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Racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools: A case study of multi-racial teacher perspectives at one high school in the Western Cape

By

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DECLARATION

“I, Kumresh Chetty, student number 218085392, declare that:

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Kumresh S. Chetty

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Prof. Sybert Mutereko

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my loving parents, Deva and Vasie Chetty.

LISTS OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
CLS	Critical Legal Studies
CRT	Critical Race Theory
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DET	Department of Education and Training
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
HOA	House of Assembly
HOD	House of Delegates
HOR	House of Representatives
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
OAU	The Organisation of African Unity
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PGWC	Provincial Government of the Western Cape
SACE	South African Council of Educators
SASA	South African Schools Act 84 of 1996
SETA	Sector Education Training Authorities
SGB	School Governing Body
SMT	School Management Team
U.S.	United States
U.S.A	United States of America
WCED	Western Cape Education Department

ABSTRACT

The literature reveals the deleterious role of race and racism and its impact on society, particularly at post-apartheid desegregated schools, including the concomitant racial integration challenges. It also suggests that Critical Race Theory (CRT) is among the most apt approaches to effect social change and social justice at these beleaguered schools. Data/research from several studies highlights that racism and racist incidents have plagued post-apartheid desegregated schools since the advent of democracy. Most recently, media reports have again highlighted newer cases of racism and racist incidents taking place at post-apartheid desegregated schools. The field of research interest focusing on teachers in relation to the challenges of reintegration in post-apartheid schools has not been totally exhausted. The research to date has tended to focus more on teacher reactions and responses but rarely propound teacher-led initiatives and interventions. This research study sought to explore how teacher-led initiatives and interventions relate to their directly addressing the challenges of racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated schools, especially the schools in which they actually teach.

This research project was a mono-method interpretivist qualitative study. It employed one qualitative data collection method and a corresponding qualitative analysis procedure. Purposeful or judgmental sampling was the sampling procedure used to select the research participants. Data was collected through interviews from four multi-racial teachers who were based at President High School in the Western Cape. The computer-aided qualitative analysis of the data gathered through thematic analysis compared the responses of the four teachers. It indicated that there was significant variation in their responses based on race. This was beneficial due to their intimate knowledge of the racial integration challenges faced at post-apartheid desegregated schools. This related to a disjuncture between policy and practice; teachers lacked formal conflict management skills which were needed to teach in racially diverse classrooms. This Political Science study highlights that the national and provincial departments of education need to be cognisant of the research inputs and outputs of teachers as political actors. This is informed by their interventions and recommendations in addressing the current educational crises of racism and racist incidents taking place at schools.

Keywords: race, racism, racist incidents, Critical Race Theory, post-apartheid desegregated high schools, racial integration, Political Science, political actors

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This study investigated racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. This investigation was carried out through multi-racial teacher perspectives, i.e., teachers from different racial groups at President High School in the Parow area of the Western Cape. President High School is a desegregated former whites-only school founded in 1964. It currently has 28 multi-racial teachers and approximately six hundred multi-racial learners, i.e., learners from different racial groups. There are multiple reasons for focusing on multi-racial teacher perspectives in this Political Science study. These reasons relate to teachers just being perceived as education personnel. This is because they are generally not recognised or acknowledged as political actors within the political system. Teachers are also agents of political socialisation, political ideology, political communication and political culture; and they are also involved in political dynamics processes. They fulfil these vital roles within schools, the post-apartheid education and political landscapes, and in society. Post-apartheid desegregated schools are in an education crisis as they are plagued by racial integration challenges.

This education crisis relates to issues of race, racism and racist incidents that have been a chronic feature of the education system since the advent of democracy. The roles that teachers play could either negatively or positively influence outcomes in this protracted education crisis. This Political Science study focuses on the latter and the benefits that could accrue from collaborating with teachers in investigating and addressing this crisis. Smith (2004) problematised that racial issues do not feature among the key topics studied in American politics within the discipline of Political Science. The author alluded to this as a puzzling pattern within Political Science. The converse held true for this study in Political Science relating to racial issues within its South African political context.

1.2 Background of the study

What is the current state of Political Science in South Africa? The global challenges within the discipline of Political Science are evident within the post-1994 South African context. This relates to “tensions between normative and empirical approaches; mainstream and non-mainstream approaches (such as feminism); qualitative and quantitative research; as well as

value neutrality and being an applied science” (Gouws, Steyn Kotze & van Wyk 2013: 2). There are major problems within Political Science globally, including its post-1994 South African context. This relates to its obsession with “excessive specialization within” the discipline and thus “leading to narrower fields of research while ignoring local issues” (ibid.). This scenario impacts on its relevance as an academic discipline and its relationship with the public about important local societal issues and political concerns that they may have.

According to Blatt (2018), the relevance of Political Science as an academic discipline and its relationship with the public about important local societal issues and their political concerns has undergone a revitalisation process. This revitalisation process occurred amidst the major problems it faced both globally and including its post-1994 South African context. Political Science is currently more in sync with and aware of local societal issues including the political concerns of the public than ever before. This scenario is most pertinent and directly linked to this research study in its post-apartheid South African context. This study dealing with racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools through multi-racial teacher perspectives is an example of one such local and important societal issue relevant to the public in post-apartheid South Africa. According to Blatt (2018), Political Science has continually highlighted issues and public concerns pertaining to race, gender, class, sexual orientation and identity politics that are pivotal to it as an academic discipline. The issue of race has garnered substantial media attention in the past and most recently due to the surge of racism and racist incidents unfolding at post-apartheid desegregated schools.

