranged for me to interview

twelve learners, six female and six male, who were all in Grade 11 and all members of the Leadership Representative Council (LRC). The school was gracious in allowing me to speak, observe, and interview whomever I wanted. I interviewed any teacher willing to sit down and talk with me. The deputy principal arranged for me to meet with several parents as well.

I came to Township School through my affiliation with Mpho Mafela, a social auxiliary worker, with one of POWA's township field offices. POWA's social auxiliary workers conduct outreach in township communities facilitating workshops and trainings in schools, churches, and clinics. They also do some in-person and phone counseling. In discussing the work she does in the schools in her township, Mpho Mafela mentioned that she was focusing on one school in particular, Township School, because it is "this terrible and hectic school". After two previously scheduled appointments were cancelled, Mpho and I met with the principal to discuss the possibility of Township School being one of the three sites for research. Hoping that my research would offer some insight into the nature of the violence taking place in his school, and such understanding would help the school to address the violence, Mr. Alwayhi agreed to his school being included in the study. I interviewed six learners: three male and free female learners, teachers, support staff, and parents.

My entrée into the third school, Special School, came through a pre-existing relationship with the principal. In 2003 I was involved with a week-long leadership institute for South African educators in the States, which was part of a larger six-week program grant funded by USAID. One of the participants in the leadership institute, Mr. Hendricks, was the principal of the Special School, and we established a friendly

relationship. In 2004 as part of a policy institute I attended at the University of Witwatersrand, we visited his school for a day and met with learners and educators. I contacted Mr. Hendricks soon after arriving in Johannesburg in September and he graciously agreed to allow his school to be the third site for my research. I interviewed six male learners and six female learners.

Interviews

That we are human inventors of some questions and repressors of others, shapers of the very contexts we study, coparticipants in our interviews, interpreters of others' stories and narrators of our own, is sometimes rendered irrelevant to the texts we publish (Fine, p.14)

With such a broad non-declarative, generative research question as “How do learners experience violence in their school communities”, I wanted to be completely open to the data, and therefore the constraints of a particular methodological paradigm felt restricting at the onset. In designing my semi-structured interview protocols, I attempted to heed the advice of grounded theorists who call for suspension of a priori theoretical knowledge. I was careful not to assign my own understanding of violence in a prescriptive fashion. In trying to understand how school communities experience violence, I wanted to understand how members of these communities are talking and thinking about violence. Questions were developed to initiate thought and elicit theorizing around violence. (See interview protocols in appendix.) Feminist and critical traditions share a commitment to the voicing⁹ of the participants, the examination of power relationships between the subordinate and the dominant, and researcher reflexivity. I recognize, however, that I am,

⁹ This notion of voicing is somewhat problematic, and I will explore this in greater detail in the next section of this chapter.

as Fine mentions, a co-participant in the interview. Thus, in committing to the voicing of participants, I am simultaneously committing to voicing my own understandings and experiences.

I interviewed anyone who was willing to be interviewed, collected whatever documents and materials offered to me, kept a journal of what I observed, and documented evolving ideas and questions. The individual and group interviews are the primary sources of data for this project. Participant observation and field notes were also used to triangulate interviews, as were school generated documents, and leaflets and pamphlets from a variety of advocacy and human rights organizations.

The interview protocols were developed for seven categories of people: learners, teachers, school administrators, staff, parents, community leaders, and NGO and government representatives. The protocols offered guiding questions, but the interviews were incredibly fluid. The length of interviews varied considerably from participant to participant. Please see appendix for complete inventory of participants interviewed.

Data Analysis

All researchers are agents, in the flesh and in the collective, who choose, wittingly or not, from among a controversial and constraining set of political stances and epistemologies. Many deny their choices within veils of “neutrality”, describing behaviors, attitudes, and preferences of Others, as if these descriptions were static and immutable, “out there”, and unconnected to “Self” or political context. They represent these texts as if they were constructed without author(ity). Such texts refuse to ask why one research question or interpretation has prevailed over others, or why this researcher selected this set of questions over others. Such texts render oblique the ways in which we, as researchers construct our analyses and narratives. Indeed, these texts are written as if researchers were simply vehicles for transmission, with no voice of their own. Such researchers position themselves in dis-stances, as ventriloquists. (Fine, 1994, p. 16-17)

I want to make abundantly clear that I make no claims to an objective truth in my analysis. The analysis that I offer in this study is framed by my authorial subjectivities. Analysis for this project, as in any qualitative research, was ongoing (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999) and occurred on two different levels (Stainback & Stainback, 1988). The first level of analysis took place while I was collecting data in the three school communities in Johannesburg in September, October, November, and December of 2006. While conducting interviews I shared my emerging impressions and observations with participants and invited them to comment on these initial interpretations as well as offer their own. I also asked for members of the larger society to comment on some of the emerging themes and impressions and to offer a broader context for the data I was collecting in the schools.

The second level of analysis came after I returned home to the States with interviews, field and observation notes, and documents. After surveying all the data, with particular importance placed on the interview transcripts, I continued with analysis. At this point in time I analyzed “the logic and correspondence of data to initial impressions in the field” and “carefully and thoroughly stud[ied] all the data, seeking similarities, differences, correspondence, categories, themes, concepts, and ideas” (Mertens, 1998, p. 350). As I mined these data, I remained open to the emerging narrative that was presenting itself. Three dominant themes emerged: movement of learners, school climate, and school community interaction. As these themes emerged I returned to a variety of bodies of literature to search for appropriate conceptual and theoretical frameworks I could use to structure the narrative.

Issues of Validity and Data Trustworthiness

I resist traditional qualitative notions of validity and trustworthiness that suggest a neurosis among qualitative researchers obsessed with gaining legitimacy and establishing credibility with their quantitative colleagues. I return to Fine's understanding of authorial subjectivity and the false dichotomization of self and other. Validity and trustworthiness are simply veils used by researchers to obfuscate subjectivity under the guise of neutrality. Since the self of the researcher and the other of the participant merge into one being, my analysis can only find validity and trustworthiness in explicit exploration of my partiality.

Instead, I gravitate toward Richardson (1994, 2000, 2005) and Wolcott (1990)'s reconceptualizations of validity. For Richardson, the metaphor of a crystal offers a useful conceptualization of validity in that:

What we see depends on our angle of repose... Crystallization, without losing structure, deconstructs the traditional area of "validity: (we feel how there is no single truth, we see how texts validate themselves); and crystallization provides us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial understanding of the topic. Paradoxically, we know more and doubt what we know. (Richardson, p. 522 as cited in Creswell, 1998, p. 199)

For Wolcott, validity distracts from his primary task of understanding. Wolcott offers the term 'understanding' as a stand in for validity, rejecting validity "as a gloss for *scientific accuracy* among those who identify closely with science and for *correctness* or *credibility* among those who do not" (p.126). Like Wolcott I "rather my work be regarded as provocative than as persuasive" (p.126). However, Wolcott does offer a list of nine methods that he does or attempts to do to "satisfy the implicit challenge of validity" (p.127) : 1.) Talk little, listen a lot; 2.) Record accurately; 3.) Begin writing

early; 4.) Let readers “see” for themselves; 5.) Report fully; 6.) Be candid; 7.) Seek feedback; 8.) Try to achieve balance; and 9.) Write accurately.

I undertook a partial list to satisfy validity. I talked a little and listened a lot. In the schools I was consciously sociable and open. I greeted everyone I met with with a good morning or good afternoon and how are you. I listened carefully and without judgment. One particularly challenging interview in which I had to work hard to remain open and continue to ask for clarification was the interview I had with Maureen, a staff member at Township School. In the interview Maureen related to me the story of a pack of nine wild dogs who had taken up residency in the school in 2001. According to Maureen these dogs were grabbing women, taking their purses, and raping them. When the dogs were being rounded up and shot by the police, they were “talking”, asking for their lives to be spared. I did as Wolcott suggested researchers do in such circumstances and presented myself as dense, unable to get what is being shared. I continued to ask Maureen questions to clarify and the story of the nine dogs raping and killing women remained consistent.

I attempted to record accurately my conversations with participants by using both an audio recorder as well as manual note-taking to capture precise words and ideas shared in interviews and conversations. I also took notes of what I observed. I attempt to let readers see for themselves by letting participants speak for themselves. Thus, readers will find lengthy excerpts of primary data from interviews in the analysis chapters. For many of the participants, English is not their first language. I have made an editorial choice to keep the spoken language intact, complete with syntactical and grammatical errors. Fluency and proficiency in English is often a marker of educational attainment.

While the medium of instruction in all three schools is English, Township School learners are much less proficient in English than their Special School and Christian School peers. In an attempt to be candid, I put myself “squarely into the settings or situations being described” (Wolcott, 1981, p. 131) and when seemingly relevant, I reveal my feelings and personal reactions.

I sought out a significant amount of feedback on my emerging ideas, observations, and puzzlements while in the field. While in the field, my interviews with members of the three school communities would often be accompanied by interviews and informal conversations with academics, civil servants, policy-makers, NGO staff members, doctoral candidates in education policy at Wits, social services providers, taxi drivers, wait staff in coffee shops. During these interviews and informal conversations I would share some of my initial understandings of the data and ask for feedback on my understandings. I would invite others to interpret some of the data I was collecting.

After returning to the States and continuing with the tedious process of analyzing and writing, I sought out opinions from colleagues in other disciplines like Urban Studies and American Studies to comment on some of my initial analysis and the appropriateness of using particular analytic frames. The Comparative and International Education Society annual conference in New York in March 2007 in which a large number of South African scholars were in attendance, provided me wonderful opportunities to receive feedback during the critical more advanced stage of my conceptualizing and writing. I was able to assess the suitability of using certain conceptual and analytical frames in my analysis as well as share and elicit feedback on my interpretations of data and phenomena. I can think of several conversations I had that were incredibly

meaningful in broadening my interpretations. One such conversation was with Azeem Badroodien who suggested that modernity itself was violent. From Salim Vally, I received validation that my explorations into spirit injury and the field of Critical Race Feminism was appropriate for the South African context. Another exceptional interaction was with Aslam Fattar. While attending a session in which Aslam Fattar presented on his current work, I was struck by how closely aligned his themes were with mine. In a subsequent meeting we talked in great detail about our similar observations.

The last two criteria I have met in my effort to satisfy validity is my attempt at achieving balance and accurate writing. Wolcott suggests a return to the field setting or when that is not feasible, a re-reading of field notes in their entirety in an effort to achieve balance. I have been unable to return to the three schools in Johannesburg, but I have reread my field notes and have attempted to align the setting and individuals in my notes with this current account. Lastly, I have reread drafts of this paper with “an eye” for “technical accuracy” in an attempt to ensure “coherence or “internal consistency”, understanding that no research is free of “inner contradiction” (Wolcott, 1981, p.134).

Wolcott’s inventory of validity is useful in that it offers those whose epistemological orientations resist notions of validity a credible process to satisfy those requiring validity. Validation of my data extends beyond this methodology chapter as interpretation is never a static process that can be attended to in a static environment of one chapter. Interpretive work transcends spatial and temporal axes, and thus the business of validity and trustworthiness, the business of understanding, is an ongoing process that will continue to be made apparent throughout this project.

Conclusion

I have spent considerable time and attention in this chapter outlining my world views so that the reader might be able to understand the perch from which I view the world. Returning to Mbembe and Nuttall's directive displayed in the opening of this chapter, I take seriously the task of fattening up the social. It is my interpretive approach that allows me to take on a more philosophical tone in this project. In requesting social scientists to open up to the humanities, Mbembe and Nuttall are petitioning social scientists to move beyond their disciplines' empirical origins to more analytic and speculative explorations. In forthcoming chapters, I will explore paradigms in disciplines seldom probed by comparative education scholars in hopes of offering new ways of thinking about and theorizing violence in and around schools.

Chapter 4: Education Policy Context

It is impossible to offer a complete and comprehensive historical overview of South African education within the constraints of this dissertation. This chapter intends to give a broad understanding of the development of education in South Africa to better situate the reader in understanding the current context of violence in and around South African schools. The review is divided into four broad eras: colonial, liberal segregationist, apartheid, and democratic. I will argue that education in South Africa has always been intricately tied to a capitalist market and demonstrate how colonial and apartheid education policies' primary intent was to guarantee a cheap supply of labor. I will also argue that education policies across the four eras have been developed in dialogue with broader global forces and influences. I then illustrate how democratic South African education policies reflect an ongoing pulsating tension between redress for the masses and maintenance of middle class support for public education. In the last section of this chapter I explore the current policies that are of particular relevance to contextualizing the three schools: school fees and School Governing Boards, independent schools, corporal punishment, and Curriculum 2005.

Colonial Era

Formal education in South Africa was established with the founding of a colonial settlement on the Cape peninsula in 1652. Portugal was the first of the European countries to visit southern Africa in an attempt to find maritime access to India. The first Portuguese explorer to visit the Cape, Bartolomeau Dias, rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1487. Portuguese expeditions would visit the Cape for the next hundred years on

their way to the East stopping to stock up on foodstuff. European penetration of the Cape was slow due to the difficulty ships had in navigating the peninsula; and, once successfully landing, procuring fresh water and food stuff from the indigenous Khoi-San¹⁰ communities. The Portuguese, having become increasingly interested in the profitability of the trade of human beings, found that their already established outposts along the eastern coast of the African continent were far easier to access than the Cape. As other European nations began to expand their commercial interests in the riches of the East, the Cape played host to the English, Dutch, and French who stopped to refresh and restock their expeditions throughout the late 1500s and early 1600s. Dutch interest in the region grew with the establishment of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) in 1602. The DEIC was headquartered at the source of the spices, Batavia¹¹ and overseen by a board of directors in Amsterdam.

Early Education: The Dutch East India Company and the Cape Colony

In 1652, the DEIC, having received reports that four years earlier one of its expeditions survived a year on the land of the Cape after having shipwrecked, sent Jan van Riebeeck to command a crew of ninety¹² to establish a more permanent settlement on the Cape. Six years later, in 1657, the Cape settlement received its first shipment of 170 slaves from West and East Africa and the East Indies¹³ to assist the settlers with farming and the DEIC with herding cattle, building utilities and erecting and maintaining defense

¹⁰ The Khoi-San, sometimes seen as “KhoiSan” are indigenous to southern Africa. The Khoi and the San are two different ethnic groups. The Khoi, pastoralists, were pejoratively called “Hottentots”, while the San, hunter-gathers, were pejoratively called “Bushmen”. They are the original inhabitants of southern Africa, predating the Bantu.

¹¹ Batavia is today Jakarta.

¹² Eight of whom were women. One of these women was vanRiebeeck’s wife.

¹³ From the Indonesian islands of Java and Sumatra.

structures (Mason, 2004) . Within the month a school was established to instruct the younger slaves in rudimentary Dutch language and Christian religious “morality”. Here:

‘Respect’ for new ‘superiors’ and a new authority was beaten in, the slaves were expected to learn obedience and discipline. The colonists presumably hoped that the young slaves, thus schooled, would be easily pressed into positions of servility and become efficient and pliant labourers. (Molteno, 1984, p. 46)

A few years later, in 1663, a second school opened in the Cape catering to a more racially diverse population of twelve settler children, four household slaves, and one indigenous Khoi-San child (Molteno, 1984). Integrated schooling was short-lived as a result of the church’s belief that slaves and colonists should be educated according to their particular station in life, and by 1685, the DEIC established a separate school for enslaved children under the age of twelve. With the establishment of separate schools for enslaved children and the children of colonists and other non-slaves, came the beginnings of differentiated education along racial lines in South Africa.

Formal education was never a policy priority for the Dutch East India Company. Schooling was regarded as a useful institution for its ability to inculcate settlers with a common Calvinistic ideology. Beyond its utilitarian function of social cohesion, schooling took a backseat to the policies that promoted growth and expansion of the DEIC’s commercial aspirations. As the Cape began to demonstrate its self-sufficiency and viability as an agriculturally productive settlement, the DEIC set out to actively encourage its growth. By offering land grants to current and former employees to establish farms within the colony, the DEIC secured a consistent supply of food for its settlement and ships. The Company controlled all aspects of this land grant arrangement, from what crops could be grown, to whom they could trade with, and at what price. The early settlers, known as burghers, were in effect indentured to the DEIC. This

arrangement proved extremely profitable for the DEIC's operations, but kept the new settlers impoverished. To improve their economic fortunes, burghers needed to improve agricultural production, and more land was needed for this endeavor. Land within the proper boundaries of the settlement was limited, forcing burghers to move beyond the established boundaries of the Cape colony into the lesser known hinterlands to the North and East. The DEIC found that its regulations of land use and restrictive policies on agricultural inputs and trade difficult to enforce among farmers further afield from the town center. Soon the Cape Colony's geographical borders stretched into the interior land inhabited by the Khoi-San.

The Khoi-San had for years successfully resisted the encroachment of a smaller number of settlers, but confronted with the growing number of settlers, the Khoi-San whose clan-based decentralized political structure was no match to the well-armed mass of settlers. The farmers simply appropriated the Khoi-San's land and cattle as they continued expanding northward and eastward. To avoid subjugation, some Khoi-San clans moved further northward into the inhospitable Karoo region where they survived by hunting and gathering, but the majority of clans were assimilated into the colonial system working as herders or farm hands for the settlers. These white settlers and a small number of freed slaves and Cape coloureds¹⁴ soon, developed a unique identity, distinctive from that of the mercantile town-dwellers, trekboers¹⁵ or trekkers.

As the trekkers moved further geographically and culturally from the DEIC's administrative headquarters in Cape Town, they remained nominally connected to the

¹⁴ Cape coloureds were mixed race people who were descendents of the Cape's early Dutch settlers, Khoi-San people, and slaves.

¹⁵ Boer is the Dutch word for farmer. Trekboers were semi-nomadic subsistence farmers. They would become the ancestors of the Voertrekkers.

Colony by their need to procure items they were unable to produce themselves, namely liquor and tobacco. Trekkers continued to subsume the land of the Khoi-San until they reached the Fish River in the 1760s which marked the boundaries of a conglomerate of politically well-organized and cohesive farmers, the Xhosa, who protected their land from Trekker encroachment. In 1779 the border skirmishes escalated into war and the conflict between the Trekkers and Xhosa continued for several decades, as did the increase in the number of Trekkers in search of large tracks of land. In 1790 the DEIC finally sent a delegation from Cape Town to negotiate a truce between the Trekkers and Xhosa. This proved ineffective as the political power of the DEIC was waning as was the company's financial solvency. In 1795 the Trekkers declared independence from the colonial administration in the regions of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet. But this was short-lived as the British, who had become the dominant world sea power and had subsequently assumed control of the DEIC's colony, brought the breakaway republics of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet back under the authority of the Cape Colony in 1797. Five years later, in 1803, the Cape Colony was returned to the Dutch following the Anglo-French peace of Amiens. Again, this would be short-lived. In 1805 the British having recognized the strategic importance of the Colony in the Napoleonic Wars regained control of the Cape.

The Crushing and the Great Trek

While white settlers were pushing the borders of the colonial Cape displacing indigenous communities in the process, the interior was undergoing its own political realignment. A series of intertribal wars, called *Mfecane* or *Difaqane*, was taking place

between various, Nguni and Sotho¹⁶ speaking Bantu nations, fighting to establish dominance. One of the most aggressive, powerful and politically organized federations, the Zulu nation, was successful in appropriating land from other Nguni-speaking groups. The success of the Zulu nation combined with a number of factors led to this period of inter-tribal wars. These contributing factors include:

An era of intermittent drought from the late eighteenth century caused widespread occurrences of food shortages and famine. This put immense pressure on numerous communities, who began to compete with one another for land or to migrate across territory in search of new pastures and water supplies. Other factors of note include the knock-on pressure of refugee influxes into the region as a result of white colonization, and the increasing demands being made across the region for labour, either to be assimilated into the Cape colony, or for the Portuguese slave markets, centered on Delagoa Bay. (Mason, 2004, p.54)

Kingdoms either succumbed to the Zulu nation and became subjects of the Zulu kingdom or relocated further north and reestablished their political organization and presence. As the Dutch-speaking settlers expanded past their colonial borders, they encountered these inter-tribal wars, and competing for the same land and natural resources, added another element in this already complicated and shifting landscape.

The year 1835 marked the beginning of the Great Trek, the expansion of Dutch-speaking Voortrekkers into the interior. In search of more land for farming and freedom from British colonial rule, the Voortrekkers, descendants of the Trekboers, pushed further north and north-east into the interior. Globally, the British anti-slave lobby had been gaining political support since the 1807 prohibition of slave trade to British colonies. In 1833 the British Empire emancipated all slaves within its territories and outlawed the trade in slaves. Dutch-speaking farmers, dependent upon slave labor to operate their farms, continued pushing into previously uncharted territories to escape the reach of

¹⁶ Nguni and Sotho are terms that reflect both the languages spoken and the people themselves. Nguni speakers include the subgroups of Xhosa, Zulu, and Swazi, while Sotho encompasses the subgroups of Sotho and Tswana.

British colonial law. The Voortrekkers encountered immense resistance from the Zulu kingdom, but eventually defeated them in 1838 at Blood River and established a short-lived Boer Republic in Natal. By 1842 the British annexed the Boer Republic and claimed it as a part of the Crown Colony. Voortrekkers continued their trek north and established the Boer republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State. This annexation of land and cattle resulted in the subjugation of Bantu people and the development of a feudal state:

Many Africans dispossessed of their land, went into the service of Whites or squatted on White farms. Since land was plentiful for the Whites, whereas capital and labour were scarce, the majority of Afrikaner farmers did not discourage such squatting. Indeed, they charged the African squatters rent that was payable in the form of labour services, crops or both. Thus, in the Orange Free State and to a considerable extent in the Transvaal, the relationship between African and Afrikaner had all the economic markings of feudalism. (Stahl, 1981, p.9)

Missionary Schools

As the Voortrekkers expanded out from the Cape Colony, schools were established in new territories. The first missionary school, established in Baviaanskloof in 1737 by Georg Schmidt with the German Moravian Mission, administered to the needs of the local Khoi-San communities whose livelihood had been threatened by the loss of their land and cattle to the Trekkers. The Moravian Mission School taught the Khoi-San basic reading and writing skills, but when Schmidt attempted to baptize the Khoi-San, the local Dutch Reform trekker community forced Schmidt and the Moravian Church to abandon its mission in 1744. The Moravian mission was not allowed to return to the Cape for almost 50 years. Mission schools continued to establish themselves as more of the land became a part of the colonial economy. Missionary education would be the primary provider of education for Africans until the 1950s when the National Party's apartheid regime implements its social engineering policies.

The Native Question

The discovery of gold in 1886 on the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal ushered in a new era in the education of the native African population of South Africa. At the time gold was discovered, South Africa was composed of the two British colonies of Natal and the Cape and the two Boer Republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. The rest of what is today is South Africa was composed of the African territories of Zululand, Basutoland, Swaziland, and the Transkei, all of which had managed to avoid the colonization attempts by the Boers. The economy of the Transvaal was predominately agriculturally-based, but the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal in 1886 spurred the development of a profitable gold-mining industry. As the economy transitioned from agriculture to industry in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the demand for cheap labor to work the mines increased. Unskilled African laborers were imported from the white and African territories as well as from abroad. Policies were developed to protect the economic interests of the five mining companies who together established the Witwatersrand Chamber of Mines¹⁷ in 1889 to protect and promote the growing interests and inputs in the mines of Afrikaner-controlled Transvaal.¹⁸

As the city of Johannesburg continued to grow around the mining industry, a sizable and growing urban African population presented the British administration with some concern. What to do with the large number of Natives dwelling in the city? A

¹⁷ Which would later become the Transvaal Chamber of Mines.

¹⁸ These policies are reviewed in greater detail in the next chapter.

commonly held belief among whites at the time was that Africans were innately rural people with intrinsic connections to countryside¹⁹. Having been uprooted and disconnected from their rural environments, Natives were now absorbing “most of the white man’s vices and none of his virtues” (Loram, 1917, p.29). How should Native and whites interact? A need for the development of policies addressing the presence of African laborers became a priority. By 1903 South Africa was fully engaged with the “Native Question” when it established the Natives Affairs Commission whose aim was to formulate policies for the Native population. The Natives Affairs Commission surveyed the existing practices found in the four colonies of the Cape, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free States with the intent of scaling-up promising practices across the colonies. One of the most promising practices was found in the colony of Natal.

Initiated in 1873 the Shepstone system laid the foundation for the segregationist policies of post-war South Africa and the National Party’s apartheid regime. In Durban of the 1880s Africans labored in one of four markets: monthly contract workers, rickshaw pullers, washermen, and day laborers (Popke, 2003). It was the day laborers that caused concern to the white community as these independent workers had no contractual restrictions. They were, in effect, free agents owning their own labor, which threatened the established market of cheap labor favoring whites. The *togt*²⁰ laws successfully interrupted the burgeoning free labor market by managing the presence of Africans in Durban:

¹⁹ If extended this argument would then suggest that whites are not of the land. Class assumptions come into play here as does an understanding of modernity. Modernity is the providence of whites. Cities, geographic centers of modernity, are where modern people dwell. More primitive Africans and Afrikaners dwell on the land.

²⁰ “Togt” is the Afrikaans word for day.

Under the new togt laws, laborers were allowed five days in town while seeking work; every togt laborer was to be registered, and pay a fee; all togt laborers were required to wear a badge; and work could not be refused if offered a minimum wage set by the local Magistrate. (Popke, 2003, p. 256)

Accompanying this suite of regulations was the requisite public discourse around Natal's Native Question. Popke writes of an editorial in the local Natal daily, the *Natal Mercury*, describing "the increasing numbers of controlled Africans as 'the social pest... spreading like an epidemic...undermining all sense of security'" (Popke, 2003, p.258). Popke calls this fear of contagion "an infection of the colonial ordering of space through which the social and political body was regulated" (Popke, 2003, p. 258). The Shepstone system shows up across the four colonies in 1905 with the release of the Native Affairs Commission report proposing separate reserves for the Native population and the development of "locations" for Natives in urban areas. By 1910 the four territories are united as the Union of South Africa and are in search of policy for regulating Natives.

Liberal Segregationism²¹

Having limited experience with the Native question, the Union turned to America, whose experience with freed slaves was thought to be analogous to the situation in its African territories. The Phelps-Stokes Fund was "considered the outstanding authority on the educational problems of the under-developed people" having published a study in 1917 recommending that the preferred educational model is that of Tuskegee and Hampton which focuses on industry and agriculture; not the more traditional academic curriculum of Howard and Fisk (Berman, 1971, p.133). The Negro question was very much a part of public discourse in America at the time and was best personified by the rivalry between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Dubois. Thomas Jesse Jones, the

²¹ Chisholm labels the period of time from 1919 to 1945 "Liberal Segregationism" (Chisholm, 2004).

study's American author and the Fund's Educational Director, chaired the 1920 Phelps-Stokes Education Commission's study of educational needs of the Natives in several of the British territories including South Africa. Jones' recommendations were so similar to those he made in his 1917 report on educating America's Negroes that it read "like the report on Negro education with a different locale" (Berman, 1971, p.135). According to Berman (1971), Jones recommendations included: 1.) a curriculum that is built around four essentials: health, appreciation and use of the environment, effective development of the home, and recreation; 2.) the development of a sense of community consciousness; 3.) a focus on industrial and agricultural training; 4.) the need for better school supervision; 5.) better cooperation between missions and governments in the provision of schooling; 6.) the central role that character development and religious life should play in education; and 7.) the need for differentiated education between the African masses and its leaders. It is interesting to note that Jones's education for leaders is tiered. The first tier includes training teachers and religious workers, the second tier includes specializations in agricultural and industry, and the third tier includes training of doctors, theologians, engineers, and lawyers. Yet all three tiers of leadership would receive "a strong emphasis on agricultural and simple industrial subjects, hygiene and sanitation, gardening and rural economics before the professional training commenced" (Berman, 1971, p. 135-136).

The recommendations offered by Jones and the Phelps-Stokes Commission were well-received by the Union of South Africa. In fact, one of the members of the Commission to South Africa was Charles T. Loram, a white South African, who was considered one of the principal authorities on Native Education in South Africa. In 1914

Loram was sent to New York by the Union to pursue graduate studies at Teachers College. There, Loram, along with a number of other South African scholars, studied how Negro schooling in the southern United States may be applicable to the schooling of Natives in South Africa. He completed his dissertation entitled *The Education of the South African Native* which later was published as a book in 1917. After finishing his degree, Loram returned to South Africa where he became the Chief Inspector of Native Education in Natal. Loram took leave of absence from the Native Education Department and joined the Phelps-Stokes African Education Commission in South Africa in 1921.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Loram's views on the issue of Native education, views that supported a policy of gradualism, were considered relatively liberal compared to those South Africans who were totally opposed to any kind of education for Africans. Loram advocated education policy that would train Africans for modern society at the same time that preserving white superiority and control. Loram writes:

Before the coming of the white man the education of the South African Native consisted in his adjustment to the narrow environment of his tribe through direct imitation of his elders. With the coming of the white man an entirely new environment was created, and the Native's response to this new situation has been a gradual absorption through imitation as much of the news as he could comprehend. Unfortunately for him, those aspects of the new environment to which he could most easily adjust himself were not usually the best. Hence the common charge against the Natives that they have absorbed most of the white man's vices and none of his virtues. While this statement, like most epigrammatic remarks, is not wholly true, few would deny that contact with the white man, as it takes place in the country store, on the farm, at the mines, in the towns, has not tended to improve the Native's habits, morals, or outlook on life.... The kind of "education" which the Native is "picking up" from the white man is certainly bad. Shall we not then cease to give him this education? Yes, if we can; but seeing that our daily contact with the Native is the school in which this harmful education is being given, and that we ourselves are the teachers, we can only cease to give this education by retiring from the country or segregating ourselves from the Natives. Are we prepared to do either of these things? I think not. We have made our homes in South Africa, and we need the Natives for work in the house, the shop, the mine, and on the farm. (Loram, 1917/1969, p.28 -29)

Loram captures the essence of the Native question in the first few lines of this excerpt and builds a strong argument for why Natives should be educated. Loram argues that interactions between Natives and whites have been somewhat detrimental to the Natives in that Natives have lost their indigenous socialization practices. Being disconnected from community elders, Africans are replacing their indigenous cultural practices with the less admirable cultural practices of whites. By labeling the vices and virtues remarks “epigrammatic”, Loram softly sanctions critics at the same suggesting that Natives are indeed acquiring white society’s denigrated morality; and thus, the need for more formal education of Natives is necessary. Loram goes on to critique the existing missionary education as too academic and too irrelevant to Native life. The principle aim of the Unions’ Native education policy should be:

To make elementary education accessible to every African child; the emphasis at the elementary level should be on ‘character training habits of industry, use and appreciation of the vernacular, health and hygiene, agriculture and other practical subjects’; a limited number of students should attend approved teacher training institutions; men should train as farm demonstrators and women as home demonstrators at special schools set up for this purpose; a limited number of African high schools should (a) offer vocational training for positions such as that of secretary to a chief or of civil service in the African reserves, and (b) prepare students for admission to the South African Native College at Fort Hare. (Davis, 1971, p. 114 to 115)

Surprisingly, another vocal critic of missionary education at the time came from a man of different ideological orientation, Garveyite Dr. Butler Hansford Wellington.

Garveyism in South Africa: The American School Movement

After World War I Marcus Garvey’s United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) established a strong presence in forty African, Caribbean, and Latin American countries. The Garveyite movement established a strong foothold in South Africa where

“its large urban concentration of literate Africans and vibrant working class afforded fertile ground” (Hill, 1983, p.xlvii). The Garveyite movement advocated for the upliftment and liberation of all black people throughout the world, and the American School Movement was established in the Transkei to promote this ideal. Under the assumed identity of an American medical doctor, Dr. Butler Hansford Wellington , Elias Wellington Butulezi spread the UNIA’s message of “salvation and immediate deliverance from oppression” throughout the industrial cities of Cape Town, Kimberly, and Johannesburg (Edgar, 1984, p. 185). Wellington argued that:

Mission schools were imposing alien cultural values and ideologies on African children, divorcing them from traditional beliefs and conditioning them to accept subservient positions in a European-dominated system. Wellington proposed that to break this monopoly Africans should establish and control their own schools and churches so that their children could be brought up in institutions which reflected and preserved African values. (Edgar, 1984, p.186)

To this end, the Wellington Movement established, 181 school and 200 churches by 1930 (Edgar, 1984). What is remarkable about the American School Movement is that the Garveyite ideology and rhetoric, thought to be incredibly radical at the time, is remarkably similar to that of Loram and other white liberal segregationists. Like all UNIA activities throughout sub-Saharan Africa, the Wellington Movement was under heavy surveillance by South African police (Hill, 1983). The surveillance was part of a broader campaign among colonial administrations to repress the Garveyite movement’s influence. Garveyism was just one element of a larger emerging challenge to white hegemony led by missionary-educated Africans.

Eiselen Commission

The threat to white political and economic dominance was of great concern to government administrators. Minister of Agriculture, M.D.C. de Wet Nel²², captured the tone of the time in a 1943 parliamentary debate

We should not give the natives an academic education, as some people are too prone to do. If we do this we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and Non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in the country? I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that to a great extent he must be the labourer in the country. (Hansard, 1945 as cited in Tabata, 1963, p. 17)

It is within the context of a burgeoning African political challenge that W.W.M. Eiselen, fearful of the potential danger of the “African proletariat”, distinguishes himself as an expert on Native Education. In 1941 W.W.M. Eiselen, Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal, authors a report on Native Education with the Transvaal Education Department (TED). This report would serve as a foundation for the infamous Native Education Commission report of 1951 that served as the policy framework for the Bantu Education Act (1953). In “W.W.M. Eiselen: Architect of Apartheid Education” Kros (2004) argues that, contrary to public opinion, Eiselen and his colleagues were at the time considered to be progressive reformers “intent on improving Native Education” (Kros, 2004, p. 54). She argues that it is important:

Not to treat Eiselen, who did have a decisive influence on the argument and recommendations of the Report on the Commission on Native Education, as a simple-minded racist. Similarly, it is unproductive to describe Bantu Education itself as a system of education designed to entrench black racial inferiority in the crude way in which it is often portrayed.. (Kros, 2004, p. 54)

Instead, Kros urges readers to appreciate the complications and contradictions present in Eiselen and other policy makers at the time. She continues:

²² M.D.C. de Wet Nel would become the second in command in the Native Affairs Department.

If we accept that Eiselen was no more than one of the National Party stooges who came up with a blatant plan to promote racism, inhibit black urbanization, and to thwart black aspirations, we will underestimate the force of the ideas which underpinned Bantu Education and which made it seem logical, reasonable, and even appealing to a range of people of different ideological persuasions. Such a perspective would prevent us from grasping how education was to be pivotal to apartheid, and we have to struggle to dislodge the tenacious hold some parts of its ideology still have on many South Africans. (Kros, 2004, p. 55)

Indeed, the ideological underpinnings did hold mass appeal, and by 1947 the National Party, running against the United Party, was elected on the platform of separate development for Natives and whites. The Native Education Commission report of 1951 was written to refute the claims and recommendations made in the 1947 Report of the Native Laws Commission, also known by the report's author, Fagan. The Fagan Report, endorsed by the United Party:

Accepted permanent African urbanization as an irreversible fact and poured scorn on the idea of total separation on the grounds of the severity of the deterioration of the reserves, which, it maintained, would never be able to support the resettlement of Africans in rural areas. Fagan went through several contortions as it tried to argue against granting full political rights to Africans, whom it contended should be allowed to move into urban areas with their families. (Kros, 2004, p.63)

Eiselen and the National Party set out to demonstrate the efficacy of a policy of separate development, the policy that would be come to be known as apartheid.

Apartheid Education

It has been said that all politics in South Africa centre around Native Affairs. Indeed, by far the greater part of parliamentary sessions is taken up with discussing what is known as the 'Native Question' and passing laws for regulating the life of the Africans in accordance with the Apartheid or segregation policy. (Tabata, 1960, p.vii).

With the election of the National Party in 1948, the discriminatory practices and regulations that had been instituted over the previous centuries were officially codified

under the system of apartheid. White supremacy, which had been the underlying foundation of colonial policies, was now clearly articulated as national policy of the new administration. Christelik- Nationale Onderwysbeleid (C.N.O.) or Christian-National Education (CNE), greatly influenced by the ideology of National Socialistic Education of Nazi Germany, was established. CNE was based on the Calvinistic doctrines of the Dutch Reform Church which suggests that a select few are predestined for salvation while the rest of the masses are consigned to eternal damnation.

Bantu Authorities Act (1951) and Bantu Education Act (1953)

The paramount principle in the education of the (African) child in the urban areas must be, just as it is in the Reserves, that we must try to retain the child as a child of his own national community, because it is the basic principle of Bantu education in general that our aim is to keep the Bantu child a Bantu child... The Bantu must be so educated that they do not want to become imitators (of the Whites, but) that they will want to remain essentially Bantu. (Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. W.A. Maree as cited in Horrell, 1964, p. 7)

In pursuit of separate development, the National Party instituted a suite of legislative policies²³. Two of these policies, the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 and the Bantu Education Act of 1953, together essentially destroyed the African peasantry and coerced Africans into wage labour (Seekings & Nattrass, 2007). This powerful coupling attempted to “arrest the natural development of Non-Europeans... with no loophole left unclosed in any sphere” (Tabata, 1960, p. 38). The Bantu Authorities Act established ten separate “homelands” for each African language group. African political rights were restricted to their “Bantustans” stripping Africans of their South African citizenship. Africans traveling outside of their homelands were required to carry passports. The Bantu Authorities Act was “remarkable” in “its aim... to reestablish tribalism in the midst of

²³ A more detailed description of some of these policies can be found in the next chapter.

industrialism” (Tabata, 1960, p.12). Following the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission’s 1951 report, which echoed the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, The Bantu Education Act emphasized the importance of the schooling in the development of an African cultural heritage. The Commission recommended that African education be the cornerstone of the country’s separate development plan. The Act removed the provision of African education from missionary schools, transferring administration of African education to the Native Affairs Department. According to Christie and Collins (1984), when Bantu Education was implemented, of the 7,000 schools serving blacks, 5,000 of them had been missionary-run, but by 1959, “virtually all black schools except the 700 Catholic schools had been brought under central control of the Native Affairs Department” (Christie & Collins, 1984, p.162).

Repression and Resistance (1960s and 1970s)

The 1960s and 70s marked increase political repression and increased resistance. In 1960 the apartheid regime ended non-white representation in parliament and promoted the Bantustan homeland policy. In protest of the pass laws, the African National Congress (ANC) organized the Anti Pass Day in which Africans which resulted in the death of nearly 200 Africans in Sharpeville²⁴. The Massacre touched off armed resistance from the ANC and the Pan-African Congress (PAC) who, outlawed by the Unlawful Organizations Act were driven underground. In 1970 the apartheid regime, adding to its well-established Bantustan policies, enacted the Bantu Homeland Citizenship Act which stripped Africans of their South African citizenship, assigning them citizenship to their ethnically-designated homelands²⁵. Five years later the South

²⁴ The Massacre at Sharpeville is discussed in more detail in the Johannesburg Context chapter.

²⁵ The four homelands of Bophuthatswana, Transkei, Venda, and Ciskei opted not to become independent.

African economy stagnated in response to a global recession caused by shortages in oil. The South African economy struggled to compete with other nations due to its largely low and unskilled labor force. The economic recession coupled with the intense brutalization and the lack of investment in education²⁶ of Africans in townships for the previous ten years led to increased political violence in the townships. Education became the focal point of the resistance. In response to the government's proposal to use Afrikaans as the medium of instruction, a mass demonstration was organized on June 16, 1976. The peaceful protest turned violent when police opened fire on the assembled students, and the Soweto Uprising touched off schools becoming sights of intense political resistance to the apartheid regime²⁷.

'Total Strategy': Reformism in the 1980s

Instigated by newly elected Prime Minister P.W. Botha, the apartheid regime's 'total strategy' was developed in response to:

A conjunction of problems with which the state was confronted... which included economic recession; a new pattern of militant industrial unrest among blacks...; heightened military anxiety after the collapse of the Portuguese African empire; and fears for political instability due to the demonstration of mass-resistance to apartheid in Soweto which, although suppressed, led to world-wide condemnation of apartheid, a marked decline in foreign investment in South Africa, and the renewed demands for the use of economic sanctions against South Africa. (Davies, 1984, p. 342)

The economic recession coupled with the increased militancy of the black resistance dictated economic policy reform measures that would ease restrictions on the mobility of African labor and facilitate the growth of an urban black middle class. Two significant

²⁶ To encourage students to attend the newly constructed schools in the homelands, no new schools were built in Soweto from 1962 to 1971. The existing schools in townships suffered from the lack of investment. The facilities were basic, classrooms were overcrowded, and teachers undertrained and underqualified. The government began rebuilding schools in Soweto in 1972.

²⁷ See Johannesburg chapter for more details on the 1976 Soweto Uprisings and the School-Community Interaction chapter for further exploration of the township school as battleground for political contestation.

policy reforms were implemented in 1978: the legalization of black trade union membership²⁸ and the relaxation of the Colour Bar which reserved specific jobs for whites. Concomitant with labor market reform was education reform in the form of the Education and Training Act of 1979. The Act was the first major legislation addressing African education since the Bantu Education Act. The Act addressed the issue of language in Black schools, allowing for greater choice and flexibility in the language of instruction.

DeLange Commission of 1981

In 1981 the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) produced the *Provision of Education in RSA* report. The De Lange Commission, named after the HSRC president and commission chairman, De Lange, argued that “vocational education was an essential prerequisite for cultural change and technological modernisation in South Africa” (Krak, 2002, p. 75). The DeLange Commission signaled a shift in state policy discourse from “previous racial characterisations of the role of education in society... to address[ing] a perceived decline in the South African work ethic by forging a curriculum aimed at school-based work socialisation” (Krak, 2004, p.75). The report:

Maintained that traditional cultures were environmentally deprived, as they did not provide appropriate and stimulating environments for cognitive development in the realms of mathematics, science and technology. The report argued that the classical teaching paradigm in formal schooling, which assumed a strong academic and abstract approach to the acquisition of scientific principles, was inappropriate for children of ‘traditional cultures’, De Lange argued instead for a teaching model based on developing the concrete and the practical. By doing so, technological mastery would be developed first, and students would then be introduced to more abstract ideas. (Krak, 2002, p.75)

De Lange’s approach is reminiscent to that of liberal segregationist Charles T. Loram of forty years prior.

²⁸ Black trade unions, stepping into the vacuum left by the banning of the ANC and PAC, would become incredibly important political organizations in the resistance movement.

Tricameralism

In September of 1984 a tricameral parliament was introduced establishing three separate legislative bodies: the House of Assembly (HOA), serving whites; the House of Representatives (HOR), serving coloureds, and the House of Delegates (HOD) serving Asians. Each chamber “was empowered to run its own schools through its own department of education” (Fiske & Ladd, 2004b, p.43). However, the provision of education for Africans, who were denied political representation, remained the domain of the Department of Education and Training (DET).

People’s Education Campaign

In the mid-1980s an alliance of educational, student, and community organizations formed the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) and launched the People’s Education campaign. The People’s Education campaign, based on a Freirean model, would be influential in articulating an educational policy alternative to that of the apartheid regime.

Model C Schools

As apartheid began to unravel in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the national government, anticipating a shift of political power from white to black hands, transferred ownership of the physical property of formerly all-white schools to the parents in these schools and granted them significant authority to run their own affairs, including the right to augment public revenues by charging fees to parents. (Fiske & Ladd, 2004, p.63)

This transfer of ownership resulted in the establishment of Model C schools. As one informant, a policy-maker and academic, suggested in an interview, the establishment of Model C Schools was an attempt to stem white flight. Initially in 1991, white schools were offered four models of integration from which they could chose. The different models denoted the level of financial support from state subsidies and number of black

learners permitted. Model A schools would convert to private and could impose any admission selection process. Model B schools would remain state schools and admit up to fifty percent black learners. Model D schools were a later option and allowed for unlimited numbers of Black learners. The informant goes on to suggest that Model C Schools were promoted by the apartheid government as a liberalization effort, but in actuality the establishment of Model-C schools was likely “pre-emptive”. Model C Schools were given “significant autonomy and were empowered by law to set policies, such as language requirements for admission which served to exclude children from certain backgrounds” (Carrim & Tshoane, 2000 as cited in Grant-Lewis & Motala, 2004, p. 117- 118). By 1992 the government imposed Model C on most white schools.

Today, these once exclusively white schools have been “suitably colored in by the South African Schools Act of 1996 and can now be said to be the midwives of the [black and colored] managerial class and the upper levels of the service classes (Weber, 2006, p. x)”. Special School is located in a former Model-C school in a formerly white neighborhood. Special School acquired the building from the state two years after the school that was housed there had closed down due to dwindling population.

Equity, Efficiency and Redress: The South African Schools Act (1996)

WHEREAS the achievement of democracy in South Africa has consigned to history the past system of education which was based on racial inequality and segregation; and WHEREAS this country requires a new national system for schools which will redress past injustices in educational provision, provide an education of progressively high quality for all learners and in so doing lay a strong foundation for the development of all our people's talents and capabilities, advance the democratic transformation of society, combat racism and sexism and all other forms of unfair discrimination and intolerance, contribute to the eradication of poverty and the economic well-being of society, protect and advance our diverse cultures and languages, uphold the rights of all learners,

parents and educators, and promote their acceptance of responsibility for the organisation, governance and funding of schools in partnership with the State. (Preamble, South African Schools Act, 1996)

Enacted in November of 1996, the South African Education Act established a legal framework for the provision of schooling in a newly democratic South Africa. As was characteristic of the exuberant times of the what Chisholm (2004) calls the “interregnum”, the time period between 1990 and 1994 in which apartheid was being dismantled, education policy was influenced by a considerable number of international and domestic players and social policies²⁹:

Which were absorbed, popularized, and indigenised by an alliance of labour movements and business as well as a number of educational academics. Ideas flowed freely as local actors were flown abroad to expose them to new ideas, drawn into participation in the research of international agencies on South Africa, and as scholars and activists of every persuasion arrived in South Africa to make their mark on the unfolding of new education policy. Numerous NGOs became subject to the influences of the development industry, whole school improvement, and school effectiveness research traditions. Universities and NGOs undertook major new initiatives to promote policy research in education in South Africa. In the process, South Africa’s educational policy discourse developed a “new global cultural script much like that being set in place in other developing countries in Southern African Development Community. (Chisholm, 2004, p.101-102)

Two of these international experts, Luis Crouch³⁰ and Christopher Coclough³¹, helped formulate the new dispensation³²’s educational policies. One of these policies is the most contested policy reform measures of the South African Schools Act, the provision for

²⁹ During the interregnum, the ANC initiated the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) to “provide a systematically-researched set of policy alternatives” based on “non-racism, non-sexism, democracy, equality and redress” (Harley & Wedekind, 2004, p. 196).

³⁰ In the capacity of senior economist for Research Triangle International (RTI), Luis Crouch served as “long-term resident policy advisor in education finance, economics, and information systems to the Department of Education, South Africa” from 1996 to 1998 (<http://home.nc.rr.com/luiscrouch/>).

³¹ Coclough, an economist at the University of Sussex in the U.K., was a consultant to the ANC and the Department of Education in South Africa.

³² Dispensation is a term commonly used in South Africa to refer to the new democratic government led by the ANC.

school fees to supplement public financing established in Section 39. According to Fisk and Ladd (2004), Crouch and Coclough argued that:

If schools were not allowed to charge fees and use them for purposes such as the hiring of additional teachers, the quality of the formerly white schools would deteriorate. That, in turn, would induce many key ‘opinion and decision-makers’ to pull their children out of the public school system and enroll them in private schools. Once outside the state education system, the consultants argued, families would have little reason to exert political pressure for more public spending on education. (p. 65)

A couple of caveats addressing the equity issues were offered by Crouch and Coclough: the provision of an exemption for school fees to those families whose incomes were low and the institution of quota systems requiring richer schools to reserve spaces for non-fee-paying learners. The former provision was adopted in a 1998 amendment with dubious results, but the later has yet to be implemented.

School Fees and School Governing Boards

Motala (2005) asserts that “the level of private funding through parental contributions continues to be the main determinant of differentiation within the public schooling sector” (p. 27). She goes on to assert that “the overall increases in private expenditure have been for the most poor schools” and that “better off schools have had a gradual increase in private expenditures over the last few years” (p.27). Fiske and Ladd (2004) suggest the policy of school fees has indeed successfully stemmed white middle class flight to private schools and in the process retained political support for the state education system. They argue that school fees have not significantly kept children out of primary school, but they have led to a sorting out of learners along class lines with more affluent learners accessing formerly white Model-C schools. The resulting effect is that

advantage has been reinforced in former Model-C schools and disadvantage reinforced in poorer schools.

The right to a basic education is guaranteed in Section 29, Subsection 1 of the South African Constitution. It reads, “Everyone has the right to a basic education, including adult basic education and to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible”. Concomitant with the provision of school fees, and consistent with the broader policy context of decentralization and local control, School Governing Bodies (SGBs) composed of principals and elected representatives that include parents, teachers, non-teaching staff, and learners (in secondary schools) were established. In addition to determining the amount of the fee to be charged and other financial management duties, SGBs determine admission policies and make recommendations for teaching appointments. Christian School charges approximately ZAR 700 per pupil per annum, Special School charges ZAR 1500 per annum, and Township School charges ZAR 150 per annum.