There has been a wave of media attention trumpeting newer episodes of racism and racist incidents taking place at post-apartheid desegregated high schools recently. These include both government and private schools that have experienced serious challenges with racial integration. Thebus (2022) reported that “black parents allege racism at top city school”. This referred to a group of black parents who alleged racial discrimination in sport and admissions at Rondebosch High School, Cape Town in the Western Province. This related to team selections for rugby that excluded black learners from the first and A teams. The group, known as the “Bosch Parents For Change”, is convinced that the school reneges on its transformation targets as it is not racially representative. This is to the detriment of black learners who are not visibly or adequately represented in the school’s sporting teams. An anonymous parent from the group alluded to this being the culture at the school.

The culture of the school seemingly has espoused visibly racial exclusionary practices both in its sporting codes and management structures. This relates to the school management having just one black teacher and “one black African educator in a position of subject head out of 18 posts”. The principal was unavailable for comment but the SGB chairperson said that “professional consultants in law, sport and organisational leadership would be brought in to investigate the matter” and give recommendations. The SGB chairperson also denied any form of systemic racism or discrimination at the school. The parents also lodged a complaint with WCED. The parents of these black learners were dissatisfied and upset with this response, and also lodged a complaint with WCED.

Parents of learners that were alleged victims of racism and racist incidents are becoming more upset and vocal about them being trivialised and covered up at some schools. Mkentane (2022) reported that a learner was suspended after allegedly calling a fellow student the k-word at Robinvale High School in Atlantis in the Western Cape. The victim’s parent said previous incidents of racism had been “swept under the carpet” at this school. She also “demanded justice for her son in Grade 10”, who is very upset about the incident. It is alleged that a coloured learner used the k-word to a group of four black learners when they were entering a class to attend a lesson. It also took the principal more than a week to suspend the perpetrator; this only after the victim’s parent reported the incident. The parent felt that the principal had initially ignored this incident as it was reported on the same day it happened. Subsequent meetings with the SGB were scheduled and also with the WCED to investigate the incident; the outcome is still pending. The racism and racist incidents at schools have also spiralled into violent skirmishes between parents of different races, thus highlighting its severity and chronic nature which has become overtly racially charged.

Overtly racially charged violent confrontations between white and black parents have become the order of the day at some post-apartheid desegregated schools. These violent confrontations mirror the racism and racist incidents that their children are involved in or have experienced as either victims, perpetrators or both at the same time. Bhengu (2021) reported that Witbank Technical High School in Mpumalanga Province had been closed with classes ceasing for a week due to racism allegations. This comes after violent clashes between black and white parents took place over racism allegations. The incident was in the wake of a fight between black and white pupils on the school property. This incident surfaced on social media and resulted in the suspension of only the black students who were involved in the scuffle. The white students who were involved in this fight received no disciplinary sanction whatsoever.

This led to the racial fracas between black and white parents with black parents alleging racism and racial bias. There has also been the opposite, where there was solidarity between parents of both black and white students who protested against racism and racist incidents taking place at schools their children attended.

Black and white parents were in solidarity when they protested together with their children against the alleged racism and racist incidents that took place at a renowned private school in Gauteng. Ngqakamba (2021) reported allegations of racism at the prestigious private school, Cornwall High College in Pretoria. This related to black pupils being unfairly treated as compared to their fellow white students due to their race. This resulted in a protest against the alleged racism and racist incidents at the school by parents and its pupils, both black and white. Singo Ravele, a black female grade eleven pupil, spoke out at the protest about her experiences of racism at the school which began when she was in grade four. This protest received a lot of media coverage and also drew political attention with the MEC of education in Gauteng, Mr. Panyaza Lesufi, intervening and publicly condemning such racist acts at schools in the province. Former and current students have also alleged racial discrimination being prevalent at the school. The principal of the school publicly apologised on behalf of himself and the executive leadership for the debacle. There was also outrage when reprehensible racist acts and racism were reported, which were perpetrated by both principals and teachers themselves in other provinces at desegregated schools.

Principals and teachers are supposed to espouse democratic educational leadership by enacting the constitutional provisions and prescripts such as non-racialism and non-sexism in their schools and classrooms. They have the professional obligation to uphold and give life to the democratic educational legislation such as the SASA (1996). It highlights an equality and human rights approach, also encompassing human dignity. It emphasises that there should be no discrimination based on race, gender, religion, language or sexual orientation, and that everyone has a right to education. Unfortunately, the realities highlight that some teachers and principals have sadly reneged on these core values. Morapela (2021) reported that the Louis Botha Technical High School in Bloemfontein in the Free State province had been accused of racial practices and corporal punishment. This occurred after a learner posted a video on social media where he complained about teachers using racist language towards black learners at the school.

It was also alleged that there were racial problems at Louis Botha Technical High School where black pupils were being racially abused. Four teachers and the principal were suspended due to their alleged involvement in the racial incidents. The Free State Department of Education had confirmed that an investigation would be carried out to probe the allegations of racism at the school. The sensitivities around these alleged racist incidents and racism at schools have spilled into the political realm. This has involved political parties and community members of different races and political affiliations. This scenario has escalated into race-based political violence and unmasked the inherent racial tensions at desegregated schools and the communities in which they are situated.

Brackenfell in the Western Cape used to be a previously and exclusively white Afrikaaner suburb under the Group Areas Act (1950) during apartheid. Brackenfell High School was also an exclusively white segregated Afrikaaner school that opened in 1976. The suburb of Brackenfell has subsequently been desegregated in the democratic era but white Afrikaaners still remain the dominant population group. Brackenfell High School had also been desegregated and became co-educational due to SASA (1996), with learners of other races now attending. Villette (2020) reported that Brackenfell High School was accused of racism due to the exclusion of black students from attending the matric ball. It sparked a political race war as was evident in the protests and related violence. It involved predominantly white members of that community who had violent skirmishes with political parties.

Political parties protested against the exclusion of black pupils from the year-end function and labelled it as racist. The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and their supporters were at the forefront of these protests outside the school, and to a lesser degree, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC). The Provincial Government of the Western Cape (PGWC) and the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) were also embroiled in the crisis. The MEC for education in the Western Cape, Ms. Debbie Schäfer, highlighted that an investigation was launched into the allegations and it found no evidence that people were excluded based on their race. The Brackenfell High School fiasco received extensive media attention that highlighted the chronic nature of the serious challenges posed by racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated schools.

Media reports have also amplified the serious challenges of racial integration facing post-apartheid desegregated schools in the past. Davis (2015) attests that racist incidents and the challenges of racism in South African schools are not new ones. There have been many reports

in the past that highlighted such incidents in the media. Davis (2017) reported that a St. John's College teacher was subsequently fired after being found guilty of racist behaviour. These incidents have raised serious concerns as death has resulted in some extreme cases (Makoelle 2014: 283). The severity of the situation is attenuated by apathy in not effectively dealing with these serious challenges at schools. Racism has become a societal scourge of epic proportions that needs to be addressed. It is a contentious and controversial topic that has become both abhorrent in and an indictment of post-apartheid society.

Racism is a very contentious subject and controversial issue in post-apartheid society. This is because it takes many different forms and is defined and understood in various ways. There is no doubt that the racism of the apartheid era has carried into the post-apartheid era. While it does not exude the trappings of the overt forms of racism which manifested during apartheid, racism nowadays takes place in more covert and nuanced ways and sometimes is difficult to detect. This is due to it being disguised as cultural and social issues which cannot be literally labelled racist as such, especially within the post-apartheid education context.

There have been continual reform efforts within education through legislation since 1994. The South African School's Act (1996) legally desegregated all public schools that were formed under apartheid along racial lines. This meant that public schools were now legally open for children of all races to attend. It focused on reintegrating society on non-racial lines and redressing past inequities in education created by apartheid. The post-apartheid state also adopted inclusive education as a system with White Paper 6 in 2001. It was also a veiled indicator that the South African Schools Act (SASA) of 1996 had failed summarily or had mixed results. White Paper 6 (2001) aimed to cater for the needs of all learners and those disadvantaged under the apartheid education system (Makoelle 2012: 95). It also experienced challenges relating to race and racism and produced mixed results. There were many approaches towards racial integration interspersed within the transitioning educational landscape once schools were legally desegregated in 1996.

Schools had differing contexts in which their processes of reintegration took place, attempted to do so, or did not take place at all. These processes presented both challenges and opportunities, which were influenced by many factors. These factors related to "the current ethos of a school, the nature of the interaction and existing patterns and institutional features," including its policies which could either inhibit or promote reintegration processes (Soudien 2004: 95). The situational contexts of post-apartheid desegregated schools presented them with

different approaches to facilitate reintegration. These approaches were assimilation, the colour-blind approach, multicultural education and anti-racist education.

According to Vandeyar and Killen (2006: 383), assimilation is assumed to be the main aim of desegregation. This assumption is problematic because the process of assimilation contradicts the democratic ethos and tenets of educational transformation along non-racial lines. It reproduces a racial and socio-cultural hierarchy that, paradoxically, desegregation and the reintegration of schools are trying to dismantle. It can be understood as learners of different racial and socio-cultural backgrounds being assimilated into the “values, behaviours, ethos and character of the dominant group that frame the social and cultural context of the school” (Naidoo, Pillay & Conley 2018: 1). Colour-blindness is another approach that is closely linked to assimilation.

The colour-blind approach is when teachers who teach diverse learners at desegregated schools who are not the same race as them hide their negative feelings and opinions of them by charging that they do not see colour (Vandeyar & Killen 2006: 383). This approach masks both individual and institutional racism, including the “discriminatory attitudes in desegregated schools” (Vandeyar 2010: 345). Multicultural education is an approach that aspires to foster “equal educational opportunities for learners from racially diverse groups, ethnic social classes, and cultural groups”, which recognises their differences by seeing colour (Vandeyar 2010: 345–346). It views racism as a product of ignorance and prejudice which can be eliminated by encouraging cultural exchange, greater personal interaction, tolerance and understanding through information sharing between the racial groups (Vandeyar & Killen 2006: 383). Multicultural education homogenises culture into cultural silos in which the different racial groups retain a fixed and immutable cultural identity related to their race. This makes cultural differences normative with no opportunity to carve out an eclectic and truly multicultural identity by synthesising elements from each other’s cultures (Vally & Dalamba 1999: 32). This demonstrates ironically that multicultural education perpetuates nuanced cultural and racial segregation as under apartheid.

Antiracism education challenges multicultural education’s apolitical nature and its primary focus on cultural exchange in order to eradicate racism (Vandeyar & Killen 2006: 383). It is a radical, action-oriented approach that seeks institutional and systemic transformation in order to address inherent racism and mechanisms of social oppression (ibid.). Antiracist education is by far the most radical approach to confront racism at schools because it confronts and opposes

overt and covert racism in its many guises (Vandeyar 2010: 345–346). This relates to any forms of systemic, institutional and structural racism that masquerade as being normative and are clandestinely undetected but which have perpetuated the racial oppression of black people.