A 1998 provision to the South African Schools Acts outlines a school fees exemption policy. It stipulates that parents whose gross income is less than 10 times the school fees qualify to receive a full exemption. Those parents whose income is between 10 and 30 times the fees qualify for a partial exemption. Schools are required to notify parents of the fees and criteria and procedures for exemption. If parents apply for an exemption, the school must notify the parents of the decision within seven days of the decision being made. Despite the law, many children are still denied access to schools based on their inability to pay fees. Schools refuse to accept exemption applications, offer only a partial exemption when the family qualifies for a full exemption, or simply

disregard the law all together (Macfarlane, 2006). When a parent fails to pay the school fees, a school is able to refer the family to a debt collection agency and the child may be barred from attending classes or taking the Matric exam. Legal challenges to the failure of schools to uphold the exemption policy have been successful, but a more comprehensive approach needs to be taken. When schools grant exemptions they are not compensated for the loss of revenue. There is some discussion as to the possibility of implementing a program in which schools will be compensated for lost revenue and in November of 2006, the Minister of Education “requested her department to develop a system in which advantaged schools could be subsidised for enrolling pupils whose parents could not pay fees” (Govender, 2006). The ability to pay school fees still determines the quality of education a learner receives.

Independent Schools

While many South Africans use the term ‘private’ to refer to schools founded, owned, and managed by non-state entities, “independent” is the preferred term to refer to these schools.³³ Independent schools have had a strong presence in South Africa dating back to the colonial era. Prior to the apartheid regime, the majority of African children were being educated in state subsidized independent mission schools until the Bantu Education Act of 1953 eliminated subsidies and dictated curricula. Independent schools for white children looking to escape government oversight grew during the apartheid era, as did the number of independent schools for Black learners after the 1976 Soweto Uprising. These independent Black schools served two very different populations; the

³³ This reflects a global trend in which “independent” has come to replace “private”. It is also important to note that independent schools are replacing public schools in providing education to students in developing nations.

emerging middle class and those who attended anti-apartheid religious schools that received foreign donations. A third group of black learners, mostly urban, were being serviced in for-profit schools in the inner-cities. Some of these for-profit schools were academically sound, but the majority of these schools simply capitalized on the fact that township schools had in effect closed down in political protest of Bantu Education. The establishment of these for-profit schools contributed to the ‘greying’ of inner-city Johannesburg in the 1980s³⁴. Many predominately white religious schools resisted the policy of separate education by admitting Black learners. In 1986 the Private School Act required all independent schools to register with the appropriate department of education. Independent schools have played such a significant role historically in educating Blacks that their right to exist is guaranteed in Section 29 of the South African Constitution³⁵.

There is a persistent perception of independent schools as being the domain of wealthy whites able to pay exorbitant school fees. However, the reality of independent schooling in South Africa today is quite different. The majority of independent schools serve Black learners and a number of these schools charge low to moderate fees. A good number of these schools charging low fees receives state subsidies. Independent schools can be non-profit or for-profit. They can be religious³⁶, community-based, or expatriate-serving. Many are well-established, but others are fly-by-night schools. The precise number of independent schools is unknown due to lack of reliable and accurate provincial

³⁴ The ‘greying’ of Johannesburg is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter on Johannesburg.

³⁵ Section 29, Subsection 3 reads, “Everyone has the right to establish and maintain, at their own expense, independent educational institutions that a.) do not discriminate on the basis of race; b.) are registered with the state; and c.) maintain standards that are not inferior to standards at comparable public educational institutions”.

³⁶ According to the Independent Schools Association of South Africa, the majority of its members are religious schools.

education databases (Hofmeyer & Lee, 2004); however, Du Toit (2003) suggests that the number of independent schools has increased from 517 schools in 1994 to 1,950 in 2001. Du Toit also identifies two peaks in the establishment of independent schools: 1994/1995 and 1998/1989. The rise in independent schools can be attributed to the failure of the state to provide an adequate number of schools, particularly in informal settlements and rural areas, and the demand for alternative curricula to that offered by the state, especially those that are built on particular religious ideologies. According to Hofmyer and Lee (2004), lower-middle class and working-class Black families seeking out alternatives to their local poor-performing schools, gravitate to low-fee independent schools which tend to have higher pass rates than public schools³⁷. Evidence from Christian School would support this assertion:

Most of them [learners] are from sort of middle... lower middle class families. It's not... obviously the very affluent children. And they come here, most of them because they are serious about their education. That's why they're here and not in a government school. And it's not necessarily anything to do with elitism. Like many of the other private schools in South Africa. (Ms. Brissot)

Christian School was established in response to the fly-by-night for-profit schools that were popping up in inner-city Johannesburg to absorb the flood of township students looking for better educational opportunities in the early 1990s. As Ms. Brissot, the principal of Christian School, notes:

We started in 1991 in [Inner City neighborhood]. I was involved in a similar school after the Soweto uprising of the 80s. A lot of inner city schools started... There was a great need for quality education for the township children from Soweto and Alexandra. They started flocking to the inner-city in search of better schools... And it didn't happen. It was really exploitation of the situation... It was private schools where they had to pay money, but the quality wasn't delivered. Seldom. Seldom. And then, well we started... I was involved with a similar

³⁷ In South Africa a school's success is measured by how many of its students pass the Grade 12 Matriculation exams. Learners take four subjects and can write on either standard or higher level. Learners who attend four year degree programs tend to have passed on higher level with endorsement.

school... inner city school, but very poor standards and I decided, well with a partner... that we can do it better. We got a premises in a church, a AD church and we started off there in the church hall with partitions and classrooms. And we called it school. And we basically grew from there.

It is interesting to note that independent schools are, according to DuToit (2003), highly segmented. They tend to be either large, high-fee white schools or small, low to moderate-fee Black schools. Independent schools also compete for learners with well-established former Model-C schools. Hofmeyr and Lee (2004) suggest that:

Instead of a neat dichotomy between public and independent, there is now a continuum of degrees of independence. Some well-established, ex-white, self-governing public schools are more like high-fee independent schools than under-resourced public schools serving disadvantaged black learners. The ex-white, suburban, public schools that charge high fees still get at least half of their staff paid for by the province, arguably have the most discretionary income of any school. (p.169)

Corporal Punishment

Despite corporal punishment being a criminal offense, the practice is still prevalent and pervasive. Section 10 of the South African Schools Act (1996) bans corporal punishment in schools. Many educators support corporal punishment and feel they have been robbed of their only effective means of classroom management (Porteus, Vally & Ruth, 2001). While teachers at all three schools in this study expressed frustration with a loss of discipline among learners, and attributed this loss to the development of a rights-based culture³⁸, only Township School teachers explicitly expressed a real sense of loss that has resulted from the ban. A common lament among Township School teachers is that students have “all these rights with no

³⁸ The Constitution is framed in human rights language. Section 7 of the Bill of Rights “enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom”. Section 10 of the Bill of Rights reads “Everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected”.

responsibilities”.³⁹ Township School was also the only school where evidence of corporal punishment existed. In place of corporal punishment, were codes of conducts that were to be developed by every SGB. Both Special School and Christian School principals readily supplied me with copies of their codes, but despite the principal’s promises, Township School’s code was never forthcoming.

Curriculum 2005

In “Curriculum as a Political Phenomenon: Historical Reflections on Black South African Education” (1990), Jonathan Jansen suggests that despite significant changes in the sociopolitical context of the country, “the ideological and material assumptions governing the school curriculum” for Black learners has remained relatively constant over the years (p.195). These ideological and material assumptions are “notions of white supremacy, the justification of racial separation, and the advancement of the White minority’s “right-to-rule ethic” and they “have been institutionalized in the South African curriculum” (p.202). He urges post-apartheid educational reformers to explicitly challenge these norms embedded in the curriculum and attend to the hidden curriculum as well in a substantive and meaningful way.

Unfortunately, despite its transformative intentions, the curriculum developed for the new dispensation, Curriculum 2005, has according to Harley and Wedekend (2004) been more symbolic than substantive. Launched in March of 1997, Curriculum 2005, was a key strategic and symbolic initiative of the new democratic government. Education had come to symbolize the repressive apartheid regime, so the new curriculum would “serve as an instrument for the new political vision” (Harley & Wedekind, 2004, p. 196).

³⁹ Corporal punishment in Township School will be explored at length in the School-Community Interaction chapter.

The new curriculum had to be “seen as dichotomous to the old curriculum in every respect” (p.198). Central to Curriculum 2005 were outcomes-based education, an integrated knowledge system, and learner-center pedagogy. Harley and Wedekind argue that not only has Curriculum 2005 failed to transform inequities of the previous colonial and apartheid regimes, but that the implantation of Curriculum 2005 has actually undermined the spirit of redress and equity.

Conclusion

Throughout the history of South Africa, education has been central to the labor-market economy. The economic viability of the early Cape Colony was dependent upon the ability to secure cheap labor. The provision of education was the purview of the Dutch East India Company who established schools in the 1680s to instruct slaves in the Dutch language and religion. Two hundred years later, in the Vaal, it was the British gold mining companies that developed policy related to the education of Africans. Just as the need for African labor grew with the growth of the Dutch colony of the Cape in the 1600 and 1700s, the need for African labor grew with the expansion of the gold mining industry in the Vaal in the early twentieth century. The industrialization of South Africa led to the colonial administration’s preoccupation with the ‘Native’ question which resulted in the development of social and economic policies that would subjugate the Black body. The provision of education for Africans, previously the purview of missionaries, became more centralized under colonial and apartheid rule in order for the state to could cultivate a “supply of surplus labour... created by a process of forced proletarianisation” (Seekings & Natrass, 2007, p.17). A significant amount of intellectual exchange and policy borrowing has taken place both among policy makers and academics

of all races throughout South African history. Today, equity and redress, the guiding principles of the policy reforms in the new South Africa remains somewhat elusive. As

Spren and Vally (2006) argue:

The original intention to ensure equity and redress measures has been largely subverted by the imperatives of budgetary constraints linked to macroeconomics policies, benign complacency and belief in new democratic laws and institutions to ensure equality. (p. 361)

Chapter 5: Johannesburg

Over the past quarter century, [Johannesburg's] boundaries have become so geographically and socially permeable and stretched that the city seems to have no fixed parts, no completeness, and almost no discrete center. Like the continent itself, it is an amalgam of disjointed circulatory processes. Turning its back on the rigid rationalities of planning and racial separation, it has become, in spite of itself, a place of intermingling and improvisation. Its very porosity means that, released from the iron cage of apartheid, it can now continually fashion and refashion itself. (Mbembe, 2004, p. 391)

Johannesburg is a city in perpetual motion. And with more than fifty percent of the country's population under the age of 25, Johannesburg is a city of perpetual youthful movement. In *Writing the World from an African Metropolis*, Mbembe and Nuttall (2004) suggest that in the social sciences the city "has long been used as a device to read social change". I would argue that like the city, the school can also be used to read social change. What happens then when we lay out the texts of the school and the city side-by-side? What would a tandem reading of these texts reveal about social change in South Africa? This dissertation will explore the articulation points between the city and the schools in an effort to understand the violence associated with schooling in Johannesburg. To this end, this chapter will lay out the text for reading the city of Johannesburg.

All cities have their own energy, their own distinct identity. Johannesburg's particular energy is as diverse as it is divergent. Johannesburg's origins as the industrial and economic capital of South Africa and the Southern African region have dictated the energy of the city. It is a young city relative to some of its similarly sized counterparts around the world. It has been a cosmopolitan city since its inception, and since the discovery of gold the city has been attracting white immigrants from around the world

looking to improve their economic fortune. The Johannesburg metropolitan area is as vast as it is varied. It has distinct geographic areas which historically have been raced spaces. Depending on one's particular vantage point of racial, gendered, classed, religious, and national location, one can experience the city in vastly different ways. Shepherd and Murray (2007) suggest that within the physical and social landscapes of South Africa "multiple publics exist and compete for resources and opportunities" (p.7).

Johannesburg is a city with a distinct past. For the better part of its history, the city of Johannesburg has been a white space as colonial and apartheid polices regulated the movement of Blacks into and out of the city. As apartheid was being dismantled, Johannesburg became more accessible to non-whites. Since the end of apartheid in the early 1990s, the city has been reinventing itself in a neoliberal global environment "in which the tensions of wealth and poverty create an ever-increasing division between men and women, and between the spaces that one comes to occupy by virtue of one's mobility or otherwise" (Shepherd & Murray, 2007, p.7). Today Johannesburg is a city constantly changing, constantly in motion. To understand the city today, it is important to delve into Johannesburg's racial, economic, and spatial history.

History

In the mid 19th century, before the area that is now Johannesburg was a city, the region was farmland in the province of the Transvaal which was part of the Boer Republic. The area was called the Witwatersrand and was inhabited by Afrikaner and Bantu famers. The Transvaal, along with the Orange Free State, was one of the poorest of the four white territories. These two Afrikaner republics, along with the British colonies of Natal and the Cape, and the African territories of Zululand, Basutoland,

Swaziland, and the Transkei made up what today is the Republic of South Africa, and their economies were agriculturally-based (Stahl, 1981).

Then in 1886 an Australian prospector, George Harrison, found gold, and a gold rush ensued bringing prospectors from around Europe (particularly Britain), America, and Australia to the Witwatersrand in search of economic fortunes⁴⁰. The mines and the jobs resulting from the mining industry also attracted Afrikaner farmers from the surrounding countryside whose farms were experiencing hardships due to pests and diseases. The small number of skilled white mine workers were supplemented by larger numbers of unskilled African laborers who were recruited from the White and African territories of South Africa as well as the southern African region. Many of the African workers were sharecroppers or tenant farmers on Afrikaner-owned farms.

As the gold mining industry grew, so did the city. Three years after George Harrison found gold the Chamber of Mines was established to represent the interests of the mining companies. Five dominant mining groups emerged along with the industry's understanding that because the Witwatersrand's gold was deeply embedded and required deep level mining, the gold industry was a long term investment requiring the assistance of the state to reduce the cost of transport, food, and mining materials, supply cheap African labor, and reduce the high cost of living in Johannesburg (Lange, 2003). In 1894 the first pass laws were instituted by the Chamber of Mines to ensure that the mining groups received returns on their investments in the recruitment of African laborers. All "Natives" were identified and registered with the particular company that recruited them. Despite these efforts, the demand for African laborers far outstripped the supply, and in

⁴⁰ Immigrant whites who were not citizens were called *uitlanders*. This term was initially used by Afrikaners to refer to the English. It was later extended to refer to the Natives as well.

1901 recruitment efforts were centralized under the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (Stahl, 1981).

By 1889 tension between the major mining groups, many of which had controlling British interests, and the Kruger administration, who believed the British empire intended to annex the Transvaal, resulted in the Anglo-Boer War from 1899 to 1902. The British defeated the Boers, and the Transvaal was incorporated into the British empire, and the gold mines became the centerpiece of the British colonial economic plan (Lange, 2003). British subjects were encouraged to immigrate to the Transvaal in an attempt to ensure the predominance of the British population. In December of 1900, Sir Alfred Milner, the British High Commissioner in South Africa wrote “if, ten years hence, there are three men of British race to two of Dutch, the country will be safe and prosperous. If there are three Dutch to two British we shall have perpetual difficulty” (Hancock in Mandy, 1984, p. 21).

The majority of Black mine workers were migratory, staying in dormitories on mine properties during the duration of their contracts and returning to their rural homes when contracts ended. They were, as Mandy (1984) writes “seldom seen in Johannesburg and made no impact on the town’s consciousness other than as human machinery to be used in the production of gold and to be returned to store when no longer needed” (p. 33). However, there was a growing in-migration of Black “landless recruit[s] to the permanent urban proletariat” accompanied by a “flood of poor whites” (Mandy, p. 33, 1984), Afrikaner farmers, with limited skills. Both groups of unskilled laborers were seeking better standards of living than what subsistence farming could offer. To limit the economic opportunities of Africans and thereby ensuring a cheap labor pool for the

mining industry, a series of commissions and acts were established and passed. The Native Affairs Commission was set up in 1903 to “adopt a common policy on the relationship of Africans and Whites” (Stahl, 1981, p.18). One of the early recommendations of the commission was that the sale of land to African should be restricted to “safeguard what is conceived to be the interests of the Europeans” and “preserve the absolutely necessary political and social distinctions” (Report of the Native Affairs, 1906, para 192 as cited in Stahl, 1981, p. 19).

African labor shortages continued, and in 1904 Chinese indentured servants were contracted by the mines to compensate for the shortage and to keep labor cheap. But six years later, by March of 1910, the majority of the Chinese laborers had been repatriated. By May of 1910, eight years after the Anglo-Boer War, the four British-controlled colonies of Natal, Transvaal, Orange and the Cape became the Union of South Africa with each colony becoming a province of the new union. The formerly fragmented colonies were now better able to address economic concerns and consolidate policies concerning Natives. A series of legislation and policies limiting the economic opportunities of Blacks and securing white hegemony ensued. The Mines and Works Act of 1911 limited the operation and maintenance of machinery to whites.

In 1914 World War I broke out and the war led to an interruption in the bifurcated labor distribution between whites and Africans. With skilled white miners fighting in the war, Africans were trained in positions previously reserved for whites. The use of cheaper African skilled laborers continued after the end of the war, despite the significant protests of white miners who had returned home to a post-war economic recession to find that the scarce jobs were being done by Africans. In 1925, amidst

growing pressure from these returned white mine workers, the government stepped in and passed the Mines and Work Amendment Bill which secured skilled mining work for whites and returned African laborers to lower paid unskilled work. Two years earlier, The Native Land Act of 1923, also known as the Urban Areas Act, was crafted formalizing existing segregation policies by restricting Africans from purchasing land in non-designated areas; that is, areas not traditionally African territories. The Natives Act:

Empowered local authorities... to set aside land for African occupation in segregated locations, to house Africans living in the town or require their employers to do so, and to implement a rudimentary system of influx control. Municipalities were required to keep native revenue accounts, and the revenue accruing from fines, rents, and beer hall profits had to be spent on the welfare of the location. (Lemon, 1991, p.4-5)

The Natives Act would set precedence for future legislation of segregation and influx control “together with the expectation that African urbanization would be self-financing and the co-optation of Africans to help the system operate” (Lemon, 1991, p. 5).

The South African economy remained weak through the world-wide depression that followed the 1929 American stock market crash (Mandy, 1984). A few years later, a new mining method was developed that enabled mining companies to identify the gold deposits in the reefs. This new method allowed for an increase in gold production and spurred sizable growth in the attendant industries of explosives, chemicals, steel, and engineering (Mandy, 1984). The 1930s and 1940s was a time of industrial growth for Johannesburg and Africans continued to migrate to the city in search of paid labor. Concerned about the latest influx of Africans to the city, the 1937 Native Lands Amendment Act was introduced to regulate the in-migration of Africans. Under the act, newly arrived Africans were required to find work within fourteen days of arrival to

the city. Their residency in the city was tenuous as the Act authorized municipalities to return Africans to their places of origins if a surplus of African laborers arose. However, such a labor surplus did not arise, and in 1939, World War II broke out again stimulating the growth of the South African economy through the production of war supplies.

Unskilled labor was needed to work in the factories producing war supplies, and again, Johannesburg witnessed an increase in the flow of African workers. Housing shortages developed during World War II as the production of housing could not keep up with the demand. State and municipal resources were concentrated on producing provisions for the war, and by the end of the war, there was a preponderance of Black informal settlements. The state responded to the housing shortage with the 1945 Natives Consolidation Act which tightened African access to cities by restricting permanent residency to those Africans who had been born in the city and had lived there the entire time, those who had been living in the city for at least fifteen years, and those who had worked for the same employer for ten years.

In 1948 the Nationalist party defeated the United Party and the formal apartheid government privileging the rights and cultural superiority of the Afrikaner people came to power. One of the most disruptive and devastating legislative policies of *baaskap* the Group Area Act of 1950 which attempted to restructure the racial co-habitation patterns in Johannesburg and other cities⁴¹. Coloureds and Indians from vibrant inner core communities like Pageview, Newtown, and Mayfair were uprooted and relocated to such designated racial townships as Lenasia and Eldorado Park in the outer ring of the city. These new communities were far from the commercial and cultural institutions of which

⁴¹ Baaskap is an Afrikaans word meaning "boss-ship". It refers to the apartheid regime's notion that the white man must always be boss.

members of the Coloured and Indian communities' lives had been organized around for generations. The communities from which Coloureds and Indians were forced to vacate were declared White Areas and existing businesses and homes were appropriated by new white working class residents or were razed for future development. When relocated Coloureds and Indians arrived in their newly racially- classified residential areas, they found too few homes available to accommodate them and too few municipal and commercial resources available to serve their needs. As a result, many homeless Coloured and Indian families began to filter back in toward the commercial city center to the close-in designated white residential communities of Hillbrow and Joubert Park. The white residents of these communities had started moving outward toward the newly developed outer suburbs in the north that were accessible by the expanding network of roadways, a phenomenon that was occurring worldwide post second world war in industrialized countries.

During the same year, the Population Registration Act of 1950 identified three racial categories: Whites, Africans, Coloureds, and later, Asians. Several years later the Land Acts of 1954 and 1955 restricted non-whites to certain residential areas. In 1958 Henrik Verwoerd, who had been the Minister of Native Affairs for the previous ten years, became Prime Minister of the Republic and his administration keenly enforced the pass laws which were put on the books decades before. For the next ten years Verwoerd aggressively pursued the apartheid doctrine of separate development. Ten separate African "homelands" were established in pursuit of apartheid's separate development doctrine through the 1959 Bantu Self Government Act⁴². In March of 1960 the ANC

⁴² Each Bantustan was the homeland for a different ethnic/ language group. The Transkei and Ciskei were home to the Xhosa. Bophuthatswana was home to the Tswana. Venda was home to the Venda. These four

launched a major campaign against the pass laws. The Anti Pass Day was a day that Africans were asked to leave their pass books at home and march to their nearest police station. In the township of Sharpeville, 28 miles southwest of Johannesburg, turned violent when a nervous riot police officer fired a shot into a crowd of 300 protestors igniting a volley of gunfire that killed at least 180 Africans. This tragedy became known as the Sharpeville Massacre, and it had several far-reaching implications. The Massacre received world-wide attention and condemnation of the apartheid system, which in turn touched off a downturn in the South African economy. The Massacre also signalled the beginning of armed resistance to the apartheid system. The apartheid regime's two major opposition organizations, the African National Congress(ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) were banned through the passing of the Unlawful Organizations Act.

The 1963 Bantu Amendment Act reinforced the 1953 Bantu Amendment Act and tightened up influx control. Blacks were prevented from owning their own homes in urban areas. By 1970 Africans were stripped of their South African citizenship and became citizens of their homelands through the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act. Any Black traveling outside of his or her homeland was required to have a pass, and movement into the white Common Areas of the Republic of South Africa was strictly regulated. This suite of policies effectively managed to not only limit African movement and thereby economic opportunities, but also these policies effectively destabilized families, the legacy of which can be seen today. Africans who had employment in the

homelands were later declared independent, though nominally. Gazankulu was home to the Tsonga. KaNgwane was home to the Swazi. KwaNdebele home to the Ndebele. KwaZulu home to the Zulu. Lebowa was home to the Northern Sotho (also known as Pedi). QwaQwa was home to the Southern Sotho. These six remaining Bantustans were self-governed, albeit limitedly.

homes of whites, mines, factories, or farms were separated from their family members who had to remain in the Homelands. As resistance to the apartheid regime mounted, the Republic passed the Internal Security Act in 1972 allowing police to arrest and detain people without trial for thirty days. By the mid-1970s resentment of the oppressive apartheid policies had escalated into riots in many of the country's townships. The shortage of decent affordable housing and lack of services and facilities ignited rage among township dwellers. One such riot was the Soweto Uprising. The unrest had implications for the economy; industrial production slowed and confidence in the economy was shaken (Soni, 1992). Labor demands were continuing to increase and state policies regarding the living conditions and rights of Black urban dwellers began shifting. Ensuing legislation (Community Council Act of 1977, Ninety-nine year leasehold legislation in 1978, and the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1978) attempted to "humanize apartheid and separate development" and the "previous stance on urban Black rights... finally shifted in the direction of recognizing that the urbanization process of Blacks could not be constrained any more" (Soni, p. 45, 1992). The 1980s saw a softening of apartheid policies, and the "greying" of some of the previously white inner suburbs. Non-whites, eager to escape the crowded, under-resourced townships, and to be closer to the commercial center of the city began to take up residence in the city center and inner-suburbs which had largely been vacated by white residents and businesses who had been leaving for the outer Northern suburbs.

Today

Today Johannesburg, known as Joburg or Jozi, is the capital of South Africa's wealthiest province, Gauteng, and has the fourth largest economy on the African

continent. Today the population of the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Area is almost 8 million. The borders between the city municipality and the surrounding municipalities are blurred. Johannesburg's geographical boundaries are difficult to define as Mabin (2007) observes:

Although the map of municipal boundaries has been revolutionized since 1994, and both separate "townships" and suburban municipal boundaries merged into one metropolitan authority, the current city boundaries cover by no means the entire city region...The continuous urban area around the city center stretches for more than fifty kilometers to the east, for more than thirty kilometers to the west, and for more than sixty kilometers to the southwest, and in the north there is scarcely a break between it and Pretoria, the national capital with its center sixty kilometers from Johannesburg—and in turn, stretching dozens of kilometers further. (p.40)

The city of Johannesburg is 3.2 million with a majority African population. Black South Africans comprise 73% of the population with whites making up 16%, and Indian, coloureds, and Asians making up the remainder (Population, people and prosperity, 2008). The Johannesburg Tourism Board boasts that "research results measuring the Human Development Index (HDI) show Johannesburg as the most prosperous place to live in Sub-Saharan Africa." It goes on to assert that the "the HDI of Johannesburg's black populace is significantly higher than those living elsewhere in Southern and Sub-Saharan Africa; just 0.24 points below the HDI of the white populace (highest HDI, in the league of high earners in developed countries)". Indeed Johannesburg's relatively high standard of living for Blacks continues to attract highly educated Africans of non-South African nationalities in search of this prosperity. Using access to services as an indicator of poverty, urban Johannesburg residents are better off than residents of other urban areas on the continent (Beall, 2002). South Africa's GDP is 467.6 billion dollars, and it is the 27th largest economy in the world.

The historical race and class divide is still to a certain extent intact in Johannesburg. However, unlike Cape Town, with its split between the white inner-city and coloured and Black suburbs, Johannesburg's split is much more amoebic. There seems to be much more of a spreading of blackness throughout the metropolis of Johannesburg. In fact, in the early 1900s the inner western suburbs were home to "racial cohabitation" in which poor "Europeans of various nationalities, Indians, Chinese, Arabs, Japanese, Kaffirs, and miscellaneous colored people of every hue" (Scully, 1912 as cited in Bremner, 2005, p. 36) intermingled. Then, like today the borders are very porous and are ever-shifting. It may be useful to divide the city into zones: the city center, the inner suburbs, the outer suburbs and townships. The city center is dominated by high rises and populated by African migrants and former township dwellers. The inner suburbs have experienced an influx of middle-class Blacks, Indians, and coloureds in the years since the 1990s. While the outer suburbs are still predominately white, an increasing representation of the Black upper middle class beneficiaries of the new dispensation's Black Economic Empowerment⁴³ (BEE) scheme has emerged. Townships are still exclusively Black. One need only reference a map of the Johannesburg metropolitan region, as the dean of the Witwatersrand University's College of Education indicated in an interview, to understand the current demographics of the city's neighborhoods. The larger street grids indicate more spacious homes and properties, thus signaling affluence. The tighter grids indicate a thicker concentration of streets signaling more density and presumably less affluence. A closer examination of these grids will be offered in the next few sections of this chapter. In this research, the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan

⁴³ BEE, a policy instrument that attempts to redress the economic inequalities resulting from exclusionary apartheid policies, was established in 2003 with the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act.

Area will be divided into three social-spatial zones: the inner city and inner suburbs, the affluent suburbs, and the townships.

Inner-City and Inner-City Suburbs

Upon arriving to the city center from Johannesburg International Airport in Kempton Park, the network of highways reveals a magnificent view of a modern city full of skyscrapers rivaling any major modern world metropolis. The closer one gets to the city center, the closer one observes the cracks in this image of a modern city. Deteriorating buildings, crowded streets, and manic traffic suggest that the city center is perhaps being re-imagined in ways very different than its colonial and apartheid gatekeepers intended. In “Remaking Johannesburg”, Lindsey Bremner (2005) discusses the architectural origins of the city and suggests that Johannesburg was “constructed in the image of Western modernity” (p.35) with the fin de siècle contributions of the 1890s, the Edwardian style of the British homeland in the early 1900s, and the post-depression newly-opened foreign investment frenzy of New York in 1930s. Under colonialism and then apartheid, the city center was conceptualized as a white space, a modern space. For the most part, Natives were relegated to mine hostels or servants’ quarters on the top floors of residential multi-family buildings or to outer townships or rural homelands. There were, however, a number of integrated communities as well as communities of color who had made their homes in the inner suburbs for decades prior to apartheid. Attempts to eradicate these communities through the Group Area Acts were sometimes successful, as in the case of Sophiatown with its integrated residents, and at times unsuccessful, as in the case of the Indian residents of Pageview.

Up until the late 1980s the city's center, the Central Business District (CBD), was the financial, commercial, social and civic epicenter of Johannesburg and the Republic; perhaps even, as Czegledy (2003) suggests, the African continent. However, as the apartheid regime was being dismantled:

This truncated cosmopolitanism could no longer be enforced by a white minority regime, whites fled to distant northern suburbs and gated communities where cosmopolitanism was precluded, thus leaving the inner city open to habitation of all kinds. (Simone, 2004, p. 411)

Hillbrow is considered to be the center of the residential inner-city and has a reputation as one of the most over-crowded, dangerous, and crime-ridden areas in all of South Africa. Hillbrow is perceived as being the center of illicit and illegal lifestyles, the center of moral depravity, by both South Africans and visitors to the city alike. The inner-city is perceived to be a dangerous place that should be avoided at all costs. It is, as Goetz and Simone (2004) write, being perceived as "becoming an increasingly desperate place, living on the edge without a strong core of cohesiveness" (p.2). Hillbrow, and by extension the residential communities of Yeoville, Berea, and Bertams, and the Central Business District is a no man's land for many regardless of their racial identify. As one of the Black teachers of the Township School related to me, she never under any circumstances ventures into the city center. But for years the CBD and the inner suburbs were the premiere shopping destinations for township dwellers whom, under apartheid, had to buy all of their goods, other than basic provisions, from the inner city stores. The perceived decay of the inner-city is very different from earlier perceptions of the inner-city as premiere shopping destination. Today the inner-city is almost an exclusively Black space.

Until the post-war building boom in housing, Hillbrow was a white middle-class community of small one storey homes. Then in the 1950s Hillbrow was re-imagined and re-invented as the site of a modern high-rise community within walking distance to the Central Business District and all its amenities. The community of residential blocks received critical acclaim from South African and International architects and accommodations in this new community were highly sought after. Beavon (2004) writes:

Demand for the exciting accommodation was high and individual flats were being occupied even while floors of the buildings were still under construction. Consequently, high rentals could be demanded and found, particularly from a resident population which, almost from the outset, included wealthy retired people who favoured the location as it gave them modern living and easy access to the CBD they had known and enjoyed in their younger years. (p. 156)

Beavon continues on to write that the new apartment blocks were also very popular with new European immigrants who were arriving in Johannesburg as part of the apartheid government's new immigration promotion. They, "accustomed to high-density living [...] ... eagerly occupied the new and attractive apartments in the rapidly expanding Hillbrow and contributed to its cosmopolitan character" (p. 256). Hillbrow's tenure as world class urban residential living was short-lived, and once construction of all of the high rise blocks were complete, the network of roads proved to be too inadequate to support the density, and the neighborhood began losing its affluent white residents to the ever-expanding Northern suburbs.

By the 1970s, non-whites had begun moving into the inner-city residential neighborhoods despite the inner-city neighborhoods' classification as urban white residential areas. Non-white residential access to the inner city was officially restricted until 1991. Pickard-Cambridge (1988) offers a close analysis of the desegregation of the

inner-city area in her book *The Greying of Johannesburg*. Pickard-Cambridge notes that the first unauthorized residents of the inner-city were upper middle class Indian and Coloureds who were facing severe housing shortages in their designated townships. White movement to the suburbs had accelerated, and high vacancy rates led landlords to allow non-whites to lease apartments. If landlords were reluctant to rent out flats to new incoming residents, non-white tenants would find whites to sign leases on their behalf. This 'nominee' system had been employed previously by non-white tradesmen in the 1960s who wanted to conduct business in the white inner city. Upper middle-class Indians and Coloureds were preferred to low income whites. There were, however, a number of abuses including "police harassment, inflated rentals... inadequate maintenance of buildings, threats of eviction... and restrictions on family and social life" (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988, p. 4). Interestingly, until 1978, when a group of white right-wingers called the National Front began a campaign against the de-facto desegregation, this early stage of desegregation of the inner-city was met with little resistance from white residents and white authorities. By 1985 African township dwellers had joined in the desegregation of the inner-city. Simone (2004) observes that "roughly ninety percent of Johannesburg's inner city residents were not living there ten years ago" (p. 411).

The inner city, considered one of the most densely populated urban spaces on the continent, is home to many "foreign" Africans whose "once flourishing sense of excitement in the early 1990s that [South Africa] was going to be the place for all Africans who seemed to share the experience of liberation" (Goetz & Simone, p. 4, 2004) has been crushed by the rise in xenophobia as witnessed earlier this year in the riots and ensuing murders of African nationals. Nigerians, Gambians, Sierra Leoneans,

Zimbabweans, Angolans, Mozambiquans, Cameroonians, and Zairians, many of whom are undocumented, have taken up residence and perhaps cover from the authorities in the density of apartment blocks and the maze of the inner city streets. Simone (2004) suggests that the:

Relative absence of a systematic and formal framework for investment in the city means that the ideas, entrepreneurial experience, and networks that the bulk of foreign Africans bring to Johannesburg are largely underutilized. A prevailing xenophobia among South Africans forces Africans from other countries to regulate their visibility—their dress, residential location, and the kinds of economic activities they pursue. (p. 417)

It is within this space that seems to have been abandoned by local governing structures and investment that one of the schools, the Christian School, is located. Stretching in an outward northern radius from the city center, reaching toward the newer and wealthier suburbs is a number of middle-class suburbs whose demographics are slowly shifting from white to non-white. Located within one of these older suburbs is Special School whose surrounding community has within the past ten years become increasingly Indian.

Affluent Suburbs

When writing about the affluent northern suburbs, many scholars take note of the privatized public spaces of gated communities that now isolate the wealthy from the rest of the city's residents (Beal, Crankshaw, & Parnell, 2002; Bremner, 2004; Murray, 2008; Nutall, 2004; Tomlinson & Larsen, 2003). Bremner (2002) writes of these gated communities:

These newly constructed frontiers, woven through and carving the city into a myriad of enclaves, have produced a new spatiality of fixed identities and logics of discrimination. As people retreat into the known, new rigidities in the definition of self and other are constructed. While race is no longer privileged as “master signifier” in these definitions, increasingly homogenous enclaves operationalise and render productive the fear of the other which haunts the South African psyche, or provide protection to those seeking assimilation into the

middle-class. Presented as crime deterrents, these spatial practices sooth the anxieties, uncertainties, and fears that the end of apartheid has brought to white South Africans. When adopted by the middle-class Black South Africans, they facilitate easy identification with the dominant middle-class culture of conspicuous consumption and social indifference. They also enable people to avoid confronting their former selves in the township or urban streets. A new homogeneity prevails. (p. 160)

Murray (2008) refers to these enclaves as “fantasy playgrounds” of “bourgeois utopias”, and extending Bremner’s argument, suggests that these:

Partitioned and sealed-off places... signify retreat into the Arcadian dreamworld of harmonious exchange, leisured living, and conspicuous consumption. In order to convey the uplifting message of the frictionless “rainbow nation,” such sites figuratively erase the past. In conjuring up images of a comfortable future around the commodity consumption, they necessarily deny the persistent presence of the past in the present. (Murray, 2008, p152)

These northern suburban enclaves have become so dominant a part of the landscape and the city’s new discourse that visitors to Joburg may very well leave the city having never ventured outside of them.

Oppositional Axes

In writing of South African cities, Bouillon (2002) offers a very useful framework to understand the dynamics of South African cities today. Bouillon speaks of a township/city axis; an axis that “oppos[es] the center to its periphery and mak[es] [the township and city] contrary, ‘complementary’ sides’ ” (p. 87). This notion of a city/township axis is useful in understanding how Johannesburg residents have historically and presently experience the city. The city is not simply a physical space to be experienced, but it also becomes a symbolic space to be experienced. The town as center is a particularly powerful symbol to the masses of Africans who were denied access throughout the majority of South Africa’s history. The township/ city’s center-periphery relationship is a “spatial, temporal, axiological, and teleological axis in one,

according to which the town/city is something else other than the 'location'⁴⁴, something of a different nature with a superior status (p.88)". Boullion continues:

The city/town that is imaginarily constructed in the process conforms to the ideology of its planners by being altogether a world of means, respect, status, order, and regularity, exactly the opposite of the disorder, noise, uncontrolled, crooked, and twisted ways of the location. The town is the embodiment of cleanliness and visibility, order and regularity: of formality. "To come to town," as observed by one of the rare African refugees to have resided in a township, "you need a status"... Thus the city is regarded with awe, all the more since its historical statutory confiscation was accompanied by unrelenting control and brutality, in such a systematic way that formality has been erected in the imagery of all as a mass discrimination device making civility and the law of the strongest two faces of the same coin. Formality has been first and foremost a tool for massive exclusion, a way of barring all those who have no presentable credentials, an instrument for qualifying citizenship and making it conditional. (p.88)

This oppositional pull of city/ township shows up again in the writing of Mbembe and Nuttall (2004):

The township is both of the city and not of the city.... Emphasis has been on marginality, and the township is privileged as a site of social struggles or contestation over the allocation of public goods. Far less attention has been paid to the imbrications of city and township and, in spite of unequal social relations, to township dwellers' practices and imaginations of citiness or the place of the township in the making of the city's many identities.... Furthermore, the literature fails to situate the township in relation to other kinds of urban agglomerations elsewhere (the urban ghetto, the favela) or in South Africa itself (the inner city, the squatter camp, the homeland, new kinds of settlement of poor black South Africans) and to track the traffic between these places (p.357).

Mbembe suggests that for Blacks "making oneself at home in the city takes on a peculiar urgency, if only because it has been the dominant site of their exclusion from modernity" (Mbembe, 2004, p. 393). Mbembe continues on to suggest that "most social struggles of the post-apartheid era can be read as attempts to reconquer the right to be urban" (p. 391). 'Urbaness' and modernity are intricately linked, and the coupling of the two help us to understand the preference of township students to, at great financial expense and

⁴⁴ "Location" is a common reference to the township. Playing on "location" "Lox" and "Loxion" are contemporary terms used by young people to refer to the township.

inconvenience, travel many miles daily to attend schools outside of the township. This notion of city as modern and township as backwards is a notion that is integral in understanding the city and, more pertinently, schooling in the city today.

Desire Lines

Garden and landscape... embody metaphors for the tensions between order and disorder, between the geometry of the grid and random pathways of curiosity, between memories of that which has been experienced and desire for that which has yet to be attained, between what is still concealed beneath the ground and the surface, and its possibilities. (Hall, 2007, p.289)

Complementary to the notion of oppositional axes is the notion of desire lines. In *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City*, Shepherd and Murray (2007) introduce desire lines as “the space between the planned and the providential, the engineered and the ‘lived’, and between official projects of capture and containment and the popular energies which subvert, bypass, supersede and evade them” (Shepherd & Murray, 2007, p.1). This concept is useful in helping us to understand how the city and the school are intricately bounded together. Every day the city witnesses a migration of learners from one part of the metropole to another for schooling. Learners leave their neighborhoods travelling great distances for ‘better’ educational opportunities. Fatar (2007) characterizes this migration pattern as “an outflow of floating images of stability and quality that are discursively produced by schools within the changing spatial geography of the city” (p.602). This “changing spatial geography of the city” is marked by these desire lines. These desire lines are ever –shifting, ever-growing.

Since the 1920s Black access to the town was regulated through government policy. Business and educational opportunities were denied to Blacks to ensure a steady and plentiful supply of cheap labor. The “Black man was only a temporary sojourner in

the White man's cities" (Mandy, p. 77, 1984). Yet despite such Draconian polices intended to control Black movement and life choices, Blacks still managed to gain access to that which was denied them. Imagine, then, what happens when the Black man is no longer a temporary sojourner, when the city's byways are literally opened up, and the Black man's movement is no longer circumscribed. When access once tightly controlled is now constitutionally guaranteed. Imagine looking at a map of Greater Johannesburg with its networks of roads, highways and byways, and neighborhoods. Under apartheid, only a small minority of Johannesburg residents could freely access all grids of the city. With the new dispensation everyone, theoretically, has access to the city's grid. In practice, however, some areas of Johannesburg are controlled through gates and security with access no longer based exclusively on race, but rather on one's economic capacity. What one may observe today is a pattern of desire lines imprinted across the map of the city. These desire lines are the migration patterns of township learners to town. They are backyard dwellers to the front homes, residents of informal settlements to townships. They are the migration pattern of Zimbabweans, Angolans, and Cameroonians from their home countries to Hillbrow, Yeoville, and Berea. These desire lines are "the interplay between forms of urban practice and resistance to these practices, between material realities and public processes at play in the post-apartheid city, and between the mainstream and marginalised conceptions of space" (Shepherd & Murray, 2007, p.1).

Conclusion

Fataar (2007) suggests that "cities and towns not be viewed as bounded enclosures, but rather as a subset of interactions which constitute social space, a local articulation within a wider world" (p.601). Fataar's urging that cities be used to read

larger social phenomena echoes Mbembe and Nuttall's (2004) assessment of social sciences' proclivity to use the city to read social change to which I referred to in the opening of this chapter. The intent of this chapter was to lay out the text of the city of Johannesburg in order to view the social changes that have occurred over the city's lifetime and to set the scene for the present social setting of schooling in Johannesburg today. I hope that in laying out the text of the city, I have illustrated the structural violence that has historically been embedded along racial lines and the more contemporary embedding of structural violence along class lines.

In the next chapter, I will closely examine the daily mass migration of students from townships to the formally white schools in town, a phenomenon that I label "movement of learners". And, I will argue that this movement of learners is in itself a form of violence that makes those learners who do this daily commute more exposed to interpersonal violence. Exploring this movement of learners in greater depth allows us to better understand the articulation points between the three levels of violence: structural, socio-cultural, and individual. I will use Critical Race Theory's notion of whiteness as property to offer a framework for understanding schooling in Johannesburg as an inherently violent process. In future chapters, I intend to return to the notion of desire lines and suggest that the circumscribing of children's desire lines leads to injury of the spirit, a concept borrowed from Critical Feminist Legal Studies.

Chapter 6: Movement of Learners

So we gonna walk - all right! - through de roads of creation:
We the generation (tell me why!)
Trode through great tribulation.

-Bob Marley, *Exodus*

Every morning across the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Area, a mass exodus of young people along the oppositional axes occurs. Some learners have made a more permanent exodus having moved to town with their families to escape “problematic kinship and neighborhood relations” (Simone, p.415) in the township. These learners pour out from borders that were once tightly contained and regulated by apartheid and colonial policies. They traverse a historical migratory path that their parents and grandparents traversed, with access to educational opportunities replacing access to employment opportunities. Today in a democratic and free-market South Africa, multiple forms of transportation ferry learners from their homes to town. These migratory paths are desire lines, and examining these desire lines in greater detail offer rich insight into schooling in Johannesburg.

In the previous chapter I attempted to lay out the text of the city and offer the lens of race as the primary lens through which the city of Johannesburg should be read today. I explored how the dual historical epochs of colonialism and apartheid have shaped the social-spatial landscape of post-apartheid Johannesburg. To understand violence in schools in Johannesburg, it is imperative that the social-spatial landscape of the city be understood. One cannot understand the complexities of any school in any context without understanding the particular complexities of a school’s landscape. To read a school in isolation of its surroundings and the history of its surroundings is to gain a very

limited and superficial understanding of that school. With the text of the city now laid out, let us now move onto the project of superimposing the text of the school onto the text of the city. Instead of reading the text of schooling predominately through the lens of race, as I did in the last chapter, I will extend the lenses to include, albeit to a lesser extent, gender and class.

In this chapter I will look at the articulation points between structural violence and interpersonal violence. First, I will argue that the tremendous daily movement of learners from their home communities to their schooling communities is in itself violent. Secondly, I will argue that this movement of learners exposes learners to varying kinds and levels of interpersonal violence. In post-apartheid South Africa public space in the city has become highly insecure and volatile. The more an individual is exposed to public spaces, the more he/she is exposed to individual violence (i.e. crime). This exposure is raced, classed, and gendered. In exploring individual violence, I will offer a number of claims. One, all learners are exposed to individual violence during their commute, namely robbery. Two, a learner's mode of transport can mediate his/ her exposure to violence, and the mode of transport a learner's family can afford is related to his/her class position. Three, in addition to the personal theft that all learners seemingly experience, female learners are exposed to verbal and physical harassment and sexual assault. In my final analysis, I will explore why Black learners travel great distances at great risk when there are a number of good schools in their home communities in the townships. I will return to the concepts of oppositional axes and desire lines, explored in the previous chapter on Johannesburg, to attempt to find answers to this question, adding Critical Race Theory as a conceptual frame for deeper analysis.

The Structural Violence of Learner Migration

Johannesburg today is still very much a segregated city. The majority of the Black population still lives in townships. The majority of the white population still lives in suburbs. There is some integration happening in the inner suburbs as is evidenced by the change in the demographics of the neighborhood surrounding the Special School. Once predominately a white Afrikaans-speaking working class neighborhood, the Special School neighborhood is becoming increasingly Indian as the Indian community spreads out from some of the neighboring historically Indian communities. The Deputy Principal of the Special School offers useful insight into the changing demographics of

Johannesburg:

I'm gonna' explain to you another instance where my daughter teaches. She teaches at Roosevelt High... Roosevelt High is quite an old suburb if you know what I mean. And... so that the people who originally moved in there, their children are definitely no longer at the school. Actually it is something that we experience all over...in the older suburbs in Johannesburg. You know...it's usually...the properties are usually too expensive for young people to buy there, so the younger people live on the outskirts of the city, but you still have all the schools in the older areas. So more and more learners have to travel further to go to the schools... and for instance... at the Roosevelt High School was a completely white school and now I'd say also...I'd say they are about 70 percent [Black]and about let's say 20% Indian and perhaps 10% white children... When I say Black I just mean African students. I suppose they might end up...I don't know how many Coloured children there are, but it's basically now Blacks, Coloureds, Indians, whites, but with a minority of whites by far in this school
(Mrs. Van de Plank)

The changing demographics are difficult to understand:

Why it happens or how? I can give you another example of Greenside High. The school, well let's say, twenty-five years ago there were a lot of Jewish children at Greenside High. Now, it's basically a lot of Muslim learners in Greenside High. So...I don't know how it works. The dynamics I do not understand...And why things change, I don't know. But for some other reason it definitely does and...yes...I can't give you an answer to that. I don't know why it happens.
(Mrs. Van de Plank)

Despite the Indian and the much-talked about rising Black middle class move to previous white residential areas, the city still remains deeply spatially segregated. In 2001 the Human Sciences Research Council released a report entitled *Deracialisation and Migration of Learners in South African Schools: Challenges and Implication*. The report offers seven learner migration trends:

- 1.) Learners migrate from township schools to suburban schools.
- 2.) Learners migrate from township schools to other township schools. That is, learners leave former DET schools for schools in Indian and Coloured townships.
- 3.) White learners and to a lesser extend Black middle class learners migrate from public schools to private schools.
- 4.) Learners migrate from township to inner-city schools because of inner-city schools' proximity to major bus and train stations and taxi ranks.
- 5.) Learners from informal settlements migrate to township schools filling the void left by township learners for other schools.
- 6.) Learners migrate from rural to urban schools.
- 7.) Learners migrate from schools in poorer provinces (former homelands) to schools in "better" provinces (former non-native provinces).

It is useful to note these trends in that they offer us a primer for understanding the shift of learners since the dismantling of apartheid. Soudien (2004), however, suggests that current data on migration patterns aren't as conclusive as the HRC's report may suggest. Due to the current government's abolishment of racial categories, some schools and provincial departments of education do not collect statistics on race. As a result, Soudien claims that "we do not know in a precise and accurate way what has happened in terms of

racial integration in South African schools” (p. 97), and we therefore must question the assumption that the “strongest movements have occurred from black to white schools is open to question” (p.99). Soudien suggests that Black learners’ migration into Indian and coloured schools is as strong, if not stronger, than the migration of Black learners into formerly white schools. What evidence does make explicitly clear is that white, Indian, and Coloured learners are not migrating to former DET schools for learning. Learner migration occurs uni-directionally-- to schools that are perceived to offer better learning opportunities.