1.3 Research problem statement

The post-apartheid government adopted a new Constitution in May of 1996, and in accordance with the Bill of Rights, espoused equality, human dignity and respect of human rights. The advent of democracy in South Africa ushered in many unprecedented policy changes in the transforming political landscape. These policies were implemented to dismantle the racially oppressive legacy of apartheid in the political, social and economic spheres. This entailed the democratisation and transformation of these spheres, including education along non-racial lines. These processes resulted in the transition from the apartheid state to a democratic non-racial state. They were guided by constitutional imperatives and the goal of achieving reconciliation and nation-building. This was to be achieved through reintegrating society as a post-racial state. The South African Schools Act (SASA) passed in 1996 legally desegregated all public schools on non-racial lines, dismantling those that were formed under apartheid. It allowed children of all races access to these previously racially segregated schools. The aim was to offer redress and eliminate apartheid era racial inequalities in education (Ndimande 2009: 125). In this process, racial integration should be prioritised as an indispensable component in “creating desegregated and equal institutions, as envisaged by the Constitution” (Naidoo, Pillay & Conley 2018: 2).

The role of “strong educational leadership”, an adherence to constitutional imperatives and the stringent implementation of the South African Schools Act (1996) is critical because it can facilitate meaningful racial integration in desegregated schools (Naidoo, Pillay & Conley 2018: 2). This ethos also mitigates against inhibiting factors such as resistance to racial integration and fears relating to the process (Vally & Dalamba 1999: vii). Unfortunately, the status quo of racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools is characterised by racism, racist incidents and racial integration challenges. Naidoo, Pillay and Conley (2018) explicate that racial integration has not been fully realised in post-apartheid schools. This is because of the high levels of racial intolerance in some schools. The racial integration challenges at these schools are further exacerbated as they intersect with other forms of discrimination taking place there, such as gender and class, which, together with race, have the potential for conflict.

Ndimande (2009) asserts that there are serious challenges within post-apartheid educational reforms. These relate to racism, cultural intolerance and inter-racial conflict experienced by mainly black learners at desegregated schools. The SASA (1996) legally desegregated all public schools that were racially segregated under apartheid. These desegregated schools have been legally obligated to accept learners of all races but still have vestiges of their former racially segregated pasts under apartheid. These schools have nuanced exclusionary practices that are racially biased in favour of their white students. This is to the disadvantage of black students who experience this within the classroom and outside of it. This is evidenced by the seating arrangements in the classroom and the language of instruction not being one that black students are versatile in (ibid. p. 123). Vally and Dalamba (1999) highlight that there is also the predominance of certain sports like rugby, which stereotypically blacks do not play. Thus, the reintegration of mainly black learners into these schools became problematic on many levels.

The integration challenges faced by mainly black learners at desegregated schools were due to social, political and economic disparities as a result of the legacy of apartheid. Post-apartheid society is replete with these disparities and they resonate at post-apartheid desegregated schools. Schools reflect the dynamics, levels and degrees to which racial transformation is progressing towards a truly non-racial post-apartheid society. Many post-apartheid desegregated high schools still have unchanging, unwavering or immutable tendencies prevalent that are reflective of their former apartheid racially segregated characteristics. This relates to them still preserving their former ethos, values, practices, cultural traditions and rigid administrative models as under apartheid. These tendencies are ubiquitous and reflective of the deeply embedded apartheid-era school institutional cultures still permeating democratic South Africa. This leads to the problem of chronic racism and racist incidents at post-apartheid desegregated high schools.

Recently, researchers have shown an increased interest in the desegregation and racial integration of post-apartheid desegregated high schools (le Roux 2014; Machaisa 2014). For instance, Machaisa (2014) explored the challenges within policies implemented to achieve reintegration in post-apartheid multicultural schools. Her study comprised a literature review of these policies relating to their impact on post-apartheid desegregated schools. This related to the respective policies and the practice of them. These policy and practice issues investigated the opportunities and challenges within them to achieve racial integration in schools. Critical

Race Theory was specifically used to assess the challenges within them when implemented as part of this policy review process.

Similarly, le Roux (2014) examined teachers and their roles in relation to race, racial identities and racial inequalities in post-apartheid desegregated schools. Her study specifically focused on the responses of four white student teachers relating to race, racial identities and racial inequalities. They made up the sample for her study, and the motivation was to assess their personal views as being white student teachers in the post-apartheid South African educational landscape. They were all female and Afrikaans-speaking and had very entrenched white racialised identities. They also claimed that they were not part of apartheid and used various devices to highlight this fact. They convinced themselves that being white and being born in post-apartheid South Africa, they were innocent of racism. They also believed that this absolved them from structural racism. The study established that education shapes the transformation landscape of post-apartheid South Africa into a non-racial society at all levels, including schools. Therefore, teachers have an important role to play in advancing this cause, or they could be complicit in further entrenching racial divisions because of their socialisation.

However, much of the research on racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools up to now has been descriptive in nature and fails to incorporate the perspectives of specifically teachers from diverse races as political actors there. It focuses primarily on teachers being just education personnel and their responses and reactions to racial integration challenges at these schools as exclusively pertaining to this category. Surprisingly, racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools has not been closely examined, particularly through the perspectives of teachers as political actors who could directly address racial integration challenges. The current study examined these challenges through teachers' research input and output and by way of their interventions, and recommendations in addressing racial integration challenges even at the very schools they teach at. Drawing on Critical Race Theory (CRT), this study investigated racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools through multi-racial teacher perspectives. A case study of multi-racial teacher perspectives was conducted at President High School in the Parow district of the Western Cape in order to investigate the extent in which race played a part and was pervasive.

1.4. Main objective:

To explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools.

1.4.1 Specific/sub-objectives:

- a) To ascertain the impact of racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools;
- b) To identify factors relating to racial integration which affect the role of learners in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools;
- c) To identify factors relating to racial integration which affect the role of teachers in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools;
- d) To determine the effects of racial integration on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa;
- e) To find out what classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions can address the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools.

1.5 Research questions

To achieve the main research objective, the study was guided by the following research questions:

- What impact does racial integration have on post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?
- How does racial integration affect the role of learners in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?
- How does racial integration affect the role of teachers in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?
- What are the effects of racial integration on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa?
- What classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions can address the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?

1.6 Significance of the study

This study intends to benefit the Department of Basic Education (DBE), the Western Cape Education Department (WCED), the general public and the academic community. Firstly, the academic community may benefit from having insight into teachers' intimate knowledge of racial integration challenges faced at schools. Secondly, minimal research had been conducted within Political Science from the perspectives of specifically multi-racial teacher components as political actors within these schools. This relates to research in which they directly address racial integration challenges within both the political and educational landscapes. The present study in Political Science realises this through teachers' research input and output as political actors. The study is beneficial as it complements, validates and critiques other similar or related research. Further, the study benefits the academic community in discovering new areas to be researched relating to the topic.

Thirdly, multi-racial perspectives of teachers on the ground offer fresh and varied input in first-hand accounts of the racial integration challenges faced at desegregated schools. Fourthly, the study's findings relay alternate views of these challenges through the recommendations so as to address them through teacher-led initiatives. A teacher-led model of strategies and recommendations could then be developed to address racial integration challenges at schools. It could be implemented at both high schools and primary schools nationally and provincially. The DBE and the WCED could roll this out. Lastly, the general public may benefit because this study directly addresses the current educational crisis involving racism and racist incidents taking place at schools. This would help in improving inter-personal relations at schools and in the communities where they are situated. This study offers scope for further improvements; and it might contribute to these newer areas of research related to this topic.

1.7 Definition of concepts

The following referents were operationalised for terminological clarity including specific Political Science terminology as used in this study. These referents are desegregation, racial integration, multi-racial, post-apartheid desegregated high school. The Political Science terminologies are: political communication, political socialisation, political culture, political dynamics and political ideology.

Desegregation

Desegregation denotes bringing together children of different races in formerly racially segregated schools legally through the South African Schools Act (1996). The goals of desegregation are part of the broader national goals in attaining a non-racial and democratic South Africa in all spheres of post-apartheid society, including education. The South African Schools Act (SASA) passed in 1996 legally desegregated all public schools on non-racial lines, dismantling those that were formed under apartheid. It allowed children of all races access to these previously racially segregated schools to eliminate the racially oppressive inequities of apartheid education. Racial integration was the broad topic being investigated in this study. The debilitating role that race and racism played during apartheid is still palpably experienced in post-apartheid society, particularly in education. This study investigated racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools through multi-racial teacher perspectives to ascertain the extent to which race plays a part in education.

Racial integration

Racial integration denotes the quality of the racial interaction between racially different children and teachers within the transforming desegregated school environment (Soudien 2002: 101). It relates to the personal attitudes, beliefs and values of these children and teachers towards their being legally racially integrated within these schools. Multi-racial denotes the different racial groups as classified in this country.

School taxonomy

According to Vally and Dalamba (1999), there were many categories of post-apartheid desegregated high schools; e.g., former white, former Indian, former coloured and former African schools. During apartheid, white schools were administered under the House of Assembly – HOA; Indian schools were administered by the House of Delegates – HOD; African schools were administered by the Department of Education and Training – DET; and coloured schools were administered by the House of Representatives – HOR (ibid.). There is a distinction between government and private schools in post-apartheid South Africa. The former is administered by the state and the latter is privately administered. Post-apartheid desegregated high school in this study denotes a desegregated former whites-only government high school.

Political Science terminology

Political socialisation denotes the process wherein people develop political attitudes, beliefs and values individually or as part of groups. Political ideology refers to a political, social and economic model encompassing doctrines and ideals of how society should be structured. Political communication denotes how political information is disseminated in a political system. Political culture denotes the prevailing values, attitudes, customs and practices within a political system. Political dynamics relates to a government's or political entity's policy making and public administration processes.

The abovementioned Political Science terms are most relevant and apt in political studies dealing with education relating to issues of race involving teachers and learners of diverse backgrounds at schools. These Political Science terms were relevant to this study as they helped contextualise and demonstrated how they were applicable to and played themselves out within the political system between both teachers and learners of diverse races in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. The political system in this context was the political environment being the school in which multi-racial teachers were political actors.

Racial integration was the broad topic being investigated in this study. The major theme was multi-racial teacher perspectives on racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools and was explored through them as political actors. Teachers are political actors and also agents of political socialisation, political ideology, political communication and political culture; and they are also involved in political dynamics processes at these schools. They fulfil these roles in many ways based on their political beliefs, political opinions, party-political affiliations and their socialisation under apartheid. This would then impact on racial integration processes at the school either positively or negatively.

1.8 Dissertation layout

Chapter one

This study as a whole is organised into six chapters. Chapter one commences with a contextual synopsis and presents a historical overview of issues relating to racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated schools. It then progresses to elucidate the problem statement of this

study, including its research objectives and research questions. The chapter also expounds on the significance of the study and ends by giving an outline of the chapters that make up the study in its entirety.