The Insecurity of Public Space

The most resounding effect of this transformation [the dismantling of apartheid] was a phenomenal rise in violent crime and the emergence of the young African man as the very embodiment of the dangerous criminal. While public spaces within racially demarcated areas hitherto had seen as relatively safe and within a realm of “cultural intimacy,” the street now emerged as an intrinsically racialized, violent, and amoral space. (Hansen, P. 102)

In postapartheid Johannesburg, public space has become highly insecure and volatile. Violent crime, once contained in townships, has filtered into communities which under apartheid were relatively free of crime and violence. The more a person is exposed to public spaces, the more he/she is exposed to opportunities to be victimized. This reality results in the commute to and from school as being tremendously risky for all learners. Most of the muggings involve weapons. Almost all of the learners in the Special School and the Christian School report being at risk of robbery during their commute. The learners are most often targeted for their cell phones, but learners at the Christian School spoke in some detail of being targeted for their Karimore bags. Nomsa, Kagiso, and Noxolo, female learners at the Special School, talk about how vulnerable they are to robbery when walking from the taxi rank to school. Nomsa comments:

It's almost like a month doesn't go by with at least one person's bag being stolen. And they always emphasize don't walk alone. Sometimes even if you are... you can't even be a group of girls... there has to be guys, then only can you say that... you say... cause if you are a group of girls it's just the same as being one girl cause they will still hold you at gunpoint or hold knives at you and take your bag. And normally they don't take everybody's bag. All of you will have a Karimore, but they only take one of you... one of your bags.

A very lively discussion ensued around the desirability of Karimore backpacks. The Karimore brand of backpacks is highly sought-after and because of its popularity it has value on the resale market. The girls mention that the Karimore brand's status is such that even more expensive brands like Nike do not attract the same attention of thieves as does the Karimore brand. All three of the girls carry Karimore despite the risk associated with the brand perhaps because, as the girls discuss, of the quality and durability of the brand's bags. The girls even identified two particular models that are most desirable, the Horizon 18 and the Horizon 20. Nomsa prudently estimates that at least 30 Karimores have been stolen from Special School learners in the past two years since she arrived as a Grade 8 learner. According to the girls, the Karimore name presented such a liability to its owners that the company changed the name on the packs to "Red Mountain". Perhaps this discussion reflects the relative privilege (after all, they are able to buy the Karimore brand) and status consciousness of the Special School learners.

So commonplace are the reports of robbery during daily commutes that one may conclude that learners are targeted simply because they are learners. Curiously, the learners at the Township School do not make mention of being victims of robbery during their commute. Instead when they speak of being robbed, they speak of being robbed while in school. These robberies are often executed by non-students who "jump the

fence” during school hours. This porous border between Township school and the surrounding community will be explored in greater depth in the next two chapters.

Modes of Transport

The second claim I would like to offer is a learner’s mode of transport can mediate his/ her exposure to violence, and the mode of transport a learner’s family can afford is related to his/her class position. Each mode of transport offers a particular exposure to violence, but there are certain modes of transports that are perceived to be more dangerous than others. Special School’s principal, Mr. Hendricks, is well aware of the differentiated modes of transport and the resulting varying exposure to violence. In response to my question about the safety of getting to and from school, Mr. Hendricks offers:

I don’t think it’s always safe. It depends. Obviously with a kid that gets, that walks three blocks to school or the kid that gets dropped by the school doesn’t have a problem. That...there are a lot of kids who have to take the trains. And there’s a lot of violence on the trains. There’s a lot of kids that come to school by taxi or umm...minibus and those guys aren’t always safe because I mean...you never know what can happen next on our roads.

Mrs. Van de Plank also notes the different means of transport and comments on each mode’s safety:

Quite a few of them get dropped off. A lot of walk because they are in walking distance of this school and then there might be one or two who come from Lenasia which is quite far. And they would most probably make use of public transport... [The Coloured students] would probably make use of public transport as well, by bus or so. And the Black students would be mostly taxis, but quite a few travel by train. Apparently traveling by train is quite dangerous. They tell you if... some of them will tell you that if we could afford it, we wouldn’t travel by train. And then they’d walk from the station to here. Others would do half-way taxi, half-way bus. Something like that. Take a taxi into town and take a bus into here. Or two different taxis or so.

Private Car

Generally, private car is thought to expose learners to the least amount of violence because cars limit learners' interactions at the street level. Additionally, cars are usually driven by learners' parent or family members or the parents or family members of classmates, thus guaranteeing another level of protection. There is, however, a significant risk of being car-jacked. Car-jackings in Johannesburg are common. Mrs. Van de Plank, a thirteen year veteran and the deputy principal of the Special School lives approximately 15 kilometers away from the school. Mrs. Van de Plank was a victim of an armed robbery at her home several years ago which has contributed to her feelings of safety in and around Johannesburg. She drives to school daily and is pretty vigilant during her drive:

During daytime I feel pretty safe. Let me explain to you... when I say pretty safe...you...you sort of know you can expect snatch and grabbing and stuff like that. So...I am very, very vigilant at robots⁴⁵. And due to my experience what I had...I'm...I'm...when I drive I really look around like a chameleon...all over, all the time. Watch people that you know might be suspicious or whatever. I've got anti-snatch and grab on my windows in my car in any case... It's a film...a titanium film that they put on the glass...so...it...it smashes the glass, but it doesn't break it. It like...it's like shatter proof more or less...that effect. During daytime it's okay. There are areas that I don't like, especially when I go through [Name of neighborhood] where everything is not nice and I mean there are areas that you know that are smash and grab hot spots of hijacking hotspots that you know that wherever you are I go across the highway and that's the hijacking hotspot. So be extra vigilant, but...you know... it sounds terrible, but I guess you...you get used to it. You...you sort of expect it. At school I feel pretty safe although it's not nice if it becomes here late afternoon and there's no one left here. There's just the guard at the gate. Then it's...but during the daytime I feel fine. But at night? Sometimes we have to come to school when we have interviews and stuff...it's not nice driving alone at night. I don't like it. (Mrs. Van de Plank)

In 2004 Christian School's principal, Mrs. Brissot, and Ms. Everts, a teacher, were carjacked one afternoon as they were getting into the principal's car to return home one

⁴⁵ A robot is a traffic light.

afternoon after school. Still, the car, relative to the other modes of transport, is the safest means to get to school.

None of the learners interviewed at Township School commute to school by car. One of the female learners, Khanysile, interviewed at the Christian School gets dropped off by car by her aunt in the mornings and then walks home in the afternoons. Two of the learners interviewed at the Special School, Vanessa, a white learner, and Layla, an Indian learner, commute by car. Vanessa's father drops Vanessa and her sister off at school in the morning. With traffic it takes them about twenty minutes to get to school, but without traffic it takes them about ten or fifteen minutes. When asked if she or any of her friends have experienced violence on the way to or from school, Vanessa responds that she hasn't personally experienced violence. She offers up a story in which her friend used to get harassed on the way to school by bus, and mentions that most of her friends have gotten their bags stolen, but Vanessa hasn't personally experienced any harassment or stolen property. She attributes her incident-free commutes to her father fetching her from school and his protectiveness. Layla's father drops her off at school in the mornings and she is picked up from school and dropped off at home by a parent in the 'lift club' in the afternoons. It takes her approximately five minutes to commute to school. When asked if she could walk to school, Layla says that the distance isn't bad, but she is concerned about her safety. She observes: "There's a lot of people that does nothing. So they set in the streets and they just scare you. They may not do anything, but they just...they're there. Just the fact that they're there" (Layla). Layla talks about the crime in her neighborhood and in the city, but doesn't speak of crime during her commute to school.

The rest of the students interviewed at the Special School, all of whom are Black, commute to school by various other modes.

Private Transport

Private transport seems to be the preferred mode of transport among Black learners of means living in townships. With private taxis, parents enter into agreements with owners and/or drivers of mini-busses. These minibuses or kombis, seating eight to twelve people, are taken off public routes and used to pick up children from their homes and ferry them to schools in town. Mrs. Van de Plank offers more detail on the use of private transport:

So they know. Actually some of them...you'll see that some of them are parked at the... that's all they do. So they feel that they earn enough money by bringing school children so that bring them to school safely as if one would bring...there's a primary school right next door to us. So they would have some of those children, some of our children. Then they are parked there for the day and after school they just take them back again. But some of them would drop them off here would still do other rounds and then come and collect them again.

The risk factor of this particular mode of commuting to school is the vehicle's upkeep and the safety record of driver. The parents of Zwanga, a Grade 11 learner at Special School, have arranged for private transport to ferry him from his home in a middle class neighborhood outside the township to the Special School in town. Zwanga reports that:

This morning, even though I have a transport that fetches me, that picks me up from...we nearly...we nearly had an accident, but the way...I've become...I've become accustomed to that.

As private transport offers learners door-to-door service, exposure to insecure public spaces is limited; thus offering learners who can afford it one of the safest modes of transport. While private transport ensures relative security, it has its disadvantages.

Private transport tends to extend commuting time. It takes Zwanga about two hours to get to school with private transport. With a private car it would take him 45 minutes.

Zwanga wakes up at 5am and leaves his house at 5:30am. He is accustomed to early-rising and extended commutes as he attended primary school in a Northern suburb.

Anna, a Grade 11 Christian School learner, and her three siblings travel one and a half hours each way from their home in the East Rand to town by private transport. Anna assesses her transport driver as a “good driver sometimes”. She arrives at school an hour and fifteen minutes before school begins because of her transport’s schedule and departs an hour after school ends. Anna puts her extra time to good use. She Anna uses the time in the morning to do school work, or if she hasn’t had breakfast, she and a male friend walk to the shops to get food.

Busses

Busses tend to operate within the city and inner-suburbs. Learners who live in the boundaries of the city and inner-suburbs are able to commute to school by bus. Busses tend to be considered by most as a very safe means of getting around town. Of course, only a small numbers of learners live near enough to their schools to access buses. Learners living and schooling in the township have no access to busses. Two learners from Special School, Noxolo, and Evan live within communities serviceable by bus. None of the learners interviewed at Christian School commute by bus. While the bus itself may be a safe mode of transportation, walking to and from and waiting at the bus stop expose learners to individual violence. Noxolo, a Grade 11 learner at the Special School, travels one and half hours to school by bus. If driving, it would take approximately fifteen minutes for Noxolo to get to school. Her mother escorts her from home to the taxi rank during her 15-minute morning walk to ensure her safety. Noxolo recalls a particular incident one morning toward the beginning of the school year when

Noxolo's mother was running late. Anxious that she would miss her bus, Noxolo left home without her mother. It was winter and at 5:30 in the morning it was still dark:

But that day she is... something... she was doing something...and I was like, "No, ma, the bus is going to leave me." So I just left and I walk very fast. And I was walking, I was walking, and when I was walking like that this other man passes me... and I'm like whatever. But I'm always thinking he is behind me with a knife... And he's like, "Where's your phone? Where's your phone?" And I realized that the way he was asking me... he was asking me as if I was one of these snobbish girls that don't know anything and I looked at him like I don't have a phone on me. Yet my phone was in my blazer. That just shows that this person doesn't go to school. He doesn't know the blazer. *Laughs along with the other girls.* And so... Jahaaa... so and he pick-pocketed me. "Where's the money?" And I'm like, "I don't have money." "Where's the chain and I'm like, "I don't wear a chain at school." *Girls laugh.* Then he just left me. He told me to walk. And I just walked and I had to act like I was scared, but there was just something that said to me, please... this guy... whatever. You know? It was like WHATEVER! (Noxolo)

Public Taxi

Public taxi seems to be the most common mode of transport. Public taxies are ubiquitous in the townships. They are the primary way for township residents to move across the large geographic area of the township and its many neighborhoods, and moving between the town and the townships. Less expensive than private transport, public taxis present a more affordable option for learners commuting to school. Public taxis are very much associated with township life and a distinct culture around taxis and their drivers have developed over the years. As Hansen (2004) asserts:

Taxis have become poignant and fine-tuned sensors of trends in youth culture. The style of the taxis, the make of the cars (Toyotas being common, Volkswagens the solid and expensive choice), their decoration, and the size and quality of their sound systems are all key parameters of style. Loud music dominated by a deep and thumping bass has, in fact, become the quintessential signature of the taxis—one can hear them and even feel the vibration of the bass before they come round the corner. The sound signals many things—sensuality, the infinite play of desire and pleasure in the city, assertive masculinity—but is also signals the township itself, that is the space of blackness that is plebian, no-nonsense, defiant, and potentially violent. While the thumping bass signifies a certain youthful insubordination within the black township itself—the sound of undisciplined

gangsters—it also signifies an assertive and defiant black identity when moving in the formerly white areas... or the Indian townships. (p.188)

Learners often have to take more than one taxi to get to or from school and often combine use of the taxi with use of the bus. Nomsa, a Grade 11 female learner at the Special School gets to school by both taxi and bus. She leaves her home at 5:45am and gets to town by 6:30am. She gets to school around 7:20am. If she were to drive to school, it would take her around 30 minutes. But, as Nomsa explains, she lives “deep” in Soweto the “taxi drivers go around almost the whole of Soweto” before she gets on the road.

Taxis are considered very dangerous by most. The age, maintenance, and upkeep of taxis along with the tight competition among drivers to get as many trips in leading to over-speeding have resulted in numerous fatal accidents. Public outcry has led to the tightening of restrictions and implementation of stricter safety regulations. Not only does the speed and condition of taxis impact the relative safety of its passengers, the taxi industry itself is linked with violence and criminality:

The [taxi industry] has introduced new forms of criminality and has allowed drug lords and other operators in the informal economy to develop a highly conspicuous and profitable legal business. This has earned them unprecedented levels of visibility and respectability as the spokesmen and public faces of both local communities and their taxi associations. Such a nexus between criminality, the threat of violence, and political eminence has long been a feature of local politics in African townships (Hansen, 2004, p 205).

Zwanga talks about the dangers of public transport:

The public transport I guess people always complain about the taxi drivers and the way that they drive in the roads. In some cases it is very reckless and they do drive a little too fast. But being the youth and everything, we enjoy that. The speed and the loud music. But come to think of it, like honestly, in a way, it isn't really safe. We kind of like take things for granted. We think it's not gonna' ... it's never gonna' happen to me. You know what I mean? You are aware of it, but you just brush it off. You take it for granted type of thing.

Evident in Zwanga's comments is Hansen's assessment of taxis as symbolic representations of urban, Black youthful identity. The recklessness, speed, and loud music are thrilling to Zwanga and his peers. Zwanga acknowledges the belief that youth seem to think they are somehow immune to accidents, finally conceding that taxis are not at all safe. Daisy, a Grade 11 learner at Township School, reports on the trade-off between the ease of public taxis and the safety of the drivers:

To come to school it was like...uhh... I will never say it's uhh... dangerous, but just say it's risky because we don't know about this taxi drivers. What they do before they come and pick us. You see? And then they go home and... it's easy for me because of when I get out of the gate, I just take a taxi. Jah. Or I walk a short distance just to pick up my friend half a way and then I take the taxi.

In fact, it is during the walk to and from taxi ranks that learners' safety is jeopardized. The walk will be examined in depth shortly.

Train

Perhaps the most notoriously dangerous mode of transportation from the township to schools in town is the train. The train is the cheapest option of all the modes of public transportation. Mr. Michael Mojabelo, a teacher at Special School, shares an incident in which a female learner was mugged at the train station on her way home from school:

There's this kid. A girl from Grade 12. She was once got mugged. Like... because she uses a train when she goes home. So, there is this station just near the school that... she went to the station. When she got there, she said that the guy came with a knife. And that knife had a blood. So, this guy came to her with that knife. So when he tried to... like hold her... she fainted. She couldn't see what happened. Then this guy took everything that she had... school books and the cell phone and ran away with all these things. Then she was shocked by that situation that happened to her. And then I tried to tell her, you know what? From now onwards try to walk with someone when you go to the train. Try to walk with guys because the other guys they are studying here that are using the trains. Or else avoid using trains anymore. Just use the taxis cause there are the taxis and the buses here. Then she said okay, she decided to use the bus because she didn't want to go to the taxis anymore. And her parents, I think they also organized

what you call... a psychologist for her. To get like... talk to her about that incident.

Mrs. Botha, another teacher at Special School, also identifies the train as a particularly unsafe mode of transport for her students:

Mrs. Botha: And even in the trains a lot of the learners, not a lot... about five I think in the few years would say that the people were threatening them on the trains, especially on the trains.

Illana: Can you tell me a little bit about what the threats?

Mrs. Botha: Okay. What they do. You know what they do... you know the children carry their bags on their backs. Now you stand, there is no place to sit, so you have to stand from one station to the other. And they would steal the things from their... back of the bags. What they also told me, but it didn't happen to any of our children that I know of, they would just push you out of the train. The train doors won't lock and if there is no space... I don't know what the reason is... they would just push you out of the train.

Illana: While it's moving?

Mrs. Botha: While it's moving. While it's moving. So most of the incidents I felt were with the trains.

A recent trip to Europe caused Mrs. Botha to reflect on learners commuting to school by train without adult supervision:

I think of one morning me and my husband got on a train at 4 to go to Germany...to catch a train to Germany... and we were on the train early, just to get there and have a nice day...and there were children...10, 12, 13, 14 years on the trains that kind of morning. And I'm sure here in the townships here it happens as well. They...they're outside... my children would never be out there. And I think that expose them to certain things they are not at the age to handle it yet. I mean if somebody starts fighting with you...fourteen years...on a train at 4 o'clock in the morning arguing with an older person about your cell phone. Can you handle yourself? Can you stand up to this one? I don't think so. I think they're exposed to things at the age that they can't handle.

Walking

With the exception of learners who are ferried to school by private car, all commutes, regardless of the mode, require learners to walk some distance. The longer

the distance a learner walks, the more exposure to individual violence, she or he may encounter. Akani, a Grade 12 male learner at the Special School, takes a public taxi to school. On a good day it takes Akani 30 minutes to get to school. Once Akani gets off at the taxi rank, he walks past [Name of] station. It is during his walk from the taxi rank to school that he feels most vulnerable:

And on my way to school I never feel safe because... when I get off the taxi I have to... to pass by the station. And by the station is where a whole lot of bad stuff happens to children who go to school... here cause we have had a lot of incidents whereby we, ourselves, have also been mugged. Cause there was this one other guy who was using... There were two guys who tried to... they used knives to try and mug us. And there was... there is also another incident when we were in Grade 9. They came and told us that [they] had guns. If we don't give them our phones, they would shoot us and stuff like that... This all happens at the station. Basically, but I would say now it has stopped, but that's what keeps on happening. It stops and then it picks up again. I never normally feel safe when I...when I am on my way to school. But at school I'm safe.

Tebello, a 17-year old female learner at the Christian School, boards in one of the school's three boarding facilities located just a couple of minutes walking distance from the school. Tebello relates an experience she had earlier this school year when she was returning from the shops to the boarding house with a couple of her friends, one male and one female. As they are walking back, one of her friends calls her on her cell phone:

Tebello: Cause she wanted to the boarding and she wanted to know if I am there. So, I'm like, "No. Please call me. I'm at the street, so call me after five minutes...I'll be at the boarding house." And this guy was coming and that guy was wearing... a security guy... wearing a uniform, a full uniform. So, I was like... okay, it's a security guard coming, it doesn't matter. Huh. Not. Now they dress like security. I don't know why, but they do. And he took out a gun and said to me bring that phone. And I started to say to him why... and I didn't see the guy at first... and I insisted... I'm like, "No, I won't give you my phone." He's like... No... or else I am gonna' shoot and he's like, "I'm gonna' shoot you or your friends." And I just gave him the phone and I asked him for the SIM card. He just told me the F-word. He just told me the F-word and he said to me, "Next time when someone says give me your phone, do not hesitate. Give it them cause whatever they will shoot you." And he just walked off.

Illana: Have you seen him again since?

Tebello: No, never.

Kagiso's daily commute from her home in the township to the Special School lasts 45 minutes and consists of her walking to the taxi rank, taking a taxi straight to town, and then walking from the taxi rank to school. Kagiso feels very vulnerable when walking from the taxi rank to school:

I become impatient. I just count the minutes until I get to school. Yooooo....yooooo....yooo. I want to get to school. Cause it's not safe and it's quiet. Like where I walk, it's very quiet. A person can just come and you scream and nobody can hear you cause everybody is just minding their own businesses.

“My Size”: Gendered Experiences of Walking in Public Spaces

When talking about the inner suburb neighborhood where Special School is located, Kagiso says:

This...this area is rough. It's really rough. There's a lot of violence. There's a lot of gangsterism. Theft. Umm... you don't feel free to...to...to just walk around. I mean...with... and with these bags that we have. Mmhmm. No. It's not safe. And I walk like fifteen minutes to school from...from... where I...I...I leave the taxi. I walk. Now, when you walk, you can't walk alone. Especial when you're a girl cause...Jah... a lot can just happen to you. You can get raped. You can get kidnapped. Just... you're bag can be taken away. So when you're in a group...Jaha... it's better. But then, the other time we were in a group. Then... these guys... There were only three of them and there was six of us girls. We had these bags. So they started following us. They wanted to take our bags. We ran. So, since then I don't feel safe at all.

Here Kagiso touches on individual violence that all of the Black female learners interviewed in all three schools address. The looming threat of sexual assault and the very real daily verbal harassment accompanied at times by unwanted touching reverberate throughout all of the Black female learners' experiences. In the above excerpt Kagiso highlights a strategy that many girls use to ensure their safety, walking in a large group. Nomsa also speaks of this strategy:

A lot of people advise you not to... you can't walk there alone basically... where the taxis... because you have to come up... if you are a girl, you can't walk up alone. You have to be in a group normally if you are going to catch a taxi or a bus down there.

In fact, during the individual interview which was held one day after school, Kagiso's friend calls her to ask her how much longer she will be. Her friend is waiting for her to accompany her back home. Another strategy employed by female learners in an attempt to ensure safety is discussed by Noxolo:

But on the way home, that's a bit difficult because... You don't know the people. You don't know them. You can't just talk to them cause... you talking too much is you being more unsafe then you already are. [Laugh]... so the best... [laugh]... thing is just to keep quiet... [laugh]... just to walk... If you... if you give them attitude, they will rape you... Jah... chances are they will rape you or they'll mistreat you. Like take your bag or hit you or anything like that.

As Noxolo walks to or from the bus stop, she remains quiet in an effort to secure her safety.

During the group interview, the female learners of Christian School speak at length of the kind of harassment they may experience when walking from the boarding facilities to the shops:

Tebello: You know, the thing... When I spoke about... I have seen it happening, but it's not like they have done that thing to me, but all they do is call you, hold you... 'Hey, baby. What's up?' And you are walking and they call, 'Hey, my size.' There's this old person who is saying my size to you and you ask yourself.

Illana: My size?

Tebello: My size. Meaning... my age... you know? And the guy is real old. He is old enough to be your granny. What is this person thinking? I mean and mostly that happens when you are walking into the shops. Girls say yes in agreement. Especially when you are there... opposite by Shoprite there. Drugs. Those people with drugs. Jah... They call. Greeting in Zulu. Want me to buy you whatever. I can pay 30,000... you know, stuff like that. It's like old people saying that.

Illana: How old is old? What do you think old is?

Tebello: 30-something.

Anna: Even people with gray. Those old... I am telling you. With gray hair.

Anele: Even eighteen... they do it.

Anna: And one thing I hate when they say comments about your body. I hate it.

Anele: When they say hello and you don't respond.

Tebello: When you walk, they either look at you at your back... they look at you at the back. Oh, I hate that. And they start saying comments about your....I hate it. They'll say, "Mmmmmm... You look good. You look fit. Ohhhh."

Anele: When you don't respond they say, they say who say they are going to ask you out. You don't say anything to them, you just walking. When you don't answer them, it's a problem. They say bad comments about you. When you answer them, they take it as a thing... you're opening the door for them to come and talk to you and like walk with you. Like, it's...

Tebello: Or you can say, "Hi" back to them. They want more than that. They want to get to know you. They want to go out with you.

Mandisa: Yes.

Tebello: They tell that they love you. They don't even know you. They tell you that they love you.

Anele: They can buy you things. They can.... build their things under the swimming pool for you, so that you can swim even in winter.

Anna: And that thing. I even experience it with boys. When they look at the girls... the girls' asses. "Mmmm... what a fine ass." What's that? I hate that. It's like, "Oohhh... You're fit.

Verbal harassment can escalate to physical harassment. Daisy, a Grade 11 learner at Township School demonstrates:

Like yesterday there's this guy who was like calling this other chick. I... I don't know that girl. It was like, "Hey, you, come here." "Linda, come let's hurry up."... this thing... I was like... and then this boy... they just went to that girl [Linda]... and was like holding [her] so roughly. You see? Yeah. It's like, "Linda, why are they doing this every day?" Linda say, "Jah, sometimes they do

this because... you see... they need something". If they come or they swear at you or those things.

Bontle, also a Grade 11 learner at Township School corroborates Daisy's observation of personal violence. Bontle speaks of her vulnerability on her way to and from school:

Bontle: As I'm a girl, sometimes I feel not comfortable cause I'm walking on the street, then boys call me. When I ignore them... they say you think you are smart. You think that you are something that is a gift to your parents. And I don't return the answer back. I'll... I shut my mouth and go. Whatever. But sometimes when you ignore them they run after you. And they push you and say whatever they like cause you are alone. Nobody helps you. But sometimes... sometimes... can somebody come and help you, so they say come and help you, you go toward straight... and maybe somebody else will help you, maybe can put you to where you are supposed to be. And then after, you thank her. You say no, thanks for helping me.

Illana: How does a situation like that get resolved? If no one is there to help you, how is the situation like that resolved. So for example, as you said, you are walking and some guys try to speak to you and you ignore them, you say, "Oh, so you think you're smart. You think you are a gift." And then you continue to ignore them and they come to you and they start pushing as you said.

Bontle: Sometimes when they push me, I come rude. And I say, "No, leave me alone." And talk to them. So, leave me alone. If you don't want a hard time, leave me alone. I'm going to go to the police station and tell the police what you have doing to me, even although I don't know your names.

Illana: And does that usually stop? Stop them... their behavior?

Bontle: Sometimes they stop. Sometimes they follow until you enter that junction where you are staying at. Then they say okay, she's staying here. Alright. If the next day we are calling her, she's doing the same thing, we are going to do something that is going to hurt her. So if the following say, they follow me and then they say that I say hello, they're not to look at them. I say hello. Then I go. Then they'll never follow me again. (Bontle)

Bontle has been harassed to the extent that her perpetrators have followed her home and noted her place of residence. At Township School, it seems the sexual harassment is persistent and perpetual:

Nononofo: And some of them, they come to you and tell you that...uhh... I like you. You know what? I'm not going to listen to you... that liking stuff. They don't

understand... they'll always come to you. Always... all the time... they'll come to you. If you tell them, good person, I don't want to see you, they will always come to you, even though you don't want to talk to them.

Illana: When do they stop?

Nonofo: They are never stopping.

Illana: They are never stopping?

Nonofo: They are never stopping.

Illana: Is it maybe the same one or two boys or is everyday it's a different boy or?

Nonofo: Sometimes... it's... it's different boys all the time, but they keep coming back. Always. They keep coming back.

It would seem that girls are preyed upon. Nonofo attempts to avoid harassment by running, hiding (at times using an umbrella to shield her identity), and changing where she catches her taxi home.

Whiteness as Property

Having established that learners travel great distances to access education, and this travel exposes them to varying levels of individual violence, including robbery, harassment, and physical assault, why then do learners continue to attend schools far from their homes? And why do parents continue to send their children to schools far from their home communities knowing the potential harm and certainly the stresses associated with these commutes? Perhaps the obvious response would be that parents and learners do so to access better educational opportunities. This argument may assert that the schools in many learners' township communities are subpar to those schools in town and affluent suburbs due to apartheid's decades of unequal investment and development in schools, privileging the facilities, materials, and teacher training in white schools to those schools serving Indian, Coloured, and African learners. This argument

might then suggest that both learners and their parents weigh the risk of experiencing violence against the benefits of access to quality education, do a cost-benefit analysis, and decide that the benefits of a quality education far outweigh the risks involved in the commute.

But are the former Model C schools actually better than the former DET schools in the townships? Fiske and Ladd (2004) assert that apartheid's "legacy to education is the poor quality of schools" as its "educational policies systematically deprived black schools of resources in virtually all areas, from textbooks to toilets" (p. 55). Fiske and Ladd identify school facilities and qualified teachers as the "two fundamental prerequisites for quality education" that were "hardest hit" (p. 55). There has been a significant shift in population in these former Model-C schools. Certainly, many of the former Model C Schools in town and in the older suburbs are no longer white. In fact, while the teaching staff may still be white or in the case of former HOR and HOD, Coloured and Indian, many of these schools' populations are predominately Black and Coloured. Let us now return to Critical Race Theory to assist us in making sense of learners exposing themselves to violence in exchange for attending schools that are perceived as better. In particular, let us use Ladson-Billings and Tate's notion of whiteness as property to help us in the analysis.

In "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education" (1995) Ladson-Billings and Tate argue that "U.S. society is based on property rights", not civil or human rights as is commonly perceived (p. 52). Ladson-Billings and Tate argue that:

The grand narrative of U.S. history is replete with tensions and struggles over property in its various forms. From the removal of Indians (and later Japanese Americans) from the land, to military conquest of the Mexicans to the

construction of Africans as property, the ability to define, possess, and own property has been a central feature of power in America. (p. 53)

They continue on to discuss how property rights relate to education in implicit and explicit ways offering up the “simple equation” of “ ‘better’ property” equals “ ‘better’ schools” (p.53). This equation dictates the richness and vastness of curricula which in turn represents a form of “intellectual property”:

The availability of “rich” (or enriched) intellectual property delimits what is now called “opportunity to learn”—the presumption that along with providing educational “standards” that detail what students should know and be able to do, they must be undergirded by “real” property, that is, science labs, computers and other state-of-the-art technologies, appropriately certified and prepared teachers. (p.54)

Like in the U.S., the equation of better property equals better school is a dominant narrative in South Africa. Mbembe examines the development of Johannesburg and offers an analysis conjoining space, race, and property. Mbembe writes:

It is by now a commonplace to assert that the city of Johannesburg grew in connection with both the forces and relations of production. Less well understood is how relations of race here became, in and of itself, both a force of production and a relation of production. As such, race directly gave rise to the space Johannesburg would become, its peculiarities, contours, and form. Space became both a social and a racial relationship, one that was additionally inherent to the notion of property. (p. 380)

If Black access to the city has historically been tightly controlled and the city has been historically constructed as an exclusively white and modern space, then accessing the city today is not simply about accessing the property resources of the city, but rather accessing whiteness. Souiden (2007) captures this notion:

For African children, the act of going to schools outside their townships is both a break with and an acknowledgement of their apartheid subjectivities. In leaving their township schools, they leave behind Bantu Education with the hopes of a better education in previously white or coloured schools. The process of leaving is decisive. According to Gaganakis (1981:87), it separates the young people

culturally and spatially from those with whom they grow up. (Soudien, 2007, p. 107)

In rejecting the schooling opportunities within the townships, Black learners are rejecting circumscribed identities. They are shedding their “apartheid subjectivities”. As Fattar (2008) asserts:

The community school, the one nearby, around the corner, whether in the suburb, the inner city, or the township has taken on a repelling popular image, shunned by those who live in its immediate surrounds. (p. 2)

In repelling and shunning the community school, Black learners are repelling and shunning their apartheid identities.

Accessing white teachers in former Model C schools is very much a part of the better property, better schools equation. Today, the perceived value of a teacher is closely related to his/her racial identity. The teacher her/himself has become the intellectual property that is highly sought after. Special School’s Principal, Mr. Hendricks, speaks to this notion:

The urban schools...uhh...the...most...now I have to be very careful of what I say, but I am going to say it...most of the schools that are considered to be good, those that are getting good results have still a very huge...uhhh...percentage of white educators. Although not entirely white, but...uhhh...large percentage of white educators. And of course the learners are all mixed: white, Black, whatever colour you want them to be—they’re mixed. Umm...but the traditionally...and I have told you exactly what the Model C schools are...those schools are still majorly the teachers are white. And the learners are increasingly becoming Black. So, it’s not, as I said, that that uncommon to be in that...in that ratio.

As Mr. Hendricks illustrates here, the good schools are those schools that have a majority white teaching staff. Of course, then the unstated perception is that the bad schools have majority non-white teachers. And the non-white teachers are located in the schools in the townships. Special School’s Mrs. Van de Plank observes:

Schools in town and I am talking about schools in Johannesburg now ... let's call them...they were formally called the former Model C schools, which used to be former white schools are very attractive to the Black students. Now, the government has ruled if your parent work or you stay in the area of the school, you are like on the A-list to get into that school. So, many learners even though they might live in Soweto, if their parent lives for instance, works in Greenside, that child can go to Greenside High. Of course you can also go...if it...if he doesn't work or stay there, but then they have to give preference to the learners' who parents live and work in that area. And you'll speak to the children about that... in the townships, there's quite some rivalry between the learners that go to school in townships and those that go to the schools in town, the former Model C schools. They're actually called the Model C children. Just yesterday one of the girls explained to me. I said to them, "It's so hot. Why do you wear jerseys?" So she said, "Mam, you wouldn't understand. This is like an unwritten rule. If you go to a Model C school, you never just wear a shirt and a tie. You have to wear either a blazer or a jersey." It's like a status symbol, you see? So...there's quite a lot of rivalry between the children who actually go to school in the townships and those who come to school in town. And I think that is one of the reason so... wherever your parent work or wherever you can get a vacancy in school in town, you...you try and go to school in town because traditionally the education level in town is of a higher standard than the education level of the schools in the townships.

School uniforms become the outward expression of "apartheid subjectivities". The blazer and jersey symbolize access to white intellectual property, the *post*-apartheid subjectivity.

Those without blazers and jerseys represent apartheid subjectivities. In this post-apartheid era anyone who has not shed his/her apartheid identity is constructed as deficient.

Fataar offers useful language to help us to better understand this property equals better schools equation. In writing about Cape Town, Fataar frames the daily migrations from townships to towns in terms of aspiration. Returning to Bouillon's concept of oppositional axis in which the center opposes the periphery and the city is constructed contrary to the township, Fataar suggests that the city opposes the township in that the city is constructed as aspirant and the township as anti-aspirant. The township is read in opposition to the city; the township being of little worth in "cultivating the necessary

aspirant dispositions that will allow entry into formal middle class employment and lifestyles” (p. 3). Fataar asserts:

Read negatively, the township schools can be regarded as social reproduction incubators that entrap young people in place. Unlike those children who migrate to city schools, township school children are stuck in the township, and the schools play a deficit role, one of lack, in this reproduction process. It is what these schools are not doing that define their subjectivity as poor performing schools who are unable to make the discourse of the city beyond the township available to their students. Township students do not have the urban imagination and requisite literacies to access the city’s educational, occupational and leisure spaces, having developed limited repertoires in the place of the township and its schools. (p. 14-15)

I will return to Fataar’s notion of aspirant dispositions in the forthcoming analysis chapters. I will argue that it is the absence of aspirations in Township School learners that I find most troubling. I will call on Critical Feminist Legal Studies’ notion of “spirit injury” to argue that the ultimate violence taking place in schools in Johannesburg today is the daily assault on learners’ spirits. This is evidence in the truncating of desire lines in which Township School learners seem to be unable to access the physical and material resources of the city, and the way in which these learners talk about their aspirations as compared to the way Special School and Christian School learners talk about theirs.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored the articulation points between structural violence and interpersonal violence. I argued that the tremendous daily movement of learners from their home communities to their schooling communities is in itself violent; and that these commutes expose learners to varying kinds and levels of interpersonal violence that are raced, classed, and gendered. I asserted that:

- 1.) All learners are exposed to individual violence during their commute;

- 2.) A learner's mode of transport mediates his/ her exposure to violence, and the mode of transport a learner's family can afford is related to his/her class position;
- 3.) In addition to the personal theft that all learners experience, female learners are exposed to verbal and physical harassment and assault.

In my final analysis, I returned to the concepts of oppositional axes and desire lines and called on Critical Race Theory's whiteness as property to frame a discussion on why learners expose themselves to individual violence in their daily commutes. In the next chapter I will explore the interactions between the schools and their communities.

Chapter 7: School- Community Interaction

The crime rate in our country impacts a lot on the school, the children at the school... the children. So... the crime rate is in the community. The community builds the child. So in some way... if there's violence in the community, the child is going to bring it everywhere he goes, so it's gonna come to school somehow. (Noxolo, Grade 11, Special School)

Our school is in [this neighborhood] and [this neighborhood] is quite dangerous. It's quite dangerous. At the same time, it's all about... firstly... it has to start from the students in the school. Cause if... if... if your school... if inside the school, you guys are violent, then violence will move from outside to inside. It comes.... some things, someone, somehow ... something that is out there and someone brings it to school, so it all begins about... where... so, the school for instance, what do they do? It's like... when you build a house, the foundation first. (Tebello, Grade 11, Christian School)

They come here [from outside] and do corrupt things here in the school yard which is not right... And the principal told us... all of the school that, "I'm loving you, but you, you're not having the respect. And I am showing you that I have the respect to protect you, but... there's no change in the school. (Bontle, Grade 11, Township School)

In the Johannesburg Context Chapter we looked at the violence of social engineering in the city. We then explored how the historical legacy of the social-spatial set-up of the city continues to have implications for how learners are experiencing violence in and in-transit to schools today in the Movement of Learners Chapter. We have seen that travel to and from school itself is structurally violent and we have seen how the kinds and intensities of individual violence a learner might experience during this movement are determined by a learner's gender and socio-economic position. Building on their socioecological model, captured in the literature review, Benbenishty and Astor (2005) submit the martroyshka doll theory of school violence. The martroyshka doll theory offers the concept of nested layers in which individual students are nested within classes, "classes within schools, schools within neighborhoods, and neighborhoods within

societies and cultures” (Benbenishty and Astor, 2005, p.113), and that victimization occurs within these nested contexts simultaneously.

How you enter a school’s premises can offer insight into how a school functions within its larger community. One enters Township School from a trash-strewn dirt road. Depending on the hour in which you visit the school, the main gate may be chained and locked. To bring your car into the car park, you must wait for one of the support staff members to unlock the gate for you. If you are fortunate, one of the general assistants will be nearby and unlock and open the gate for you. If your timing is bad, you have to honk and get the attention of an assistant. While you are waiting to gain access, you are greeted by the side of the administrative building with large red painted letters reading “HIV Kills. My friend with HIV is Still My Friend.” Above this script, close to the top of the wall, are two floating condoms, one blue and one green.

Entering Special School is a very different experience. As you drive down the residential road with neat squares of fortified homes typical of Johannesburg, you see a number of the homes being expanded and renovated, perhaps to accommodate the influx of Indian families. You also see private security vehicles patrolling the neighborhood. At the end of the residential street sits the campus of Special School. The perimeter of the school is lined by a large fence. If you are arriving by car, you pull up to a small structure housing a security guard. You announce yourself and your business at the school. Your license plate number is recorded and you are allowed into the car park. If you are entering by foot, you pass through a secured gate right into a beautiful rose garden.

You begin entering the Christian School premises at a street junction. The school is sprawled across half a residential street with two converted residential single family homes housing the lower primary and upper primary, and a two story apartment block housing the secondary school. Parking is on the street in front of the secondary school building and gaining access to the building requires you to announce yourself and your business into an intercom.

Each of the three schools functions within its larger community in three very different ways. Two of the schools, Township School and Christian School, seem to function as part of the community; whereas Special School seems to function apart from the community. The way the school interacts with the community can be traced to the school's mandate or mission and its particular history. Both Christian School and Special School were established after apartheid had been dismantled. Township School was initially established in the middle of the liberal segregationist period and then moved to its current location at the beginning of Bantu Education in the 1960s at the behest of the apartheid social engineering policies. Township School has a long history of political and criminal violence. The school's mandate seems to impact the permeability of the border between school and community. Township's borders are porous facilitating a free flow of people, ideas, illicit substances, weapons, and crime. Special School's borders are very thick and function to insulate (maybe even separate learners) from their communities and inculcate learners with certain values to prepare them for the upper middle class. Christian School's borders are porous, but seem to have a filtering function that allows for the school to select what aspect of the community will come in and what will be left out. Additionally, Christian School is explicit in its humanitarian mission

serving marginalized learners who would not otherwise be offered such educational opportunities.

Township School

It's the community we are living in... They [the members of the community] are the ones encouraging violence to take place. (Mr. Mokhwesana, history teacher)

Township School is firmly nested within its larger community. To understand the interaction occurring today between school and community it is important to understand the role township schools played in the resistance movement under apartheid. In the 70s and 80s schools in urban townships established themselves as centers of resistance to apartheid. Township schools became sites of political contestation. It is this historical fluid relationship between school and community that Township School has inherited. The historical legacy of the school as violent extension of the community coupled with the limited social cohesion, to be explored in the next chapter, has contributed to today's violence in Township School. With a less cohesive social network within the school, learners seem to be more connected to the social networks embedded in the community outside of school. The borders between the school and the community, both physically and symbolically, are fluid. Learners and community members flow freely back and forth through its gates and fences. Many of the learners have not attended school for a year before returning to Township School. Most of the learners have strong associations with non-students. Learners provide non-students with access to the school.

Students

In the 1930s Township School was located in a township in another part of the greater Johannesburg area. The school initially had a mixed student population of both African and Coloured learners. By the early 1960s the integrated communities in that

part of town were relocated: the Coloured population relocated to one part of the Johannesburg area and the Black population to its current location. Today Township's population of almost five hundred learners is all Black. Ten years ago the student population was three times the amount. One of the reasons offered for the depletion in numbers is the demolition of a nearby informal settlement several years ago. The principal estimates that 85 percent of the learners come from the 'zones' surrounding the school. The remaining 15 percent come from neighborhoods further afield. A "handful" (Mr. Alwayhi) of learners commute from the city center and where they live with their parents who want to be close to their jobs. These parents cannot afford the school fees associated with the schools near the communities in which they live and work, so children are sent to Township where the school fee is R120 per annum. With school fees so low, Township operates almost exclusively on the state subsidies it receives. The majority of Township learners is poor and comes from households headed by grandparents on fixed incomes. These grandparents live on pensions and with are unable to pay even Township's inexpensive school fees:

Only about 30 percent pay the school fees [R120 per year]. Because 80 percent of learners from surrounding areas predominately are coming from homes where the head of the family is the grandparent. Again, I will say 90 percent of the cases, the grandmother and the family survives on her pension. Poverty is rife. I do have children who come from child-headed families. I do have learners also where there is no grandparent. There's about four or five children in the family. And the eldest one who may be in Grade 11 is sort of the head of the family. (Mr. Alwayhi)

The majority of the school's learners enter the school in Grade 10. The school's narrow course offerings prevent the school from attracting local students who leave primary, looking for a high school in which to start Grade 8. This relatively late enrollment seems to have a deleterious effect on the academic preparedness of the learners. According to

Mr. Alwayhi, the school principal, the school attracts Grade 10 learners who are returning to school after having dropped out from other schools due to significant disciplinary issues or pregnancy, or who have come from rural areas with limited “learning skills.

Teachers

Due to steadily decreasing learner numbers, the school’s staff currently has 32 teachers, down from 55 teachers in the late 1990s. Of the 32 members of staff the majority grew up in the neighborhoods surrounding Township. Some of the staff even graduated from Township themselves. Support staffer, Maureen, observes:

Bo⁴⁶ Dr. Mabaso... bo-... they grow here at Township... And so we have teachers... Now we want to... these kids... we want to see these kids to become like these teachers and the other stars when they were here at Township before.

The Vice Principal matriculated from Township School in the early 70s before going to a two-year teacher training college. He returned after graduating from teacher training college where he took up his first teaching post under Bantu education. Ms. Ranamune has taught at Township School for over thirty years. She grew up in the neighborhood and matriculated from Township School in the early 70s along with the vice principal. After completing two years at a teacher training college, Ms. Ranamune returned to her alma mater to teach. Ms. Morapedi, who has been teaching at Township School for over twenty years, did not matriculate from Township, but from another school in another part of the same township. Mr. Mokhwesana, who has been teaching at Township since the early 90s, also grew up in the neighborhood surrounding Township but matriculated from a different high school. The teachers are very much connected to the community and though many of them have since moved away, they still feel very much connected to the

⁴⁶ “Bo” is a Swana/ Sotho prefix attached to a person that indicates an association with a larger peer group. So when Maureen says, “Bo Dr. Mabaso she is speaking of Mr. Mabaso the members of staff who are a part of his peer group. Though Maureen calls Mr. Mabaso “Doctor”, Mr. Mabaso has not received a Ph.D.

community. This connection to the community manifests itself in a deep nostalgia for the good old days that is explored in greater depth in the School Culture chapter.

Curriculum

Prior to democracy, Township High School was a comprehensive high school offering both academic and technical courses. Today the curriculum offered is much narrower. The principal believes that Township is at a disadvantage in attracting graduating Grade 7 learners from local primary schools into the Grade 8 classes because of the lack of course offerings. The steady drop in enrollment and the narrowing of the curriculum seem to be locked into a cyclical downward slide. As a result of the shrinking numbers of learners, the school can no longer offer certain courses; for example, Physical Sciences. Additionally, Township School has eliminated all extracurricular activities⁴⁷. The lack of course offerings has meant that learners who want to take courses that are no longer offered at Township School may go to other schools with more course offerings.

The proximity of schools within walking distance of Township School is another possible reason for low enrollment: with so many other schools, learners have many options besides Township. There is another high school located very near Township which is oversubscribed, and several more schools are in walking distance. This conglomeration of high schools in near proximity to one another is a legacy of apartheid policies which intended to keep the different African language groups in separate neighborhood enclaves and at separate schools⁴⁸. Township's shrinking population is also attributed to the poor Matric pass rates. A school's Matric pass rates are

⁴⁷ The reason for the elimination of extracurricular activities is uncertain. Is it due to lack of funding, lack of interest on the part of the learner, or due to the emphasis on academics only?

⁴⁸ According to Mr. Alwayhi, these schools are currently negotiating a system where each school would offer only one indigenous language and a specialized curriculum in an effort to more evenly distribute the numbers.

instrumental in attracting learners to its student body. The 2006 Matric results for 2005 were at an all time low at 32 percent. Mr. Alwayhi also believes that the teachers are not adequately trained to effectively implement the new curriculum.

History of Political Violence

Mr. Mokhwesana offers another perspective on Township's inability to attract learners. He suggests that it is the school's history of political and criminal violence that still resonates today:

The violence that is associated with the school in the past has also impacted negatively on this school now... because of now... even today some parents or some community members, they are not comfortable to bring their learners here because they still think of those learners who are very disruptive... In terms of what the people know and what is practically happening now. Some people are still not yet comfortable to send their learners here. Because there is still that myth around... the school that it is predominately a violent school, whereas things have changed. You know? The violence associated with the school in the past has also impacted negatively on this school now... because of now... even today, some parents or some community members, they are not comfortable to bring their learners here because they still think of those learners who are very disruptive.
(Mr. Mokhwesana)

Township School thrived, producing excellent academic results until the 1976 Soweto uprisings. After the 1976 uprising the school became a "center point" for political activities. During the eighties the political situation "affected the school terribly... not in... only in terms of curriculum, but delivery and in terms of learner discipline and educator discipline, but also in the fact that the school became... the infrastructure was damaged" (Mr. Alwayhi). Township School is not unique. Many township schools were sites of political contestation and violence.

Students began organizing in the early 1960s as the apartheid government was becoming more and more repressive. Urban high schools and black universities, located in faraway Bantustans, became sites for organized resistance. High schools and

universities played host to a number of political organizations opposed to the apartheid regime, many of which were part of the larger Black Consciousness movement. Perhaps most vocal of these high school organizations was the South African Students Movement (SASM). Founded in 1968 as the African Students Movement, SASM committed itself to building a national movement of high school students to collaborate with black universities' Black Consciousness organizations, including the South African Students' Organization (SASO). One of the founders of the Black consciousness movement, Steve Biko (1978), defined Black Consciousness as "the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their operation—the blackness of their skin—and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude" (p.49). Black consciousness was no longer interested in reforming the system; instead, the movement was concerned with transforming the system in pursuit of liberation. Fiske and Ladd (2004) describe the black consciousness movement in this way:

Black consciousness had its most important political impact in the schools where numerous black university graduates steeped in this philosophy took up teaching posts. The South African Students Movement (SASM), based in the heart of Soweto; organized protests against practices such as interschool music competitions, which leaders charged were disruptive of educational activities, and against the general inadequacy of what government called "Bantu Education". The uprisings, which involved attacks on administration buildings, vehicles, beer halls, and liquor stores, continued through the end of 1977 and led to loss of more than 1,000 lives. (p.31)

Mr. Mokhwesana's recollection of his own recruitment in the 1990s echoes the recruitment tradition of the 1970s:

Mr. Mokhwesana: The old principal... persuaded me. Please we need your help here because we had a large number of learners. And by then, you know, History teachers were needed because of what was going on all around in the township. Because students were really highly involved in politics. So, they really needed

somebody who would be in their age group and try to demobilize them educationally.⁴⁹ Yeah.

Illana: To demobilize them educationally?

Mr. Mokhwesana: Yeah.

Illana: So that they were less political, more academic? What do you mean by...

Mr. Mokhwesana: Ehhh... meaning that now to change their focus... in to... not being trusted in educational matters because you know during those days there were those who were saying liberation first, education later. You know? And there was a lot of chaos and violence.

History of Criminal Violence

The political violence of the 1970s and 1980s inevitably seems to be part and parcel of discussions about criminal violence. For Township teachers, the nexus between political violence and criminal violence is clear, as Ms. Nkuna observes:

But when we had...even that group because we had a number of learners. All the classes were full. There was no space. We had about two thousand learners. Right. Ehh... and this school was regarded as the base of... they used to call them comrades. You know? Yeah, this [these] boys. Hooligans and what have you. In the name of the struggle. Right? So this school it used to be like a base. So at any time thugs from other schools would come here [*inaudible*]. They would dismiss the school. At 9 o'clock, 10 o'clock it's schools out. But, believe you me, in the very same school we used to produce 80, 90 percent pass of matriculants. We had learners who were determined, who knew what they wanted, but now [claps] I don't know what's... what's happening. It has changed.

Later on in the interview the conversation returns to the school climate in the 1980s:

Illana: So you said when you first started teaching here, it was in the 80s...

Ms. Nkuna: ...Jah...

Illana: Mid 80s.

Ms. Nkuna: Jah. Eighty - _____. Jah.

Illana: And you said there were many hooligans here.

⁴⁹ High school students used to be much older than they are today. Students used to be in their early 20s, as opposed to today. Learners today tend to be in their late teens.

Ms. Nkuna: Yes. Yes.

Illana: They called themselves comrades.

Ms. Nkuna: Yeah, comrades. You know? Fighting for the name of the struggle.

Illana: But they were not fighting for the name of the struggle?

Ms. Nkuna: No, all they were doing was hooliganism. You know? Beating people. Destroying property, you know? People's property. And if one of them dies they go up there and take any car that is coming. They tell you get out. They're taking the car. Or they take you to where we want to go to. Rob people. You know? So, this was their base. They meet and sing and do all those things. You know? And they were saying that it was crime prevention, you know?

Illana: They called it crime prevention?

Ms. Nkuna: Jah. Jah. Somewhere where there is talking. Then they will go to these taverns. You know? Then drink the beer. Drink beer. You know? They would do the opposite and they were feared by everybody. And they were even... they were used to fight the police and some of them were cop killers.

For Ms. Nkuna, those who claimed to be comrades in the struggle were hooligans in disguise⁵⁰. Ms. Morapedi and Ms. Ranamune share Ms. Nkuna's perspective. They recall the turbulence of the 80s when the school was a site of crime and death:

Ms. Morapedi: At least it's much better. You used to see corpses living in the [*inaudible*] in the classes. And we were never counseled to that. After... after the police came. They removed the corpse. We went to class. As if...

Ms. Ranamune: As usual...

Ms. Morapedi: As if nothing happened.

Ms. Ranamune: Until today no one came and said, Ooh, a boy was killed at the point. That point. In the school yard.

Illana: This year?

⁵⁰ Ms. Nkuna extends the hooliganism of the 80s youth to today's leadership: "If you go back to the history of this person, he's one of those very active destroying in '82, '83. So, no wonder somewhere in life we find ourselves in this mess because we are still governed by some of these people who are now directors, you know, during those days. Who were just fighting, but didn't know what they were fighting for" (p. 17).

Ms. Ranamune: In the schoolyard.

Ms. Morapedi: [*Inaudible.*] Burnt to death. By the following day, we went to class and teach the very people who did that.

Illana: When did that happen? In the 80s.

Ms. Morapedi: Yes, in the 80s.

Illana: He was burned because of political or gangsters? Political activities or was it gangsterism?

Ms. Ranamune: It was gangsterism.

Ms. Morapedi: Jah.

Ms. Ranamune: It was gangsterism.

Ms. Morapedi and Ms. Ranamune seem to trace a change in the nature of “political violence” in schools. In the 1980s they begin to see the introduction of guns into the schools:

Ms. Ranamune: Round about the 80s we started seeing... late 80s... we started seeing guns in Township High School because of the matabasas...

Ms. Morapedi: The gangsters.

Ms. Ranamune: The gangsters. Matabasa and that. So the boys from our schools were targeted. These boys...

Ms. Morapedi: These boys were thugs.

Ms. Ranamune: Yeah. These boys were very violent. These gangsters... and these boys said would really take upon them. And they used to fight and that is how at that time they have to get guns. How I don't know? But they used to fight with this. And then someone would die. Either one of them or the... the... one of the... the gangsters (Ms. Ranamune & Ms. Morapedi).

Ms. Morapedi and Ms. Ranamune's observations of the introduction of guns into

Township School are supported by Palmery et al. (2003) and Terreblanche (2002).

Palmery et al. (2003) points to the Truth and Reconciliation Committees' testimonies

revealing the role the apartheid state played in sponsoring criminal activities in an effort to destabilize the resistance:

The line between antisocial criminal youth violence and the socially functional violence associated with political resistance during the 1970s and 1980s is less clear-cut than is portrayed in public discourse on crime” (Palmary et.al, 2003, p.115). In fact, evidence from the TRC suggests the apartheid state “actively sponsored and supported criminal gangs as a vehicle for destabilizing resistant township communities”. (p.116)

Terreblanche offers a very different explanation for the conflation of criminal and political struggle in township schools. He suggests that the struggle appealed to the masses of disaffected unemployed youth. Terreblanche (2002) writes:

It was only when the struggle—and state attempts to suppress it—intensified from the 1970s onwards that subversive and criminal activities were organised on a large scale by organizations involved with the struggle. The lawlessness of that period created the opportunity for those who had already been marginalised and criminalised by poverty and coercive labour patterns to become involved in organised violence and criminality. By the time the apartheid regime ended, this subculture had become thoroughly entrenched. (p. 402)

Terreblanche (2002) offers the combination of the Land Act, the deterioration of the Bantustans, and influx control as the source for the creation of “a situation of systemic violence that deliberately or inadvertently criminalised many migrant workers” (p.404).

Terreblanche (2002) goes on to assert that:

As the educational levels of urban African youths rose, and their job advancement opportunities were blocked, many opted to make a living from crime. While ‘Bantu education’ was aimed at stabilising the urban situation, its eventual effect was to promote a gang culture and a tradition of violent criminality. It was these urban African youths who were responsible for the Soweto uprising and for the campaign of ‘liberation before education’ in the 1980s. (p.404)

This idea that criminality is caused by oppression and deprivation is not new to the discourse as evidenced in the rhetoric of the liberal segregationists dating back to the 1930s.

This nexus of political and criminal violence continued into the 1990s. Mr.

Mokhwesana continues recalling his first years at Township in the early 90s:

Mr. Mokhwesana: I felt the sooner I get another position, let me go... cause of the way things were, violence was the order of the day. Ehh... people would be brought into the school premises, being assaulted, others being killed.

Illana: On the school premises?

Mr. Mokhwesana: On the school premises. Others would be burned. You know? Due to political influences. Each and every... I could say... after every three months, four months, there would be instances of violence. And... we wouldn't stay at school for the whole entire session before we have been disrupted by criminal activities from learners. You know? It ... it would start outside the school premises. Some learners would run into the school yard. And... you know... it would be... it was so chaotic in a way that in some instances really everybody felt no, we cannot take this anymore because of ...

Illana: Help me to understand this, Mr. Mokhwesana. Is this... around this time... around 199-, is it political violence or criminal violence?

Mr. Mokhwesana: It was political violence mixed up with criminal violence, you know, because of some of the... like... to give you an example... over the weekend, learners would go a certain shebeen, they would fight amongst themselves there after drinking liquor... and to find that now... members of the community... let's say one of our student learners is being reprimanded or being assaulted by a community person for their own private issues. But because of the issue of mob psychology the very same learner would bring the issue to the school yard.

Incidents that began in the greater community during the weekend would be taken to the grounds of Township School during the school week:

They would either entertain the issue, bring it into the school. They would march... go out of the school premises. Go and get the person and only to find that in some instances innocent person would be killed for just for a misunderstanding. Or you will find that now another boy he is having a girlfriend outside. And somebody is in love with that girl again. You know? Instead of them sorting their own issues outside the school premises, the issue will be brought here. You know? So... that's why I am saying some issues were political, some issues were... were... not really educational matters. That I can say. There wasn't a need for them to do that. (Mr. Mokhwesana)

The school seemed to stand in for a criminal justice system. People would be tried, sentenced, and executed on the school premises. Ms. Ranamune and Ms. Morapedi relate another incident that suggests high levels of violence in the 90s:

Ms. Ranamune: She was pointed with a gun in the school yard.

Illana: In the school yard?

Ms. Ranamune: Jah. So after that the police came and then...

Illana: Why did they point a gun at her?

Ms. Ranamune: We don't know. She just went into the office.

Today's Criminal Violence

Since the new dispensation political violence is all but absent at Township School. Instead, criminal violence is the order of the day. The staff and faculty of Township School echo Terreblanche's (2002) assertion about the criminalizing powers of poverty. Mr. Alwayhi speaks to the role poverty plays in criminalizing male learners today:

I spoke to you of the hungry stomach, a lack of finances, unfortunately, that leads to one major headache. And that is the young boys tend towards petty crime. We have had instances where boys have been locked up for hijackings, armed robberies, rape. Presently we have a learner who is on trial for raping a fellow pupil.

Maureen, the cleaner, offers:

Sometimes maybe it is poverty making our school... that's why we try to what we are doing with the gardens. You see? Because it's better we... like, what you can see now... I want the student who is not having money... Maybe a hundred percent of them, they are going to make [*inaudible*]. You understand? Because maybe things are doing like this, they want money. And maybe they go outside and say to the people, let's come into school and sell matiquani, marijuana and what, what. I think sometimes it's the poverty.

Maureen goes on to speak of her own son, who, at 19, is in jail for attempted robbery:

I put food every time in my table for my children. I can do means that my children must have food. Maybe this one is not satisfied with what I am doing because I am staying with them. He doesn't have a father. I understand. But he is taking advantage for me. I tell him to stay there. I stay there. You see? He's still in the police station.

She is at a loss for why her son would attempt a robbery. She tried to take care of him, but perhaps her son's needs were greater than what Maureen could supply. Maureen is a single mother of five children. Mr. Mabaso also speaks of the link between poverty and delinquency:

But as you can see, during breaks when others eat, some don't eat. You see? And that leads to gambling. And what does gambling lead to? Leads to fight. You see? And then what does that do? It also bring in outsiders. Jah. But now since there are certain things that are in place like the monitoring during breaks, the learners don't jump the fence.

Glaser (2000) traces the origin of urban African juvenile delinquency to the mid-1930s. He suggests that the most commonly held belief for the origins of this delinquency is that of social dislocation. Migrant labor depended upon young Black bodies, and these young Black men arrived in the cities to find none of the traditional socialization practices from the rural areas that created "constructive and integrated members of society" (Glaser, 2000, p.22). Instead young black laborers "were exposed to all sorts of "immoral" influences such as crime, prostitution, and irresponsible cinema" (p.22). It was the breakdown of the established generational hierarchy that was causing moral degradation. It is interesting that the arguments of the 1930s are echoed by the Township teachers today in their assertion that the breakdown of the family is the cause of the moral degradation on Township learners. Learners are not receiving the necessary parenting from their parents. Instead, they are being raised by their grandparents who are

assessed as being too old to take proper care of their grandchildren. Ms. Morapedi and

Ms. Ranamune bear witness:

Ms. Morapedi: And most of our learners are staying with their grandparents. The mothers are not there. I don't know what happened to their mothers. Hence... the... the... old ladies normally sleep early. So this kids have a chance to get out of the house knowing that if my grandmother is a sleep she will never wake up. She will wake up in the morning. And they're taking advantage.

Illana: And the fathers?

Ms. Morapedi: Fathers?

Ms. Ranamune: Their fathers?

Ms. Morapedi: Most of the parents are single parents.

Mr. Alwahyi suggests that the lack of parenting has led to substance abuse issues:

I've got a girl in Grade 9 who is pregnant and she is the one principally... I have had others in the past. I may have some in the future. The one thing that comes across is these girls come home from dire poverty. And what they do is they find themselves a boyfriend who is wealthy. Who has a car... whose got money. And... they spend their times in their afternoon. And they give their bodies to these guys so that they can get a bit of food, chips. And that leads to other things like abuse of alcohol, abuse of substances... uhh... unwanted pregnancy. They don't even take time to use a condom. It's fact. And the question that you ask is what happens in the home front. Are there not any limitations set by the parents about their movement? And truly the answer is no.

He continues in assessing the lack of family values among Township learners:

It boils down to family and family values. If a family has got values, this doesn't *inaudible*. If parents are friendly this doesn't happen, really. I may be regarded as being a nerd when I say this, but the parties. The free movement of learners on their own without parental supervision... I don't separate them...after school hours... ready to *inaudible* full of money in the learners' pockets. Both parents at work and leading their own social lives... all creating a monster down here, which one of these days is going to explode.

Mr. Alwayhi offers himself and his wife as examples of strong family values:

Don't use my personal case as an example, but I am giving you a scenario... when my wife and I both married, both of us are graduates. We sat down and considered the fact that one of us will have to remain at home as the parent.

There was a clear implication on that... that our...our social standing financially wouldn't be the same as a couple that are both earning. But that is a sacrifice that you are going to take.

Maureen opines:

Maybe the parents also don't motivate their kids... telling them when you go to school, you must know those people are your mothers and fathers. Because when you leave the school at 8 o'clock you must know that you are going to other mother. You will leave your mother at home; you go to work until three o'clock.

Mr. Mabaso talks about the lack of discipline among learners:

And then sometimes nowadays when we try and reprimand a child which is not yours biologically, that child is saying, "No, you're not my father or mother." You know? And start saying my father died without shouting at me... blah, blah, blah. You see? Because when you reprimand a child the child must understand that he or she is reprimanding. Now, if you don't reprimand that child, and then where are you going to? Yeah. Because order must be there. Without order there is no work... Ahh... ten years ago learners used to be disciplined. And nowadays learners are ill-disciplined because they don't adhere to the rules. They just do as they... at least they know that they cannot be done anything. When you try and discipline them or you when you detain them, they dodge, jump throughout... through the windows.

Mr. Mabaso speaks of today's rights-based policy environment with some frustration:

They have rights, but they don't have responsibilities. And also the family background of the learners also comes into... into play because when learners are not disciplined at home it is difficult to discipline them here at school. You understand? Because in my culture we know that a child start learning good morals and values at home. So, if those are not taught at home and then some... when they come to school they change because they are following their peers. Yeah. Peer pressure.

Mr. Mokhwesana talks about the break-down of the family:

If you don't get a support from home, you know I remember when I have our grade reports on the 13th of July when I asked a mother are you aware that your child is smoking? The mother and the child are smoking together. And the child does not see anything wrong if he smokes in the school yard. And when we talk it's like now you are waging a war now. Because of if the parents allow it at home, who are, you know, to reprimand? You know? And these are some of the things. You know? You'll find that also parents hear... I mean learners hear their parents... they are not staying with their original parents. The majority are staying with grandparents, aunts, and whatever. So when you want to talk with

the real parent, the parent is in Rustenburg. The parent is deceased. You know? The parents are divorced. No, there are a lot of stories. You know?

The breakdown of the family influences parental involvement in the school. Mr.

Alwayhi laments:

Some years ago when our infrastructure was not up and running, when we were still plagued by long grass and so forth and all we had to do was invite the community to join us in a cleaning up program and the community supported us. But, unfortunately, we don't enjoy, what I thought, the same support when it come to people in the community who are parents who are learners at school. When we want parents at school whether for counseling, for interviews, to discuss problems concerning the child, to set up support systems, unfortunately we don't enjoy that type of support. We... I... realize there is a very lackadaisical attitude.

Drugs and Alcohol

Today, drugs and alcohol are very much present inside the school grounds.

Marijuana, known as dagga in the vernacular, seems to be endemic, as is alcohol.

During an interview, Mr. Alwayhi showed me a number of bottles containing alcohol and a sheet of paper holding dagga. Mr. Alwayhi believes the bottles of alcohol have come through the fence. Mr. Mokhwesana concurs, also attributing drugs and alcohol in the school to the porous borders between school and community that allows for easy flow:

The community that we are living in... in some stages they are the ones encouraging violence to take place because we do have the beginning of year, there were learners which we caught even yesterday with dagga. And when we found out where did they get the dagga from, some members around our community, they are selling the kids this dagga.

Maureen shares that within the past five years she has observed an increase in drug and alcohol use:

Maureen: They come with knives, cigarettes, and matiquani... marijuana. You know marijuana? Yeah. They're drinking beers in the school. But the... the students... they take them off. They must bring... they must bring them back.

Illana: Why do you think there is this increase now these days?

Maureen: It's increase because I don't know... maybe our learners... ayy... doing drugs and smoking matiquani and drinking in the school. It's like I saw it here at school.

Illana: Why do you think they are drinking now more because marijuana and alcohol, they have been around for a long time. Many, many years.

Maureen: Heh, I don't know now. Because I...I... I...because this [these] students now maybe they're active... active in other bad things. Yeah. It's what I know.

Illana: Why do you think? Why do you think they are active in bad things?

Maureen: I don't know why they do bad things. Yeah, but they are doing bad things... you see now, the proof is here. Also, the beers... the beers... I can show you the beers. And they were Grade 12. They come with beer, taquani and knives to the school.

Maureen also speaks of a white car she has been observing outside the school next door to Township:

I see the white car everyday...that brought the taquani and drugs. But I am still looking at it. I just look at the time. What time he comes? What time that he is coming? Really, I'm not telling you a joke... It's coming to give the childs inside the gate in the school. Now, what I am going to do. I am having a camera. I am going to shoot them.

Mpho, POWA's social auxiliary worker working with Township School, comments on the sale and use of drugs outside the school:

The other time I was going to the shops five minutes before break I was through that pillar. Then as I was going out of that gate, I saw one boy... I don't know from what school... he was standing there with a pack as if... as if it is a... pack like a tea bag pack. It was whitish inside. And then... maybe... he was... he was waiting for his friends to come and give them these stuff and then the other time I asked my learners do they smoke. They said no, we don't smoke. Or if you give them an essay, if you want to know whether there are drugs in the school, you give them an essay... then... about drugs. They'll tell you... the last time they were telling me that there is somebody... who is... who is selling this drug about four or five Rand per... I don't know per what. So, you know that they are using drugs. If you give them essays about drugs. So this guy I don't know what happened because he was standing there as I came back from the shops he was... he was not there and it was break already. Maybe he was waiting for his friends to deliver whatever.

Daisy says of the drug dealing:

Daisy: This year...they just come in like... loads of them... like now... lunch time... it was like lots of boys coming from outside... holding some things to sell here at school.

Illana: What were they selling? What were they holding?

Daisy: Dagga. Cigarettes. Jah.

Illana: And do you know the boys? I mean are they from the neighborhood? Are they the same boys who come every day? Are they different boys that come?

Daisy: No... like...some of them come every day... yeah... some of them like... it was the first time [seeing] them.

One of the learners interviewed, Michael, is observed by Ms. Ranamune and Ms.

Morapedi to be, “always drunk, always red eyes.” They also comment that he and a number of other boys come back from break with hands smelling of a distinctive scent.

They suspect that he is using more than just dagga. Michael’s classmate, Daisy, comments on Michael’s drug use:

These boys in our class... otherwise... they like... especially like Michael and them. It’s Michael and Lemohang and Tshephiso. Those guys they’re just like... before... it’s 8 o’clock they know that we have to go to another class, but when we’re supposed to go to another class, first go to the toilet and smoke dagga. Essh... That dagga, it smells so bad. Jah.

In my interactions with Michael and his friend, Khotso, of which there were several on several different days, they appeared to be high on something stronger than marijuana.

Isaac identified another drug whose street name is Mmdanda⁵¹ as another favorite of his peers. Danda comes in a pill form and is grounded up and smoked. According to Isaac, Danda makes a person “get tired” and be “weak”. Isaac claims that a few of classmates smoke Danda, though he doesn’t mention their names. Michael says of his drug use:

⁵¹ Neither me nor my colleague, Mpho, could identify the drug. We suspect it is Mandrax as mandrax is a popular drug among poor youth in South Africa.

Michael: From my side. Me, I smoke. Yes, too much... I smoke. [Laughs.] Like when I sleep, I want to smoke first before I sleep. If I don't smoke... ayy... I don't feel... esshh... I don't feel... I don't know what I would say... But yeah, every day I must smoke before I sleep or in the morning... if I don't smoke in the morning, at night or after school, I will smoke. Yes, every day... After school... after school... after I... after smoking I sleep. After I wake up, I smoke again. It's night, I smoke. I sleep. You understand? Yes.

Illana: Do you smoke in the morning?

Michael: Mmm (no). When I'm coming to school, I am not smoking.

Michael goes on to say that he used to smoke dagga at school, but has since quit after being caught smoking near the tennis courts several months back. He was taken to the police station "to make activity"⁵². If he is caught smoking again he will be kicked out of school.

Mr. Mokhwesana suggests that learners are using drugs to self-medicate deeper psychological and socio-emotional issues:

When you go deeper into their problems. Some of their problems are (inaudible) deliberately they are delinquent learners. Some of the learners, they need psychological help. You know? You know? And that's one of the important factors I see from home. There are problems and... and these learners now because of their family background which is not well-directed and adding by the pressure of academic requirements at school, they would now come and try to camouflage everything by this issue of substance abuse. And they think that maybe it will solve. Although it doesn't solve. You know? And... and when a learner is sober when you talk, he is quite... it's as if he is listening to you.

This may be the case with Michael who lives with his grandmother, a pensioner, his mother, and four siblings. Michael talks about the "pressure" he is facing at home:

Michael: Yeah, like when my mother is drunk, Jah... she... she beat on my grandma, you see? Her mom. Yeah. She beat him her when she is drunk. Like one [inaudible] Friday, Saturday I know she will come on Monday or Saturday in the morning she'll go and come at night, 12 o'clock midnight. You see? Making noise, a lot of noise. You see? Sunday in the morning, again. Saturday morning she goes again and comes on Sunday. You see? Sunday go and come on Monday

⁵² Perhaps Michael was charged with possession of drugs or perhaps he was simply processed and released. It is not clear what happened as a result of his visit to the police station.

morning and small kid must wash, must... You see? The uniform. Yes, I must wash it. Yeah, you see? And I don't have time even me on weekends, you see? Yes.

Illana: So you are responsible for taking care of your brothers and sisters?

Michael: Jah, but not... not sometimes you see, when... like you see this Friday she will go, yes. She will come on Saturday. Saturday her go again and come on Sunday.

Illana: So when she goes out you are responsible for watching... even the babies?

Michael: Yes. Even the babies, the small one. Yes.

In addition to drugs and alcohol weapons seem to be an issue at Township School.

Mr. Mokhwesana relates a recent incident where in addition to dagga, he finds a knife in a learner's possession:

Yesterday when we were searching these learners, Illana, I found drugs. I mean dagga there. I found a knife. And when you ask, no, no it's... it's my uncle's knife. What are you doing with their knife here? No, I forgot it in the school bag. You know? That kind of answers that you get.

While I was sitting in Mr. Alwayhi's office, a learner was escorted in by a teacher. The learner had a knife in his hand. He claimed it was for cutting apples, but the size and sharpness of the blade raised some doubts in Mr. Alwayhi's mind.

Harassment and Assault

Harassment and assault on school grounds seems to be a common occurrence.

Learners suggest that the assailants are not learners from the school, but rather, young men in their early twenties from the larger community. Lunchtime, from 11am to 12pm, seems to be the favored time for outsiders to enter school grounds. Outsiders tend to enter school grounds on the side furthest from the administration block and front entrance, near the tennis and netball courts. This area lacks adult supervision as the block of classrooms closest to the far end of the school grounds contain the science

laboratories, but since science is not offered, the labs go unused. Nonofu speaks of her discomfort outside of the classrooms:

When I'm outside, I feel safe when many people are around us. But if there are those boys who are coming from outside, I feel like I'm not so comfortable. I am comfortable, but not that comfortable. I can't say whatever I want to say at any time because when you talk with your friends, they say, "Ay, *wena*⁵³, what are you saying? Dot. Dot. Dot." They say those kinds of things so I feel comfortable when I am in class.

Isaac also remarks on the presence of outsiders and the danger they may pose:

When I'm outside the classroom... because sometimes I like to gamble... and play dice... so sometimes when I win there is [these] ones who maybe...ehh... I should give one rands or two rands to them. If I refuse they want to take it by force. And like... this...and this... outsiders who come from... who come outside... the schools... I don't know whether that person is carrying a knife or what. And if I go and say to him...you are not a student here at Township...so... can you please leave, maybe he will fight with me or what.

Bontle talks about how "appointments" are set up in which learners invite their friends from outside the school to assist them in resolving interpersonal issues:

Before they come to school, they make an appointment [for] [his] friend [to] come. There is someone else I want to solve with you. Cause when I am alone I can't solve this person alone. I want someone to help me to solve this person. And they also come in lunch, they come and do some all kinds of things that are bad to other pupils in the school. They come in and solve them. Then after as we are scared to sometimes call the principal Cause when you call the principal, after school they wait for us and say you, you are the rumor. Why are you telling the principal that we are coming to school at lunch and doing what we are doing? You are a rumor so it's your time to solve you.

Apparently, to solve a person means to beat a person:

Illana: So what do you mean when you say solve you?

Bontle: Okay. I mean [to] say... as they come after school... they say you are a rumor. They're beating us. They pass and they say [to] you we are teaching you a lesson. Don't ever be a rumor and taking...and don't take this program to another person. Cause you're putting yourself in trouble... So we are scared to come and tell the principal because we know after school they stand at the gate or

⁵³ 'Wena' is Sotho/Swana for you.

at the shops waiting for us... waiting for us. They come and beat us. So when we report them it's a problem, ga kena⁵⁴? So we are scared. Nothing we can do.

Reporting the presence of outsiders to teachers and administrators can result in physical assault. Physical assault is not just the purview of girls. Male learners are also being assaulted by boys from outside. Michael relates a story of how he was beaten in the boys' toilets:

Michael: Like that day I tell you I was beaten by three boys. Yes.

Illana: Can you tell us more about that? Can you recall the... the incident?

Michael: Yes, they did come. It was break. It was lunch. I was sitting there with my friends. They come. They tell me shit, and me, I tell them, "Me, don't fuck me around." You see? And all that things. And they jumped. They beat me. I wake... I wake up in [*inaudible*].

Illana: How many jumped you?

Michael: Three.

Illana: Three boys jumped you? And the boys were they your age or?

Michael: No. Not my age. Yes.

Illana: And do you know why they jumped you?

Michael: Ahh... I don't know.

Illana: You had never seen them before.

Michael: Nah, I see them in the where I live. They live in -----.

Thinking that Michael's assault was related to his drug use and alleged drug dealing, I attempted to get Michael to discuss the reason for his assault. Michael revealed only that the boys were angry with him. He reported the incident to the police and the case went to court. Michael returned to court two or three times presumably to pursue the charges, but after the third time he was told he did not need to come again. "They will deal with it," he

⁵⁴ "Ga Kena" is Sesotho/ Setswana for "You see?"

says. According to Daisy, Michael told her that the assault happened in the toilets and the assailants had guns. The toilets seem to be a dangerous place for all. Daisy uses the bathroom only when accompanied by a group of friends:

I feel comfortable wherever I have friends. Like maybe we are in class... Jah... so in break time....eyyy.... I don't feel right because even though you are to go to the toilet, you have to take some friends. Maybe two or three. So that you can go to the toilet because some boys just like come in like that side. They just come in and check if there [are] girls or what.

Rape

Violent masculinity is very much a presence in Township School. Township School has a male learner on trial for rape of another female learner. One day the male learner invited the female learner to his home when his grandmother, his primary guardian, was not home. There he allegedly raped the girl. Sometime later, according to Mr. Alwayhi, the male learner:

Managed to get onto the school premises on the day that he wasn't supposed to be in school when the examinations were in progress. And he forcefully began to remove this girl from the school premises until such time he was observed by educators. We immediately intervened. He threatened to kill the girl. He held her in such a way that... with the one hand he was forcing her away and the other hand he was beating her up physically. The school intervened. The charge was laid of rape. Uhh... he was arrested. He was released on bail.

Maureen, cleaning staff and neighbor to the school says this of the incident:

He go to that girl and he say to that girl, "You, I want you to love me." And that girl because she was afraid she say yes. First time he go, he take this girl. I didn't know for the first time. He go and rape this girl. For the second time... this girl... I called this girl. I asked him what's the *inaudible*. That girl he experienced to me. He tell me that this boy, the first time he raped me and was beating on me and what, what, what. And I said to him now I am intervening into this piece. I am taking this to the principal. I am taking that girl to the principal.

Ms. Ranamune also recalls the incident:

It was during break. And... they... this boy was doing Matric last year. So, I... we don't know whether the girl was the girlfriend. The boy was the boyfriend, but they... we heard from the girl, but no the boy wanted to take her. To rape her

somewhere... somewhere. So the girl did not want to go with him. That was how they were found behind the toilets while the boy was dragging her out, but she (he) couldn't because someone saw the incident and it was reported.

Mr. Mokhwesana's account is similar:

Also we had a case of a Grade 12 learner...ehhh... who allegedly raped a Grade 11 learner. Why? Because this young girl was from... I don't know how to put it... from a rural area... the girl doesn't know many people around the area. And...ehhh... also contributing to that was the young girl would walk long distances to home. You know? And this boy would wait this girl, try to say no, I am going to accompany you home, you know? And he started to being friendship like knowing the girl trusted this boy to allow him accompany him. Later on, no longer a friendship, it's a serious relationship and you know, these boys, they're still young in their minds. No matter their age. Uhh... I mean they don't understand that if a person says no, it's no. You know? Only that we've got a surprise so when the police came in, they wanted this boy to say that he has raped this young girl.

Mr. Mokhwesana offers more back story:

It's like a question of trying to kiss... you know? Or trying to tell this young girl not to stand with other boys. You know? You know? And after school she would be forced to remain with this boy. You know? And... you will find that now some of us were not even aware that some of these instances were happening. You know? Because some of these learners are very secretive. And also because the boy would threaten the... the girl to say if you tell, then something will happen to you. You know?

Daisy also is familiar with the incident:

There is a guy who came like... last year... that side. He just jumped and came and take a girl by force. A girl was like crying like, "Guys, go and call the principal so that the principal can see what's going on here." The guys are like, "No, why? Why? We know that guy. It's a... it's her boyfriend and what." I was like, no, man... this school is like... the other way around. So... it's not safe because of those things are happening.

For Bontle the story of her classmate's rape is all too familiar. Bontle was sexually assaulted by schoolmates when she was a Grade 5 learner at a primary school in another part of the township. Bontle shares her experience:

Those boys... I was attending at the same school with them, but they were in Standard 7. After... I was used to say hello and talking with them, but that day

after school, they called me. It was... we were attending afternoon class because we didn't finish writing the exam. So Mam said that if you're not finished writing Maths, you won't go home. Then we didn't make a crush for that. Then after school, these boys called me by my name. They said Bontle, wait for us. Then I say no, I can't wait for you. Cause I'm not going with you. They said wait for us. I said no, they run after me and they take me. I said where are you taking me? They say no, shut up. They beat me on the way. I said no, leave me alone. They said no we can't leave you alone. They take me to ...where... to that house. They raped me after that.

These two incidents of rape suggest a high degree of fluidity across the border between school and the community. In the case of Bontle, she was followed from school and taken to the home of a male classmate where she was assaulted. In the case of the female learner at Township, the attacker was after school and the attempted abduction took place on school grounds. Bontle's attack, like the alleged rape, suggest a rampant sense of male sexual entitlement. This sexual entitlement may be traced to the larger community's sense of masculinity.

Violent Masculinity

Parkes (2007) asserts that children "may become caught up in discourses of violent masculinity...which has consequences for the ways in which children construct their subjectivities" (p. 403). The consequences of these constructed subjectivities are that women and girls' security is jeopardized as violent masculinity is reinforced and legitimated. Palmary, Rauch, and Simpson's (2003) suggest that black men shape their manhood into a dangerous "collective macho culture that espouse[s] the attainment of male dominance by committing violent acts against young women" (p.115). This phenomenon is not uncommon among:

Societies in transition... [in which] economic success and the social status that it awards men are often insufficient to achieve a strong sense of masculinity. In the absence of being able to fulfill stereotypical roles (such as economic provision) their frustration is turned on women (particularly female partner). (p.111)

Isaac relates a story in which he found the girl he was interested in talking with another guy:

Isaac: That girl was standing with another boy. And like you know when you like someone? So, I went to them... both of them and said, "What's going on there? And the girl say, "Ay, he's my friend." And the boy says, "NnmMm. I'm not [her] friend. I'm [her] boyfriend." Then I said to that girl, "You see now. You are making us fight. And *nya* I can't fight for... I can't fight for a guy because there are many of you." [She] said... and [she] started maybe... talking wrong things about me. So... *nya*... I told that boy, "You see now... this girl is causing us to fight. So, let's beat her up." And the other one refused. Me, I beat her up, but I didn't beat her as if I was fighting with a boy. I slapped [her] twice. And then she cried and....

Illana: Did you slap her hard?

Isaac: Ahh... not that hard. But...it...it made her cry.

Illana: And you slapped her in front of many people?

Isaac: Jah.

Security Measures

In an attempt to make the school a safe place, Township has undertaken a series of security measures including opening a church on the grounds, installing a palisade fence along the perimeter, and conducting student searches for weapons and drugs and alcohol. The principal invited a church group to take up residence in an unused building on school grounds. The former metal-works building housing the church sits in one corner of the school grounds. It is believed that the presence of the church members in that area of the school grounds helps to keep that corner of the grounds secure. In addition, two male members of the church serve as security guards. The church members are occasionally joined by the two general assistants who are responsible for the general

upkeep of the premises. For ZAR150 a month, the church has a facility for daily worship by its members in exchange for security:

When we threw up the program of renovating and preparing the infrastructure we found that if we didn't have a system in place to maintain that, it would be... within a year, it's gone. We had our old... our old metalwork section which was not being used for teaching or learning purposes. We then interacted with a local church called ---. And we invited them to come on board at a very nominal rate. One-hundred and fifty rands a month. But, they provide security after hours. And because they have church services at night, we have [*inaudible*] ... they have church services any two or three members of [their] congregation must be visible on the school premises helping to monitor unauthorized people. So, during the school hours they keep an eye on unwanted person under the command of the principal's office. (Mr. Alwayhi)

Before the church congregation was installed as guardians of the school, the school was crime-ridden:

Ms. Morapedi: Jah. At least the church people managed to neutralize the situation.

Illana: How was it worse before the church?

Ms. Morapedi: Ooooh... they used to be burglars. People were hanging themselves in their... these classes. In the morning when you come, bodies hanging...

Ms. Ranamune: Bodies hanging in the classroom.

Illana: Really?

Ms. Morapedi: Yeahhhh...

Illana: Did you see that with your own eyes?

Ms. Morapedi & Ms. Ranamune: YES!!!

The former metal-works building housing the church sits in one corner of the school grounds. It is believed that the presence of church members in that area of the school grounds helps to keep that corner of the grounds secure. In addition, two male members

of the church serve as security guards. The church members are occasionally joined by the two general assistants who are responsible for the general upkeep and maintenance of the premises. There is some doubt as to the effectiveness of the two church members to secure the grounds. There are allegations by the learners that the security guards are “corrupt”, taking small change in exchange for access:

These people that come from outside the school... they bribe the security so that they can let them inside the school. (Isaac)

Others, like Michael, suggest that the security guards are ineffective at best. He claims that even with security guards, he was still assaulted:

Like I'm a guard, but even they come, they... they beat me and I am a guard. You understand, sister, what I want to say? It's like... they did come and beat me. Like I tell you my story. Yes. It's the same. Even the girls they come, you see? It's the one thing... They... the people who are jumping at our school they beat even girls. Anyone they want to beat, they do it.

Another security measure put in place was the installation of a cement-casted fence, called a palisade fence. Before the fence was installed the school premises was badly vandalized frequently. Mr. Mokhwesana observes:

The issue of vandalism. You know? The school was vandalized. What you see now is a new Township School. In terms of structure. Because of after... those years... you know... the school was in tatters. You know? It was vandalized and...from the learners and also from the violence itself. You know? And after -- -- years back the Department decided that no, this cannot be really an institution of learning in this condition. And that where recommendations were made that this school needs to be upgraded.

The palisade fence was installed along the perimeter of the school grounds after a group of teachers were robbed in the parking lot one day after school:

For how long have we been crying out let them put either the palisade fence or but the Department took time to respond up until one day when we were sitting there, just a group of boys came in and they took out certain guns and some of our cell phones were taken... and you know... we started now to say no, we cannot work in such a condition unless something happens. You know? (Mr. Mokhwesana)

However, since the installation of the fence, a number of breaches have occurred:

You will find that if you look around us we have a concrete palisade fence. The fence was put up initially as a safety and security measure. But, you know, the... the drug dealers... uhh... are very shrewd. Around the school premises they have created gaps which allows them when teachers are in the classroom... when I am busy... to get into the school premises. Hide. For our learners go out to buy. So that is presenting itself, albeit, not to a high degree. But it's there. (Mr. Alwayhi)

Ever since they put in the palisade fence, it is better now... But now due to vandalism, some of the precast wall has been broken. And what happened is now some of the insiders they used to go through in these holes and even some of the learners they go through those holes. It makes us very difficult to monitor continuously when we are busy teaching. You see? It makes it very difficult and it... it... it is a situation where to be safe, for as long as we monitor when we have time, at least we can minimize the threat of violence. You know? But we cannot guarantee and all that we are totally safe. You know? (Mr. Mokhwesana)

There's [these] guys like who come from outside. They come inside and sell something like dagga, *inaudible* [to] these guys. So, I saw some of them, they're holding like knives. You see? So I was like what's going on? Like, you know? I think we have to talk to the principal. Yeah... to tell him that we need ...uh... protection. [At] this school. Especial[ly] that side. Yeah because there [are] hole[s] where they get inside, go outside. Even then they go outside, fetch friends and come inside and do whatever they want to do in the school. (Daisy)

Evidently, the palisade fence does little to prevent unauthorized people, drugs, alcohol, and weapons from entering the school. Searches have been implemented in an attempt to regulate what flows into the school as illustrated by Mr. Alwayhi:

Mr. Alwayhi: Every principal's nightmare is of a violent incident that takes place in the school yard. So, I also have my fair share of concerns. I watch constantly for any scenario that could be volatile and I try... I've tried... sort of to manage that as best as I can... one of the things... one of the systems that I have in place is a stop and search. It's only now the Minister of Education is talking about making a policy, but ... I had this in place for a long time.

Illana: For a couple of years or?

Mr. Alwayhi: Ever since I have become principal. Perhaps in my... in the inner most core of my mind I said to myself I am breaking the law. I never wanted to be regarded as a person who is breaking the law, but I had no other alternative. I

had to have something in place that would make sure there is no weapons at school and so forth.

Maureen shares the principal's concern for personal safety:

Maureen: It can happen. Because you know when someone is standing with a knife. What is he going to do with the knife at school? But now we are making... searching them in the morning.

Illana: Mmmm... do you search all learners or just...

Maureen: All learners are searched.

Illana: Boys and girls?

Maureen: Boys and girls. Yes. In the morning... this morning we found this and...

Illana: All the time or...?

Maureen: All the time now. All the time.

Illana: Every day or just once a week?

Maureen: Everyday. They stand there.

Illana: But how can you search four, almost five hundred students every day?

Maureen: I don't know. Because I get there and they search them. Every day. Since this week.

Illana: Is it?

Maureen: Since this week.

Mr. Alwayhi hopes to implement a policy in the near future in which cars would be searched when driving onto the premises to prevent "unwanted substances" and delivery of firearms. Searching seems to be a popular and viable security measure supported by the teachers:

Ms. Ranamune: I was going to say something which has been said before. That kids should be... when someone comes to school, the person must be searched.

Ms. Morapedi: Or improve our security around the school.

Ms. Ranamune: And it is said if someone searches you, the person is violating your privacy, so that is why I say I am going to say something which was said and it was negated that how are we going to search your personal... eh... handbag or what. We won't be allowed to, so we don't know how the government will help us. Cause that's the only way. Because someone can come with a gun and shoot you and go out if maybe wants you dead.

Ms. Ranamune and Ms. Morapedi critique the current searching policy as being too limited. Currently searches are conducted a close distance away from the front gate. But Ms. Ranamune and Ms. Morapedi believe there is a need to monitor "the sliding doors", the expansive and unmonitored back perimeter of the fence that is expansive and unmonitored. These sliding doors are the preferred entrance and exit to the school for both legal and unauthorized activity.

Community Resources

To address chronic hunger among learners, Township has "married an NGO" (Mr. Alwayhi). One of the primary projects of the NGO is the community garden where "unemployed parents, unemployed youths in the immediate community are able to engage in the vegetable garden" (Mr. Alwayhi). The garden grows beet root, turnips, and a local green called 'morojo'. The harvest is "purposed three ways" (Mr. Alwahi). One third of the harvest goes to feeding indigent learners at the school, another third goes to the members of the NGO, and the last third is sold to buy more seeds.

Special School

It must be a reflection of the community itself that is brought into the schools as well. I mean the fact that we try to provide security, that kind of works from the other end. Coming in late, you know? You try to keep things in control in this area. But it's definitely because of what goes on in the community, what is acceptable apparently to people. (Mrs. Rensburg)

Special School is located in a formerly middle-class Afrikaans inner suburb of Johannesburg. Special School functions in many ways apart from the larger community. The school seems a bit isolated physically from the immediate surrounding residential neighborhood. The grounds are set back a bit from the community so that you can only see the residential neighborhood only from the front entrance. Apart from the front entrance, views of the neighborhood from the rest of the campus are obscured by the classroom blocks, the large playing fields, or trees planted along the perimeter of the fence.

Students

The mandate of the school is to serve economically disadvantaged learners who have shown aptitudes for math and science⁵⁵. Special School's fees are nominal, approximately ZAR 1500, for the quality of education offered. The school receives state subsidies as well as subsidies from its affiliate institution's governing body. Initially the school was founded to specifically serve previously disadvantaged groups, mainly Black, Indian, and Coloured, but during Mr. Hendricks tenure as school principal, the school has broadened its mandate to include poor whites in its definition of economically disadvantaged, of which there are two currently attending Special School. To fill its mandate the school draws from learners from all over the greater Johannesburg metropolitan area:

The school community as I said to you previously is rather different to any other school community in this day. The community is not in the direct immediate vicinity of the school. The community consists of learners that live some close by, some live quite far. So, it's to do with the nature of the school. The school is a focused Science and Math school. We try to attract learners from...from the

⁵⁵ Somewhat similar to magnet schools in the United States.

whole diverse area of the province of Gauteng. And therefore we have many, many learners who live quite far (Mr. Hendricks).

The student population is 70 percent Black, 20 percent Indian, and 10 percent Coloured. Sixty percent of the population is female and 40 percent is male. As the demographics of the neighborhood immediately surrounding the school have shifted over the past several years, the school has begun serving more and more Indian learners. The deputy principal, Mrs. Van de Plank, recalls the first Indian student arriving as a Grade 11 learner and matriculating the following year from Special School in 1998. The current racial and socio-economic composition of the school's immediate and surrounding neighborhoods reflect the general shifting demographics of the city as Mrs. Van de Plank, the school's deputy principal indicates:

I would say that the immediate area of the school are mainly Indian and white people. And then if you move more toward I don't know what that area would be called, but *Name of Street* and what's the other street? If you like move two blocks down, it's very, very multicultural. Very multicultural. And again...yes...so the immediate vicinity is mainly whites and Indian people. But more towards the university...it's totally multicultural... All people. Black people. White people. Indian people. But many Black people I haven't really seen... I mean I can only talk from my observations when I drive to school and from school. And in this immediate area in school I don't see many Black people living here. Yeah. But as I said three blocks from down here, it's totally multicultural.

The deputy principal goes on to point out that most of the Coloured learners come from a community not too far from school. The deputy believes the neighborhoods around the school to be predominately middle class. Few Black learners live in the neighborhoods surrounding the Special School. Most of the Black learners come from the city's two largest townships, Soweto and Alexandra, but a few Black learners come from the far away East Rand township of Thembisa, which is about 40 to 50 kilometers away. A small number of Black learners come from some of the closer in older suburbs.

There seems to be a perception among the learners and a number of the teachers that the Indian student population is not truly economically disadvantaged. Indeed, it is hard to imagine that the incoming Indian students are economically disadvantaged if they can afford to buy homes in the relatively prosperous neighborhoods surrounding the school. Nonetheless, parents are asked to provide bank statements and income statements, including their salary statement. Parents cannot earn more than US \$1000 monthly for their children to qualify for admissions. For the Indian students whose parents' income exceeds US \$1000, special arrangements are made so that the parents pay extra school fees to cover the fees of those students who cannot afford to pay. Mr. Hendricks estimates there are about two or three parents who are in this particular category. The principal concedes that it is difficult to determine who is economically disadvantaged. Despite proof to the contrary, the perception that the Indian learners are more affluent than the Black and Coloured learners perpetuates. Mr. Hendricks addresses this perception:

Well, I don't know. How would... how would... how would I...I don't know. Because supposedly when they apply they have to prove documentation that they are economically disadvantaged, so... Or they're providing me with false information or the perception is wrong. It's one of the two.

The school has a selective admission policy. Learners are asked to take a Math test that has been developed by the school to determine "what they know and what don't know, what they have been taught" (Mr. Hendricks). Additionally, potential learners are given a junior aptitude test that contains ten subtests. This test:

Measures a child's scholastic aptitude. Aptitude meaning the potential a person has, that enables him or her with a given amount of training and practice to reach a certain level of ability. Junior aptitude test also provides an estimated IQ, intelligence quotient. It takes about four and a half to five hours for them to administer that test. (Mr. Hendricks)

From the roughly 400 to 500 Grade 7 learners who apply for admission to the school, the top 100 performers are selected to join the Grade 8 class the following school year. In selecting the top 100 learners for admissions, the school considers the verbal and math aptitude test scores, the results from the school-generated Math test, and to a lesser extent, the candidates' primary school grades. The school does not select learners based on any kind of gender or racial quota: the top performers are selected irrespective of gender or race. Mr. Hendricks acknowledges the selectiveness of the admissions process. He concedes that the selection process is not always successful. At times learners who have been selected to attend have difficulty "coping":

Sometimes we go wrong. We make the wrong choices. And kids are here that shouldn't be here and that's when frustration creeps in and they don't cope with the subject choice. They don't cope with the difficulty of the work. Or maybe just circumstances at home are just of such a nature that there is no support and they don't have the opportunity to...to work and that leaves to frustration and naughty children. (Mr. Hendricks)

This notion of "coping" or failing to cope comes up time and time again in interviews with learners and faculty.

The selection process at Special School suggests a sorting out mechanism which creams the top-performing learners from the entire greater Johannesburg area. There are latent equity issues present in Special School, as in any school that has selective admission. To gain admission to Special School, a learner has to have had a strong academic foundation from primary school. Those students who performed well on the admissions test most likely have attended higher performing primary schools with strong Math programs. Black learners who may have attended the local township primary school would likely not have received the Math skills needed to perform well on the

admissions test. This observation can be substantiated, to a certain extent, by data provided by the learners I interviewed. Most of the Black learners interviewed attended former Model C primary schools in white residential neighborhoods, or as in the case of Nomsa, attended academically rigorous Catholic township schools. This would seem to suggest that the Black learners who attend Special School are lower to middle class or aspirant. At the very least, the Black learners attending Special School have significant cultural capital: they have managed to successfully negotiate access to the better performing primary schools and have historically had the means to pay for transportation to those schools as well as school fees. The aptitude test may also present some insight into equity issues, but since I am unfamiliar with the content of the aptitude test, I cannot comment on the cultural biases that may be present in the instrument.

As mentioned in the Methodology chapter, determining a student's socio-economic status is a challenge. Statistics on income tend to measure households rather than individuals and the composition of household varies over time. Seekings and Natrass (2005) find that studying households is a crude way of analyzing income due to domestic fluidity and in the inequalities in the sharing of resources within households. Unlike the predominant conjugal family (two parents and their children) found in Western societies, in African households:

Descent is patrilineal (even when mothers are unmarried) and kinship is agnatic; households often comprise extended families, including three generations and a wide variety of kin; children are often raised in households separate from those of their biological parents; and marriage is still generally less important than descent (Seekings & Natrass, 2005, p.193).

One of the six Black learners interviewed, Akani, lives in a conjugal family household. The other five Black learners live in a female-headed or extended family households.

Layla, the Indian learner, Vanessa, the white learner, and Evan⁵⁶, the Coloured learner, all live in conjugal family households. Zulu and Sibanda (2006) observe that “Africans... are more likely to live in single-parent households and extended households than Whites, Indians/Asians, and to some extent Coloreds” and “African women are also substantially more likely to head households than women in the other racial groups”⁵⁷ (p.246). For Kagiso and Busuiwe, who live with their grandparents and grandaunt respectively, household arrangements are more a matter of adult supervision than guardianship. That is to say, with parents working long hours or in other parts of the city or province, grandparents offer more care and supervision than parents. Parents are working and contributing to the education costs of the children. Regardless of a Black learner’s particular socio-economic status, all of the learners attended high performing primary schools, and there seems to be a sense of privilege among the Black learners.

Zwanga speaks of his privileged primary education:

Zwanga: [*Name of Affluent Northern Suburb*], where I used to go to my primary...primary school, and you were to ask who speaks their home language fluently, only a couple of children would raise their hands. Rather because we have become...because we have become accustomed to living this white kind of lifestyle. This being cheeseboy⁵⁸ or speaking English type of thing.

Illana: Do you consider yourself a cheeseboy?

Zwanga: I guess the way I lived back in the day with...uhh...going to posh school in the suburbs type of thing. *Name of Affluent Northern Suburb* is like...I don’t know...How can I put it? *Name of Affluent Northern Suburb* is like New York for you guys. But...so...I could say...many people call me that, but I feel it is a very derogatory term to me. I don’t really view myself as a cheeseboy. I am just somebody who has more money than somebody else does.