Chapter two

Chapter two begins by conceptualising the issues of racial integration in post-apartheid high schools by reviewing literature of prior research related to this topic. It proceeds to explore the role of race and racism, and its impact on society and what previous scholars have established in this area of inquiry. This exploration entailed examining the debates that emerge on race within Political Science. It then moves on to assess the resurgence of scholarship on the role of race and racial ideology by various disciplines in the Social Sciences, including Political Science. The last part of the chapter presents the theory underpinning this study, i.e., Critical Race Theory (CRT). Critical Race Theory underpins this study and is the theoretical lens through which the issues of racial integration are explored through multi-racial perspectives at a post-apartheid desegregated high school. The chapter explicates the origin, development and components of Critical Race Theory. The chapter concludes by highlighting its strengths and weaknesses, including its justification as a theoretical lens for use in this study.

Chapter three

Chapter three discusses a contextual perspective of educational reforms and racial integration during apartheid from 1948 to 1993. It proceeds to give an overview and contextual perspective of racial integration in post-apartheid South African education. It gives an overview of how the post-apartheid educational reform legal framework is also related to continental frameworks and their critical programmes on democracy and human rights. It then charts the legislative frameworks that underpin desegregation and racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated schools. This relates to the legal and policy frameworks implemented in post-apartheid South Africa to improve racial integration at desegregated schools. The remaining part of the chapter highlights challenges with racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated schools.

Chapter four

Chapter four describes the study's methodology that the researcher used, including the procedures and processes involved so that it achieves the research objectives. Interpretivism is highlighted as the chosen philosophical assumption because it directly correlates to the study's

research objectives. This chapter elaborates on research paradigms, research approaches, research design, research site, target population, sampling strategies, data collection methods, data quality control, pilot testing and data analysis processes. It concludes by highlighting the ethical considerations of the study.

Chapter five

Chapter five offers an analysis of the outcomes and results of the interviews conducted in the study. The chapter presents data comparing the views of the respondents that participated in the interviews.

Chapter six

The sixth chapter delineates the summary of the findings and conclusions of the study. The chapter firstly reiterates the research objectives and research questions of the study. This is followed by a collective summary of the chapters for the dissertation in its entirety. The chapter presents the results drawn from the study, adduces conclusions, discusses implications within its context, and then concludes by offering recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUALISING THE ISSUES OF RACIAL INTEGRATION IN POST-APARTHEID DESEGREGATED HIGH SCHOOLS

2.1 Introduction

The first step in understanding issues of race, racism and the racist incidents taking place in post-apartheid desegregated high schools, including the racial integration challenges faced, was to review literature relating to the topic. The previous chapter focused on providing a historical overview of racial integration in post-apartheid schools and the role of race and racism during apartheid and in the democratic era. This chapter reports what previous scholars have established on the role of race and racism, and its impact on society. This is crucial in understanding the problem of chronic racism, racist incidents and racial integration challenges at post-apartheid desegregated high schools, in order to explore the study's context within Political Science. The chapter begins by examining the debates that have emerged on race within Political Science and then assesses the resurgence of scholarship on the deleterious role of race and racial ideology within the discipline. The resurgence of scholarship is a prominent research focus area in various disciplines in the Social Sciences, including Political Science. The chapter first reviews this resurgence, which has also seen the Social Sciences highlight scholarship on the detrimental role and impact of race to local contexts, e.g., the post-apartheid South African education landscape. Then the chapter explains the context of how this relates to desegregated high schools and the challenges of reintegration since the advent of democracy, arguing that the role of race and racism are still perplexing factors in post-apartheid society, particularly in desegregated schools. The aforementioned are the delimited areas that the study investigates in this literature review. Lastly, the chapter examines Critical Race Theory (CRT) and its theoretical relevance to the racial integration challenges in post-apartheid desegregated high schools.

2.2 Debates, issues and controversies around race in Political Science

Previous research has established that debates and issues around race do emerge within the realm of Political Science. Hochschild (2010) contends that significant debates of race, class, political ideology and the political dynamics of states within Political Science have diminished. The author is correct that such debates were mainly in the discipline of Critical Race Studies, which highlights the permanence of race and racism and its intersection with other facets of discrimination such as class, gender and sexual orientation. Although correct, Hochschild

(2010) fails to mention that these debates occurred within U.S. Political Science and that they are also applicable to countries like the U.S.A., which is implied.

This omission and/or ambiguity by Hochschild (2010) pertains more significantly to Critical Race Theory, originating in the U.S., provides a critical view on issues related to race and racism, and inter-racial conflict, which have had, and continue to have, a deleterious impact on U.S. society. Critical Race Theory is equally applicable to states like post-apartheid South Africa, particularly within its education landscape. Critical Race Theory is relevant to addressing issues of race and racism, and racist incidents that are prevalent at post-apartheid desegregated high schools, including racial integration challenges which have a negative impact on South African society.

Hochschild (2010), reflecting on contemporary debates within the discipline of Political Science, considered whether problems of the twentieth century related to race and traits of people. She noted that newer debates such as the specific racial focus on political scientists themselves have replaced older ones such as race, class, political ideology and the political dynamics of states. The newer debates within Political Science had a vast spectrum of race-related issues, as many political scientists came from different races, diverse backgrounds and held divergent worldviews. This argument by Hochschild (2010) is plausible but she fails to overtly acknowledge and mention that there was interdisciplinary racism within the discipline of Political Science in the twentieth century. The author, as a result, negates that interdisciplinary racism existed and that it was a problem within the discipline of Political Science in the twentieth century. Interdisciplinary racism would have resulted from the inter-racial conflict between political scientists of different races and their belief systems of how society should be structured.

Interdisciplinary racism occurred amidst the societal conundrum of how society should be structured which pivoted on race and a racial hierarchy. This scenario resulted in political scientists of different race groups becoming either perpetrators of racism or victims of it within the discipline of Political Science. Therefore, it becomes clear that the academic offerings of political scientists both past and present are linked to their race and that the discipline is certainly conflictual. Hochschild (2010) concluded that these debates, i.e., old and new within Political Science, and between political scientists themselves, had one common thread, which was race. It is true but also debatable. This is because of the intersectionality of race with other

issues that political scientists may identify independently with, such as ideological leanings, gender as in feminism, or sexual orientation as in identity politics, which preclude race.