⁵⁶ Evan actually lives with his mother and step-father.

⁵⁷ Zulu and Sibanda attribute this to the “mobility, residential, and occupational restrictions” of apartheid that restricted migration of women and children to urban areas (p.248). This led to increased capacity in African women to form their own households.

⁵⁸ “Cheeseboy” is a term used to someone whose family has money.

It is difficult to determine if Zwanga's family's financial position would be consistent with the profile of a "cheeseboy", but both his parents are working; his father as a school principal and his mother as a "project manager at a wholesale and retail centre" (Zwanga). Zwanga does mention that one of his parents drives a Mercedes Compressor which would suggest that there is some disposable income in the household. Zwanga appears to be from an upwardly occupationally mobile family. Seekings and Natrass (2005) offer a useful assessment of the changing landscape of the Black middle class since the end of apartheid:

Even as racial discrimination declined in the late apartheid era, inequality remained stubbornly high because of the determinants of inequality had shifted. Whereas it was initially driven by the gap in racial incomes, this situation changed over time as some African workers advanced up the occupational ladder while unemployment increased. By the end of the apartheid period, inequality was being driven increasingly by the growing gap in incomes within the African population as some benefited from upward occupational mobility and rising wages while others found themselves unemployed and increasingly marginalised within the labour market. (p.189)

If learners do not presently come from families with upward occupational mobility, they themselves will soon be members of this privileged group. Learners who graduate from Special School are well-positioned. Noxolo illustrates:

Noxolo: This school is a very good school. Bursaries come to you. You don't go out looking for them. They come to you. All you have to do is work. Just keep focused and work. Everything else comes to you. Everything... mostly... you went to Special School? It's... it's like Special School has been put on this pedestal that very clever children. You now discipline... Jah... things like that.

Illana: Tell me... what are some of the bursaries that past learners have gotten?

Noxolo: Earnest and Young gives bursaries for... for university for Accounting and Price Waterhouse Coopers gives bursaries.

Illana: Full bursaries?

Noxolo: Yeah.

Illana: All expenses...

Noxolo: All expenses paid.

Illana: For... how many years?

Noxolo: For all your years and then when you're done you work for them. So, basically it's like... they pay for your studies and then you are already getting your job. You know? Exactly. So, I think it's... that's been a privilege. And... what was that one? Mmmm... Price Water House Coopers and the Engineering one.

Learners who perform well on the Matric exam are offered full bursaries from large corporations to attend university for four years and then upon graduation from university, graduates are given positions at those corporations. Indeed, learners from Special School have their futures secured.

Teachers

The majority of the staff was "hand-picked" (Mr. Hendricks) when the school opened in the early 1990s:

Teaching staff initially obviously we were very small because we were only...we only had 100 kids. So those first five or six staff were like hand-picked and recruited to come here. And...umm... as the numbers of the learners grew obviously we had to get more staff. So we recruited staff that we knew were hard-working, who were dedicated and who...you know...would deliver the goods. And that's what we went for. (Mr. Hendricks)

One of the first hand-picked teachers, Mrs. van de Merve, says of her desire to teach at Special School:

We started this school, of course before the... new democratic elected government was in place. So, it was a very good... it gave me a very good background for the new South Africa. You know? Working with these kids. And I saw it as my contribution to a better South Africa.

There are approximately 19 teachers at Special School, the majority of whom are white female Afrikaans speakers. The Department of Education funds the majority of teaching positions, but Special School supplements the Department's staff allotment with supplementary funds from its institutional affiliate:

You see in South Africa...our education system works that the number of learner determines the number of teaching posts. So, for example, our 500 learners equal 15 educators. But now if you try and work out a timetable with 15 educators for 500 kids, there's sort of not one free period and nothing works out. So, the governing body of the [*Institution*] in our case funds extra posts. So...in...in...our instance, for example, we have like...or next year we're getting 15 teachers from the department for the first time and we'll probably have six teachers from the governing body. So we'll have a total of 21. (Mr. Hendricks)

Of the 19 teachers, two are white men, two are Black men, and one is an Indian women. The racial make-up of the teaching staff seems to be a sensitive issue among teachers and administrators. In fact, the school is under some considerable pressure from the Education Department to recruit teachers of color. Mr. Hendricks comments:

The staff, it's obviously very pale, it's very white. I am trying really hard to find competent Black teachers that...that can fit into our staff and can deliver the goods. Not a very easy task in the new South Africa. Because... I don't know why...as I said yesterday children don't want to become teachers. They don't like the idea of working as hard as teachers do and earning as little money as teachers earn. So that's a problem, but we are getting sort of...not opposition, but Education Department, the district in which we fall is saying, "Come on guys, look for guys of colour to appoint." So we're trying very hard. At the end of this year, one of the initial members of the staff that started in 199- with me, she's now retiring. So...next year another one will be retiring. So, that gives us an ideal opportunity to look for...for people who can replace them...people of colour.

Because of the history of colonialism and apartheid with its specific mandate to educate Blacks in a manner suitable to its separate and specific economy and the concomitant differentiated curriculum and resource allocation, the training of Black teachers was

subpar to that of whites, Coloureds, and Indians. A quote from Sayed (2004) may speak to this point:

Training provision was driven by the needs of the system as a whole and, as such, was motivated by the specific political and ideological rationale of the apartheid system. It would be fair to characterise the teacher education system under apartheid as a 'system of systems', with different teacher education systems for different racial and ethnic groups. The fragmentation of the teacher education system determined whether individuals were trained, how they were trained, and where they were posted. The supply and demand of teachers was consequently conditioned by the need to maintain racial and ethnic segregation and was not related to an overall national plan. (p. 247)

Finding "qualified" teachers to teach math and science is a challenge for education systems world-wide, but in South Africa even more so. Because of the legacy of apartheid, qualified math and science teachers tend to be white. A number of these qualified white math and science teachers are taking contracts to teach in England and Australia. It is particularly challenging to find qualified Black math and science teachers. As Sayed (2004) points out:

For the black population, educational opportunities were extremely limited, with very few students successfully completing basic education, and even fewer successfully completing secondary schooling. Not only were there limited higher education opportunities, but the curriculum within the secondary school system was usually limited to humanities subjects such as history and religious studies. In this context, the logic of the system resulted in many students enrolling in teacher education training programmes in order to acquire higher educational opportunities. Under apartheid, the black population's higher education options were effectively limited to 'teaching or preaching'. Teacher education was thus a strategic response to the lack of higher educational opportunities for the black population (p. 248).

The older generation of teachers who trained under apartheid would not have the required background, and the younger generation of Blacks with strong math and science backgrounds are going into the more lucrative private sector. When asked if it is

common for schools that have predominately Black learners to have a predominately white teaching staff, Mr. Hendricks replies:

It's common and it's uncommon. It's common...it's...it's...uncommon...sort of uncommon bit...it's uncommon for sort of a rural school because for a rural school most of the learners will be Black and the teachers would be Black. The urban schools ...the...most...now I have to be very careful of what I say, but I am going to say it...most of the schools that are considered to be good, those that are getting good results have still a very huge... uhhh... percentage of white educators. Although not entirely white, but... uhhh...large percentage of white educators. And of course the learners are all mixed: white, Black, whatever colour you want them to be—they're mixed. Umm...but the traditionally...and I have told you exactly what the Model C schools are...those schools are still majorly the teachers are white. And the learners are increasingly becoming Black. So, it's not, as I said, that that uncommon to be in that...in that ratio.

Sekete, Shilubane, and Moila (2001) substantiate Mr. Hendricks' assertion that former Model C schools teaching staff are predominately white and the perception that schools with white teaching staffs are better:

There are no significant changes reported in terms of racial composition of the teaching staff since [former Model C Schools] began to admit learners from different racial backgrounds. The teaching staff is overwhelmingly white (85%) and shows an increasing trend towards whites over the years. The lack of change in the staff complement is in stark contrast to the rapid changes in the race composition of learners. The disjunction between unequal and unchanging staff composition and learner changes is very noticeable. The most worrying finding related to this profile is that the majority of the respondents, including both learners and their parents as well as the educators themselves, do not support the employment of other educators from different racial groups, particularly African (blacks)... This perception about 'black as bad' or 'black as poor in terms of educators and schools needs to be challenged by all stakeholders in education, and an actions to be taken to correct it, as it is deeply rooted. (p. 34)

In a metropolitan area the size of Johannesburg, teachers live in surprisingly close proximity of the school. The majority of teachers I interviewed live within a 30-minute drive of the school. A number lives within a 10-minute drive of the school. Despite the close proximity, few teachers are able to describe the community in which the school is located in any real detail when asked. Most of the teachers could comment only on what

they see along their commuting corridor. One teacher, Mr. Mojapelo says of the school's community:

I don't know it very well cause most of the time I just come to school. I don't... like... go around here. I just... from work... I stay. I always come to school. Yes. And I use one road that comes here.

Another teacher, Mr. Schermerhorn, says of the community in which the school is located:

I am actually very unfamiliar with this community...But what I find is that there is such a vast difference between the people who live in [nearby neighborhood], which is just [a few] kilos from here and the people living here. It seems like this is a much poorer community, whereas [the nearby neighborhood] is more affluent people. But that is my impression... I'm not completely sure if that is actually accurate. It seems if you go down this street toward [Name of neighborhood] you will also find a lot disadvantaged communities and [Name of neighborhood] as well. So... as I said, I can't really give you more information on that. Jaaah... Cause my community where I live is also vastly different from this one.

Mr. deKlerk, who lives within a two minute drive of the school describes the neighborhood as being:

Pretty much like [Name of nearby neighborhood] as well. You see, it's pretty cosmopolitan. Very mixed race...various races live here. It's quite an upcoming area as well. Apart from the main road which is quite dilapidated at this stage, but they are trying to fix that up. If you go further down lovely houses, lovely people staying here. Very arty as well.

But when asked if he feels safe in the neighborhood immediately surrounding the school, Mr. de Klerk says, "I don't actually know this area very well. I mean I drive through, come to school and go back in the afternoon." Special School teachers' lack of familiarity suggests limited interaction with the community immediately surrounding the school. This is very different from the teachers at Township School who are very much connected to the community surrounding the school, having either graduated from the school itself or having grown up there.

Curriculum

Special School has a specialized math and science curriculum that is intended to prepare learners to be fully prepared to enter university immediately upon graduation. The academic program is fixed and consists of six subjects: English (first language), Afrikaans (second language), Mathematics, Science, Accounting, and Economics. All learners take these subjects. Most of the learners write the Matric exam on higher level grades and many complete Matric with university exemptions and distinctions. Special School learners are what the Christian School learner, Mosegi, describes as “the upper class in education”; the “determined people... who can do four higher grade subjects which is not likely for an average person.” Mosegi estimates that 55 percent of learners go “straight from Matric to university”, though the true figure is probably much lower. The Matric pass rate at Special School is 100 percent.

One of the side-effects of a program so intensely focused on academic success is that Special School has very few extracurricular activities. Debate and chorus are the only two clubs offered. Mr. Hendricks says of the academic focus:

When we started the school we felt that because most of the kids travel far from school, that's not going to be our focus. If a child has serious talent or serious interest in becoming an athlete, we recommend and we send them to the junior sport clubs at the university. So we are not into competitive sport. What we do...what we have that's quite good... is we have a choir that practices once or twice a week and has performances and sings. We have chess. But school sport? No, we don't have that. Number one...that's not our mission... I do mention to the learners that I think it's important to...to do some physical exercise to develop holistically as a human being. So, I say...I say to them lots of times. You have got to do something to get rid of your frustrations, you know? Go and put on your running shoes and run around the block. If you go to a gym, go to the gym. But, the school unfortunately doesn't have the... number one...what's the word I'm looking for? Uhhh...we don't have the grounds. We don't have the facilities to provide extracurricular sporting activities. We've also got a very good debating club going and teach...interested in debating. So...jah. That's it.

Contrary to Mr. Hendricks' assertion that the school facility lacked grounds for sports, I observed a sizable playing field, large enough to accommodate soccer matches among other sports. Special School's grounds were luxurious compared to those of Township School with its limited space large enough to accommodate a dilapidated netball/ tennis courts. Christian School with its converted residential flat had no grounds to speak of. Special School learners also make mention of the grounds when they talk about drug and alcohol use later on in this chapter. The lack of extracurricular activities is noted by many of the learners who express displeasure with the lack of opportunity to socialize with their peers in non-academic settings. This is explored in more detail in the School Culture chapter.

The Hidden Curriculum

We make the kids understand right from the word go, from when they arrive here and there's kind of already a tradition of what the environment is like as well, which influences things. (Mrs. Rensburg)

Another perhaps more insidious aspect of Special School's curriculum is its hidden curriculum. Cross, Mkwanazi-Twala, and Klein (1998) write:

In few cases has the public discourse given any attention to what happens inside schools as the complexion of the student body changes. That is, the deafening silences remain on issues of curriculum, staffing policy, assessment of language policies of former white, Coloured or Indian schools. One consequence of this misplaced focus is that while many black students successfully enter white schools, they encounter hostile, anticultural environment in which assumptions are fixed about what constitutes good schooling, appropriate language policy and the like. In the process the damage which these schools inflict on the self-esteem and confidence of children is inestimable. In such schools children learn a powerful not-always-hidden curriculum: that English has status, Zulu not; that good teachers and role models are white; that appropriate history is European; and that failure is something that happens to non-white children. (p.102)

Evan, a Coloured learner, seems to be suggest that some of his Black peers have lost touch with some aspects of their culture:

The Black boys. I mean...it's...it's okay if you were brought up with a different accent or a different pronunciation, but you musn't change yourself to...to...show what...what you want to be or...you can't change now. Like...like...if...if you were brought up in Soweto are you going to talk like you come from Sandton? That's just not right, man. And that's how these boys are. And plus they have a lot of money. And now they want to come...and now they always try to keep themselves too clever. You see? They...they always...it's like they are the top dogs and that's how it's going to be. You see?

History

Special School was founded with the financial support of the private sector in the early 1990s by two individuals associated with a local institution. The founders of the school wanted to provide economically disadvantaged learners with academic potential a “sound secondary education” that would allow learners to go directly into university courses without the need for bridging courses (Mr. Hendricks). The school secured a corporate sponsor who set up an endowment for the school. The school's curriculum would focus on Math and Science, determined to be vitally important, for the future of the country. Mr. Hendricks says of the founding:

[Founders] had a vision of starting a school. And mainly as I said before with those two criteria—academic potential the children should have and initially we looked at the previously disadvantaged group.... So they wanted to start a school that would provide high school learners with a sound secondary education. And when they get to university they don't have to do any bridging courses. That their standard is just fine. That they can move into mainstream and...and...they felt that our country needed maths and science, as you know...those subjects were of vital importance, so we focused on those subjects. And that was the main reason for the origin of the school. We started in a little building in a primary school in [*Name of Neighborhood*], which is about [*Number of*] kilometers away from here, closer to...closer to town. But then as I said...this building was vacated and became available and the [*institution*] negotiated it and we...we fixed it up. They spent a lot of money, you know, fixing up the building with the classrooms.

Mrs. van de Plank says of the closing of the former Model C school:

The white people that used to stay here, their children all grew up and they didn't need to go to school any longer. This school...well... it just shrunk and it's quite a big school. It's three wings here. It used to have over a thousand learners in the original school. So, and then they just closed the school down completely and we were in an area where...it was a small school...it was like a primary school where we were for the first two years of this school. And because we only started out with a Grade 8 group. So, by the time that Grade 8 group came to...they came...they went to Grade 10, we moved here. That was in [Year]. We moved to these premises. Yes.

Interpersonal Violence

Within the past two years Special School has witnessed an increase in interpersonal violence, although most of this violence is petty theft and fighting. A disciplinary committee composed of the principal, parents and educators and chaired by the governing body chairperson is convened when learners have violated the code of conduct. The school produces its own code of conduct, but the National Department of Education provides schools with sanctions. The school has identified "ordinary school offenses" which include late-coming, failure to complete or copying another learner's homework, incorrect uniforms, vandalizing school property, misuse or abuse of cell phones, and gambling. Violations result in being sent to the principal, receiving demerits, detention, etc. Schedule One offenses which include insulting or defaming teachers, public indecency, sexual harassment, possession of pornography and being under the influence of alcohol may result in suspension. Schedule Two offenses, which may include selling or trading exam questions, theft, possession of illegal substances, possession of dangerous weapons, assault or threatening to assault, murder, and rape, result in expulsion⁵⁹. Mrs. Van de Plank says of the increase in disciplinary hearings:

I think in terms of ten years ago at this school where there weren't any disciplinary problems. Children adhered to rules. You...you...basically didn't

⁵⁹ Though expulsion from school is made very difficult under a provision of the South African Schools Act.

even need to have people who are on ground duty during breaks because the children were well-behaved. So, I think discipline is... breaking down in society all together. We've found that in our society there's a sense of recklessness amongst people all over... Until about two years ago if we had one disciplinary hearing a year it would have been a lot. This term alone and I'm talking from since what is it? Middle October, we've had six disciplinary hearings... So it's really escalated a lot...As I said, we've really had very few incidents of violence. This year we had at least two disciplinary hearings regarding fighting on the school grounds. The others we had this term regarded stealing of textbooks...and ...calculators and personal belongings of other learners. And you see the other type of disciplinary hearings we usually have is children either cribbing⁶⁰ during exams with notes and/ or something regarding exams or tests or something.

However, the degrees and levels of violence and discipline issues at Special School are minimal compared to most other schools, especially compared to Township School. Mr. deKlerk shares:

I go to cluster meetings and things like that I am really...when people really start complaining about their schools. For example, there are schools with 45 to 60 kids in the classroom.... And the behavior problems there I can just imagine. Cause I haven't experienced something like that here or at my previous school actually. So...to me that...that is quite something new, you know? So people talk about kids walking into class at nine o'clock in the morning and they're zonked out of their minds. You know? Been smoking dope or alcohol abuse at school. After break they don't come to class again. The verbal abuse of teachers. And I haven't experienced anything like that actually at our school.

The most common type of interpersonal violence at Special School is petty theft.

Theft

Books, calculators, and school bags are most likely stolen from learners. Layla says of theft at school:

Layla: The people around here...only...only some...some people just make it not very nice. Well, they like steal your stuff and everything. That's not the part that is... But Mr. Hendricks did take the matter up, so.

Illana: Did you have a case where someone stole your stuff?

⁶⁰ Copying.

Layla: Yes, my school bag... We were actually writing exams and then I left my bag... we all left our bag[s] together. So after the exam then when I went out I didn't see it there. ..We now...now we just put it under the chairs. So it's with you, but not with you...Or sometimes they used to let you put it in the front of the class. You know? But this was in the front by the door. So...There's nothing I could do. I went I told Mr. Hendricks about it and they send learners to check in bins and stuff. Because normally they stole the books out and they take the bag. Cause our famous bag is the Karimore bag.

Vanessa concurs:

Vanessa: Well like...ummm....in.... recently like...in this school students are stealing our textbooks and then...then they demand money for it if you want it back. And then also like our calculators go missing. And...when I was in Grade 8...like this one girl, her pencil box went missing twice in a year.

Illana: And how do they go missing?

Vanessa: Nobody knows. Cause like it's in class. And when you change and go to the next class then you noticed, "Ohh, my pencil case is gone." And when you go back to the teacher it's like, "No, it's not here." And then you realize that someone stole it.

Akani shares that some of his "affiliates" are involved in theft:

Akani: They're stealing the... the stealing of the stuff at school and so on... Bags and textbooks... They sell them... They sell them to other children in Soweto and so on... At discounted prices. There was... even at school there was... I don't know if you know about it. There was this investigation going on like... they found the four guys and now they're running an investigation on them. And they also have found that they stole a phone from one of the learners and so on.

Illana: And so how do they steal them? Do they use weapons? Or?

Akani: No, they don't use weapons. It's like you know at school it's a very free environment and everybody is very trusting so I think they take advantage of that and so on. You know?... Like... you might think they are a friend, but they're... they're... the person that they're actually stealing from is their friends. Cause they also steal my science textbook... Yeah, but someone saw them and then they brought it back. That is what triggered the investigation. And so on.

Illana: The fact that your science textbook.... So they could have resold your science textbook to other secondary students in Soweto?

Akani: Yeah. Sometimes they even sell them here around school...They change the name and so on.

Special School has been particularly clear about the consequences of violating the code of conduct as Kagiso illustrates:

They...they...they always set rules, rule, rules. And I think children at this school are very disciplined compared to other schools. They're very disciplined. I never really thought that coming to high school... I thought it's going to be rough. You know? Everyone doing their own thing. Jah. Jah. They do. They do. Cause... they... they tell you... like... every time that if you do this and that and that this will happen to you. So people they obey that. But then some people don't. You know? They cross the line. Yeah. Mmmm... And they told us that If there's ... any theft of textbooks, now you will be taken to court. You will be taken to prison. You'll be jailed. So now there isn't any more.

Fighting

Fights are also present at Special School. Mr. Mutasa recalls a recent fight:

There was a time...about two weeks ago. Is it? I was doing playground duty. That is break time when you go out there and monitor how the kids conduct themselves during break. Some of them got the idea of going down there, hide behind *inaudible* whereby they smoke. You see? So...every teacher has said that...has to go there during break time... So [these] boys fought... started to fight, so I grabbed one of them. Took them to Mr. Hendricks's office. How it started I didn't get the particulars...[I took] one boy. I couldn't take both boys. It was difficult to handle both boys, so I had to take one... They were restrained by other learners. For me...it was just give them the instruction. "Come. Let's go to Mr. Hendricks."

Mr. Mojapelo recalls an incident in which he managed to prevent a fight. The fight had racial undertones:

Other learners they came to me. They wanted to fight other learner from Grade 12. They're in Grade 10. So sort of racism... sort of. Cause they're Black people, they wanted to fight the Coloured. So, they came to me because I can be able to... I am open to talk to them. They start saying, "You know what? This guy, he fought one of us kids yesterday." And he was with his mother back then. Cause there was...what ya call it? A ceremony at school. So parents were here cause we were giving them the certificates and so on. So... like... that day this Coloured guy, he fought one of the Grade 10 Black learners. I don't know what they were fighting about. So they came to me, they said, "Sir, you know what? [We] are going to fight him afterschool." They are going to wait for him. So I tried to talk to him. I said, "You know what? Stop doing this. There is nothing that is going to benefit by doing, you know? What if you get mugged... what if you... you... get injured from these. Or what if something bad happens to you?"

So, I said, “Now you are going to talk to them about it”. And I also told them...I also called in the character and talked to him about it. Then he also understood what I said to him. I called him afterwards. Then he came in and eventually I called all of them and I talked to them about it... and they also apologized.

Akani relates how a verbal exchange that began in class when one female learner called another female learner “a blond” suggesting that the girl was dimwitted escalated into a physical fight the next day:

You know, the reason for violence in schools... I can name a few which I think have *inaudible*. One is... most learners come to school with a lot of baggages. And some... some of them can't express their emotions, but... should you tease them and so on... a fight will start breaking up Cause a day or two ago, there was a fight that broke out in a class. And I told the teacher that, “Sir, can't you warn these people cause I know this will lead to other things.” The teacher said, “Ehk, it's fine. It's just girls.” But when we were inside the classroom there was a catfight... It was... not that terrible at first. Then okay... the girls calmed down. The following day it was a more serious catfight now. Yeah. Very physical. Right there next to the lockers. Yeah. Part of the... even now... they're still... there's still violence between the two girls, but now it's verbal violence and so on. You see? Earlier this year... it started with boys. Now it's jumping to girls. So, I don't know what's happening.

Bususiwe witnessed the same fight and remarks how the fight seemed to be a kind of sport in that those standing by in the corridors were laughing as the fight was occurring:

When kids are fighting at school nobody stops. There was a fight here at school. Just now at my locker. Just yesterday. Yeah. And I didn't even know they were fighting until I heard this commotion. How was I to know that people were fighting because people were just laughing? People were... these kids were laughing. And... I'm like thinking maybe somebody fell... I don't know what's going on... So I just carry on with my locker and I hear these girls say no, they're fighting... Two Black girls they were fighting. Grade 11s. And they were fighting because somebody said... called the other girl blond.

Zwanga attributes the fighting to the intense academic pressure Special School learners are under. Fights begin with exchanges of insults and then escalate to exchanges of blows. Zwanga opines:

I feel that it's more a mentality type thing and I feel the reason we fight amongst each other is because we're just taking out our frustration that we have for one

another... you know like...but I don't think Black people are violent people. No, I wouldn't say that. But I guess it's the way we've been programmed to think. It's all about our thought process and the way we interact with one another. I mean...I don't see... I mean why...I don't see the purpose of fighting. I stopped the fight. When was it? Two weeks back. With one of my friends. Two of my friends, in fact. And one thing I asked them repeatedly like when I was stopping them from fighting was, "What do you gain from this?" I had to repeat it four times for it actually to sink in. And it's only... they started fighting merely because the one insulted the other.

Layla does not seem too aware of too many fights and of the ones she hears of are quickly dealt with by Mr. Hendricks:

No, not really. There was one or two fights, but it wasn't really such a big things. Cause Mr. Hendricks took them up. I think they had a disciplinary hearing.

Mr. Hendricks deals with fights swiftly and efficiently:

Last week or the week before....we had two boys who got involved in a fight. So the first thing we do is just have an immediate kind of a hearing. Just find out exactly how it happened. And what we would do is we would get the two guys to sit down. We would get them to write sort of a report of what happened. We'd get one or two witnesses. They'd write a report as well. And in this particular case, the one boy who was involved was a guy who had a record. He was...he's on probation cause he was fighting with another kid about two months ago. So I immediately suspended him. I sent him home. The other guy that was involved in the fight was really just defending himself. But what we did was we did have a disciplinary hearing with the governing body and the parents and the principal and everybody sits and hear the circumstances and we...we act accordingly...and we sanction accordingly. I mean in both those instances...both boys were found guilty of fighting. The guy obviously who defended himself was punished a lot less harshly than the guy that instigated the fight. And what we are going to try and do there is we're going to try and...I don't know how...if you are aware of the fact that it is very difficult to get rid of a child. To expel somebody. But we're going to try and get rid of him. We're going to voluntary ask him to leave at the end of the year. Cause he just causes immense problems for everybody.

Reference to this particular learner as a problem child appears in interviews with a few teachers and students. Only one learner, Evan, makes reference to interracial fighting among Special School learners, a phenomenon common in schools with a diverse student population. Evan says of his Black peers:

Even though they won't argue with...let's put it...the Coloureds. They won't argue with any of them because it's the thing...there's so much... In our...okay in any school people are scared of gangs. You see? It's always gangs and okay our school is not a lot of gangs. It's just that the friends outside of the school. The friends, just three or four that...that...aren't afraid to come into the school and make someone scared. You see? But then that's the thing. If...if...that guy from outside is older then all of us will jump in. You see? No matter what race that person is. Okay. The Indians...they're very religious, so no fighting. You see?

Evan acknowledges the absence of gangs inside of Special School. He says of Special School, "Our school is not like any other...like the other schools." He goes on to relate a story about a Grade 11 Coloured gang leader at a school in his neighborhood.

Drugs & Alcohol

Like most secondary schools in South Africa and world-wide, drugs and alcohol are present at Special School, albeit in limited ways as compared to Township School.

When asked if students use drugs in school, Vice Principal Van de Plank says, "I can tell you in any school in South Africa there are students that use drugs". When asked what drugs she believes her students to be using, Mrs. Van de Plank notes dagga and when asked if she believed her learners are smoking before, during, or after school, Mrs. Van de Plank shares:

I'd like to say they don't smoke during school; however, we have caught learners with dagga during school time, during breaks. We have caught them, but I'd say that would be exceptional cases. I don't think that many would smoke during...I think that especially in the townships it seems to me that smoking dagga over the weekends is rife. And not just children, and adults as well. And it's...and it's not...it's to...in a sense it's acceptable in some communities.

Mr. Hendricks speaks of these exceptional cases:

The... police station is like four blocks away from here and on the odd occasion, twice in my career as principal and both of them this year...where we found dagga, marijuana, cannabis, on one of our...on two of our learners. And I called in the police and they came and they were very cooperative. And they were calling the parents. And we arranged counseling and we've got a police forum where all of the principals are involved.

Mr. Hendricks believes the prevalence of marijuana use in school to be low:

I don't think it's that prevalent. I don't think many of our learners use it, although I'm not ignorant to think that there is no one using it. I think there are a few, but I think if I had to state it as a percentage it would probably be about 1 or 2 percent. Which would...which would work out to be about five or six kids in the whole school. And that's what I think. I don't know. I don't know if I am living in a fool's paradise. But we have...we have...we have made plans with the Governing Body. We had a meeting on Saturday. We do intend on having drug raids and getting the police in to do searches...so...jah...we've got to be vigilant. It's...it's... doesn't help living in a fool's paradise. Drugs are everywhere. And we've...we've just got to make sure that the majority of our learners are safe.

Mr. Hendricks intends to conduct a drug raid to identify if drugs are indeed prevalent in the school:

Well, the fact that we had...we had two learners with dagga. And I mean, it shows that they are carrying the stuff, carrying it with them in their bags. So...it's...it's...it's...unavoidable. We have to do it. A drug raid at some stage, just to find out if it's a problem or not.

Mr. Ntshiwa doesn't believe learners are smoking dagga during school hours:

I think they smoke...basically they smoke cigarettes. But they won't go to the extent to smoke dagga there. They might smoke dagga before they come to school, but not during...Actually the standard is much better in terms of discipline...

Perhaps Mr. Ntshiwa is a bit optimistic. A drug raid would likely reveal the presence of drugs in Special School. Akani shares:

Akani: The form of drugs that I know that is mainly here at school is dagga.

Illana: Only dagga?

Akani: Yeah, it's only dagga. Yeah.

Illana: And are there also learners here who sell the dagga?

Akani: Yeah. There are learners that sell the dagga.

Illana: Are they the same learners who...

Akani: Even cigarettes. No, it's not the same learners. But one of them does sell the dagga. But there are other ones that also sell the dagga at school.

Vanessa talks about the sale of marijuana at school:

Vanessa: My friend went to the particular boy that sells it. She was...we were standing there at the field. And they like do it in the open. Nobody cares. You hear... she had to go down there to him and then he sold it to her and stuff. And she showed me what he sold to her.

Illana: So this is here on the field. Is this before school? After school?

Vanessa: During school.

Illana: Hmmm... So how were you able to...was it during break?

Vanessa: Jah.

The field seems to play host to cigarette smoking and the stashing of drugs. When speaking of where she feels least comfortable on school grounds, Kagiso identifies the playing fields, which are some distance from the administration and classroom blocks:

There all the smokers chill. The... the last field. I don't feel safe. That's where everything happens. There are weapons. People smoke. People...umm... use drugs there. People plant drugs there...They...they hide them there. Yeah. Because... like... at the beginning of the year Mr. Hendricks said there's going to be a drug raid at school. So, jaah. And there's been a number of cases where learners have been found with drugs.

Kagiso says of the students hanging out there, "It's mixed. Boys. Girls. Yeah...It's mostly Coloured, but there are a bit of Blacks there. A similar conversation to the one with Akani took place with Zwanga:

Illana: Are there drugs in school?

Zwanga: This school? Yeah.

Illana: What are the drugs of choice around here?

Zwanga: I guess I don't know, but people smoke cigarettes. They smoke weed. I don't know about pills and stuff like that, but there are drugs at school. Reason why they use them is... for the mere fun of it. To experience. To fit in. I have the

title under my belt, if I got all of this, so it's [*inaudible*]. You know what I mean? I'll be a man of high caliber I guess if I go with a pretty chick. You know what I mean? They'll be like no, you got mad skills. You can...you can flirt with a chick. You can mack⁶¹ type of thing. And you get status like that, so I guess they use it for the mere fun of it, you know? That I can brag and say yeah I've tried this and this.

Illana: Mmhmm... How...do you think a great number of students do or a small percentage or like if you were to guesstimate how many young people are.. are...?

Zwanga: Using drugs?... I would say about 20 percent... would do some form of...I...I consider alcohol to be drugs. People drink on occasion, but I mean even if there is that occasion, they'd overdue it... So I guess that would be an addiction. And it's not like...okay I'll drink on this occasion, this one occasion. It's like every occasion that occurs, that you classify as an occasion, in this case it would be a weekend, you'll go and drink. This is 20 percent. But it could be an escape from all of the drama that we are facing.

And with Noxolo:

Illana: Drugs and alcohol, are they in the school?

Noxolo: Very much so... Drugs, whether they be cigarettes or drugs or dagga... or... I don't know about cocaine and the others... but I know cigarettes and dagga are definitely in the school. You know? We've got a smoking... I've forgotten the place... where the people smoke all together and smoke there... exactly. And alcohol. Every time you're at a function there's always a problem of alcohol. The children of the school love alcohol for some reason I don't know why. They plan and they bring bags full of alcohol. Oooohhh.

In relating a story about a classmate who was caught drunk at a Valentine's ball⁶² at school and subsequently punished, Akani talks of the ease in which learners are able to access alcohol. He notes that "some people do come to school drunk, but the teachers don't notice." Learners drink at a nearby stadium minutes walking distance from school. Akani says of his peers, "They drink the stuff and then they come to school." When asked about the ease of learners getting alcohol, Noxolo says:

⁶¹ Slang meaning to flirt with girls.

⁶² All dances were cancelled sometime in the previous years after one of the female learners did not return home after the dance. The learner had failed to return home because she decided to spend an extended weekend with her boyfriend.

Noxolo: It's very easy to get access to alcohol.

Illana: Is it?

Noxolo: Oh, my word. I can go into a shop and buy alcohol and I'll get it.

Illana: In your school uniform?

Noxolo: In my school uniform... Okay. In the school... in the school uniform... I tell you... they never buy in school uniform. It's always when they're... when they're at home when they buy the alcohol in their home clothes. They buy it at the weekend. Yeah. Then maybe they come with it to school. Yeah. Away from home... they come with their bag... with alcohol, they come to school.

Illana: They drink on the school grounds? And they smoke on the school grounds?

Noxolo: Smoking, yes, they do on the school grounds. But drinking is not an everyday thing. It's like an occasional thing. You know when... when it's occasions and like that. And the teachers don't know about it. Teachers... they so don't know about it... and... it's... yeah... they smoke on school premises... they drink.

Evidence of Weapons in School

Weapons seem to be showing up at Special School. Mr. Schermerhorn offers:

I think that there are learners that bring weapons to school. I'm actually convinced of that. I have seen one boy at one time with a pocket knife. Now I don't want to blow up the situation, but ...so... it is a weapon and I think if something happens, you know he can just take out that knife and it can escalate into a big fight. And what happened at Forrest High can be the same situation here. So, we don't search the kids, so, but I'm convinced that there are people, learners that bring weapons to school.

In fact, Mr. Schermerhorn confiscated a pocket knife from a learner:

He told me that he...cause I confiscated it and I told him. I asked him why do you have it here. And he said well they're doing a project in technology and they're making objects like carts or something and he had to use it to... as he could cut the what-do-you-call it... the straws. Why don't you use the scissors? Why do you need to use the knife for it?... He had it out. He was actually sitting on this side of the class and he took it out and started playing with it. You know and he also got a reaction from his friends as well. So, nothing happened. And as I said, I'm not actually sure if I'm just exaggerating the situation, but for me that's a red light.

Knives don't seem to be the only weapons present at Special School. Vanessa explains:

Well in my sister's class... like there was an incident when one boy brought a gun to school. And this was in Grade... yeah, this year. Or was it last...this year. Jah. He brought a gun to school... Apparently he had... he had a fall-out with one of the boys from [*Name of High School*] which is like...it's very corrupt there... He had a fall-out with him and he stole his father's gun. And... and he came to school with it. He was planning to go with a group of friends to [that high school] most probably shoot the person. But then when...some child bumped into the teacher and then he threw it over the wall. The...the... where you put the bullets in and stuff. Then he...[threw] the bullets over the wall. And then the gun. I don't know where it went. But then...jah... my sister told me that...that it happened. And she saw the gun and stuff. And he...cause he threw the bullets so that the teachers couldn't catch him with it.

Generally, there seems to be a sense that incidents of interpersonal violence is on the rise at Special School. Learners, teachers, and administrators alike attribute the rise in violence to the country's deteriorating sense of discipline brought on by rights-based polices and the breakdown of the family. In light of the new, more violent environment, Special School has undertaken several security measures to make the school safer.

Security Measures

I think that we really haven't had the necessity to be very safety conscious in schools up til now because there really hasn't been violent acts between children or children and...and educators. But it seems to me that we'll definitely have to start doing something regarding it. We've got a security guard at the gate and yes, we've got a fence around the school. And...that's more or less what we have. And...and...up to now it seemed to be adequate, but I think if we think in terms of the future, we will have to do something to improve on it we don't have that many safe...yes...safety measures in place. We do have as I mentioned a fence around the school. We've got a security guard. We have panic buttons in the office area. And that's basically what we have at the moment. We have somebody that's on...that's on ground duty during breaks and after school and so on...educators. (Mrs. Van de Plank)

Mr. Hendricks has implemented a number of security measures:

I think we've done everything in our power to make it a safe place. We've sort of made it physically safe in terms of the building is... I mean there is no sort of corners or dark alleys or rooms or places where people can hide and...and cause damage to somebody else. So...physically I think it's a very safe environment.

And then emotionally I think we've got a lot of caring staff that...that...that...that...that do care about the learners and they try their best at all times to take their thoughts and all their actions and their well-being into account and jah...we look after them. So I think we're a safe place, a safe haven.

According to Mr. Mutasa, some security measures were tightened up after "one guy drove to this school and then got into one of the teacher's vehicles and ...stole the radio and went out. Just like that." At the time the security guard:

Didn't take any details of the visitors. Suppose you drive into the school...what they normally do in other places, you fill in the book. Your name. Your car registration number. Your ID number. But it wasn't like this before. So that person just drive into the school and park his car there. (Mr. Mutasa)

Mrs. Rensburg acknowledges that neither teacher vigilance nor the presence of a security guard is sufficient to secure the safety of the learners. Mrs. Rensburg sees the students as a more efficient means of securing learner safety:

We [teachers] try and you know be on the look-out. And we find that kids often report things to us as well, which is quite nice because it's not only the grown up eyes that are looking out. You know? We've got the security guy there standing at one end. He can't see everything and neither could the teachers see everything. But we find that our kids actually... somewhere along the line... somebody will come and report because it worries them. That they're worried about somebody's safety. That kind of thing.

At the time the data was collected schools in Gauteng were reevaluating their security measures due to a murder that occurred at a large high school in an inner suburb. Apparently, a Coloured learner was being harassed by an older Black learner. Tired of the harassment, the Coloured learner shot the Black learner at school. Gambling also seemed to be involved in the murder. In responding to the murder, the then Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor, proposed searching. Mrs. Van de Plank says of this policy initiative:

Well that's a contentious issue at the moment. The schools... it's...it's always a problem regarding drug raids and searching people due to our Constitution.

You're not really allowed to do all of that. But it seems like our Minister of Education is going to have a hard look at this and she's made some comments after the incident at Forrest High that they are going to allow body searches. And stuff because. And what they also realize...I mean we already realized it long ago in the schools. But what the education department has now realized is that there is a definite link between drug abuse and violence at school. And that if you...you...you need to allow schools to have drug raids to see who the people are who use drugs and to...to turn them over to the police because also if learners think that...you know...having drugs is fine. If they catch you...uggghhh...they can let you do community service and that's okay. Then it seems to be a minor offense and it's okay if you get caught. Whereas I think the seriousness if you know you're going to go the police station and there is going to be a charge laid against you, that it is a different ball game.

Community Resources

Special School is fortunate enough to host a counseling center that not only services the learners, but also the larger community. Mrs. Van de Plank says of the community counseling center:

The whole idea was that it was a service for the community of the...the... you know...this community area where the school is in, but also for the school's community...I get the impression that more and more learners need counseling due to whatever circumstances so...it's...it's great if we can make use of that facility as well...We need to phone them and...and...make an appointment with...usually children...well you can either identify a child and you know speak to the child and then ask him if you want to go for counseling or sometimes children will come and ask for us to refer them to...to the psychologist. Which we then do.

Zwanga discusses the availability of counseling services at Special School and in general, schools in town. Zwanga correlates the lack of counseling services in townships with the high levels of violence:

So I think that's why [violence is] more in Soweto than outside Soweto. Cause like here we have the facilities. Most of the schools I know of that are like in...nje... here in town, they have those facilities... But with most of [township schools] you don't really have a school psychologist. They say they have a school psychologist always there. We have... we more than have a school psychologist. I mean if you are really unsatisfied with the [counseling] center, they can even get you a psychologist from University. You know? But with us it's definitely you're covered. I know it even stretches as far as if you as a family have a problem, you can come in as a family type of thing here at school. So with

us, you almost don't have an excuse you know. Yeah because the help is there. It's just pumping you up with help. Plus we are more open to these things cause we see the world and we are more open to a lot of things. So, that is why Soweto just has more crime in that context. Basically.

Zwanga seems to be suggesting that Special School learners from the townships are more open to the idea of mental health services than the general township public. In addition to the counseling center, Special School hosts a training and technology center that is open to school groups from the province.

Christian School

In [Township]... [Township] is very dangerous from what I hear. And [this neighborhood] is dangerous, but it's all about the school. It's all about the school. The students there, what do they want? It's all about do they have a vision or not? Cause here in [this neighborhood] we have so many students who live here in [this neighborhood] here in our school, but I've never heard of such... even how dangerous [this neighborhood is], it's like they know that in Christian School...you just do not do that. You don't. (Tebello, female, Grade 11)

Unlike Special School with its specific mandate to develop Math and Science talent from all of Gauteng, Christian School has a more egalitarian mission to bring quality education to those in need. Christian School functions to serve its community. It is very much a part of the community. Stretching across several buildings on a residential street in an inner-city suburb, Christian School serves the immediate community inhabited by a diverse population of both Black South Africans and African nationals who in today's South Africa have been marginalized by a resurgence of intense xenophobia. The border between the school and its immediate community is semi-permeable, filtering out the more harmful aspects of the community and embracing the more positive ones. The school is located in a crime-ridden neighborhood, but it serves as a safe haven to many of its learners. The principal, Mrs. Brissot, says of the community:

It doesn't have a very particularly good reputation. Drugs and... not a very appealing area. Not very clean. It's not very inviting. Well, we've got certainly more inviting areas... I wouldn't go out in the [school's] larger community, but here in school it's fine.

Learners say of the community:

There's crime. People are dying. Shooting at night. When you are sleeping you hear guns. The streets like [Name of Street] are not safe at all. It's crowded. During the day, they can rob you. People are standing there and they don't help you at all, so I don't think you can be safe in an environment like that. (Tebello)

[The neighborhood] is not a... secure place. Everyone knows that if you go to Midrand... "What school do you go to?" "Christian School?" Where is it?" In [that neighborhood]. Everyone is like [THAT NEIGHBORHOOD]? You go to school in [THAT NEIGHBORHOOD]? How do you... why do your parents send you there? What was it thinking? Because everyone knows in Gauteng that [this neighborhood] is one of the most insecure places in the whole province. (Mandisa)

For me... you know... I have been in this school for I don't know how many years. I walk here every day, but I don't know. I'm scared of walking around. Especially, we go for [inaudible] practice up there by the tennis courts. I am very scared of walking there alone from there to the boarding. I don't know... I never feel free from walking alone here in [this neighborhood]. (Khanyasile)

I have lived in this area for a while now and like for five years, six years. And.. you know, I have seen a lot of things. I have seen gun shootings and robberies and stuff like that. It isn't a safe area. You know? It would be wise to always have someone with you when you are in this area. Like, as they said, [Name of local street] and so... I don't think it would be wise for you to walk around alone and such things like that Cause it's not a good area. (Anna)

Then there's [this neighborhood]. [This neighborhood] is where... is the second [name of another high crime neighborhood in town], you know, where, you know, that's where all the drugs are coming in also. The community is not really doing anything about, you know. The problems that we do have. I don't think we have the type of community that's together. To help get rid of the drugs and the abuse that's going on and the robberies and you know, all that. So, if I had to rely on the community of [this neighborhood] for help or something like that, I wouldn't put, I wouldn't bid on it. You know? I already wouldn't bid on that. (Anele)

Learners communicate a feeling that the school protects them their immediate surroundings:

In the boarding house I feel safe and at school. But when I am outside I don't feel safe. I don't know. I am just... I don't know... nothing has never happened to me, but then I am scared of this place. I wouldn't... I would never go to the shop walking alone. I always have to have somebody walking with me. Cause I'm scared of the people... some people look creepy. You know? They look very creepy so... I really... I don't feel safe when I am walking around. But in school and at the boarding I'm... I felt safe. (Kathleho)

I do feel safe here in school because it's... we've got tight security and although it's in [this neighborhood], a very dangerous place, I really do feel safe because the security and... my transport driver is a good driver sometimes. (Anna)

Let me start by saying that here at school, our school is known to be very protective. It protects the students within. And it's very rare that you'll find a girl here at school going out with a guy here at school. Most of the girls have boyfriends in college and university and all that. So... I don't know, maybe these boys have this image of their schools... girls here at school wouldn't do something like that. And most of the girls at school live at the girls' boarding house. You know? So, after they leave school, they go to the girls boarding house. Every time they want to leave they have to sign out, you know? So even a boyfriend knows that I'll go there, she'll be at the girls' boarding. I don't have to... now at the Dance Factory where I'm a dancer, you get hired. You get jobs. You know? (Anele)

The school community, I would say, is okay. It is. Because it's... it's okay in the sense that they don't want bad things to happen to us and so we... we kind of like safe, I would say. And in [this neighborhood, [this] community is not safe, but the boarding is trying to make it safe for us by having the curfews and stuff to come in a certain time and to be [inaudible] at a certain time, jah. I think the boarding's trying to create that sense of security, but [this neighborhood] is... as a whole is not safe. I wouldn't prefer to stay in [this neighborhood]. It's just that it is closer to my school. (Mosegi)

In an environment with high levels of crime and poverty, Christian School is a safe haven. Mr. Biyah captures the school's role to protect children from the larger insecurity of poverty and difficult family circumstances:

But really..., many of them come from such deprived backgrounds that when they come here it's like Wow! You know? They have not seen respect. They have not seen family. You know... and so we give them that... we basically try as best we can... to almost like provide that missing link to them and for them. And so... really when they get here, they just don't want to move again. It's home.

Students

This school is kind of like... I'd say rehab for those people who are in trouble... It's a special school, yes it is. Let me just put it like that. It's a special school for everyone. If... if you were taking drugs in the past, you can come here. If you were in a bad family and you were not treated properly, come here... everything will be okay, but it's a school. After all, it's just a school. It is only the teachers that are... are making it what it is today via our principal and our deputy principal, so jah... and the teachers, the whole staff, they are trying to make the best for us. Violence is not wanted in school. (Mosegi)

Around 80 % of Christian School's almost 500 learner population is Black South African.

There is almost an even ratio of male to female learners. There are one or two learners from the Indian, white, and Coloured communities. The rest of the school population is "foreign", either Francophone or Lusophone African from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mozambique, and Angola. A number of learners are Zimbabweans fleeing the most recent era of political unrest. Ms. Bradburn notes that "a lot of parents that come from Mozambique and... that used to register their kids here, quite a lot are not doing it anymore because they feel [this community] is no more safe." Many learners are affiliated with a variety of national and community-based child-welfare organizations serving the needs of orphans, children with HIV/AIDS, and child-headed households. About 2/3 of Christian School learners come from the surrounding neighborhood. One-third comes from Soweto and Alexandra. Two boarding facilities house almost fifty male and female learners, and an additional private boarding facility run by one of the teachers, Ms. Bradburn, boards several more learners. Boarders tend to come from townships, not from child-headed households or orphanages. One of the learners, Tebello, estimates the boarding fees to be around ZAR 1,700 rand per month. The substantial cost to board may suggest that the children boarding tend to have access to more financial capital.

The principal says of her learners' socio-economic status: "It's not obviously the very affluent children". They come here because "they are serious about their education. That's why they are here and not in a government school." Mr. Harrison, teacher and support staff member, estimates that 18% of the learners in the high school are orphaned. Principal Rousseau put the estimates as high as 25 to 30%. There seems to be a mix of learners' socio-economic status. Learners reported their parents to come from middle class professional backgrounds, including a lawyer, a teacher, a nurse, and a principal, and non-skilled backgrounds including domestic worker and unemployed. A few of the parents interviewed reported being unemployed or employed in the informal sector. For some of the less affluent learners, Christian School represents a way out of poverty as Anele illustrates:

I do my best to make sure that nothing interrupts my studies. My studies come first. So that when I finish school I get out of this place. I get out of this community of mine, this violated, this mentally ill community, you know? Not only me, but I can take my family out once I am in the position where, you know, I'm financially okay, I finish my studies and all that. And so its just dedication and I always remind myself be dedicated. Don't stop working hard. Push no matter how... no matter how things seem. Push and you'll achieve what you want.

Teachers

There are 25 teachers serving learners from Grades 1 to 12. Similar to Special School the majority of teachers and administrators live outside the neighborhood in which the school is located with the exception of Ms. Bradburn, a Coloured teacher, who lives just blocks from the school and boards a number of Christian School learners. The teachers interviewed all seem to possess the same notion of a responsibility to the larger community. Teachers seem to be committed to Christian ideals, whether explicitly stated or implicitly embedded in the fact that they are teaching at a secular school. The infusion

of the Christian ideals of fellowship, brotherly love, and service into the larger school ethos is explored in the next chapter.

It seems teachers are recruited on a referral basis. Mr. Biyah, now deputy principal, was recruited as a teacher by his former colleague, Ms. Bradburn. The two taught together in an upstart independent school which dissolved after one year. Mr. Biyah, a native West African, lives a ten-minute drive from school. Ms. Bradburn hopes to sell her home to the school to continue to be used as a boarding facility and move away from the neighborhood. She says of her boarding house:

It came later. I, in fact, boarded with people because I had to travel very far to get to school. And then I bought with an elderly couple, a Greek couple. Then they sold their half to the school and that's how we started the school's boarding house. And then I lived there for one and a half years. And then that's when I bought my own place.

As a member of the community, Ms. Bradburn feels really rather secure in the community. She shares:

Because I live in the area, I feel fairly safe because I know people around here. If there's been any crime, or Diane could tell you about the fact that she was held hostage... *laughs*...along with Adrea, I haven't experienced that in the area and I think the only reason being is that they see me on the road a lot on a daily basis. You know? I go to the shop. I take a walk to the shop.

Ms. Bradburn's very good friend, Ms. Everts, lives in a neighborhood that is just a twelve minute drive from the school. She and another teacher, Ms. Podile, a Black South African, who estimates that she lives fifteen to twenty minutes away, often catch rides with the principal. Several years earlier Ms. Everts and Principal Brissot were hijacked just in front of the school. Ms. Everts was quite shaken up by the hijacking:

It's just that it has become a little bit emotional. Sometimes I really do laugh about it... They'll be like, "Ahh, you didn't wait for the boss. You didn't stand by her". You know? And I have a laugh, but another day when I am in another

mood, I feel... umm... you know? But this is why I got counseling so I do this [tearing up] sometimes.

As a result of the hijacking Ms. Everts feels rather unsafe in the neighborhood surrounding the schools. She shares:

Outside school.... *Laughs*... I feel very safe when I have to take a walk to the shop up the road. I never go alone. I always take students with me.

Ms. Everts credits the school for assisting her in her personal growth. She says of the school:

I've grown so much with this school. And I've been so empowered coming from the situation with the divorce and the abusive situation in marriage. It was both [verbal and physical abuse] And... of course with the children... it was very difficult and you know, I always felt this protective thing of the kids. They're all boys. I have all boys. And... coming out of that school, I just really find my place and my purpose here and I think this is my calling.

Mr. Harrison, teacher and resident Information Technology resource person, came to Christian School through his affiliation with one of the school's partners, a Catholic order based in Europe. Born into a white English South African family, Mr. Harrison is a "consecrated member of [that] religious order" (Mr. Harrison) and considers himself "color-blind":

I mean we are heading in the right direction, you know, where people are not looking at color anymore. I don't see a Black kid as Black. Kids are kids. You know?

Mr. Harrison elaborates on his race conscious upbringing under apartheid:

I can remember as a kid...we lived in a mansion because my father was rather an important person in the community and I used to ride by a house and I used to go talk to the guys, you know the Black guys on the street and I do remember one particular incident where this Black guy and he said to me he was hungry. And I ran... I went home and I said to my mom, "Please can you give me a sandwich for this guy" and she started making a sandwich and I said to her, "Why don't you put butter on the bread?" And she said, "Blacks don't eat butter". And I mean

that had a huge impact on me as a kid. You know, I mean why don't Blacks eat butter, you know? And, I had a lot of experiences like that.

Today Mr. Harrison lives about twenty minutes away in a northern suburb. Together, Ms. Brissot, Mr. Harrison, Ms. Everts, and two other teachers are “part of the furniture” (Ms. Everts).

History

The school was founded in the early 1990s by the Denomination Church in the basement of a church with around 100 Standard 2 through 7 learners. The idea was to bring “affordable, high class education to the poor kids” (Mr. Harrison). The school initially started in another section of the city, closer to the city center, but after dealing with the steady increase in crime, the school moved to its present site in an inner-suburb several years ago. The current “campus” consists of a total of five converted and renovated residential buildings. Both the primary and intermediate schools are housed in one-story homes. The high school is located in a converted two-story flat that once had commercial space on the ground level and residential apartments on the second. Two residential homes are used as boarding facilities. The school also makes use of a church whose sanctuary plays host to the school’s Friday morning assemblies and whose hall houses Grades 1 through 3⁶³.

In addition to state subsidies, Christian school receives a significant amount of support from the Denomination Church of South Africa as well as corporate sponsors. The school also gets a large amount of support from overseas organizations. They have an “adopt-a-child” program for destitute learners, learners who lost their parents to

⁶³ Grades 1 through 3 moved to the church in the mid 1990s, precipitating the move of the rest of the school. The church is located on the far end of the block. In between the school and the church is a mix of single-family homes and apartment blocks.

HIV/AIDS, and learners who themselves are HIV positive, which is popular in Europe. Donors can support the education of a child, receiving “a picture and a letter from the child [to] see how their child develops over the years that they make this contribution” (Mr. Harrison). About 25 of the school’s students participate in this program and the total contribution to the school is significant at ZAR 100,000. School fees at Christian School are almost ZAR 700. The school has outgrown its current facilities and is engaged in raising funds to secure a “proper school building”.⁶⁴ Ms. Brissot says of the intended move:

You know, it took us a long time to build up a good name and I am not shy to say we do have a reputable name. And it’s now time to take it to the next level. I could see at that time when we were in [the old neighborhood], it’s time to move forward. It’s time.

Curriculum

A school’s reputation is often measured by its Matric pass rate. The Matriculation exam is taken in December at the end of the school year of Grade 12. The exam is used to determine the future educational opportunities for learners. A learner can write on standard grade and higher grade in six subjects. The subjects the learner writes on usually correspond with the kind of curriculum the learner has been following since Grade 9. At Christian School three streams are offered: Commercial, Science, and Humanities. Learners must pass their mother tongue as well as three more subjects to pass the Matric exam. To gain admission to the top universities, learners need high pass scores on higher grade. The higher the scores a student receives on the higher grade subjects, the more opportunities that learner has for tertiary learning. At Christian School the Matric pass rate hovers between 95 % and 100% with a few exemptions and distinctions. However,

⁶⁴ According to school’s fundraising materials, the Departments of Education and Public Works have been “unable to assist”.

unlike Special School learners who tend to go into four-year degree programs, Christian School matriculants tend to enter two year diploma programs. In addition to the academic curriculum, the school has an arts program with singing and drama as well as a sports program.

Criminal Violence

There are high levels of criminal violence in the area surrounding Christian School. The Johannesburg context chapter explored the history of the inner city and inner suburbs as well as the current context of violence. Indeed, Christian School is not immune to the criminal violence plaguing the neighborhood. One Friday morning I arrived to Christian school to find the secretary telling the custodian about an incident that occurred the previous evening at the church where Grades 1 and 2 are housed and weekly school assemblies are hosted. A small group of armed robbers approached the church's groundskeeper and demanded to be taken to the priest. They robbed the priest of a small amount of rand and cell phones. The secretary thanked God for no one being hurt and commented that the robbers errantly thought the church had a lot of money on hand. The custodian warned the secretary to be particularly vigilant about securing the building as they were nearing the registration period where the school tends to have large amounts of cash on hand for the payment of school fees. A warning that has resonance with the Christian School as the school has been robbed by gunpoint yearly at the present location and twice at their previous location. Deputy Principal Biyah says of the current location: "The school has been burgled into almost each and every year once" in which they take "office accessories". Principal Brissot says of the old premises:

At the old place armed robberies. Twice... Armed robberies. At the previous school very unsafe. It's... less difficult to secure... They knew there was money.

There is always sort of at the beginning of the month when they know there is money coming in. Not a pleasant experience, but jah... it's a South African phenomenon.

Since the most recent break-in "sometime late last year, early this year", the school has "reinforced security" since which time they have not had problems (Mr. Biyah).

Residents are very aware of the lack of safety and have adopted security measures to protect their safety and well-being. One Christian School parent of a Grade 10 learner, Ms. Anna, an Angolan national, lives within a short walking distance of the school. She illustrates how she is able to parent her four children in an insecure environment:

Me, I don't... I am scared because I don't leave my kid to go out because I know... I know... here in JoBurg the people are bad. They kill. Like this... I don't like my kid go playing far. Or go where alone in the road. I don't like. Maybe go stay in another house long time. I don't like. If he say, "Momma, I want to play." I say no problem. Play here. Here I can... but I don't like you can go out.

For another parent, Elizabeth, an Indian woman, whose son, Jerome⁶⁵, is a Grade 10 learner at Christian, home is not the most comfortable environment for her son whose relationship with his mother's partner, Paul, is strained. Elizabeth, like Ms. Anna, requires her son to stay home to play:

I explained to him maybe sometimes he feels, he just doesn't want to be in the home environment. You know what I mean? Where you have to come home. Paul works shifts and then Paul is at home. He probably just doesn't want to be there. You know? And I explained to him. I said to him you know what even if you come home and even if you came home and... just played near me... even if [*inaudible*]. I don't want him hanging around. The thing is it's difficult. We live in a flat and I do not want him walking in the streets because I am terrified that you know something will go wrong.

Elizabeth vigilantly awaits her son's arrival and should he return later than the ascribed time, Elizabeth calls the school:

⁶⁵ Jerome's father is an Afrikaner.

And if he is not home by a certain time, oh, I tell you what I panic. I even phone the school. I ask Frankie. I say, you know, is Jerome in detention? Is he doing something, you know? It's [*inaudible*] after school. And the one day he was standing outside and talking... just recently he was standing outside and talking... I don't know who he was talking to... or who he was talking with, I... I really freaked. And one of the teachers... came to check and she says no he is standing outside. This is about three o'clock and normally by three o'clock the child is home.

The teacher put Jerome on the phone with Elizabeth and her fear was assuaged. It is easy to understand why parents who live in the community in close proximity to the school send their children to Christian School, but why do parents whose children come from the townships send their children to school in such a crime-ridden neighborhood? Mandisa, Grade 11, whose father is a lawyer, offers insight into the decision:

Jah. I think that's the motive behind it. You send the child to the school to get the good grades, but at the same time you know that the premises are not really okay. So you as a parent, you... I think the parents ask themselves... is the school secure by itself... is it secure... are they doing their best to secure our children? But if we're here I think that's the considerations that parents take. They think that okay the school is secure so why don't take the risk and get good grades at the end of the day. Jah.

Indeed, the school is doing its best to secure its learners, but it can only secure its learners on school property. When asked if he felt learners are safe in school, Deputy Principal, Mr. Biyah says:

Principally, yes. If they are in the premises, they are completely safe... [and the] boarding houses... if they're in the premises they are as well. But of course when you are out of the premises or out of the fence, you really... the school isn't able to account for your safety.

The school serves as a safe haven for its learners, but where the school is unable to assist learners outside of the community, learners' social networks do.

Learners' Extended Social Networks

In contrast to Township School, where the male learners' associations with men from outside school present serious risk to female learners both on school premises and off, Christian School male learners' associations function to protect female learners. The privileges and protection that some of the male learners' receive as being part of some of the larger community's social networks is extended to some of the female learners. The male learners often, as Mr. Biyah says, "run to the rescue of the girls" when they see male community members engaging their female peers in potentially threatening behaviors. Khanyasile says of her male peers:

And the guys in the school are also defensive. They protect over the girls... Cause I take them as my brothers. They take me as their sister. So... we've got this good connection.

Tebello goes into more detail as to what this protection looks like:

Boys they make... like... those boys who are dropouts right there by the corners... who take our phones and whatnot. They know a lot of the boys that I know and they go to our school. They are much safer than us cause they know that guy, they know that boy... Some of them I do know because of the boys here at school, which helps a lot cause if they know you... maybe if they see you once... the boys will..., "Oh no I know her" and next time they are going to greet you and then you are going to meet friends of theirs and okay now... it's like, now you are becoming safe and you know...like this time this guy told us we're not going to take your phones because we know that this guy from school and we know that you guys are his friends. Yeahh... it's all about the people you know.

Limited Interpersonal Violence

Within the school, the levels of interpersonal violence including harassment, intimidation, theft, drugs and alcohol, and weapons seem very low. A converted small two-story flat makes for a very small and tight physical space. Every inch of space is used and in the two weeks I spent at Christian School I never found myself alone except in the restroom. The kinds of personal interactions that can take place on large campuses

like Township and Special where learners can socialize in large secluded areas cannot take place in Christian School. Mr. Biyah says of larger schools:

I had the opportunity of hearing and reading and talking to a lot of other people in the teaching business... and you hear... you know... they pick guns from classrooms, from children's bags, knives, etc.

Anele (or Anna) compares violence in small schools like Christian School to violence in larger schools:

I think because it is a small school we don't have a lot of violence because hey, if we had... if we had violence our principal is pretty strict on violence and crime and stuff like that. But in these big schools... I have lots and lots of friends who go to these big schools, they tell me about the violence. Quite shocking... Raping in the toilets. That's one thing and mugging and you know stealing... people... students bringing guns to school. Yoooo... it's bad. And it's not just public schools and private schools.

Christian School is so intimate a space that one of the interviews I did was conducted to the background of a baby's cry from the apartment block next door. Learners are rarely without nearby adult supervision. The only space that may qualify as one in which adult supervision is limited is the playground. But the playground is a converted small courtyard off of the ground level of the school which only access is through a classroom. Teachers and support staff are always in close proximity of learners. Such a small space leaves few learners opportunity to steal. Only one person interviewed, a parent, Elizabeth, makes mention of theft, of which she says, "Well of course the petty thievery and stuff like that that goes on."

Fighting

There are very few reports of fights at Christian School as Mr. Biyah explains:

Of course children are always children... they would have the arguments degenerate to fighting to maybe abuse and insults, but just that's as worse as it gets.

Khanyisile relates an incident in which her male friend, Luis, attempted to mediate a situation between her and a new male student. Apparently the new student and a few of his friends were waiting outside of the school attempting to chat up a few of the female learners. Khanyisile was very vocal and critical about these boys' attempts at garnering the girls' attention which enraged the boys. The boys began to become more verbally hostile with Khanyisile, at which point in time Luis intervened. A few days later, Khanyisile was walking to netball practice accompanied by Luis. The new male learner and his friends approached Khanyisile and asked Luis to leave while they talked to her. Luis refused and the boys "tried to fight" him. Khanyisile then:

Told the guys here in the school, Thuso and them, well this guy tried to do this yesterday. And Thuso went to the guy and asked him, "Why you doing this?" You know? And the guy was like, "It's not me, it's my friends". Then their situation went to Mr. Biyah. Mr. Biyah called... called his parents, wanted to call the police, but he started first by talking to this boy. Then they sort things out.

It may be assumed that the new learner's friends were not members of the Christian School community. Luis' attempt to protect Khanyisile from unwanted attention, harassment, and possible assault resulted in him becoming a target of a potential assault. Any further escalation was avoided with the assistance of Thuso and Mr. Biyah. The school community rallied together to protect their learners from assault. It is this sense of community that attributes to low levels of violence in Christian School. Anele speaks to this point:

Here at school we're so protected and everything... they make sure that everything is... everyone respects everyone, you know? Even though we are a high school after all... and certain things do happen, but it's very rare you'll find someone hitting someone, you know? People fighting or you know, assault... other kids assaulting other... no, it's very rare here in school. So, the environment here at school is very safe. And not that the students are pretending, but it... it's in all of us, you know, we respect each other. I think it's... it's genuine. It's coming from inside. You know? We all must respect each other.

That's what our school expects from us, so let's respect our school and our school will respect us. No, so, I don't experience any... I have never experienced any violence here at school.

What little evidence of assault there is at Christian School appears to have happened in the past. Mosegi shares his experience with violence in school:

I have experienced a violence at school due... due to our experiences last we had these two pupils at school who actually fought over a girl, which I didn't think was the case and the one almost got his eye out, jah. His eye was almost damaged. Jah. And, actually, I thought that was stupid for them to do, but anyway it was the way they showed their feelings about it, but I don't go for it. It's not cool... It was in the hallways after first break. It was a couple of years back, if I can remember. It is harder for you to get you to violence in our school. I think those people who are violent left our school a long time ago. Our school is... is okay now. We don't get violence as such... like before, you know. Jah. It's a nice school.

Ms. Everts and Ms. Bradburn recall "large fights" between Angolan and South African learners that took place several years ago. Ms. Everts says of this period of time:

There's always animosity between South Africans and Angolans and... xenophobia. So, there's always this argument and things taking place. And we then... we sort of... Clarice [Bradburn] has involved in this program where we take them to camps at the beginning of the year all the newcomers because those that have been in the system now for a few years, they now know and understand what we're about. And we just tolerate... it's tolerance of each other's cultures, each other's color, of each other's creed and so on and so she embarked in the program when we take them to camps and... we actually have a whole program... we... we... we seek tolerance, you know, with each other. And we call us a family. We call the Christian School a family. And this is how we work... and we iron out problems. So, when we have little squabbles and things, it's not about you, Mozambiquan, and I'm from here or whatever.

Mr. Biyah relates a story of a fight that took place several years ago that involved a weapon. This is the only mention of weapons at the school in all of the interviews. Mr. Biyah describes the incident:

One of the children who had a bit of... I would say needed a bit of attention in terms of psychological help stabbed one of the boys in the school. Yeah. Stabbed one of the boys in school. But the situation was quickly arrested. Because Clarice lives around the area, she rushed this child to the hospital... [the boy who did the stabbing] needed help. We just had a disciplinary hearing where we got

some counseling for him... [After the counseling] was quite nice. He faired quite well. He did not matriculate here though. But he spent another year or year and a half here with us.

While the efforts to mitigate fighting have for the most part been successful, the occasional fight still takes place. While I was visiting the school, a fight between learners took place in which a male learner coming to the aid of a female learner who was smacked by another male learner ended up fighting. When asked to give more detail about the incident, Ms. Bradburn and Ms. Everts say:

Ms. Bradburn: [That girl] was the one that got smacked. And then this was... the boys... [*inaudible*]... this boy was hitting a girl and he doesn't... because we teach the student... look, in Life Orientation, in Life Skills, in Life whatever... don't beat a girl.

Ms. Everts: It's not okay.

Ms. Bradburn: So this is why he came to the girl's defense, but he took it upon his own self to smack the boy.

The fight was being handled with the parent the day I interviewed Ms. Everts and Ms. Bradburn. Involving parents in these issues is a part of the success of the school in preventing fights and other disciplinary issues. Ms. Everts credits the overall environment in keeping fights at bay:

Well, in our environment it's different. We don't... we don't... we never had that experience... violences... they're just the normal bullying or the normal smack or the normal... You know the normal fighting and we don't have it a lot cause we don't tolerate it. It's not part of the policy. We... so quickly... nip it in the bud. Get the parent in or the guardian and we... more so try to bring in, you know, on a little counseling program. We, we know that they are not going to leave that day until they have made friends with each other. And even if it doesn't come from the heart, at least just put it down on paper and... try and work through this... and maybe tomorrow you can look each other in the eyes and say look.

Ms. Bradburn adds:

But the last incident... that's where our problem lays. We are not resolving conflict 100% because now we've got other jobs to do. We can't sit here all day

and counsel until it's resolved. .. so, it's still festering there. You know? So, we come and sunny and happy ever after. But I still feel we just need more time which we don't have. I mean it's impossible. You know? The school is small. Financially we can't afford it.

Teachers, learners, and administrators are very much invested in creating and perpetuating a healthy and respectful environment that mitigates fights and the use of drugs and alcohol.

Drugs & Alcohol

None of the learners interviewed talk of the prevalence of drugs and alcohol in school. In fact, two of the male learners interviewed talk about how Christian School's environment has assisted them in overcoming their own past drug use that thrived in their old school environments. The school's sense of care and nurturing extends to learners who may have issues with drug addiction. Mandisa recalls one learner who was welcomed back to school after a stint in rehab:

[The school] help[s] the person through the rehab... the rehab center always give the permission of the parents, too. And once the process of the rehab was... was through... the student... the student asked if he could come back to school because he was... he was out of this addiction. So the school actually welcomed back the student so he is still at school now.

Another learner who was found at camp with drugs was expelled. When Anna speaks of her friend who struggled with a drug habit, perhaps she is speaking of the same learner of whom Mandisa speaks. Anna says of this friend:

I once had a friend who used to do drugs. He quit now... From dagga to ecstasy. Anything. Cocaine. And... Jah... He used to do drugs. It was sad. I used to give him advice, but it seemed as if I was stupid because he used to laugh in my face... He has [quit now]. He went to rehab.

Mr. Harrison says of the small number of learners involved with drugs:

We also have had cases where we had cases of kids on drugs and not a huge number but, you know, pretty bad cases and in most cases, we sent for an

organization outside of the school that was able to do rehabilitation and in the case of the raped ones, we would, I would be... there would be a one-to-one thing either with a counselor or with a member of the staff and informing the parents if the child was in agreement with it, you know... it could be... the issue could be resolved in some way.

Security Measures

The school has taken measures to physically secure the building. The school has upgraded its fence and installed a more secure front door with intercom and controlled access. Mandisa describes the improvements:

They've improved the premises a lot as in they've added this year a longer fence. Umm... which was not like that a few years ago... last year they added a longer fence cause they know what's happening... and more secure appliances. The gate is electrical also.

Tebello adds to the physical upgrades the policies and procedures that secure learners safety:

I think we are quite safe. We have big fences and the door is always locked. There is no way... you have to go out with permission from the teachers. And unless you have a good reason why you want to go out...so, it's not easy to jump or whatever.

The accompaniment policy and the no cell phone policy work to secure learners safety outside the school building. Mandisa says of the accompaniment policy:

Our principal does agree that... they always advise us that when you go to school... when you go home... when you go back home please have someone to accompany you because it's not safe. We've got people take our cell phones. At school no more cell phones are allowed. If you [*inaudible*] the cell phone, they confiscate it because they know that you... it's gonna' get taken one or the other... That's a school policy. No cell phones cause because yooo... this year... I don't know how many... especially beginning of the year, people have been robbed... Now we've... they've asked us to please accompany each other, not to walk alone when you go home. Find a friend. Find people... After school you're gonna' have someone accompany you somewhere, to your place, if you're not... if you don't feel safe. You're going to ask the principal, "Can I please be accompanied?" You're going to be accompanied.

Mr. Biyah says of the accompaniment policy:

We've inculcated into them this... the simple fact that they need to understand that the neighborhood where we find our self is not the best, so if they're walking, they should walk in twos and threes... not walk alone and not stray away from school. While in school we don't let learners go out of school facility until after school when there are transport facilities available to pick them up. If they have to wait for the transport, they should stand... if they want to stand outside of the school facility, right in front here where the teachers can see and not stray away. You know? So... a lot of these tips have actually helped to... you know... keep the children... keep the children close to us.

The added physical upgrades of fencing, gates, and secure doors and the accompaniment and no cell phone policy have proven effective, but perhaps the most effective security measure at the school is the strong sense of community. Mosegi says of this:

Personal[ly], I do feel safe in the school because even though there is not that amount of security like guards and everything, and *inaudible*... and stuff, I do feel safe because I know most of the people that go to school are those people that don't promote violence and stuff like... they're like totally against it.

For parent Elizabeth, this sense of community presents itself as a disciplined environment. She says of Christian School:

Fortunately for me... this school...[is] very disciplined. [It's] a disciplined school. You know? Like I said you will have the odd... the... the petty thieving and stuff like that, but no violence in the sense that you have gangsters.

Mr. Biyah says of the school community:

In other schools you'd find... you know... it's very easy to pick out an unruly child. Or... every *inaudible*... you know... anybody who stands out. Or a few children who are really disrespectful and do not have any sense of values, respect. But here it was completely different. Different in the sense that you don't. You wouldn't be able to point a finger at... one or two... and say these ones are... I can't take... or these ones... come to generate... to being violent. So, it's a... it's... it's very clear.

Mandisa credits open communication among learners and between learners and teachers as another effective security measure.

[Here] you've got the communicate... here there's individual attention given to each and every learner. There's... there' communication between the students and the learners and... the teachers and the learners within themselves. So, I

think if one had a problem like that... one or the other is gonna' pull through. The teachers... or through one of the students... then the students transport it to one of the teachers. And then somewhere along the line, it's gonna' be stopped. Jah. And... jah because we're such a... the population of the school is very low, we will have known right away because whatever happens here, it gets to the school very quickly.

The mission of the school and the adherence to the mission protects learners from the violence in the larger community. Ms. Bradburn expresses it well when she says:

I think it's just the policy of the school or the statement mission of the school that we've... we've got to provide a safe place for these kids where they feel free to talk, where they feel free to speak about issues.

Community Resources

In addition to the partnerships with numerous national and private child welfare organizations attending to the needs of the school's vulnerable population, the school partners with a counselor and the local police. Counseling services are offered to learners on Wednesdays in the form of individual and group sessions, though a number of learners interviewed identify Ms. Brissot and Ms. Bradburn as their personal counselors. The local police department has stepped up patrol around the school and boarding facilities.

Katleho says of the police patrols:

I feel safe cause our school is working with the police as we said the last time they work with the police, so they're always up and down here checking around. They're always passing, you know? Just to check out how things are and... I feel very safe at school and at the boarding. It's... it's safe.

Conclusion

It's all about the ethos of a community, being a larger community or a school community... that togetherness, that sense of belonging. You fit in somewhere and you need to contribute positively to the well-being of that... community. And that is what you need to create. A school can't just be a school if there is no togetherness. No... [inaudible] and glue. No ethos. (Mrs. Brissot)

To understand each school's relationship with the community, each school's historical origins and mandates must be understood. Township School finds it difficult to escape its

long history of violence under colonial and apartheid rule. Special School and Christian School were established after the dismantling of apartheid, and with their short histories and specific mandates to serve learners who were disadvantaged by apartheid, have been able to varying degrees of success shape how the school interacts with the larger community. Each of the three schools finds itself nested within a particular context, and the boundaries between the school and the community have varying degrees of permeability. The degree of permeability dictates the levels and kinds of violence learners experience in their school communities. Special School and Christian School seem to have selectively permeable borders, in which they attempt to filter out specific aspects of the larger community. The borders of Township School are incredibly permeable and learners and community members flow back and forth across these borders with little restriction. High levels of interpersonal violence within Township School are evident, and interpersonal violence within the school seems to be an extension of the interpersonal violence within the community. Out of the three schools Christian School seems to be most successful at protecting learners from the violence in the broader community. The next chapter will explore the cultures of the three schools and how they might contribute to violence learners experience.

Chapter 8: School Culture

I have explored in great detail how learners in Johannesburg experience violence during their daily movement to and from school. The movement itself is a structural violence, and this structural violence opens up opportunities for learners to experience varied kinds and severities of individual violence. In the last chapter, I explored how the three school communities function within their larger communities. I examined the construction of the borders between the schools and their communities and argued that the borders between the school and community have varying degrees of permeability. I also explored to what extent each school mediates the interactions between learners and members of the larger community. It may be difficult to develop and implement public policies that address the lingering spatial segregation of the city of Johannesburg and remedy the long distances traveled by many learners to access better educational opportunities. It also may be difficult to address the pervasive crime and violence that occurs in many of the communities in Johannesburg, but perhaps narrowing our view to focus on the institutional level will offer some insight on how public policy may be conceptualized and crafted to lessen violence learners experience once inside school.

To aid us in this exploration I will employ a conceptual framework developed by David Hargreaves (1991, 1999) whose work examines the cultural linkages between school effectiveness and school improvement with a fulcrum of school culture. It is important to note that employing the Hargreaves's model to present the data for discussion is an effort at post-hoc conceptual organization. When collecting data, I was not familiar with Hargreaves's work, nor was I familiar with the literature on school culture. Because of my research questions' exploratory nature, I had not anticipated the

themes that would emerge prior to entering the field. During analysis, school culture began emerging as a significant theme, prompting me to conduct a review of the literature to gain a more robust understanding of school culture and the associated research. During this process, I discovered the Hargreaves's typology, which has provided a conceptual framework to illustrate the fact that each of the three schools had a very distinct school culture. I will begin this chapter by reviewing Hargreaves's theoretical foundations for the conceptual frame. Then I will outline the conceptual framework and the efficacy in this framework as a diagnostic tool. Next, I will diagnose the three school communities showing how each school community exhibits a particular type. Lastly, I will focus on one particular element of each school's culture for some philosophical inquiry.

Hargreaves Typology

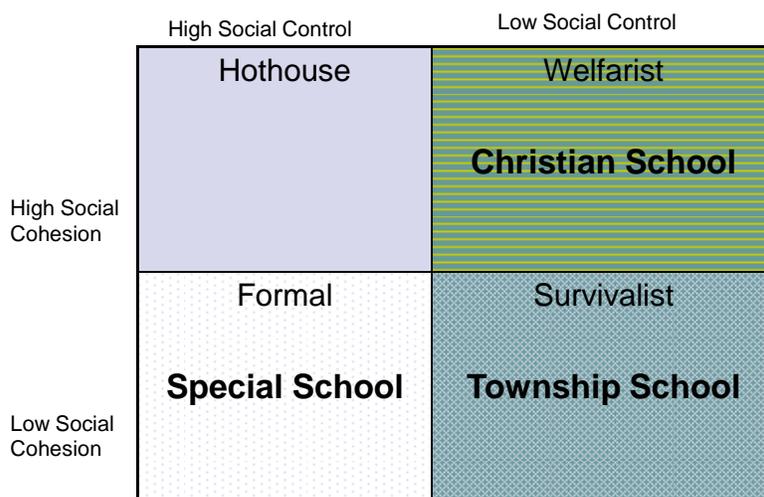
In "School Culture, School Effectiveness and School Improvement" (1991), Hargreaves opens with a useful review of the literature on school culture. He synthesizes the available scholarship into three branches: "the early studies of school climate from an organisational perspective"; "the application to curriculum studies"; and "the extensive literature of ethnographic studies of schools" (p. 24). He writes of a seminal piece, Waller's *The Society of Teaching* (1932), describing it as the "monumental" foundational text from which grew a substantial body of literature around school culture. The majority of school culture literature focuses predominately on teacher culture, and of this literature very little deals with school effectiveness and school improvement. Hargreaves calls for more scholarship with "clearer specification[s] of teacher and student cultures and the relationships between them" (p.24). Hargreaves builds on R.F. Bales' mid-century work

on the tension between social control, the ability to “deal with an instrumental function, or task achievement” and social cohesion, the “expressive function, or maintaining good social relationships” (p.25).

Toward this end, Hargreaves submits a useful typology to assist practitioners in conceptualizing school culture. Hargreaves suggests that schools have two fundamental tasks that are often in competition with one another: achieving the goals of the school—social control—and maintaining harmonious relationships, or social cohesion. In Figure 1, control and cohesion are assigned levels of high or low and framed in a two-by-two matrix with four extreme types: 1.) “formal” (high social control, low social cohesion); 2.) “welfarist” (high social cohesion, low social control); 3.) “hothouse (high social control, high social cohesion); and 4.) “survivalist” (low social control, low social cohesion). The ideal school culture would exist in the middle of the square with an even balance of social control and social cohesion. The Hargreaves typology offers extreme positions. Few school cultures actually are so extreme; most “real schools are locatable at any point in the space between the corners” (Hargreaves,1991, p. 28). I suggest that each of the three school’s cultures seems to relate to one of the types. Township School appears to be survivalist, Special School appears to be formal, and Christian School appears to be welfarist. I will begin the discussion by documenting the school culture of Township School, before moving on to Special School, which presents an interesting contrast. Finally, I will end with a discussion of Christian School.

Figure 2:

Typology of School Climate



Hargreaves (1999)

Township School

Township School displays all of the characteristics of a survivalist school in which there is low social cohesion and low social control. Hargreaves writes:

In its most extreme form, [the survivalist school] veers towards the ‘school in difficulty’ or ‘failing school’- social relations are poor, teachers striving to maintain basic control and allowing pupils to avoid academic work in exchange for not engaging in misconduct. Lessons move at a leisurely pace; students underachieve. Teachers feel unsupported by senior colleagues and enjoy little professional satisfaction. Life is lived at a day at a time. Many students feel alienated from their work which bores them. The ethos is often one of insecurity and low morale. (1999, p.51)

Indeed, Township School has a distinctive atmosphere that situates it firmly in the southeast corner of the typology.

On some mornings, Mr. Alwayhi, the school principal and another member of the staff occupy student desks near the garden, identifying latecomers and searching student bags for contraband from their posts. Mr. Alwayhi would like to implement a plan to search cars entering school grounds:

Mr. Alwayhi: You found that you were able to drive into the school premises. You also found that you were also not searched. But, I am hoping as if January 2006 [sic 2007]...

Illana: You'll start searching me. Laughs.

Mr. Alwayhi: One needs to make sure that all cars are searched. All vehicles entering the premises, you will need to be searched driving into the premises. Number Two...

Illana: What do you think would be in the vehicles? Why the need for searching the vehicles?

Mr. Alwayhi: Perhaps unwanted substances. Perhaps you are delivering a firearm to somebody... so that sort of thing... some other material.

Trying to get an initial audience with Mr. Alwayhi was very difficult. Mpho Mafela, the social auxiliary worker at the POWA Township field office, and I had scheduled and showed up for two appointments before we finally managed to sit down with the principal to talk about my intended research. The two failed meetings were particularly frustrating because each visit required us to travel a significant distance. I was worried about inconveniencing Mpho as she was incredibly generous with her time and insights. We hoped that the information gathered at the school would give Mpho a better understanding of the kinds of violence learners were experiencing so that she could develop appropriate programs to address the violence. We had a mutually beneficial research partnership, and her presence not only provided an entrée into the school, but it also helped me with insights into the particular experiences of the participants.

I had rented a car for the two weeks I would be at Township School. Daily private taxi fare was too costly, while shared taxis were prohibitively inefficient. After getting lost trying to find the school on my own, I arrived late. Mpho had not yet gotten there, and shortly after greeting the support staff in the main office, I was invited into Mr.

Alwayhi's office. Above the door to the principal's office was a small metal placard reading "Principal/ Hoof" and above that metal placard that had clearly been there since the original construction is a white sign with a graphic of a gun in Black with a red line through the gun and the words "This is a gun-free zone." The steel security gate flanking the door was ajar.

Inside the office were several teachers and administrative staff. Mr. Alwayhi greeted me and offered me a seat. I sat in one of the two chairs facing the principal's desk quietly observing the goings-on as Mr. Alwayhi attended to administrative details. The deputy principal walked into the office with a stick in hand.⁶⁶ Evidence of corporal punishment at Township School would appear occasionally throughout my two weeks of data collection. A male teacher entered the office with a learner around 15 years-old, picked up one of the two bounded books on the corner of Mr. Alwayhi's desk, and began writing the name of the learner into the book used to record disciplinary infractions⁶⁷. The learner had apparently been caught smoking. Mpho arrived and within five minutes of her arrival, Mr. Alwayhi told us of the "program" for the day (Mr. Alwayhi). Mpho and I would begin by talking with the 11Bs, whose teacher was absent that day, and would "indentify the problem learners." Then we would identify the problem learners in 10B. A teacher entered the office and the principal introduced me to her as a researcher from America who was there to help the school to work through discipline issues. I

⁶⁶ I had seen similar sticks in the hands of teachers at the community junior secondary school where I taught for two years in central Botswana in the mid-90s. These sticks, whose almost constant presence in the hands of my colleagues made me come to think of them as accessories, were often used to strike learners for disciplinary infractions (e.g. coming late to school, forgetting or not completing homework) and for maintaining classroom order. In Botswana a decade ago, corporal punishment was very much a part of teaching and learning, but in South Africa today, corporal punishment is illegal.

⁶⁷ The second book records the names of latecomers.

corrected Mr. Alwayhi's introduction by reiterating that I was there to learn about violence and safety in schools in South Africa. The teacher, in a somewhat abrasive and rhetorical tone, asked me how learners would benefit from my research. I replied that I believed my research would primarily benefit the school, enabling the school to better understand how members of the school community perceive violence against learners. Mpho would gain a sense of some of the issues and be better equipped to develop programs and policies to address violence.

Mr. Alwayhi escorted us to the block of classrooms directly across from the administrative block. We found nineteen learners, seven of whom were girls and twelve of whom were boys, leaning or sitting on desks that were organized in a semi-circle facing the chalk board. No chairs were in sight.⁶⁸ The seven girls were clustered in the center of the semi-circle with a cluster of four boys to their left and a cluster of eight boys to their right. The youngest of the learners there was 16-year-old Isaac and the oldest learner was 22⁶⁹. We began asking the learners to introduce themselves by telling us their names, ages, and what they like to do when they are not in school. We moved around the semi-circle and every time a girl spoke, a number of the boys interrupted with jeers. Mpho and I then introduced ourselves and shared with them why we were at the school. After talking about POWA and my research, a frank discussion about gender relations ensued. The boys dominated the discussion while the girls remained silent with arms crossed over their chests, looks of disdain and discomfort on their faces. Noting the girls' silence, we invited them to share their thoughts. When the girls began to talk, the boys became aggressive. Three or four boys in particular told the girls to "keep quiet" or

⁶⁸ I later asked Mr. Mokhwesana why there were no chairs in the classroom. He said that?

⁶⁹ The age range reflects the automatic promotion policy put in place with the South African Schools Act.

commented that their ideas were “stupid.” One boy in particular, Michael, was particularly belligerent toward the girls, raising his hand in a striking gesture when the girls commented on the aggressiveness and hostility of the boys. At the end of the class, Mpho and I left very disturbed by the openly hostile environment. The gender relations in the class were very poor. The girls seemed very intimidated and somewhat withdrawn. The boys appeared angry and aggressive.

Poor Social Relations

Our introduction to the learners in Township School suggested that the social relations among learners were poor, particularly when compounded by poor gender relations. Poor social relations are an indicator in Hargreaves’ survivalist school type. In the group interview with the boys, Isaac speaks to some of the hostile gender relations we saw in the classroom:

You know sometimes like...if... I don’t know when that person is in a good mood or what. If that... let me say that if you’re a girl, you are in on class, then maybe I tell you to make jokes. I... I don’t know whether you are happy or sad. Then maybe like... like...maybe you swear at me. Then... nya... I get angry fast, so... maybe if I slap you... if maybe you start... let me say you start slapping at me... then if I hit back and you go the student’s principal office and say that there is this boy in class, he slapped me. He wouldn’t... she wouldn’t say that I slapped him first. She would say Jacob slapped me on my face. Then the principal wouldn’t hear your side... not the other side of my story. He’ll say to me... go and call your parents.

Not only are social relations between male and female learners [word missing], so is interaction between younger and older learners. Mr. Mokhwesana, the history teacher, speaks to this hostility:

... and what would happen is the question of that these elderly boys... eh... they take advantage of a situation in the sense that if you find in a class predominately young boys and girls are in the majority, the older boys are very few. Some of the older boys would not accept if his young boys and girls make a joke about them. You know? It would be tense in terms of, you know, if the

older boy is answering the wrong question. If these young ones are nothing, you know? The older boys would threaten them. You know? You know it's a situation that happens every day. And...and... it's just unfortunate that there's no big fix or solution for that because you cannot classify a class according to age. You know? It's just unfortunate.

Social relations between learners and teachers also seem tense. Ms. Ranamane and Ms.

Morapedi, two of the more senior teachers on staff speak to this tension:

Illana: Okay. Do learners tell you... when they come to you, do they talk to you about... umm... you know... do we know why... do they feel comfortable coming to their teachers or... who do they feel comfortable talking to about the situation?

Ms. Morapedi: They don't. They don't feel comfortable speaking to the... the teachers. The few reasons that I pick up from them is the relationship... they don't have a close relationship with the class teacher, the teacher.

Ms. Ranamane: The teachers...

Ms. Morapedi: As a whole. They fear if they can confer their problem to a teacher, the teacher will tell the next teacher and it will spread...

Ms. Ranamane: Mmm. Mmm.

Ms. Morapedi and Ms. Ranamane suggest a lack of trust on the part of the students. They suggest that learners are reluctant to confide in their teachers because of the teachers' apparent lack of confidentiality. It is unclear as to whether Ms. Morapedi believes that this is the perception learners have of their teachers or an unfortunate reality.

Teachers not only have poor relations with the students, but it would seem the relations between teachers and the principal are also strained. This strain overlaps with another indicator of the survivalist model-- teachers feel unsupported by senior colleagues and enjoy little professional satisfaction. Mr. Alwayhi's principalship seems to be a source of some tension within the larger school community and the teachers speak to this at length. Mr. Mokhwesana offers:

Ever since we brought Mr. Alwayhi into the school, since 1997, some of the community members are very angry to say why do you bring this person in here. And do you think we will give you learners because of the history of this people is like this. You know? And in their own areas you will never find a Black person becoming a principal, you know? You know there are those remarks even in... even in some of the Black teachers. You know? Ehhh... when things don't go their way. So some of those remarks would come out. You know? And... because of everybody was asking why ever since he came then the large numbers of exodus of learners, you know? And that is a question that we cannot just raise. You know?

Mr. Mokhwesana suggests that it is not just the parents who are offended by the appointment of an Indian principal to an all-black school, but also the teachers. Mr. Mokhwesana asserts, and accurately so, that Black principals are not appointed to schools with predominately Indian learners. The learners and their parents have protested the appointment of an Indian principal by attending other schools. Mr. Mokhwesana remains ambiguous as to his feelings about the appointment of an Indian principal. Mr. Mokhwesana, who calls himself a "problem-solver" and is committed to "order and transparency" remarks philosophically: "That is the dilemma that we are in now. How can we solve it because you cannot return the clock of democracy per se. If the person won the interview, there's nothing we can do". Ms. Nkuna, an Economics and Tsonga teacher, explores the topic of the decline of the school and links the decline to the arrival of Mr. Alwayhi:

Then from there, the following year they drop. And we used to be the best school... when we look at our... you know... results... the results started dropping in 1997. I don't know whether... if we sound like racial or whatever... but... when our principal came in 1997 and Blacks they don't believe in Indians. As much as Indians don't believe in us. I can... I can have all the qualifications in the world...best this this... best whatever. They won't employ me in an Indian school. They won't. To be a principal or to get a higher position, no. But we took an Indian. Why? I don't know. The...that governing board at that time, they picked him. And... the results dropped...dropped... and dropped... and dropped. Okay with the... with the learners I understand. Parents might decide not to send their learners because... the figure... the Indian figure there, but the results. Why

the results? Because by then when we came, we still had good kids. But the results dropped, dropped, dropped. Until today. Now it's worse because parents they don't send their kids here, so we accept learners who are not wanted at the other schools. Obviously, we won't have results. And one thing that we are complaining... with the other teachers... or other years or other times is that January schools open. Right? All parents want to bring their kids to new schools. Register them. Whatever. What have you. But with us we have a problem with the figures here. Even [inaudible]. Parents come. When they come it's either the gate is locked. If it's not locked when parents come here they sit there. Sit there. And sit there. Then they are told that they will be attended to. Then the parents will be attended now on the same... go and come back... at two o'clock. No parent is going to come back at 2 o'clock. They will go to R-----. R-----⁷⁰ will attend them. [Inaudible] That's another thing which killed us. Why is it... it is done like this we don't know? But we have... we have picked up from him that... he doesn't have our learners, you know, at heart. The welfare of our kids. And they are like that and it won't change. And he came to the wrong school and at the wrong time need I say. And there is this thing of culture which is... you know... this conflict of understanding of doing things, you know? Doing things differently. And we always say you know but we used to do it like this. Yes, if there is somebody you... need to do things his way and we must try his way. But if it's not working why don't we go back to how we used to do it? Or try something new, different all together. No. It's his way or nothing.

It is somewhat unclear as to whether it is Mr. Alwayhi's ethnicity or his personal management style that causes such concern. Ms. Nkuna continues:

He... he doesn't respect the... this... the PS⁷¹ staff. You know? We don't like the thing of... he drives with his car and he stops here. We must coming run out. You know? Come running and open the door and take the bag and the jacket. You know? We feel offended as Blacks. And he's the man and he's got a family. You know? It's wrong. We don't do that. May he respect that part. We don't do that in our culture. He's...[inaudible]... his position, you know? That... it was understood. It was solved that one. And then it went on... it went on... he's used to that.

This notion of a culture clash between the Indian Mr. Alwayhi and the Black parents learners, and teachers shows up again in a discussion of religious practices at school. Ms.

⁷⁰ R----- is the name of a secondary school minutes from Township. The back of R-----'s grounds backs up on the dirt road where you enter into Township's school grounds. The two schools are so close in proximity because of an apartheid law that segregated African learners according to their mother tongue.

⁷¹ PS staff refers to the support staff who help with making copies and cleaning and maintaining the grounds.

Nkuna asserts that Mr. Alwayhi, a Muslim, does not respect the Christian culture of the community. She opines:

Our principal is an Indian. And we... we're two different people. Our cultures, they're parallel and he doesn't believe in prayer and what-have-you. You know? We... we used to start the day... every day with a assembly. And he's the one who decided that it would only be on Monday and Friday. And... we...we... felt offended. We felt it's not good in our culture and in our society everything is started by prayer. And we don't [inaudible] pray and if there is somebody praying he used to be irritated, you know? And the time, you know, it must be fast, and that's not how we do it. We believe in singing and singing and singing and praising the Lord, you know? And there... there... put that spirit in such a way... every time there is a assembly, we just stand. We are supposed to assembly... learners even they don't sing because we think it has lost even the meaning.

Ms. Nkuna's earlier assertion that it is the appointment of an Indian principal that has contributed to the low enrollment of learners attending Township School leads us to explore the next indicator of a survivalist school, the drop in number of learners.

Dropping Roll

Hargreaves suggests that rapidly falling population is evidence of a school in crisis. Indeed, Township School is under-subscribed, while R-----, the neighboring school a few minutes' walk from the front gate is oversubscribed. The day we met with 11B, Mpho and I found nineteen learners in the class. The learners told us that there are officially 42 learners are officially in the class. It was unclear as to the whereabouts of the other two-thirds of the class. Ms. Nkuna and I discuss the small numbers of learners at Township:

Ms. Nkuna: I won't be surprised if you come here. March they say unfortunately we have to move you to the next school. It won't even... it won't even be planned because there won't be the number of learners. There will be only 200 learners. And they say so. They are not coming and they are not telling... they are telling their friends not to come....

Illana: Why is R----- crowded? It's overcrowded, R-----.

Ms. Nkuna: They think... they think they're better. When we started dropping we kept on asking ourselves why are our numbers dropping because they don't know what is offered here? They come... they just come. Then from there, the following year they drop. And we used to be the best school. Ehh... when we look at our... you know... results... the results started dropping in 1997.... (p.28)

The principal also speaks to the dropping enrollment:

Mr. Alwayhi: Our school population this year is 451.

Illana: 451.

Mr. Alwayhi: That's dropped tremendously from ten years ago when we were 1,367.

Illana: Wow! 1,367.

Mr. Alwayhi: Yes. Various factors can be attributed to the movement of learners. Initially, uhhh... a vast majority of our learners used to come from an informal settlement that was just here, up the road. Uhh... and this settlement was demolished by the government. And the inhabitants moved away from here. Somewhere in the rural parts, area. So... that...uhh...

Illana: When was it demolished?

Mr. Alwayhi: Uhh... plus, minus 200-

Illana: Oh, recently.

Mr. Alwayhi: Yes.

Illana: Mmmmm...

Mr. Alwayhi: And you know? Uh... with the big chunk of learners going at one moment it also impacted on our student role which then had a simultaneous effect on the number of staff we had. We had to redeploy some staff members. We had to stop offering certain subjects at school.

Mr. Alwayhi attributes the drop in roll to the demolition and relocation of an informal settlement whose residents attended Township School. Regardless of its cause, the decreased enrollment subsequently impacted the numbers of teachers employed at the school, which resulted in a narrowed curriculum, which then sent learners in search of

schools with broader course offerings. When asked to compare the academic skills of learners today with the academic skills of the learners in the early 90s, Mr. Mokhwesana observes:

You know I think in terms of academic skills, it's very low. And more especially because we don't have practical subjects that can equip these learners... Practical subjects like Computer Studies... I think also the issues of subjects and also because of... we are streamlining subjects and we are not giving learners the choice to choose their own subjects. That also creates a problem.

Teachers believe that the limited curriculum discourages more capable learners from attending Township School. Township School seems to attract learners who have dropped out from other schools. Khotso, for example, who came to Township School the previous year as a Grade 11 learner and is repeating Grade 11 again this year. Prior to returning to school, Khotso "was staying in the location" for a year after dropping out from a different high school in another part of the township.

Students Underachieve

In today's South Africa, a school's reputation and its subsequent ability to attract learners is based on its Matric pass results. Township's Matric results have been dropping consistently for the past decade. Mr. Alwayhi is aware of this low academic achievement. He stated that "the single biggest challenge facing Township High School is to uplift the academic standards of the school". Mr. Alwayhi states:

Mr. Alwayhi: When I took over as principal in 19--, our Matric... and you know in South Africa the yardstick to measure your results is Matric. Our Matric results were 0 percent. And over the years we took it and I'm giving it to you consistently over the years... we took it to 80-some... 80 percent... 11 percent. We went to 19 percent. We went on to 34 percent. We went on to 39 percent. We went on to 50 percent. And went to 52 percent. From 52 percent...

Illana: 52.

Mr. Alwayhi: But we're still bad. That's bad news. From 52... and I want you to ask... and I will attribute possible reasons... They dropped till 39 percent. They dropped further to 33 percent.

Illana: So as of last year you were at 33 percent?

Mpho: 56 or 32?

Mr. Alwayhi: 32.