Extensive research has shown that the role of race has a significant impact on Political Science, politics and political thought. For example, Blatt (2018) presents a comprehensive disciplinary history of the deleterious impact and role of race on American Political Science, politics and political thought. The deleterious impact and role of race also encompassed the interdisciplinary racism within American Political Science which Hochschild (2010) vaguely purports. Blatt (2018) demonstrates this through a series of intriguing questions which illustrate how racial ideas have shaped American Political Science, politics and political thought, including the nefarious role that political scientists have played in this process. The author argues, with substantiated information from the discipline, that early political scientists vehemently expressed political difference based on race, racial ideology and supported a racial hierarchy in society.

Blatt (2018) exposes these early political scientists as racial ideologues and adherents of white supremacy. He clearly highlights the destructive role of race, racism and its negative impact on American society. Blatt (2018) offers an overview of the destructive role that race plays in societies, which provides helpful insights into understanding the chronic racism, racist incidents and racial integration challenges at post-apartheid desegregated schools. The current research confirms Blatt's (2018) findings as it chronicles the resurgence of scholarship on the role of race and racial ideology by various disciplines in the Social Sciences including Political Science.

Previous research by Hochschild (2010) and Blatt (2018) established that there are controversies in the study of race within politics and Political Science. These authors have demonstrated the destructive role of race and its impact on society. Hutchings and Valentino (2004), prior to Hochschild (2010) and Blatt (2018) wrote that studies of race and U.S. politics have always been controversial within Political Science. Hutchings and Valentino (2004) highlighted this controversy, particularly the role of race and its deleterious effects on society. Their work helps to understand the challenges of chronic racism and racist incidents at post-apartheid schools, including the adverse impact on South African society. Hutchings and Valentino (2004) offer a simple analysis on how issues and controversies around race have led to both theory and evidence on racial issues regularly being ignored or misconstrued within the Political Science literature. The authors provide a conceptual tool to unravel how Political

Science is complicit in a type of academic censorship in the production of literature on racial issues.

Hutchings and Valentino (2004) offer an insightful synopsis of the independent development of literature relating to the impact of race, outside of mainstream academic Political Science in the U.S. Their findings highlighted that the role of race and questions around it at national, state, or local politics in the early 1900s barely received any attention in Political Science journals, and this was due to Political Science being complicit in an academic conspiracy. The authors demonstrate how U.S. citizens continue to confront the issues of race in the twenty-first century as they still abound unresolved. Hutchings and Valentino (2004) are justified in highlighting that race in U.S. society is a chronic problem even though there was resurgence of the role of race in Political Science in the 1960s with the civil rights movement. This is because race-based inequities still exist in U.S. society that affect people of colour. Hutchings and Valentino's findings were replicated by Smith (2004) who found that racial issues did not feature as key topics studied in American politics within the discipline of Political Science.

Smith (2004) problematises the invisibility of racial issues among the key topics studied in American politics within the discipline of Political Science, as a puzzling pattern. Smith's main purpose was to highlight the entrenched normative exclusionary discourses on racial issues within the discipline, highlighting that both political scientists and social scientists are complicit in creating this void within Political Science. Smith's revelation raises awareness of the disciplinary collusion in entrenching and sustaining the status quo of race inequity in U.S. society during the late nineteenth and greater part of the twentieth centuries.

Smith's (2004) critical exposition on the destructive role of race in society is almost symmetrical to the racial issues and racism that post-apartheid schools are burdened with. This resonates in democratic South Africa, ironically, as a post-racial state after the dismantling of apartheid. Smith's (2004) assertion that Political Science was rife with overt and covert forms of inter-disciplinary racism is substantiated by other studies, such as Blatt (2018) and Hutchings and Valentino (2004). Smith (2004) concluded that the discipline of Political Science has fixed ideas about race and that these understandings consider race to be a developing area that is outside of politics. The arguments of Smith (2004) and Hutchings and Valentino (2004) are well-founded based on the evidence they both propound. Their work substantiates the view that the role of race is not a key topic being studied in U.S. politics within Political Science.

Smith (2004) and Hutchings and Valentino (2004) further highlight that Political Science literature examines the role of race as independent from U.S. politics due to interdisciplinary collusion and reveal that race is an inherent feature of U.S. politics. The Political Science discipline has misrepresented the role of race in U.S. politics, as, in reality, race has played and continues to play a key role in U.S politics. This misrepresentation inadvertently has an impact on the vast segments of the U.S. political spectrum at many levels, including state-societal relations.

Studies of race in Political Science show the importance of its impact on the politics of higher education diversity. For instance, Hicklin and Meier (2008) investigate the politics of higher education diversity for both African Americans and Latinos who are minorities in the U.S. Their study of race in Political Science highlights its pervasiveness in all spheres of U.S. society including education and higher education. This contradicts the negation by Political Science literature of the role of race, with it, consequently, being positioned outside of U.S politics, a positioning that Smith (2004) and Hutchings and Valentino (2004) have revealed to be to the contrary. Hicklin and Meier (2008) demonstrate the interaction between the role of race and U.S. politics and how this impacts on state-societal relations. Their study investigates the role of race at state level and reveals how the bureaucracy's racial configuration in legislative bodies impacts negatively on the relationship between racially based and interest-based representation.