Mpho: [Whistles].

Illana: And what do you attribute that to?

Mr. Alwayhi: I want to attribute that to various reasons. Uhh... the 39 percent...uhh... learners are the very first group of learners who started off with Outcomes Based Education.

Whatever the reason for the decline in academic achievement, learners are performing poorly. In the group interview with the boys, Isaac, Michael, and Khotso discuss the decline:

Isaac : Like... all of my grades...jah... I was doing well, but this year, I... I don't know what happened. Cause... it's like... all of us in the class... like now... our marks are not okay. I don't know what's wrong with the class. This year... I'm not happy with my marks. Because...

Michael: I think....

Isaac: Our common papers⁷²... like we don't pass. All of us since March...

Khotso: And September...

Isaac: All of us are failing. No one passed the common exams.

Illana: No one passed them in your class?

Learners: No one.

Illana: In 11B?

Isaac: And still in 11A no one passed.

⁷² End-of-year exams.

Michael: No one.

It is alarming that not one in learner in the two Grade 11 classes passed the end-of-year exams. Mr. Alwayhi may have attributed this to OBE, but such a dismal performance suggests something else at work here. Bontle suggests that teachers are mismanaging instructional time:

Because here at school, you know, it's not like fun. Sometimes you like wake up and say, you know, I want to go to school today and then... but sometimes you could wake up and... uck... you don't feel like going to school. When you come to school you know... your teachers sometimes are not here, are busy, you know? And you, like, want to learn. You want to go home and say I've learned this. But sometimes you can come to school and go back home with nothing. Haven't learned anything, but you wake up early in the morning and say I want to go to school. Even though the teachers are busy, but sometimes they don't give us time to express ourselves and say we want to do this and not to write this essay.

Bontle wants to learn, but she suggests that the teachers are too busy to attend to her needs. Is it that teachers are physically absent from the classroom or is it that they lack sufficient instructional strategies to elicit input from learners with limited writing skills? Or is it that teachers are busy negotiating activities with learners? Whatever the reason for this lack of academic achievement, the impact of the low social control on bright learners is heartbreaking, as one teacher recognizes:

And you know we find in my class, Grade 11, there is a learner. She came here. ... She's always the first to come in the class everyday she is always in. She sits here obediently. She listens. She hears what we are saying. And those are the learners who you think of when you wake up. The poor child, you know? She's the only one when you mark, you know, she is evidence of what you have been doing in class. And... I have observed. I was even telling the mother I have observed something. She's deteriorated. She's gone down. Why? Because there's no challenge in this class. She is in a class with learners who are here because there is nothing that they want to do. You know? Who are not determined. Who are not prepared. Always making noise. You know? And when you look at her work now, I can tell that, no, she is going down. She is not the girl she was a year ago at the other... you know, she's very good, but she's de-motivated also because there is no challenge. And this one gets one [answer correct]. This one gets two [answers correct]. And the other one says I'm better,

I got two and you got one. Out of how many? Can you really say that? Then at the end I won't be surprised if that girl fails. And... and the mother doesn't have money. If she had money she'd had taken her to Parktown Girls' and so-and-so. So because she doesn't have money, she will be stuck here. She's always here. Always. If I have a period now, she would be the one here alone. It doesn't matter. She'll sit here alone. She'll leave when the bells rings. Then she'll ask... then I'll talk to her whatever. The others are not here. (Ms. Nkuna)

Learners who show great academic promise but who cannot afford to get out of Township School are often stuck with unmotivated classmates and inattentive teachers. The fate of the academically-inclined and the academically-challenged are the same at Township School. Teachers seemed to have traded demanding academic achievements for maintaining basic control.

Trade-off Between Demands of Academic Work and Maintenance of Control

Teachers striving to maintain basic control and allowing pupils to avoid academic work in exchange for not engaging in misconduct is another characteristic indicating Hargreaves's survivalist school. Lessons at Township School are implemented at a leisurely pace. The time teachers spend managing disruptive students frustrates Bontle:

Sometimes as we are attending in the class, maybe Ma'am⁷³, he or she is talking to us. Then boys started to make a lot of noise and some of us didn't understand what Ma'am was saying to us. Then Ma'am becomes angry and says, "No, stop making noise. Cause some others are interested to listen to what I am saying." So, boys are too corrupt sometimes in classes. They didn't want to understand what the teacher is teaching about.

Nonofo concurs:

Yes and like yesterday, I went home early. I went off the sliding door. Because when I went to the class, Ma'am gave us the books and said do it. Then we read of us. Then some of them when we are busy reading, they hit us and stuff. I was like How? "Ma'am, why don't you tell them that we are reading and they must stop doing that?" She doesn't say anything! She's just... so I... I told myself how I came to school... when I am trying to read, the teacher doesn't say

⁷³ Ma'am is an honorific referring to a teacher.

anything? This is not what I am supposed to do. I'd rather go home. Plus, there are no teachers... they're not teaching us and we're not in class. So, I went home early and I thought.

Tired of the disruption in her learning and enduring physical abuse in class with no intervention from the teacher, Nonofu decides to leave school. The statement "there are no teachers... they're not teaching us and we're not in class" is puzzling. Is student absenteeism due to teacher absenteeism or is teacher absenteeism due to there being no learners in class to teach? Or is student absenteeism due to the lack of instruction? Such ambiguity appears again and again throughout the learners' interviews. Is this ambiguity due to lack of facility with the English language or is it simply learners' ambiguous understanding? In this case, the ambiguity is clarified by the boys who suggest that teachers are present, but attending to their own needs:

Khotso: Cause...these teachers... we can...we can... go to our class... when we arrive there, maybe he is having another teacher there and they are talking about their things... they're don't concerned about us.

Illana: They're not concerned about you?

Khotso: We... eshh... because we move out and up in the class. Cause... these teachers... we can...we can... go to our class... when we arrive there, maybe he is having another teacher there and they are talking about their things... they're don't [not] concerned about us.

Illana: They're not concerned about you?

Like Nonofu, the boys react to teachers' inattention and neglect by leaving the classroom:

Khotso: We... eshh... because we move out and up in the class.

Illana: What do you mean you move out and up?

Khotso: We go outside...

Michael : Yes. Up and down. We go around...you see? Yes.

Illana: And the teachers don't say anything.

Khotso: They don't say anything.

According to the boys, learners are able to move around school grounds freely without teacher supervision or fear of discipline unless the principal is present. Teachers discipline learners only if the principal is present:

Michael: But when the principal is there, they act as if...

Khotso: If the principal catch you, you're in trouble.

Michael: You're in trouble. We're going to call your parents.

Issac: And... they don't want to hear any story.

Michael: They just take your shoes and eshh... you'll go bare-footed.

Illana: Why does he take your shoes?

Khotso: Because... because he wants you to come with your parents to discuss the problem. Why are you late? Why are you jumping the fence?

Illana: And if he takes your shoes, how do you go home to call your parents? Or? Do you phone?

Michael: No, No, No.

Khotso: You walk bare-footed.

Issac: And... if you tell him that...ehh... I travel by taxi, he says...

Michael: I don't care.

Khotso: He would say, "Don't make your problem my problem."

Michael: He doesn't want to know.

Mr. Mabaso, the deputy principal, confirms this disciplinary measure:

Mr. Mabaso: There are some parents who only come to school when their... ahh... for example, sometimes we've caught learners who have done these [inaudible]. We tell the parents... the learner to bring the parents. Sometimes it takes some time for the learner to bring the parents because when they arrive home they don't tell their parents about their mis... [inaudible]. ... which they've done in school. [inaudible]. . They just keep quiet. Yeah. And then sometimes

the parents do come cause we are taking some other stringent disciplinary results. For example, we take the learners shoes, jerseys, and socks. Then we tell them to go and call their parents.

Illana: So when you keep their shoes, they have to walk barefooted?

Mr. Mabaso: Jah. And then they come with their parents because they're now afraid. They cannot walk on foot.

Having learners walking bare-footed for long distances borders on abuse; at the very least, such a form of discipline creates an insecure environment. Insecurity and low morale are two more indicators of a failing school.

Insecurity and Low Morale

Insecurity can be interpreted in both the physical and psycho-social sense of the word. In its physical sense, discussion of insecurity is a dominant theme throughout all of the interviews of learners, teachers, and students. Physical insecurity within school grounds was explored in great detail in the previous chapter on school-community interaction. In this chapter I will focus more on the psycho-social sense of insecurity. Psycho-social insecurity appears among the Township teachers who feel unsupported by the school administration and who find little professional satisfaction in their work. In speaking of Mr. Alwayhi, Ms. Nkuna laments:

So, you can see the kind of person [he is]. And in our meetings, every time you talk, every time you are vocal, he's watching you. He's listening. Then when you hear from [inaudible] oh, he's talking about so-and-so. You know? And people tend to be afraid now. Talk... they don't want to talk in the meetings. And if you are the one who talks too much when it comes to this redeployment, even if he can... he can denies it, but we have observed the trend that those who are vocal are the first to go. What should we do? Left with those... those certain things... [inaudible] ... and then if that's the case, we'll never get it right.

After becoming friendly with Ms. Nkuna, Mr. Mokhwesana, and Ms. Ranamane, I learned that it wasn't until several days after Mpho and I initially arrival to the school that

our identities were revealed to the staff. Township staff assumed that Mpho and I were from the district office carrying out an assessment or an audit. It was only after I interviewed Mr. Mokhwesana and chatted socially with him that the other teaching staff learned who I was and why I was there. I was told that teachers have long since stopped asking the principal the identities of school visitors, and apparently the principal does not share this information freely. This was very different from my experience at Christian School and Special School where I was introduced during assemblies to both school communities.

Profound Sense of Loss

A dominant theme emerges from the interviews and informal chats I had with the teachers. The teachers communicate a profound sense of loss and a deep nostalgia for the way things used to be. Loss—the loss of a sense of community, the loss of integrity, the loss of intact families, the loss of morality, and the loss of discipline—explains the drastic decline in academic achievement. Mr. Mokhwesana speaks about the loss of a sense of morality and of parental support for school discipline:

And that's what frustrates... you know... because you can see the problem, but there is nothing that we can do. Because when I see some of these boys and... more often than not some of them will come to me tell me so-and-so is giving them with these drugs. And as a result they are now afraid to stop. You know? And... ehh... when you... you talk about the very same issues it will be like, you know, you want to create a problem for the school and blah, blah, blah... You know? So at the end of the day what can you do? Because some of these boys in the very early hours of the morning, they are highly intoxicated. And...ehhh... you would talk about the effects of this substance abuse, but if you don't get a support from home, you know, I remember when I have our grade reports... ehh... on the 13th of July...ehh... when I asked a mother are you aware that your child is smoking? The mother and the child are smoking together. And the child does not see anything wrong if he smokes in the school yard. And when we talk it's like now you are waging a war now. Because of if the parents allow it at home, who are you know to reprimand? You know? And these are some of the things. You know?

He extends this loss of morality to the loss of intact families:

You'll find that they [the learners] are not staying with their original parents. The majority are staying with grandparents, aunts, and whatever. So when you want to talk with the real parent, the parent is in Rustenberg. The parent is deceased. You know? The parents are divorced. No, there are a lot of stories. You know?
(Mr. Mokhwesana)

Mr. Mabaso, the deputy principal, laments the loss of the notion of extended family in which any elder in the community is entitled to reprimand any youth, even if they are unrelated:

Mr. Mabaso : And then sometimes nowadays when we try and reprimand a child which is not yours biologically, that child is saying, "No, you're not my father or mother." You know? And start saying my father died without shouting at me... blah, blah, blah. You see? Because when you reprimand a child the child must understand that he or she is reprimanding [sic being reprimanded]. Now, if you don't reprimand that child, and then where are you going to. Yeah. Because order must be there. Without order there is no work.

Illana: Yeah. And it used to be different? Can you talk about some of the major differences in discipline maybe ten years ago and today?

Mr. Mabaso: Ahh... ten years ago learners used to be disciplined. And nowadays learners are ill-disciplined because they don't adhere to the rules. They just do as they... at least they know that they cannot be done anything. When you try and discipline them or you when you detain them, they dodge, jump throughout... through the windows.

Illana: What do you attribute this to?

Mr. Mabaso: Hmm?

Illana: What do you think is the reason for this?

Mr. Mabaso: The reason for this I can say... they have rights, but they don't have responsibilities. And also the family background of the learners also comes into... into play because when learners are not disciplined at home it is difficult to discipline them here at school. You understand? Because in my culture we know that a child start learning good morals and values at home. So, if those are not taught at home and then some... when they come to school they change because they are following their peers.

The sense that South Africa's post-apartheid rights-based environment has led to the deterioration of individual responsibility resurfaces in the interviews with Ms. Ranamane and Ms. Morapedi:

Ms. Ranamane: During the school holiday... the school holidays used to bore us at home. We used to long to come to school. You know... I'm longing for my learners. Not now.

Illana: Tell me why not now.

Ms. Ranamane: Ahh... this new generation...

Ms. Morapedi: First of all our learners they don't want to...

Ms. Ranamane: They don't want to do their work. They're lazy. They do all this funny stuff. They do drugs.

Ms. Morapedi: They smoke.

Ms. Ranamane: They... they do alcohol. They fall pregnant. Hooooooo....

Ms. Ranamane and Ms. Morapedi compare the etiquette and protocol of pregnant learners during their time as students and pregnant learners today:

Ms. Ranamane: Round about...ehhhh... and it's... in our culture, it's too heavy for us to be teaching young mothers and young pregnant girls.

Ms. Morapedi: Yes.

Illana: Why is it heavy for you to teach young mothers?

Ms. Ranamane: You know during our times if I got a [inaudible] at school, I would stay home.

Ms. Morapedi: Stay home.

Ms. Ranamane: And my mother would come to school. And come... you know... in a dignified way to come and talk to the principal, but, "Will you please allow her to come back next year." That... they wouldn't say would she come back now... after...

Ms. Morapedi: Delivering the baby.

Ms. Ranamane: Delivering the baby. Then after delivering the baby, you'd come back to school and things would be normal and teachers...

Ms. Morapedi: The following year.

Ms. Ranamane: The following year and the teachers would respect you. You know it was... it was a taboo to be at school being pregnant.

Illana: Why was there a taboo?

Ms. Ranamane: We don't know, but... eh... you wouldn't feel comfortable.

Ms. Morapedi: Free.

Ms. Ranamane: Free.

Ms. Morapedi: [*Inaudible due to crosstalk*].

Ms. Ranamane: Other learners who were pregnant... you would go home... you would stay home... for the whole year and come back after dignified and you would come back and complete your standard no problem.

Illana: And today?

Ms. Ranamane: Ahh...

Ms. Morapedi: Today they show their stomach.

Ms. Ranamane: Today they move like that in the school yard. You know? Department... as if it's somebody...

Ms. Morapedi: Something has happened, you know? Something not nice.

Ms. Nkuna addresses the shift in power from adults to learners. She laments the loss of corporal punishment and asserts that learners abuse the notion of rights:

Aahhh... since... since the... I can say since the government started to... to take away corporal punishment, jah... they took corporal punishment and it was not replaced by anything. Right? So, it has been difficult in the last *inaudible* to reprimand learners. They've got all the rights. They've got all the freedom. They know freedom of speech, freedom of movement. Right.

Township School did not always struggle with unruly learners and low morale.

According to Ms. Nkuna, Township School was once the pride of the community:

And you will see them wearing their uniform. Yellow and gold. It has changed. It is no longer the same. They used to put the tunics, you know, in yellow then on certain days. On other days Black one and white. You know? And khaki shirt. You would... you would love them. And this school had a reputation from January to December. Maybe we would have one learner who is late. One. Absent, maybe two for the... in the whole school. When you go to the sports grounds if you come like this...you see that [*inaudible*]... not even one is not on the grounds. They were all there. Stay there when there was athletics. Results. We would reap them everywhere. You know? We'd see them in papers. And people now are saying what went wrong. It has become one of the worse. Nobody want to bring the child. Just turn the other way.

Special School

Special School seems to display extremely high social control and lower social cohesion, especially between learners and teachers. The Special School would be positioned closer to the southwest corner of the four-by-four typology box. See Figure 1. According to Hargreaves (1991), the Formal School places:

Exceptional pressure on students to achieve learning goals (including examination performance) and perhaps athletic prowess, but with weak social cohesion between staff and students. School life is orderly, scheduled, disciplined. Within the work ethic no time is wasted: interference with instrumental goal achievement is ruthlessly excised. Homework is regularly set and marked: tests are common. To those who succeed in the school's goals, there are prizes and prestige. Expectations are high, with a low toleration for those who do not live up to them. To staff, the headteacher appears cold and distant, even authoritarian; to students, staff appear aloof, strict, and unapproachable. Each side displays little warmth, whilst valuing institutional loyalty. Social support for students come from informal peer groups that tend, because of students' socio-emotional isolation from teachers, to be strong and influential, whether pro-school or anti-school. The tone (ethos) of the institution is custodial: in hard forms (a military school) it could be described as coercive; in softer versions (the grammar school) as a 'tight ship' fostering traditional values. (p. 26-27)

Unlike the Township School, which is firmly planted in the survivalist corner, Special School would float more North toward greater social cohesion and more East away from its extreme position. Special School very much seems to display many of the characteristics of a formal school.

Special School is located on the grounds of a former Model C school in an older, formally white Afrikaans inner suburb. The main entrance to the school grounds is located at in the middle of a residential neighborhood of good-size single-family homes that sit behind ten-foot high security fences. As you enter through the pedestrian gate to the school, you step into a courtyard with landscaped green spaces of trees and flowers and paved walkways leading you to the administrative block on your left, covered parking spaces in the middle, or, classroom blocks to your right. To the left of the pedestrian entrance is a secured entrance for cars where visitors and teachers may park. Once inside the parking area, the back of the administrative block is on your right and the sports fields are to your left down a small slope.

I had come to the school several weeks before beginning the interviews to explain my research project in detail to Mr. Hendricks, the principal. He was very accommodating, partnering me with Mr. Schermerhorn, a 28 year-old Afrikaans-speaking Afrikaans and Life Orientation teacher who, in addition to teaching, was a graduate student in Psychology. Mr. Schermerhorn invited me to sit in on his class and observe a lesson he was teaching on violence. Mr. Schermerhorn would become my entrée into the Special School community. He identified learners and teachers whom I might like to interview.

High Academic Expectations

The Special School has a selective admission policy. Students are asked to take a math test that is developed by the school to determine “what they know and what don’t know, what they have been taught” (Mr. Hendricks, p. 16). Additionally, potential

learners are given a junior aptitude test that contains ten subtests. This test, according to Mr. Hendricks:

Measures a child's scholastic aptitude. Aptitude meaning the potential a person has, that enables him or her with a given amount of training and practice to reach a certain level of ability. Junior aptitude test also provides an estimated IQ, intelligence quotient. It takes about four and a half to five hours for them to administer that test.

From the roughly 400 Grade 7 students who apply for admission to the school, the top 100 performers are selected to join the Grade 8 class the following school year. In selecting the top 100 students for admissions, the School considers the verbal and math abilities as determined by the aptitude test, the results from the school-generated math test, and, to a lesser extent, the candidates' primary school grades. Primary school performance is "rather low" on the priority list because, as Mr. Hendricks explained to parents, a "50% from one primary school might be better than 80% at another primary school" (p. 17). The School does not select learners based on any kind of gender or racial quota. Mr. Hendricks acknowledges the selectiveness of the admissions process. He concedes that the selection process is not always successful. At times learners who have been selected to attend have difficulty "coping":

Sometimes we go wrong. We make the wrong choices. And kids are here that shouldn't be here and that's when frustration creeps in and they don't cope with the subject choice. They don't cope with the difficulty of the work. Or maybe just circumstances at home are just of such a nature that there is no support and they don't have the opportunity to...to work and that leaves to frustration and naughty children. (Mr. Hendricks, p. 16)

"Coping" is a theme that comes up time and time again in interviews with learners and faculty at this school.

The Matric pass rate at Special School is 100 percent. Such a high pass rate is likely a reflection of the school's selective admission process as well as the pressure on

achieving learning goals and strong performance of tests and exams. Zwanga, a Grade 11 learner, poet and rapper, offers a rather indicting analogy that perhaps encapsulates the culture of the Special School. While Zwanga, who is struggling with depression, may be particularly critical of the school, the majority of learners interviewed shares this view, though to lesser degrees. In this one powerful analogy, Zwanga illustrates a number of the characteristics of a formal school:

Zwanga: Let's just say I don't think on one level. There's different trains of thought here. I feel people are afraid to tell each other the truth. This school to me... I used to joke about it, like a couple of weeks back. Now it's kind of...my personification of the school...it's actually kind of a prison. Mr. Hendricks is the warden and our heavy bags represent...how can I say...the bags full of coal from the coal yard after a hard day's of labor. And I guess every bell is just a signal to go for a break or labor on to the next class and just...I don't know. The environment isn't...The teachers call you names.

Illana: What do they call you?

Zwanga: A useless bunch of kids, etc. But that's not just out of anger because we do not do our work. I mean why don't we do our work? Cause we don't enjoy it. We don't like the teacher who is teaching us. I think...I feel their methods of teaching is very ancient. They're not up to speed with us, so we kind of loose concentration.

Zwanga's metaphor of the school as prison recalls Hargreaves's assertion that a custodial institution can be perceived as coercive in its extreme form or a 'tight ship' in its lesser form. The warden role assigned to the principal would support the aloof, unapproachable nature of Formal school teachers and administrators and the bell signaling a break or laboring on to the next class suggests an orderly, scheduled, disciplined atmosphere. The school bags of books likened to bags of coal suggest the weight of academic achievement learners feel. Being called "a useless bunch of kids" suggests the lack of toleration teachers have for learners who do not live up to their high expectations.

Pressure on Student Achievement Erodes Social Cohesion

Special School learners talk about the intense pressure to achieve. Unfortunately, this pressure seems to come at a significant cost to learners' psycho-social well-being. The pressure to perform seems to come not only from the administrators and teachers, but also from parents and fellow classmates. The group interview with the boys reveals some of the pressure learners experience:

Zwanga: We just... we... this school is so academic that you just try and make fun out of anything.

Akani: Anything.

Illana: Can you talk about this? This school is so academic that we try and make fun of it?

Akani: Uhhh... with this school... it's... the way things are, things become so tense sometimes. We even forget your sense of humor and the days that make you happy... you start thinking that only school can make me... only my marks and so on can make me happy. Stuff... other things... it's not like that for us. We...we...like take some of the situations which occur and make fun of them. Yes, they might offend someone else, but we'd be just fine to make fun. We wouldn't be...

Zwanga: Personal about it...

Akani: Personal about it, but people take it personally and so on.

Akani reports feeling so much pressure to achieve good marks that he loses his sense of humor and sense of perspective. The academic pressure to perform seems to erode social cohesion among learners. Akani and Zwanga talk about how they might make fun of their classmates to ease some of the pressure. Though not intended to be offensive, the joking may be taken personally by classmates who are likely just as tense as Akani and Zwanga, thus harming the social cohesion among learner. Evan, a Grade 12 Coloured learner, spoke of similar problems:

Evan: Because at school you can't be as you are at home.

Illana: And how is that? What's the difference?

Evan: What's the difference? Here you have responsibilities. Here you have to do things. You have to live up to what everybody expects. You...you can't say no or you can't say you don't want to do it. It's just expected of you.

Illana: For example?

Evan: Like the school work. The assignments...and...and the children in our school. We...we talk to each other, nay? But we're not so close. We are all in our different groups.

Evan speaks of the expectations the school has for its learners and the pressure to conform to these demanding expectations. Evan talks about how learners have very little freedom of choice. There is little tolerance for those learners who choose not to conform to expectations. When Zwanga attempts to lighten his course load by dropping down from a higher level math class to a lower level math class, he is met with resistance from both Mr. Hendricks and his father:

Zwanga: Mathematics...that's my greatest problem at the moment. That's why I had the whole nervous breakdown. It's like my parents...my dad and Mr. Hendricks ganged up on me. When was it? Today's Thursday? On Tuesday afternoon and they forced me to drop one of my extra subjects, Computer Science. And I...wanted to drop my Math to standard grade and they just told me I wasn't working hard enough.

Illana: You wanted to drop what? Computer Science?

Zwanga: I wanted to drop Maths. I wanted to drop Maths down to a standard grade and they just told me that I am not working hard enough.

Illana: What does that mean? What does to drop Maths down to standard grade mean? I don't know what that means.

Zwanga: It's like....We've got different grades of Maths. We got higher grades Maths which includes the whole syllabus. And the standard grade Maths, which asks the questions in the more simplified form.

Illana: And so everyone here in this school... I thought everyone was doing higher grades Math? No?

Zwanga: No. Some people drop, but you have to get a letter of permission from your parents.... To actually drop so... I don't know. Are you going to another school next week?

Illana: Yes.

Zwanga: Then you should ask about the higher grade and standard grade thing. And they'll explain it to you basically. But those who can or those who are mentally fit will stay on the high grade. And those who aren't so bright will go down to the high...standard grade.

Illana: Mmmm... And you want to go down to the standard grade?

Zwanga: I guess I wanted to do, but I mean me dropping that subject wasn't my choice. I just went along with it. And I just told them I hope your idea works. I don't know...I.I...I...I am in a state of...I have always been in a state of rebellion. It's just now the signs are more evident. I'm in a rebellion against the school. I don't feel...this is any environment for a child to be growing up in. But I mean if that's what some parents want. I won't lie to you.

Zwanga blames the extreme academic pressure for his nervous breakdown. He feels he was strong-armed into staying in a higher-level math class, and he resents that he has no choice in deciding his fate. Ultimately, he resigns himself to the wishes of Mr. Hendricks and his father, but at what cost? Extreme mental stress? Zwanga's suggestion that Special School is not a healthy environment for children is a common refrain among learners. Not only does extreme academic pressure alienate learners from themselves, such pressure also alienates learners from each other:

Within the learners that once they are not good at academics, you're worthless. And people have taken that so seriously. Ma'am, you won't believe. They have started forgetting how to be normal human beings and so on. They... ahhh... they become senseless for me. Even when I come to school, I say every morning it's all about... we have to... "Did you study? How do you think you are going to do?" It's not about, "How are you? How's life?" and so on. You see, it's basically... a shallow group... let's say. Even though it has a good academic reputation. But... it's just a shallow group... Shallow group. There's no family....Yeah. Shallow is terms of being just touches on positives... school should deal with such issues. It doesn't deal with the emotions of the learner and so on. (Akani)

Learners are more concerned with academic success than they are with the social-emotional well-being of themselves and their schoolmates. Akani is dismayed by his peers' lack of basic concern for others. No one asks about personal well-being, only about academic performance. Bususiwe, a Grade 11 female learner, also speaks of the impact of academic pressure of the social-emotional well-being of learners at Special School:

Bususiwe: Okay. Well, I really didn't want to come to this school.

Illana: No?

Bususiwe: No. No, I don't want to come to this school. Umm... because... umm... I am a sporty person.

Illana: Are you?

Bususiwe: Yeah. In coming here was a bit of a setback. You know? And... it was just academics. So that was like another field... I was (inaudible) in primary... So it wasn't really... umm... I didn't look at it as a problem. I looked at it as a challenge. Cause if I looked at it as a problem, then I would have been miserable like most people are.

Illana: Most people here are miserable?

Bususiwe: Jah. Most people are miserable. Cause I was like, "Okay, it's a challenge. Challenges have solutions." So I just take it as a challenge and every day, I see, I test myself. Maybe that which is a problem that I experience cause I push myself too much, sometimes. More than what my mom would... would... you know? Cause my mom is just happy for a pass, but I... you know when you deserve better? That's me. Cause I know I am better than what I am getting and stuff. So, I push myself, but then when I get disappointed, I... I fall. Like really hard. Sometimes it's really hard to get back up. And it's pretty much self motivation.

Bususiwe asserts that most of the learners are miserable, but that she has avoided the misery by reframing her situation. Instead of seeing the academic pressure as a "problem," she sees it as a "challenge." Still, in the end, Bususiwe concedes that she

pushes herself too hard, and when her effort does not end in the desired result, she becomes disappointed and has difficulty recovering her equanimity.

The pressure Bususiwe feels may result in disappointment, but for Layla, a Grade 11 Indian learner, the academic pressure results in an interesting self-perception. When asked how she is doing in school, Layla responds:

Layla: I'd say as not as good as I should do.

Illana: Can you talk more about that?

Layla: I've been very lazy. I should study more.

Illana: Are you lazy?

Layla: Very, very lazy. [*Laughs.*]

Illana: Why do you say that? How are you lazy?

Layla: It's like you know when you go home after school? You're so tired. You can't do anything. You just want to sleep. Then I do sleep and then later on I'll get up and I'll sit and I'll work.

Illana: So you take a nap and then you work? Well, that works for you it sounds like.

Layla: It does, but sometimes you also don't want to study, you know, later at night. But I like to study in the morning. It's better.

Illana: Me, too. I am the say way. So what time do you wake up to study?

Layla: Sometimes...if I have to... I study at night from about 8 o'clock to about 11. Then I'll have a shower and everything. And then afterwards I...I either sleep for a while and I'll wake up at 2, 3 o'clock and then...

Illana: Really? You're not tired when you wake up at 3 in the morning.

Layla: No. If you have enough sleep, then I'm fine for a while. But I don't normally do that. I like to study after I have a nap. So you know you're fresh still.

Layla may attribute her mediocre academic performance to laziness, but waking up at 2 or 3 in the morning to complete her assignments does not seem to indicate laziness. In

fact, waking up in the early morning hours to study demonstrates dedication and commitment. It is interesting, however, that Layla does not consider that an academic work load requiring a learner to interrupt her sleep pattern may be unreasonably demanding. Instead, she sees it as a reflection of her own inadequacies. For Akani, a Grade 11 male learner, the pressure to succeed results in him not liking himself:

Akani: Yeah. Here at school a learner like me... it means you are on the right path. You have nothing to worry about, but... the way, Ma'am, I have to work so hard to be a fairly average student... Uck... I end up not liking myself because it's like do I have to have certain marks in order to be accepted in this school. To me it doesn't make sense.

Illana: Do you feel like you're not accepted if you don't have good marks?

Akani: Yeah, some learners feel that way because even in the class, the teachers relate to certain learners, Ma'am. And it becomes so... so unfair and so... Because in the maths class there were two rules which were created about the... learners who want to work and learners who were doing well. And I was the middle of the learners who want to work. But in the middle... on the other side... there was this role of the learners which were struggling and so on. And, I chose to go to that room, Ma'am. And then the teacher was shouting at me. But when... everybody had left, I went and told her, "Mam, why... the reason why I went. I want to show you people that it's not about how people classify you to be. But it's about like what do you do, Ma'am, and how hard you are working." Cause some of them who are below the average level are really trying their best, but that's as far as they can reach. And this school is not supporting them in that action.

Akani has trouble reconciling the fact that his self-worth is defined by his academic standing. In math class, he attempts to subvert this limited definition of self-worth by self-selecting into the lower performing group. This attempt resulted in Akani being reprimanded by the teacher. Despite the reprimand, Akani brought the teacher's attention to the damage of grouping learners according to ability.

Tracking seems to appear not just within classes, but within grades. Learners at Special School are grouped in their grades according to their ability. It is unclear as to

whether the groups are divided according to results of end-of- year exams from the previous year or from the results of the entrance exam in Grade Eight. These groupings further erode social cohesion among learners, between learners and teachers, and among teachers. Like Akani, Mr. Schermerhorn struggles with tracking:

Mr. Schermerhorn: It really does go against inclusive education. Jah... so we've got that. And I made a comment earlier in the year because I only started here in the beginning of this year... and they said well... they are aware of the fact that it's not very educational. However, you know it's just easier to teach them and they feel like why should you keep some learners behind because of others that can't keep up. So, I think that's kind of like their main philosophy which is very controversial.

Illana: And how do you feel about it?

Mr. Schermerhorn: I am very much against the idea because if you speak to the learners in the 11B and 11C class, they do have a certain perception of themselves as learners, that they are not as good as other learners. So that immediately puts a whole way of seeing things in place. And jahaa... I don't believe that that should be the main way of doing it. (p. 1)

Mr. Schermerhorn sees himself as a progressive educator. Through the formal interview and the many informal conversations we had, I became aware of Mr. Schermerhorn's progressive politics, pedagogies, and philosophy of teaching and learning. He was very aware of the old ways and consciously and carefully distinguished himself from some of the more traditional senior teachers at the Special School. His professional identity as teacher and as psychologist-in-training was firmly articulated in the context of the new South African identity. I observed that Mr. Schermerhorn seemed to relate well to learners. Learners seem to feel comfortable with him, and he seems to have good rapport with his classes. Perhaps his progressive orientation made him more accessible to learners or perhaps it is simply that I spent more time with him and therefore had more opportunity to observe and get to know him. For Mr. Schermerhorn, the "old ways"

signals a more “autocratic” notion of teaching, a notion that, according to Mr.

Schermerhorn, has historically been associated with Afrikaans schools:

Mr. Schermerhorn: I went to an Afrikaans school. This was an English school in the same town. So...I kind of made myself a promise that I was never going to teach at an Afrikaans school.

Illana: Oh really?

Mr. Schermerhorn: Because of that extreme autocratic way of thinking and doing things. So... I was teaching at an English school, however I was very much surprised to see that... because there is a perception in South Africa that English people are more liberal and the English schools are more liberal and from a white Afrikaner’s perspective, they would always say...you know, the English schools don’t have discipline. Which is all relative. Ummm... cause you need to understand that Afrikaans schools are like military. [*Laughs.*] You know? Even today.

Mr. Schermerhorn touches on discipline and suggests that Afrikaans schools are militaristic in their understandings of discipline. The majority of the teachers at Special School, with the exception of three, are white, Afrikaans speakers. While Special School is an English medium school, most of the teachers, the principal, and vice principal have come from Afrikaans high schools.

School life is Orderly, Scheduled, Disciplined with Strong Work Ethic

There is a strong sense of the “autocratic way of thinking and doing” that Mr.

Schermerhorn speaks of at Special School. School is orderly, scheduled, and disciplined as Kagiso, a Grade 9 female learner, shares:

Yeah... They...they...they always set rules, rule, rules. And I think children at this school are very disciplined compared to other schools. They’re very disciplined. I never really thought that coming to high school... I thought ahhh it’s going to be rough. You Know? Everyone doing their own thing. Jah. Jah. They do. They do. Cause... they... they tell you... like... every time that if you do this and that and that this will happen to you. So people... jah... they obey that. But then some people don’t. You Know? They cross the line. Yeah. And they told us that if there’s this any theft of textbooks, now you will be taken to court. You will be taken to prison. You’ll be jailed. So now there isn’t anymore

cause there was a trend. Like last term some time. There was a huge trend. People were stealing textbooks.

Mr. Mojapelo., the Computer Science teacher, explains how learners who are off-task and difficult to manage are handled:

Mr. Mojapelo: I had one kid... others were doing their work. I wanted them to do something, to type in their CVs. I give them the formulas for the CV to type in their CVs. And I was gonna to give them some marks... ten marks for each. So this kid, she was playing on the Internet. She didn't like... she didn't want to work. Then I asked, "Why you don't want?" And she said, "No, because I am busy here." How can you be busy with the Internet... with your resumes... asking people... you know to draft their CVs, to write up their CVs on the computer. She said because like, "I'm busy." I switched up the Internet myself. She said there is nothing I am going to do now. Now I asked them to go out. She didn't want to go out. Then I had to call for Mr. Hendricks.

Illana: Then what happened?

Mr. Mojapelo: From now she is not going to do Computer Studies anymore.

Illana: She has been removed from the class. Where will she go during Computer Studies?

Mr. Mojapelo: She will stay outside always when she is supposed to come to my class, she will stay outside.

Illana: She will stay outside?

Mr. Mojapelo: Yes.

Discipline issues are handled swiftly at Special School. Whether learners are removed from class for slight infractions or police are called for more serious infractions, discipline at Special School is immediate. Mr. Mojapelo continues:

Mr. Mojapelo: There's a school policy. Yeah. Like the one that was implemented here... the one that Mr. Hendricks talked about yesterday in the hall I think.⁷⁴

Illana: Can you tell me about that?

⁷⁴ Referring to the assembly the previous day in which Mr. Hendricks talked about a 0- tolerance policy for violence.

Mr. Mojapelo: Whereby he said that... they stop kids from... whadyacall... borrowing money from others. He said to the scholars stop that. And another... like there are so many polices... in fact... there are so many things in our like... school polices.

Illana: Can you tell me about them?

Mr. Mojapelo: They're... they're I mean like... when...when we find the child smoking, especially dagga because they used to smoke dagga, we call the police. When we get them fighting, the police will be called. Those are things that are... within our policy. Again, in terms of like... uniform... you must wear uniform. If they don't wear uniform here, we take them we send them back home to go and get the uniform.

The Special School is, as Hargreaves would describe, a 'tight ship' where traditional values are fostered, and Mr. Hendricks is firmly standing at the helm:

I think Mr. Hendricks, he's got control over the school. And the reason being we are 500 [learners], so it's not like it's a big number he's got to work on. Other schools, 1000 pupils. You can never have full control over 1000 pupils. You know? He doesn't have full control. Maybe he's got 98 percent over the children, but there's two percent, you know? (Noxolo, Grade 11 female learner)

Institutional Loyalty

Despite the extreme academic pressure, the lack of social cohesion, the limitations on personal choice, and the highly disciplined learning environment, Special School learners display loyalty to Special School. Noxolo captures this curious trade-off:

Okay, I am happy, but I've heard so many people complain that the work is too much. Umm... they're not coping. There's too many expectations. They've got expectations for themselves. People really expecting things for them... for them... you know they need to stick to the standards of the school. And... it's basically like... here's the school. We live by the set rules here. And, okay every school has set rules, but... in other schools it's a matter of if you work, you work. If you don't you don't. Here it's a matter of you... you go to Special School so you are very clever. So when you're clever they want you to get marks and it's like expectations. You know and everything like that. Yeah. And... people try too hard. And people don't know who they are so it's going to be very difficult to... I think it's very difficult for you to find achievements and success if you don't really know who you are. So, you need to find yourself first. And... work through that and then you get your marks and everything else. Cause I feel I'm happy. You know? I'm... I'm a person who... I don't like complaining about things I can't

change. It's either embrace... I prefer to embrace them. Find the good... I prefer to find the good in everything. So, I feel this school is an opportunity for me... not a lot of children have the opportunity like... like this... like I do. So... I better use it. Grab it... the most... the best advantage I've got. Grab it. Use it. And prosper from it. You know. Yeah. I feel that.

Noxolo's optimism is apparent. She has embraced the trials and tribulations of student life at Special School and recognizes the opportunity she has been given as a learner there. She will endure the rigidity of formal school culture to benefit from the school's prizes and prestige. A high school certificate from Special School not only confers prestige to its graduates, it also confers status and guaranteed access to the middle class. Those graduates of Special School who average a "D" on higher grade subjects on the matriculation exam will receive a full bursary to a well-regarded university in Johannesburg. Upon completion of their university degree, they will be given jobs at leading South African companies. Learners who successfully navigate Special School's pressurized environment will enjoy the benefits of Special School for a lifetime. This conferment of social and cultural capital will be explored in greater detail in the school-community interaction chapter. For now, we will turn our attention to the Christian School, a school whose culture displays the characteristics of Hargreaves's welfarist school.

Christian School

[Welfarist] school culture is characterised by a relaxed, carefree and cosy atmosphere. It places high emphasis on informal, friendly teacher-student relations. The focus is on individual student development within a nurturing environment. The educational philosophy is child-centered and relations between principal and staff are held to be 'democratic'. With the aversion to social controls, work pressure is low; academic goals are easily neglected and become displaced by social cohesion goals of social adjustment and life skills. In this undemanding climate of contentment, truancy and delinquency rates are low. The

‘child-centered’ primary school or the ‘caring’ inner-city secondary school with a strong pastoral system exemplify this type. (Hargreaves, 1991, p. 27)

The Christian School is located on a tree-lined residential street in a neat, formerly middle-class, suburban neighborhood bordering inner-city Johannesburg. Some of the homes show signs of neglect, but behind many fences and walls you can make out neat and well-cared-for yards. The streets are less tidy than the homes. As you get closer to Christian School, the homes give way to apartment blocks on one side of the street. One of these apartment blocks, a two-story building, houses the secondary school (Grades 8 through 12) of Christian School. Christian School is spread out across three different residential buildings and the basement of a church. The high school is located in a two-story block of flats directly across from the upper primary. To enter the secondary school, you must press the buzzer and identify yourself. One of two voices will invite you in. With the press of a button, the front door is unlocked. As you come in the front door, just to your left is a wall partitioning off the front office from the corridor. This office is the home of the three-woman support staff.

Opportunity's favourite disguise is trouble.

Life is not a dress rehearsal. This is it!

Turn your face to the sun and the shadows will fall behind you.

The ideals which have lightened my way, and time after time have given me courage to face life cheerfully, have been KINDNESS, BEAUTY & TRUTH.

*Life is a grindstone. Whether it grinds us down or polishes us depends on us.-
Thomas Holdcroft*

The walls inside Christian school are plastered with laminated, Microsoft Word-rendered posters of inspirational quotes. Everywhere you turn you find inspiration. There are several classrooms on the first floor, small but functional. You ascend a staircase to

access more classrooms, the principal's office, a staff room/ kitchenette, and a computer/ work room for teachers with the school's technology support person's small office on the opposite of glass framed doors.

Relaxed, Friendly & Cozy Atmosphere

The atmosphere at Christian School is relaxed, friendly, and cozy. Because of the tight physical quarters, there is a very intimate feel to the school. Katleho, a grade 12 female learner, talks about the initial reaction many people have to the school's physical location:

Yeah. And you know people when they're passing here, people from like big schools everything.... And they are passing here and they are like, "Ah.. this school.. And they come and say... some people actually say... let's say they have kids in school or something, some family here.... They actually talk and when they realize what kind of people we are here and they actually talk. And they're like wow we actually thought that this was a flat in the house. We never knew what you guys... you actually... your school is small, but the things that you do are very big and the education is very good... and there's a lot of opportunities here.

While the school's physical plant may elicit initial concerns and doubts to the legitimacy of Christian School, ultimately the school wins approval from many. Katleho takes great pride in the fact that her school's diminutive physical size does not limit the "very big" things that are going on inside. Tebello, a female Grade 11 learner who came to Christian School from a large Catholic school, may have been one of the early doubters of whom Kathelo speaks:

My old school... I hated school because it was so big and I think I didn't receive as much attention as I receive here... At first [coming to Christian School]... it was terrible.... the first few... Okay, the people were welcoming, the teachers and all that, but I wasn't used to a small school... in a house. Oh my God, this is a flat and I am from this humongous school and I come to this small school and the problem to me was the environment. They were all quiet in class, but I knew they were going to do something about it cause I see them.. and oh my God... coming after this, coming after that, coming after this and that. But I love the school.

After second term, I started... you know... making friends and all that and ...jah... I started loving school. (Tebello)

Tebello struggled with the intimacy of the school initially. Mandisa, a Grade 11 female learner identifies individual attention, open communication, and the small student body as factors that help build a sense of intimacy and community at Christian School:

Because you've got the communicate [sic communication]... here there's individual attention given to each and every learner. There's... there's communication between the students and the learners and... the teachers and the learners within themselves. So, I think if one had a problem like that... one or the other is gonna' pull through. The teachers... or through one of the students... then the students transport it to one of the teachers. And then somewhere along the line, it's gonna' be stopped. Jah. And... jah because we're such a... the population of the school is very low, we will have known right away because whatever happens here, it gets to the school very quickly.

Thuso, a male Grade 11 learner, thrives in this intimate environment:

Well. I feel quite comfortable in the school community. Because you know... when you are around a number of people that you know... you feel like there's nothing that can harm you and stuff. And... through the stuff I have been through like violence and all that, I can cope in a school community. And it's not... rough and stuff. Jah. I do feel safe because I know most of the people that go to school are those people that don't promote violence and stuff like... they're like totally against it. But they know how to pretend and stuff. Ja. So... And another thing I feel safe... why I feel safe in this school is because when people say you know there is that thing [*inaudible*] and [*inaudible*]. Jah. It's a saying like here... anyone actually... Kabelo, Mosegi, Lerato, we all be on the same side. Us... I mean, but if he's wrong... if one of my friends are wrong, then you know we can talk about it. We don't have to do anything bad.

Mr. Biyah, the school's deputy principal, sees the school's friendliness and intimacy as a major strength. He speaks of the difficult circumstances from which Christian School learners come, the tolerance the learners have for each other, and the support they offer to one another:

Man, I can tell you this much. That at this school we have such... high levels of tolerance that you would not... I am so sure that you would not see anywhere else. We have children here who are HIV infected. We have children here who are underprivileged. Children who see their mothers being stabbed by their

fathers to death. Or... vice versa. Children who are... they really come from the streets... they are from the streets. And they are schooling with us here. And so... you would want to believe that oh, you know, there are the others who would make a mockery of them. Or make fun of them, but strange enough, they are so supportive of these children. The one that tries to make fun of the other is completely scolded by the greater majority of the children. And so a lot of times we don't even have to interfere. You know, everybody knows everybody. And so they basically come and they support each other.

At Christian School peer pressure is positive. Peer pressure keeps learners open and supportive. For many of the learners, Christian School provides an escape from issues at home. Learners can come to school and find support from their friends:

And you know another thing about school. You know that at school there are different people. They all come from different backgrounds. You know? So it's different from school and home. You know? When you are at school... in some... somehow it's an escape goat, you know? From being at home. Dealing with things at home. You get to laugh. You hear people telling jokes. You got teachers who are motivating you. And... You know? No matter how down you feel, you know when you get to school there will be that one person. Cause there are so many different people, there will be that one person who will say something that's going to make you smile or... it could make you angry, too. But you know these school kids and we interact with one another and it's fun. You know? (Tebello)

Mandisa, a Grade 11 female learner who boards at the school, concurs:

I live at the boarding house. We live with many girls. We talk about these things. We've got different people with different backgrounds. My parents are like this. My mom is like this. She is never there for me. She send me... she sends me at the boarding house... she never calls me. When I call her... I call my mom. "Mom, my money's finished." She sends money. She doesn't ask how I am... how I am doing at school. We've got so many people like that at the boarding houses. Different people with different stories... Yeah, so at the boarding house we've got this thing where you all sit down and talk maybe in the night... you talk about our problems, what makes us happy, what doesn't make us happy. What we like about our parents.

The boarding house serves as an extension of the support system found in the school.

Despite learners' varied backgrounds, they come together in support of each other. Such high social cohesion is not an accidental occurrence at the school. The school works hard

to facilitate this sense of belonging. Ms. Diane Everts, a Math and Science teacher, talks about how the school responded to fights that were breaking out some years back between the South African and Angolan learners:

Yes, xenophobia. So, there's always this argument and things taking place. And we then... we sort of... Clarice has involved in this program where we take them to camps at the beginning of the year all the newcomers because those that have been in the system now for a few years, they now know and understand what we're about. And we just tolerate... it's tolerance of each other's cultures, each other's color, of each other's creed and so on and so she embarked in the program when we take them to camps and... we actually have a whole program... we... we... we seek tolerance, you know, with each other. And we call us a family. We call the United Church School a family. And this is how we work... and we iron out problems. So, when we have little squabbles and things, it's not about... umm... you, Mozambiquan and I'm from here or whatever.

In addition to team-building efforts at camp, the School Representative Council (or SRC) is also involved in promoting the school's ethos of respect and tolerance:

We are very fortunate that we've got a principal that... she talks to you. She has this thing about her that makes you understand and want to listen to her. She will approach you probably we don't do this in our school, you know? And you know people hear this word Christian School and they expect Christian... everyday... but you know we are in high school... things happen, you know? So, us we have to organize ourselves. As the SRC, we've learned that we don't work against the students, we work with each other. You know? So if they see that us people who are supposed to be the leaders work with them and we do think we guide them. We respect them and they learn to listen to us when we speak to them. So when we say, "Guys, please. Don't do things like this and like this on the school premises." They listen. (Anna)

Anna credits the approachability of the principal, Ms. Brissot, with establishing the tone of respect and tolerance for the rest of the school. Anna acknowledges that while many of the learners at the school may be Christian, they, like all other teenagers, still struggle with the daily trials and pressures that any teenager might.

Focus on Individual Student Development

The Christian School works quite hard to establish a nurturing environment in which individual student development is given great attention. Clarice Bradburn and Diane Everts, teachers, colleagues, and good friends, exemplify the school's child-centered philosophy:

I have a girl in my class who actually lives with me. If other people would look at it... they'd think she had been demon-possessed... Demon-possessed because she had these nightmares and she had... she couldn't sleep and she came from a school where in her culture and her parents felt that she was bewitched, you know? They had used witchcraft on her. But it was here where she became a whole person and she healed, you know? And the principal gave her the space... to... to... witness this in an assembly on several occasions and she has become so much stronger emotionally, you know? Physically she has also been going for operations upon operations on her tummy and I think just the... the love and... and the attention and the love and care, you know, she has become a whole person. You know and many... well, she's much older for her grade really. But many people have said to her. You know what? They thought she'd never make it. She'd never reach the stage. You know? After what happened to her. Yeah, so... for me that... that... that just goes to show the school is a place where they can heal... they can actually heal, you know? Besides coming here to learn some subjects and learn content, you know, they are able to leave here knowing that... umm... you know... out there, this is what life is and this is how I can handle things. You know, this is what is so special, you know, about the school. And I think we've given a lot of space, well the principal and deputy principal to... to... be able to do these things, you know? Government schools... there's so much red tape. Like with... well Diane can speak a lot about the kids that we've taken in from an organization where they are child-headed households. So, for us, there's a winning streak. Almost. It's... it's... where you can see you know the before and the after. You know, where they really come up and they're able to leave here. Remember CC? She matriculated in 2004. And gosh, she was really like... enjoying her youth and she lived in a flat and... I used to always say to her, you know, "CC, you should stay with me, man. You're too scattered. You should get focused and"... She's a clever... well she was a clever... is a clever girl and the other girl, Caroline, was the best. And... but for me, that was another success story again with the school where she became the head girl. She was so scattered. She was wild and she became my head girl. You know? And... umm... she became... she was the top matriculant. (Clarice Bradburn)

Ms. Everts and Ms. Bradburn discuss another learner who had some difficulties:

Ms. Everts: There's many that I can't always... you know... it doesn't always come. And then there is the other one, Jacqueline. She's also in Grade 12 at the

moment. She has also come through all odds. I used to at night time. Her mom used to phone me... and I would be told that she...

Ms. Bradburn: ... she's run away.

Ms. Everts: And I would call the taxi and we would used to look up the streets of Neighborhood. I used to find her and take her home and talk to her and make her want to stay and, you know... and just encourage her and counsel her and try to keep her [*inaudible*] and when to finish school and I mean there's so much waiting for her out there. And this is not the time to be running away and so on. And even after today, not even at school, at home, my neighbors... there's ... there's always teenagers that will come to me and talk and I would like to believe that I can positively... influence their lives positively. Sometimes I always tell Clarice, you know, sometimes you don't always see...the person that you are and sometimes she gives me feedback as to say, look what you're doing or... so... so that was... because you know sometimes you need that from somebody else. Am I doing the right thing here? Is it wrong to advise her in this way? Or, you know. I mean she has also just come through all odds. She and her mum has a much better relationship. They're stable. She's at home. She's enjoying herself and she's [*inaudible*] a Matriculant and she's there.

Ms. Everts and Ms. Bradburn share many of these success stories in which learners who are coming from difficult circumstances and are perceived to be damaged are nurtured back to health. Ms. Everts and Ms. Bradburn share a particularly difficult case:

Ms. Everts: And, so anyway, this boy. He was then... he became very depressed because he felt that there was no way forward for him and the family. And even though we put him on a program at school with regards to no school fees and so on, eh? You know he was still very... look, there were still situations out there that he couldn't... that were out of his control. And so, he took it upon himself to hang himself. And... and... he hung himself on the roof of the building. On the... was it...

Ms. Bradburn.: And the neighbors saw the feet dangling from the window.

Ms. Everts: And one of our teachers went along which was in the area. And actually found an easel and was actually able to...

Ms. Bradburn: Take him down.

Ms. Everts: Cut him down and he survived this.

Illana: Oh, thank God.

Ms. Everts: ... this incident. And he's in Matric today. And he's our head boy for... yeah... and that is another success story for us. That we have just been there, supporting, guiding, and... and doing what we can do for them. Even if it's not, you know... while at school we try to keep them [*inaudible*], but also to get the situation, you know. Have you eaten today? Did you... did you bring lunch or while most times you wouldn't have. And I know there were many times when I would share my sandwich with him... later on he kind of stabilized. He found his self a job as he got older. And... umm... yeah... that was that very touching and moving for... I think... for all of us that got close.

Ms. Everts and Ms. Bradburn work closely together in addressing the needs of Christian School learners who find themselves in difficult circumstances:

A lot of children have sort of come through our hands. Clarice and I work mostly as a team. We have strong points and weak points as you might have picked up now. And... we... there's a balance between the two of us. So if she... if she says maybe she comes across too strongly. She doesn't listen. It's not intentional. Whereas I would be the softer one and I would actually just listen and I would go to her, but look at it this way. And maybe together we would put... her points and my points together and we would come to some sort of in the middle and we'd make a conclusion about this particular child. And we've always not just been part of teaching. We've always been a part of the child's development holistically at the school. A lot of... when there's always problems it always gets referred to us, not that we qualified counselors, but... I always tell her you know, I counsel the children so much better at school than my own kids at home. I am able to help more outside my home than actually inside. Even though the home has got it's own sort of problems I find myself giving more of myself to the children that I think really need me. And I hope I can safely say that I make a positive difference and an influence in their lives. And so there's many children who have gone through our hands. They come from difficult situations. (Diane Everts)

Personal individualized attention to learners' social emotional needs seems to be a hallmark of Christian School and indicates a strong pastoral system.

'Caring' Inner-City Pastoral Environment

It may seem that "inner-city" and "pastoral" may be competing terms to describe a school's culture. Hargreaves does not go into great detail as to what he means by 'pastoral system', but one might infer that in invoking the term 'pastoral' he may be

suggesting the idealized qualities of a slow and simpler rural lifestyle. He may be using 'pastoral system' as a contrastive device to illustrate that the franticness of city life, where everyone is rushing and isolated from one another, can support an educational environment in which the strong sense of community traditionally associated with rural living can thrive. Indeed, Christian School, with its strong sense of caring and community, makes every effort to insulate learners from the harsh realities of a crime-ridden neighborhood and difficult life circumstances of learners and their families.

Anele, a Grade 11 female learner, who lives with her mother and three siblings in a house minutes from school, feels well cared for at school. The home Anele and her siblings live in was bought by her father before he was imprisoned. Anele's brother is also in jail. The family's main source of income is rent from the cottages on the property. Anele and her siblings receive tuition support to attend Christian School. Anele credits the school for making life easier for her and her family:

So the school has been so supportive. They know that sometimes... they even go personally. You know? They go the personal issues and all... and they investigate. Like I said, our principal is... most amazing person. She's just... amazing. You know? So, things are not as bad cause we've got support here at school, so things are not that bad. You know? Cause my mom doesn't have to deal with... cause the money she makes from, you know, renting out the cottages at the back is not that much. You know? It's very little for a big family like ours to survive on, but we're coping. With the... this help of the school.

Anele feels supported by the school whose staff members take great interest and initiative in understanding the particular circumstances of each of the learners. Mr. Harrison concurs:

I think one of the big plusses of this school is that the members of staff are very enlightened and they are very... we discuss the kids. We're interested in the kids. And I think the reason we don't have... is the kids straight away feel that there is this supportive group that... maybe they don't ever come to us because they feel that they... you know... there's an open door policy that at any time they can... I

mean it's amazing how Principal, her door is constantly open and the kids come and go and she helps them with their problems and we've got one very problematic kid at the moment or he was very problematic. He's not anymore, who is an orphan and his sister was adopted and he was left behind. We think he was abused, we don't know, you know, very angry and all sort of thing, but I mean, he's been here now what? Six, seven, eight months and he is a changed kid and I am sure it's because you know we don't ... we don't threaten kids in this school. We don't say I am going to this to you if you don't do that or... you know, we talk through with them about issues and I think generally, don't think we don't have problems, we do. We have kids who can be very bloody-minded and difficult sometimes, but you know, we do lay down the law at times as well, but never in a kind of a threatening manner where I would say the kid feels some kind of violence is going to be done to him either physically or mentally or anything like that, you know what I mean? And, you know, I think... I think that all of the painful issues... if they're pulling and shoving and... and... this sort of bickering amongst the staff, then you're going to have problems with the kids, you know what I mean? You're asking for trouble. The fact that we are very united I think makes a huge impact on them. I mean it's like a family. You know? Mother and father are constantly at each other, then the kid feels threatened... If it's a loving relationship between the mother and the father, then the kid feels safe. You know what I mean?

This strong sense of community and personal investment in the lives of its community members is not lost on learners, as Mandisa illustrates:

Over the past year or two years ago... we have had students who have had problems in addiction to... weed or drugs... and then sort of you being expelled... if there is you being expelled, they took the student to a rehab center... Help the person through the rehab... the rehab center always give the permission of the parents, too. And... umm... once the process of the rehab was... was through... the student... the student asked if he could come back to school because he was... he was out of this addiction. So the school actually welcomed back the student so he is still at school now.

Instead of simply expelling the learners for drug use, the school seeks out treatment facilities for the learners, and once they are in recovery, the school invites learners to return. This notion of rehabilitation comes up again in a conversation with Mosegi:

Yes, this school is... is kind of like, I'd say rehab for those people who are in trouble, and don't. It's a special school, yes it is. Let me just put it like that. It's a special school for everyone. If... if you were taking drugs in the past, you can come here. If you were in a bad family and you were not treated properly, come here... everything will be okay, but it's a school. After all, it's just a school. It is only the teachers that

are... are making it what it is today via our principal and our deputy principal, so jah... and the teachers, the whole staff, they are trying to make the best for us.

Nor is this strong sense of community and personal investment in learners lost on the parents of Christian School learners:

You know the thing is in general I am not a risk-taker... with the children who come from different cultures and different walks of life... umm... and my son... being the way he is, I was afraid that you know... he wasn't going to fit in. But... I must admit this school actually... with counseling at school, the teachers taking interest in him, I've found that he's actually... he's changed a lot. Like with [inaudible] as well. You know? Like he's changed a lot. He's got more confidence in him. I must... you know this principal here, she is... she's amazing. You know... And even the teachers... Adrea [first name of principal] is a very practical person, you know? The principal... she's a very, very practical person. And there used to be a counselor here, Abby... Abby Green...she also worked with him as well, and I'm telling you by working with him, he's changed a lot. He's changed so much so that it's... it's gotten a little bit of his confidence back. Academically he's improved. You know? It's just that he still needs to be pushed, you know? Only... I don't know if it's a typical 14 year-old or what it is because I haven't had the problem with my son. (Elizabeth, parent)

Elizabeth has seen her son who has struggled with depression thrive in Christian School.

Her son's emotional health and well-being is being attended to. Ms. Georgia, another parent, has also seen her child thrive in Christian School:

She never complain about maybe they are treating them like anyhow. Actually where she is more happier here because I know where she used to school, she... [my daughter], she is very intelligent, so maybe they never... here they receive... like here most of them so good work, so she comes, she's happy. "So, you see, Mommy. Here they are not treating me like they were. I used to work hard and they didn't give me certificate." It used to be a private school, too. So here she comes smiling and she comes with that certificate. So... also it makes me happy.

Christian School's caring pastoral environment is reflected in the teacher's love and commitment to their learners. But it was more than just love and commitment to the learners' personal development that suggests a pastoral environment. It is also the inclusive democratic approach the deputy principal has taken in addressing issues that

surface. When a fight broke out between two girls and a boy that seemed to have some gender relations implications, Mr. Biyah saw an opportunity for larger consensus:

And that is the kind of thing that we have here. And so I opened this discussion to the whole... to the senior class. This was junior children. I opened this discussion with the senior class just to find out what they think about that because of course it does not make it right that a boy whose stronger hits another one because he was hitting somebody else. Because that is just a cycle of violence that brews itself. But you know when such a thing happens, it becomes very important that you let... you open it up to everyone. And so I got a senior school involved and they talked about it and they... you know... it was quite important that they discuss it so that when in the future something like that happens we know that we have a precedence and we know what we are going to do about it.

This democratic process of inclusive decision-making indicates how important community-building is to this school. It is reminiscent of a town hall meeting that might take place in a more rural setting, in which community members come together to address an issue of concern for the greater well-being of the community.

Informal, Friendly Teacher-Student Relations

The school's caring and supportive environment is nurtured by the administration and teachers. The friendly relationships between the administrators and the teachers and the learners are evident. In speaking of Mr. Biyah, the deputy principal, one student enthuses:

And he is also setting a good example for the boys cause he taught... he also taught in class... we like... are very free with him. We like... he's like our teacher and at the same time our best friend. You know we tell him anything. We ask him advice, you know? Those kinds of things which is... I think is very very nice. Cause if we were in a big school we would be a lot in class... the teacher wouldn't have time to talk... to talk... to listen to whatever we have to say about our outside world, what is happening in the world, and all those things.... I think we are very fortunate. (Khanyisile)

Khanyisile identifies Mr. Biyah as her teacher and “best friend”. Khanyisile’s friendly relationship with Mr. Biyah is replicated in Kathelo’s relationship with her Afrikaans teacher, Ms. Bradburn:

Kathelo: With our teacher... the teacher that we have, that we study with is very nice... She’s a very... she’s a very good and nice person. Inspiring. Yeah. A very nice person. Cause she always has... you know... let’s say somebody upsets her, somebody does something wrong she’ll go, she’ll talk. She’ll... okay, talk, tell us... she will start shouting sometimes. And then she takes a book or something... she reads us for us. Like... you know this is whatever... but it’s... but things that will take you somewhere not just reading and...

Illana: Something inspirational.

Kathelo :Something... jah... something inspirational. And she’s always like trying to build us up. Our self esteems. Yeah. Things like that.

Kathelo’s self-esteem is bolstered by Ms. Bradburn’s supportive words. Similarly, when Anna was struggling in her accounting class, she received friendly support from her teacher:

At first I used to hate accounting with all my heart. Especially last year because I was not good at all. And I hated school at that time. And then...yeahhh.... I spoke to my teacher and I told her the problem is every time when I have to write Accounting. Uhh-Uhhh... Something goes wrong and it’s either complain or I hate school or I just don’t want to come to school. Or it’s when I have to go to Accounting I have to be sick. And then she told me that no, I must be focused. You know it’s all about you practicing. If you tell yourself that you want to do it, then you will do it. And I started doing that, I started practicing accounting and now I’m enjoying it. It’s not my favorite subject, but... Yeah... I am passing very well.

Clearly, learners feel comfortable in approaching their teachers with their concerns.

Lower Work Pressure

Do friendly relations between learners and their teachers, which indicates high social cohesion, prevent teachers from exercising social control in the form of student cognitive achievement? If we use the Matric pass rate as an indicator of academic rigor,

then Christian School with its pass rate hovering between 95 % and 100% with a few exemptions and distinctions would suggest solid academics and therefore higher levels of social control. Yet upon close examination we learn that even with these pass rates the majority of Christian School graduates do not go directly to university, as do the matriculants of Special School. Mosegi explains the opportunities open to Christian School graduates who pass Matric:

Illana: So, do most students here go straight to university or do they go to college?

Mosegi: Most, I would say, they go to college.

Illana: Okay.

Mosegi: Most go to college.

Illana: And that is pretty standard? Can you think of examples where students go straight from matric to university?

Mosegi: Students that go directly to university are unlikely to find in this kind of area but you do get those people, you know? Just one or two in the school that go to university or in the country it's probably 55% of them that go to...

Illana: Ohhh...

Mosegi: University and...

Illana: So 55% go straight from Matric to university...?

Mosegi: ... to University because they're kind of like the upper class in education. So I can say,... 'cause they have to have... they are very determined people. They can do the four higher grade subjects which is not likely for a average person, you know? You just need to sacrifice some stuff in order to do that. But, for the standard grade learner, you can enjoy your life. I don't think that's the way to live. No.

Special School graduates, the majority of whom go directly to university, must not by Mosegi's estimation, be "average people." Special School graduates would be the "upper

class in education.” Like many of the Christian School graduates, Mosegi hopes to attend college. He hopes to earn a two-year diploma in Information Technology programming at the University of Technology in Pretoria, formerly Pretoria Tech. He intends to then “convert it to a degree” in five years while working part-time at the University.

We might assume that the majority of Christian School learners who pass Matric do so on standard grade. Passing on standard grade qualifies a learner for a two-year diploma, not a four-year degree, and of course the greater financial benefits are assigned to those with four-year degrees. It is in this gap that we might suggest that the academic goals at Christian School might be displaced by the social cohesion goals of social adjustment and life skills. Certainly, Ms. Bradburn’s words would suggest so:

I’ve always in my Afrikaans lessons made space for... for... things they could learn and that they could take out with them when they leave school. You know? It’s not just the basics and teaching them about, you know, the facts of life and it’s... it’s also about... you know... getting the subject and also the facts of life... so that they can leave school and they are armed at least, you know? Yeah.

Ms. Bradburn privileges teaching “facts of life” to meeting instructional goals. Totally absent from Christian School is the coercive measures parents and staff of Special School employ to assure their learners’ academic choices. Tebello, who initially had some difficulty adjusting to Christian School, was able to select her course of study:

Tebello: At first I hated school because I used to be lazy. I used to very lazy. I don’t want to work and that’s why I hate school. You know...like... when you can’t do something, you start hating school. Or because of... at first I used to hate school... maybe cause... I don’t know why. My old school... I hated school because it was so big and I think I didn’t receive as much attention as I receive here. And then... I think... I’m not a Science person by any means. And that even made me hate school even worse. So now I do Commercial subjects and I’m loving it because like I was not good in Maths and Accounting. Like... I was always finding it so hard, so hard, so hard. But I began to tell myself that you know I can do it and you know... eventually I love school and the fact that... every time I... now... I think when you vouch for school, that’s when you love it.

Illana: So you are doing Accounting, Math. You're doing English. You're doing Biology or?

Tebello: Economics.

Illana: Okay. And then Afrikaans. I see and how did you choose that track as opposed to Geography, History, Biology?

Tebello: I was terrible in Biology and Accounting. 24 percent that I was and my mom always shout at me and so I took... before I left... cause my old school we didn't do must most schools do...Economics... P.E. So, I had to try as to what I wanted to do cause I wanted to take Science or Biology. So I started and then... jaahhh... I am quite in maths.

After changing to commercial subjects, Tebello found herself much more comfortable academically, as well as socially. Compare the ease in which Tebello changed her course of study to the difficulty Zwanga experienced in attempting to move from higher grade math to standard grade math at the Special School. Also, compare Zwanga's experience with that of Anna:

Anna: I'm doing well. I think I am doing well, but not as good as I used to do last year. Because I switched subjects and I'm trying to adapt to the whole thing.

Illana: What subjects did you switch to?

Anna: I used to do Biology and Science. I am doing Economics and Business Economics this year. Yeah, so... quite a switch.

Illana: What made you decide to switch to Economics?

Anna: Well, last year I used to do Biology because my dad wanted me to become a GP. And I wasn't really comfortable with that profession cause...

Illana: GP is a General Practitioner? A doctor?

Anna: Yeah.

Illana: Okay.

Anna: And I decided, you know what, Dad, I'm going to become a chartered accountant and I told him that I'm not comfortable with the whole medicine field. And he said okay you can switch.

Illana: Ohh. So he didn't have a problem with it?

Anna: Not really.

Illana: Okay.

Anna: He still... he still tells me that I am going to regret it, but... eh... this is what I love doing, so... Jah.

Illana: And your mom? Does she have an opinion on it?

Anna: My mom. She doesn't really contribute a lot to my... school... school everything. But she's just fine. You can do whatever you want. Jah. But my sisters were... were happy because they didn't really want me to go into that field, General Practitioner.

Illana: Why not?

Anna: I don't know. They don't like it. They say people don't have social lives in that field.

Again, there seems to be flexibility in the academic program Christian School learners choose. Pressure from parents and teachers appears to be very limited compared to that of parents at Special School. Anna's father's potential regret seems to be the only pressure her parents put on her, and there appear to be no significant pressure from the principal or teachers. If learners at the Christian School feel that their course of study is not in their best interest, they simply change their course of study. There seems to be more attention paid to the socio-emotional well-being of the learner. A learner's healthy social life and his/her passion for a subject are considered valid considerations by the Christian School staff. Clarice Bradburn sums up the Christian School's emphasis on academic goals:

And this is... this is for us, I would say, this is... is... are the success stories. You know? Not the number of As. But it's... it's getting the child to leave here knowing that these are my responsibilities. This is how I can confront them. I might be afraid. You know, and umm... umm... I think we give them the platform and this is what is so important in teaching. You know?

Conclusion

In this chapter we have shifted our attention from reading violence through a more theoretical orientation to reading violence through a more descriptive one. Rather than complicating issues, as I have done in previous chapters, this chapter has sought to capture and distill three very complex school communities. The Hargreaves' typology offers a framework that helps us to standardize the messiness of assessing and comparing school culture. Hargreaves (1991) asserts that "at some point along each axis lies a theoretical optimal position between the extremes of the corners" (p.26). To become more effective, schools would do well to avoid the extremes of survivalism, formalism, and welfarism.

I would like to extend Hargreaves' argument and suggest that by focusing in on Hargreaves' assertion that the two domains of social control and social cohesion are always in potential tension, a space for us to conceptualize how violence is occurring within the three school communities is opened up. The ability to adequately manage the tension between social control and cohesion dictates learners' exposure to violence. Learners who experience school culture in these extreme realms experience more violence than those whose schools' cultures are closer to the optimal center. When the balance tips toward more social control, like in the case of Special School, violence is being done to learners' social-emotional well-being. Learners are alienated from themselves, from each other, and from their larger communities. The pressure to perform and succeed academically is rewarded in the form of greater cultural and social capital. Learners seem to endure the assault to their social-emotional well-being for long-term

economic gains and access. In the case of Township school, there is no foundation to build equilibrium. The absence of social control and social cohesion is both physically and emotionally violent to learners. It is difficult to determine which domain, control or cohesion, must first be in place to establish the other. The Christian School, whose culture is located closer to the center, appears to be closer to achieving equilibrium. Christian School learners seem to experience the least amount of violence within the confines of the school and boarding houses. It is imperative for schools to find equilibrium between social control and social cohesion. However, how is this equilibrium achieved given the fact that school communities exist within larger communities? Hargreaves' work is useful, but its limitations become apparent in the underlying assumption that schools are somehow separate from their communities. How can a school become more socially cohesive when its surrounding community lacks social cohesion? How can a school exhibit less social control when the larger dominant culture is tightly socially controlled?

Chapter 9: Conclusion

What happens to a dream deferred?

*Does it dry up
like a raisin in the sun?
Or fester like a sore--
And then run?
Does it stink like rotten meat?
Or crust and sugar over--
like a syrupy sweet?*

*Maybe it just sags
like a heavy load.*

Or does it explode?

Langston Hughes, 1951

Johannesburg plays silent witness to the daily mass exodus of young people along the oppositional axes from townships to town and back again to townships, traversing a historical migratory path that has replaced access to employment opportunities with access to better educational opportunities. These learners pour out from borders that were once tightly contained and regulated by apartheid and colonial policies. Multiple forms of transportation assist learners in the process of mapping out desire lines that circumvent the still segregated social-spatial landscape that was constructed and maintained during colonialism and apartheid. Employing Critical Race Theory's notion of whiteness as property, I have argued that in accessing better educational opportunities offered at schools in town, Black learners are not simply accessing the property resources of the city; but rather, they are accessing whiteness. As Black access to the city has historically been tightly controlled and the city has been historically constructed as an exclusively white and modern space, the accessing of schooling in the city today is a

symbolic rejection of a circumscribed apartheid identity in favor of a post-apartheid, modern identity.

By carefully examining the movement of learners across the oppositional axes, the articulation points between structural violence and interpersonal violence are made apparent. In this project, I have argued that the tremendous daily movement of learners from their home communities to their schooling communities is in itself a structural violence. This structural violence offers a foundation for interpersonal violence in that during this movement, learners are exposed to varying kinds and levels of interpersonal violence. Since public space in the city is highly insecure and volatile, the more an individual is exposed to public spaces, the more he/she is exposed to such interpersonal violence as robbery, assault, sexual harassment, and rape. In exploring interpersonal violence that occurs during the commute, I have offered three claims suggesting that the interpersonal violence experienced during the commute is raced, classed, and gendered. Firstly, I have argued that all learners regardless of their particular class, race, gender locations are exposed to violence during their commute, namely in the form of robbery. Secondly, I have argued that a learner's mode of transportation mediates his/ her exposure to violence, and the mode of transport a learner's family can afford is related to his/her class position. Finally, I have argued that in addition to the personal theft that all learners experience, female learners are exposed to verbal and physical harassment and sexual assault.

During their commute to school, learners move through their home communities and the communities surrounding their schools. Learners do not attend schools isolated from the larger community; rather schools are part of a larger socio-ecology which finds

schools embedded within larger communities. Each of the three schools functions within its larger community in very different ways, and the ways in which the schools interact with their communities can be traced to each school's mandate or mission and its particular history. While Township School was established during the late colonial period, Christian School and Special School were established after apartheid had been dismantled. Township School's long history of political and criminal violence has influenced the permeability of its borders, accommodating a free flow of people, ideas, illicit substances, weapons, and crime. Special School's thick borders function to insulate and separate learners from their communities and inculcate them with cultural capital that will allow them occupational and class mobility. Christian School, with its explicit humanitarian mission to serve marginalized learners who would not otherwise be afforded such educational opportunities, has porous borders that selectively filter what aspects of the community will be permitted access.

The school itself functions at the institutional level to mediate interpersonal violence. Diagnosing each school's particular school culture is useful in capturing the role the school can play in creating a safe and nurturing environment for its learners. Perhaps viewing Hargreaves' typology more as a continuum than its current linear expression of fixed quadrants may assist us in better understanding how social cohesion, the expressive function of schooling, and social control, the instrumental function of schooling, interplay to create a healthy school culture. Learners whose school culture gravitates toward the extremes of social control or social cohesion experience more violence, whether to one's physical self or one's emotional self, than those whose school culture is closer to the optimal center. When school culture gravitates toward more social

control at the expense of social cohesion, like in the case of Special School, violence is being done to learners' social-emotional well-being in that learners are alienated from themselves, from each other, and from their larger communities. Social-emotional well-being is sacrificed for long-term economic benefits and greater access. In the case of Township School the absence of social control and social cohesion is both physically and emotionally violent to learners. The Christian School, whose culture is located closer to the center, appears to better manage the tension between social control and social cohesion. Christian School learners seem to experience the least amount of violence within the confines of the school and boarding houses.

Deferment of Dreams

What happens when only a fragment of a nation's children are allowed to dream boundless dreams while the dreams of others are bounded and denied? What happens when desire lines are circumscribed or truncated or even worse, not drawn at all? Borrowing from Critical Race Feminism (CRF), I suggest that the ultimate violence learners in the three Johannesburg schools experience occurs when dreams are deferred. The deferring of dreams is the most violent form of violence. When a population of young people, as those learners at Township, is denied the opportunity to pursue their dreams, to allow for the "spontaneous unfolding of human potential" (Van Soest & Bryant, 1995, p.551), society has failed. The culminating effects of structural-cultural, institutional, and interpersonal violences inflict varying degrees of injury to the spirit.

The spirits of the learners at Christian School seem to be full of vitality. Christian School is successful at nurturing the spirits of their learners. Talk of second chances and the safety and security of the school in an insecure environment permeates learners' speech. The school acts to mediate the violence that exists in learners' homes, communities and countries of origins. A culture of care, tolerance, and acceptance cultivates a fertile environment for expansive dreams and imaginings. It is intriguing that the school's location in an inner-city suburb, an environment whose reputation is one of decay, degradation and loss has given rise to a spirit-affirming environment. Learners from the margins—children of extreme poverty, those infected with HIV, learners from child-headed households—are offered a quality education and all its conferred benefits. Learners may not have the skills to directly enter degree programs at universities immediately upon matriculation, as do their Special School peers, but they are able to pursue post-secondary education. For the majority of Christian School learners, their desire lines bypass and subvert the containment of the “decay” of the inner-city and inner-suburbs, propelling them into futures full of imagination.

Special School learners dream big dreams, dreams that are attainable with hard work and the assistance of full four-year bursaries to university and corporate jobs upon graduation. Special School learners have marked out their desire lines from early on. They have attended primary schools rigorous enough to prepare them for admission to Special School. Aware of their position of privilege, Special School learners have successfully bypassed and superseded the constraints of previous generations. Yet, despite Special School learners' ability to move within the realm of the providential, their spirits seem less full. There is a sense of alienation. Learners speak of being

disconnected from themselves and their peers by the demands of their academically rigorous program. The tacit agenda being transmitted to learners is one that devalues their particular cultural wealth, and instead privileges the cultural capital of dominant culture as the only viable capital for success in the new South Africa. This devaluation is itself an injury to spirit though one that be masked by the rewards associated with acquiring access to the middle class.

Unlike Christian School or Special School learners, Township learners exhibit a certain melancholy about their lives and a failure to express joy when speaking of their futures. They experience the most severe levels of interpersonal violence as their school is unable to protect them from the violence occurring in the larger community. The spirits of these learners are injured. They are injured by the persistent poverty and unemployment that surrounds them and the concomitant issues of drug and alcohol abuse. They are injured by the limited post-secondary opportunities open to those unable to pass the Matric. They are injured by members of the community who jump the fence and harass and assault them, even dragging them off school grounds to be raped. They are injured by the fatigue of their teachers, many of whom have lost their passion for teaching but who nevertheless hold on to positive feelings of nostalgia of the way things used to be. They are injured by the lingering presence of illegal corporal punishment. How do Township learners, whose shoes have been confiscated by the school administration for minor infractions, possibly mark out their desire lines?

Policy Implications

South Africa is a violent country and Johannesburg is a violent city. The success of the Christian School in protecting its learners from the violent crime of the city

suggests that schools have a significant role to play in mediating the violence of the larger community. While efforts to bring the high levels of violent crime under control must be implemented, we must resist the impulse to think that higher fences, greater police presence, and more surveillance will eradicate the root causes of violence. So, too, must educators and policy makers resist the urge to see greater surveillance in the form of security guards and searchers as the panacea for making schools safe. Christian School offers us an instructive model. The school's most effective security measure is not its reinforced front door or the height of the security wall enclosing its small courtyard come playground, but rather its climate of care, respect for one another, and its philosophy on nurturing the whole child. The expressive function of schooling plays a central role in its schooling. Christian School's small learner population assists the school in creating a tight-knit loving and nurturing cohesive school community. Perhaps transforming larger school communities into smaller school communities may create the conditions necessary to promote the culture of care, respect, and nurture that seems to protect learners from interpersonal violence. In a safe, supportive small learning environment, learners can cultivate their aspirations and dreams and are better able to imagine futures unencumbered by their particular circumstances.

Addressing the permeability of borders between schools and neighborhoods may offer another policy recommendation. Since schools are simply part of the larger socioeconomy and borders between school and community are often permeable, why not view the community as an asset as opposed to its current deficit orientation? Why not be intentional and invite productive interaction between the school community and its surrounding community? A holistic approach that engages parents, school-aged push-

outs, and community members as productive contributors to the school, the community, and the larger society should be explored. Schools can become sites of adult literacy and adult education programs, livelihood strategy workshops, job skills programs, entrepreneurial skills development classes, and other such learning opportunities would reinforce the school as a site for learning, growth, and personal development.

Additionally, social services such as mental health facilities, addiction treatment programs, and medical clinics, and social welfare agencies' satellite offices could find homes at the school.

The policy implications for this study far exceed the two above mentioned policy recommendations. Education is just one element of a larger macroeconomy that frames the inequities poor people experience. A multi-sectoral approach needs to be undertaken to address the lingering structural and institutional violence that impacts poor communities in Johannesburg. Policies addressing health, housing, transportation, and employment all need to be considered in tandem with educational reform policies. My policy recommendations have limited utility as compared to the policy recommendations that can be generated by the community itself. Thus, my third policy recommendation would be that communities themselves be consulted and made partners in developing policies. Participatory research is one method in which learners and their families may be able to regain their sense of self and reclaim their sense of imagination and capacity to dream. Grassroots organizations like the Education Rights Project (ERP) facilitate community engagement processes. Spreen and Vally (2006) suggest that such participatory research as that being done by the ERP is a "lever for policy change and capacity building" (p. 359). They write:

The importance of such a [participatory] research process is that it promotes democratic and co-operative practices in the production and the designation of what constitutes knowledge: it demystifies the research and facilitates a social and active response to complex policy issues. The outcomes of the research inform the design of a campaign aimed at improving local education. This work ultimately contributes to democratising debates... as communities themselves have the data to challenge or support the assertions made by the state or other organizations about provisioning for education (p. 358).

Protecting the spirits of young people need also be addressed by legislative reform as well as comprehensive reforms in health, housing, transportation, employment, and education. Only when the structural inequalities are addressed may we be assured that all learners will develop the capacity to dream expansive dreams and the ability to imagine lives of limitless possibilities.

Appendix 1

List of Interviewees (Schools)

	Name	School	Participant	Gender	Race
1	Boys Group	Special	Learners G. 11	Male	Black
2	Girls Group	Special	Learners G. 11	Female	Black
3	Kagiso	Special	Learner G. 9	Female	Black
4	Layla	Special	Learner G. 11	Female	Indian
5	Vanessa	Special	Learner G. 10	Female	White
6	Bususiwe	Special	Learner G. 11	Female	Black
7	Nomsa	Special	Learner G. 11	Female	Black
8	Noxolo	Special	Learner G. 11	Female	Black
9	Evan	Special	Learner G. 11	Male	Coloured
10	Zwanga	Special	Learner G. 11	Male	Black
11	Akani	Special	Learner G. 11	Male	Black
12	Mr. Schermerhorn	Special	Teacher	Male	White
13	Mr. Mojapelo	Special	Teacher	Male	Black
14	Mr. deKlerk	Special	Teacher	Male	White
15	Mr. Mutasa	Special	Teacher	Male	Black
16	Mrs. Botha	Special	Teacher	Female	White
17	Mrs. van de Merve	Special	Teacher	Female	White
18	Mrs. Rensburg	Special	Teacher	Female	White
19	Mr. Hendricks	Special	Admin	Male	White
20	Mrs. van de Plank	Special	Admin	Female	White
21	Mr. Nishat	Special	Parent	Male	Indian
22	Girls Group	Christian	Learners G. 11	Female	Mixed
23	Boys Group	Christian	Learners G. 11	Male	Mixed
24	Tumelo	Christian	Learner G. 11	Female	Black
25	Audrey	Christian	Learner G. 11	Female	Black
26	Naledi	Christian	Learner G. 11	Female	Black
27	Thando	Christian	Learner G. 11	Female	Black
28	Kananelo	Christian	Learner G. 11	Female	Black
29	Jabulile	Christian	Learner G. 11	Female	Black
30	Ismael	Christian	Learner G. 11	Male	Black
31	David	Christian	Learner G. 11	Male	Black
32	Sibusiso	Christian	Learner G. 11	Male	Black
33	Thuso	Christian	Learner G. 11	Male	Black
34	Lebohang	Christian	Learner G. 11	Male	Black
35	Luke	Christian	Learner G. 11	Male	White
36	Ms. Bradburn	Christian	Teacher	Female	Coloured
37	Ms. Everts	Christian	Teacher	Female	Coloured
38	Mr. Harrison	Christian	Teacher	Male	White
39	Ms. Sotho	Christian	Teacher	Female	Black
40	Ms. Mbeki	Christian	Teacher	Female	Black
41	Ms. Mampuru	Christian	Parent	Female	Black/ Angola
42	Ms. Georgia	Christian	Parent	Female	Black

43	Patrica	Christian	Parent	Female	Indian
44	Mrs. Rosseau	Christian	Admin	Female	White
45	Mr. Biyah	Christian	Admin	Female	Black/ West Africa
46	Mama Mary	Christian	PS Staff	Female	Black
47	Girls Group	Township	Learners	Female	Black
48	Boys Group	Township	Learners	Male	Black
49	Bontle	Township	Learner G. 11	Female	Black
50	Nonofo	Township	Learner G. 11	Female	Black
51	Daisy	Township	Learner G. 11	Female	Black
52	Isaac	Township	Learner G. 11	Male	Black
53	Khotso	Township	Learner G. 11	Male	Black
54	Michael	Township	Learner G. 11	Male	Black
55	Mr. Mokhwesana	Township	Teacher	Male	Black
56	Ms. Nkuna	Township	Teacher	Female	Black
57	Ms. Ranamune	Township	Teacher	Female	Black
58	Ms. Morapedi	Township	Teacher	Female	Black
59	Mr. Alwayhi	Township	Admin	Male	Indian
60	Mr. Mabaso	Township	Admin	Male	Black
61	Maureen	Township	PS Staff	Female	Black
62	Thomas	Township	Support Staff	Male	Black
63	Mr. D	Township	Support Staff	Male	Black
64	Parents Group	Township	Parents	Mixed	Black

Appendix 2

List of Interviews with Organizations

	Organization	Position/ Department
1 & 2	People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA)	Media Office
3	People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA), Township Field Office	Social Auxiliary Worker
4	People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA), Township Field Office	Social Auxiliary Worker
5	People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA), Township Field Office	Social Auxiliary Worker
6	Commission for the Rights of Cultural, Religious, and Linguistic Communities (CRL)	Policymaker
7	South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), Johannesburg	Legal
8	South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), Cape Town	Legal
9	Centre for the Study of Violence and Research	Researcher
10	Commission Gender Equality	Legal
11	University of Witwatersrand, College of Education	Administration
12	University of Witwatersrand, College of Education	Doctoral Student
13	University of Witwatersrand, College of Education	Faculty
14	University of Witwatersrand, Political Studies	Faculty
15	University of Witwatersrand, Education Policy Unit	Researcher
16	Gauteng Legislature	Researcher
17	Gauteng Legislature	Researcher
18	South African Council for Educators	Senior Administrator
19	Human Science Research Council	Senior Researcher
20	Amnesty International	Education

Appendix 3

Questionnaire to be used for interviews with students

*Please note that these interviews will be conducted in the semi-structured interview format and the questions below **represent themes** that may be further investigated and discussed in-depth during the interview. Similarly, some of the questions may not be raised at all if they are not germane to the particular interview setting.*

Read informed consent.

Get biographical data pertaining to age, grade level, place of residence, family members at home.

Do you like school? What do you like about it? What don't you like about it?

Are you doing well in school?

Do you feel safe in school?

Do you feel safe on your way to and from school? How do you get to school?

Do your friends feel comfortable in school? Do they feel safe?

Where in school do you feel most comfortable in school?

Do you feel like being a girl/boy makes you less safe or comfortable in school?

Do you think your experiences at school would be different if you were male/female?

Do you think your experience at school would be any different if you were more affluent?

Have you ever been made to feel uncomfortable because you are a girl/boy?

Tell me what your school does to make you feel safe.

Do you feel safe in your community? Do you feel safe at home?

When you hear the "word" violence, what does it mean to you?

Have you or any of your friends ever experienced violence in or in transit in school? Could you talk a little more about it?

Appendix 4

Questionnaire to be used for interviews with school administrators

*Please note that these interviews will be conducted in the semi-structured interview format and the questions below **represent themes** that may be further investigated and discussed in-depth during the interview. Similarly, some of the questions may not be raised at all if they are not germane to the particular interview setting.*

Read informed consent.

Get biographical data pertaining to age, education, place of residence (member of community in which school is located), years of service, years at the school, and if any children at the school.

Do you think your school is safe place? Explain.

Do you feel safe in the school and on the way to school? Have you ever been made uncomfortable?

Do you feel safe in the larger community in which the school is located?

Do you think that the school is a safe space for students? For teachers? Explain.

Do you feel like being a woman/man makes you less safe or comfortable in school?

Do you think your experiences at school would be different if you were a woman/man?

Has any student reported to you that he or she has felt unsafe?

Has any student shared with you that he/she felt threatened? Intimidated? Harassed? Assaulted?

How has this harassment/ intimidation/ assault affected that child's academic performance?

How did you react when you first heard this information? Did you take action? Did you suggest a course of action for the student to take?

In general, what does a student do if he or she feels that he/she feels as if he/she may have been a recipient of a violent act or behavior?

What is the school's procedure for responding to a reported case of harassment, intimidation or assault?

Appendix 5

Questionnaire to be used for interviews with teachers

*Please note that these interviews will be conducted in the semi-structured interview format and the questions below **represent themes** that may be further investigated and discussed in-depth during the interview. Similarly, some of the questions may not be raised at all if they are not germane to the particular interview setting.*

Read informed consent.

Get biographical data pertaining to age, education, place of residence, subjects taught, years at the school, and if any children at the school.

Do you think your school is safe place? Explain.

Do you feel safe in the school and on the way to school? Have you ever been made uncomfortable?

Do you feel safe in the larger community in which the school is located?

Do you think that the school is a safe space for students? Explain.

Do you feel like being a woman/man makes you less safe or comfortable in school?

Do you think your experiences at school would be different if you were a woman/man?

Has any student reported to you that he or she has felt unsafe?

Has any student shared with you that he/she felt threatened? Intimidated? Harassed? Assaulted?

How has this harassment/ intimidation/ assault affected that child's academic performance?

How did you react when you first heard this information? Did you take action? Did you suggest a course of action for the student to take?

In general, what does a student do if he or she feels that he/she feels as if he/she may have been a recipient of a violent act or behavior?

What is the school's procedure for responding to a reported case of harassment, intimidation or assault?

What policies or programs are in place to make the school safer for students?

Appendix 6

Questionnaire to be used with parents

*Please note that these interviews will be conducted in the semi-structured interview format and the questions below **represent themes** that may be further investigated and discussed in-depth during the interview. Similarly, some of the questions may not be raised at all if they are not germane to the particular interview setting.*

Read informed consent.

Do you feel safe in your community? Do you think your community is a safe place?

Do you feel your child's school is safe? Do you worry about him/or her when she is at school? On her/his way to school?

Has your child ever talked to you about feeling uncomfortable in school?

Has your child ever wanted to stay home from school? Could you talk a little bit about why he/she wanted to stay home?

How often do you visit your child's school? How often do you communicate with teachers or the school staff?

How is your child performing in school?

How would you describe your relationship with the school? The administrators?

Has your child talked to you about incidents of violence at school?

Have you heard of any incidents of violence in your child's school?

Has your child ever mentioned to you that she/he felt threatened, harassed, or intimidated? If so what was your reaction? How did the school respond? Were you satisfied with the school's response? How did this affect your child's academic performance?

Do you know of any polices or programs in place to make your child's school safer?

What do you think can be done to make your child's school a safer place?

How can you get involved?

Appendix 7

Questionnaire to be used with community leaders

*Please note that these interviews will be conducted in the semi-structured interview format and the questions below **represent themes** that may be further investigated and discussed in-depth during the interview. Similarly, some of the questions may not be raised at all if they are not germane to the particular interview setting.*

Read informed consent.

Do you think your community is safe? Could you elaborate?

Do you feel safe in your community? Do you think your community is a safe place?

Do you feel your community's school is safe? Do you worry about the students when they are in school? On their way to school?

What is the community's relationship with the school?

How would you describe your relationship with the school and members of the school community?

Can you recall any recent incidents of violence in the community? Could you talk about them in detail?

What is the community doing to make neighborhoods safer?

What policies and programs are in place to make your community safer?

What do you think can be done to make the community a safer place?

Appendix 8

Questionnaire to be used with staff of NGOs, government organizations, and other organizations

*Please note that these interviews will be conducted in the semi-structured interview format and the questions below **represent themes** that may be further investigated and discussed in-depth during the interview. Similarly, some of the questions may not be raised at all if they are not germane to the particular interview setting.*

Read informed consent.

Could you talk a little bit about the history and mission of your organization?

In what communities do you work? What kinds of programs do you offer?

How long have you been working in this particular community?

How did you and your organization come to work with this school community?

What do you think are the biggest challenges facing the community?

How is your organization responding to these challenges?

Would you talk a little bit about your safe schools campaign/ initiative? What does it look like? How does it work? What are your expected outcomes?

What kinds of violences do the students face here? How severe are they? How often do they occur?

How does violence affect a student's academic performance? Psycho-social well-being?

What policies and programs are in place to stem these violences?

What are some of your personal observations about these policies/ programs? Would you consider them successful?

What kind of support do students receive from the school/ community/ your organization?

Could you talk a little bit more about the different kinds of support offered?

Could you describe a case of assault that occurred in the school or on the way to school that you know of?

Appendix 9

Informed Consent Form (at Least 18 Years-old)

Research Title: School Related Gender-based Violence in Johannesburg High Schools

Statement of Age of Subject

I state that I am over 18 years of age and wish to participate in a dissertation research study conducted by Illana Lancaster under the supervision of Salim Vally at the Education Policy Unit at the University of Witwatersrand and Carol Anne Spreen in the Department of Education Policy and Leadership at the University of Maryland.

Purpose

I understand that the purpose of this study is to explore how students experience gender violence in their school community in the Johannesburg metropolitan area.

Procedures

I agree to participate in an individual interview that will take approximately two hours to complete. I may be asked to participate in a follow-up interview at a later date. This follow up interview will take approximately one hour. I also may be asked to participate in a group interview with several other students that will take approximately two hours.

During these interviews, I will be asked about the safety of schools and the violences that students may experience in and on the way to school. Examples of some questions to be asked are:

- Do you think your school community is safe?
- Have you or any of your friends ever experienced violence in or in transit to school?
- What policies and programs are in place to make your school community safer?

All interviews will be audiotaped unless requested otherwise.

Confidentiality

No information about me, or provided by me during the interview will be shared with others without my written permission. I understand that the information I provide will be grouped with information provided by others. My name will not be used in any presentation of findings or public documents.

Information collected in this study is confidential and will be stored securely in locked cabinets for the duration of the study. All computer files will be password-protected. All information will be destroyed after the dissertation is defended.

If abuse or neglect is revealed in the interview, the researcher will need to disclose the incident to comply with legal requirements.

Risks

I understand that there may be some risks from participating in this research study. I understand that I may be discussing sensitive topics that may make me feel fear, embarrassment or fatigue. I understand that an advocate may be present at the interview to assist me in dealing with some of

these emotions. The advocate is present only to help me deal with my emotions and feelings. The advocate may give me the names of people and places I may go to get more help.

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Initials _____ Date _____

Benefits of Research

I understand that this research is not designed to help me personally, but the results may help the investigator learn more about how students experience violence in schools and how violence in schools can be addressed. In the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of violence in schools.

Freedom to Withdraw

I understand that my participation in this research is completely voluntary. I may choose not to take part at all. If I decide to participate in this research, I may stop participating at any time. If I decide not to participate in this study or if I stop participating at any time, I will not be penalized.

Medical Treatment

The University of Maryland does not provide any medical, hospitalization or other insurance for participants in this research study, nor will the University of Maryland provide any medical treatment or compensation for any injury sustained as a result of participation in this research study, except as required by law.

Questions?

This research is being conducted by Carol Anne Spreen and Illana Lancaster in the Department of Education Policy and Leadership at the University of Maryland, College Park in the United States in collaboration with Salim Vally at the Education Policy Unit at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg .

If I have any questions about the research study itself, I may contact:

Salim Vally
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Page 3 of 3

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If I have questions about my rights as a research subject or wish to report a research-related injury, I may contact:
Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742;
(e-mail) irb@deans.umd.edu; (telephone) 301-405-0678

_____ I agree to have this interview audiotaped.
_____ I do not agree to have this session audiotaped.

My signature below indicates that:
I am at least 18 or have parental permission;
The research has been explained to me,
My questions have been fully answered; and I freely choose to participate in this research project.

Name of subject: _____

Signature of subject: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 10

Assent Form for Under 18 Students

Research Title: School Related Gender-based Violence in Johannesburg High Schools

Statement of Age of Subject

I state that I am under 18 years of age and with my parent or guardian's permission I wish to participate in a dissertation research study conducted by Illana Lancaster under the supervision of Salim Vally at the Education Policy Unit at the University of Witwatersrand and Carol Anne Spreen in the Department of Education Policy and Leadership at the University of Maryland.

Purpose

I understand that the purpose of this study is to explore how students experience gender violence in their school community in the Johannesburg metropolitan area .

Procedures

I agree to participate in an individual interview that will take approximately two hours to complete. I may be asked to participate in a follow-up interview at a later date. This follow up interview will take approximately one hour. I also may be asked to participate in a group interview with several other students that will take approximately two hours.

During these interviews, I will be asked about the safety of schools and the violences that students may experience in and on the way to school. Examples of some questions to be asked are:

- Do you think your school community is safe?
- Have you or any of your friends ever experienced violence in or in transit to school?
- What policies and programs are in place to make your school community safer?

All interviews will be audiotaped unless requested otherwise.

Confidentiality

No information about me, or provided by me during the interview will be shared with others without my written permission. I understand that the information I provide will be grouped with information provided by others. My name will not be used in any presentation of findings or public documents.

Information collected in this study is confidential and will be stored securely in locked cabinets for the duration of the study. All computer files will be password-protected. All information will be destroyed after the dissertation is defended.

If abuse or neglect is revealed in the interview, the researcher will need to disclose the incident to comply with legal requirements.

Risks

I understand that there may be some risks from participating in this research study. I understand that I may be discussing sensitive topics that may make me feel fear, embarrassment or fatigue. I understand that an advocate may be present at the interview to assist me in dealing with some of

these emotions. The advocate is present only to help me deal with my emotions and feelings. The advocate may give me the names of people and places I may go to get more help.

Page 2 of 3
Initials _____ Date _____

Benefits of Research

I understand that this research is not designed to help me personally, but the results may help the investigator learn more about how students experience violence in schools and how violence in schools can be addressed. In the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of violence in schools.

Freedom to Withdraw

I understand that my participation in this research is completely voluntary. I may choose not to take part at all. If I decide to participate in this research, I may stop participating at any time. If I decide not to participate in this study or if I stop participating at any time, I will not be penalized.

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The University of Maryland does not provide any medical, hospitalization or other insurance for participants in this research study, nor will the University of Maryland provide any medical treatment or compensation for any injury sustained as a result of participation in this research study, except as required by law.

Questions?

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_____ I agree to have this interview audiotaped.
_____ I do not agree to have this session audiotaped.

My signature below indicates that:
I have parental permission to participate in research project;
The research has been explained to me,
My questions have been fully answered; and I freely choose to participate in this research project.

Name of subject: _____

Signature of subject: _____

Date: _____

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