Hicklin and Meier's (2008) findings highlight the skewed role of race in U.S. politics, which has large degrees of race inequity that affect people of colour but ironically in some cases advantage minorities. The authors examine the multiplicity of roles that race plays in U.S. politics. They give an account of the divergent role that race plays in minority representation in legislative bodies and the key factors which influence policy outcomes related to their enrolment in higher education. These key factors are legislative representation, bureaucratic structure, university-level policies and restrictions on affirmative action. Hicklin and Meier (2008) highlight convincingly that race-based politics favour minorities in the U.S. and this is perceived to be controversial within politics and Political Science. This is because of the pervasiveness of race in all spheres of society including higher education and education.

2.3 Role and impact of race in education diversity at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools

Hicklin and Meier's (2008) study of race in Political Science highlights its pervasiveness in all spheres of society, including higher education and education in the U.S.A. This is significant for understanding how the role of race can have a negative impact on society, and particularly school education diversity, as compared to higher education diversity. The findings of Blatt (2018) highlight a resurgence of scholarship on the role of race and racial ideology by various disciplines in the Social Sciences including Political Science. Hicklin and Meier (2008) posit a global resurgence of scholarship in the Social Sciences which encompass the role and impact of race on education diversity to local contexts on continents like Africa. This relates to the role of race and school education diversity within the post-apartheid South African education landscape.

This research project investigates racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools through multi-racial teacher perspectives. Related to this, the work of Vandeyar (2010) investigates teachers' responses to questions on the challenges of diversity in post-apartheid South African desegregated schools. Her study investigates the process of desegregation in post-apartheid schools since 1994 which has seen chronic racism, racist incidents and racial integration challenges since the advent of democracy. Vandeyar's (2010) study entailed assessing multi-racial teacher responses on questions of diversity during the desegregation process through classroom observations and in-depth interviews.

The author suggests that the racial integration challenges at desegregated schools perhaps lay in the approaches adopted. The study found that the major responses of teachers to the challenges of school integration related to assimilation and multiculturalism. The author fails to mention whether other approaches, such as the colour-blind approach and anti-racism, were being used by teachers to counter these challenges. The author's findings are realistic and highlight that teachers relate differently to the issues of diversity and the challenges encountered with desegregation. This is due to their personal values, attitudes, beliefs and socialisation, and their attending racially segregated schools and training colleges under apartheid. Similarly, Meier and Hartell (2009) examine the problems encountered with racial integration and diversity within post-apartheid desegregated schools. Meier and Hartell (2009) highlight the fact that post-apartheid educational reforms legally instituted the desegregation

of schools with the South African Schools Act (1996). Thus, the transition to democracy and the transformation of the post-apartheid educational landscape meant that educators at desegregated schools had to contend with a great influx of learners from other races.

Meier and Hartell's (2009) assertion, corroborated by the findings of Vandeyar (2010), is that these teachers were also not prepared nor trained to teach learners of other races other than their own. They had been socialised differently under apartheid and attended racially segregated schools and teacher training colleges. These developments had severe consequences for teachers at desegregated schools. Meier and Hartell (2009) explain that teachers had to adjust to the growing cultural diversity of learners from other race groups at these desegregated schools. Teachers had to realign their personal values, beliefs and teaching strategies in order to accommodate learners of other race groups and different backgrounds. Meier and Hartell (2009) emphasise that teachers had to be sensitive to these learners' different cultures, backgrounds, traditions and languages that they brought with them into the now diverse classroom. The authors emphasise that the levels of desegregation and integration achieved in post-apartheid schools is dependent on educators.

Similarly, Vandeyar and Killen (2006) conducted a study to explore desegregation and integration in South African schools eleven years after apartheid was dismantled. The focus of their study was to assess the levels of desegregation and integration in post-apartheid schools within this period through direct classroom observations. The findings of their study revealed that desegregation at these schools was occurring through a process of assimilation of black learners, confirmed by Vandeyar's (2010) later findings. Institutionalised racism was rife at these schools, as evidenced in the observations of the classroom dynamics where black students were racially stereotyped. The author highlights that teachers were racially biased and displayed empathy only towards white students. They have been socialised differently under apartheid and attended racially segregated schools and teacher training colleges, as highlighted by Meier and Hartell (2009) and Vandeyar (2010).

Vandeyar and Killen's (2006) observations that teachers only gave white students leadership roles in class and showed a strong dislike of black languages highlights their racial bias. Children were also seated in the classroom according to their race, with white students placed at the front near the teacher and blacks at the rear, confirming these teachers' racial prejudice. The authors cautioned that the Constitution of South Africa (1996) was being flouted regarding desegregation and non-racial schooling. This was demonstrated by these teachers not adhering

to its non-discriminatory values pertaining to race, gender, language, religion and sexual orientation as they are obligated to do so. Vandeyar and Killen's (2006) suggestion that schools need to implement anti-racism education as a tool for transformation is justified and necessary. This is because it is the most radical approach that could be adopted at desegregated schools to counter both structural and interpersonal racism.

Recent evidence suggests that interpersonal and structural racism are still major inhibiting factors of racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools. For instance, Teeger (2015) conducted a study exploring how post-apartheid desegregated South African high schools reproduce interpersonal and structural racism that they are meant to dismantle. The author offers an insightful account of the multiple factors responsible for this situation and the challenges encountered in the process. The study was done at two desegregated high schools that formed part of her research.

The findings demonstrate that interpersonal and structural racism hinge on three facets: learners; teachers and school management; and the school environment. Teeger (2015) found that learners in desegregated high schools are taught to ignore both structural and interpersonal racism by teachers and school management. This is because a normative atmosphere exists at these schools which prevent black learners from recognising and responding to interpersonal racism. Teachers and school management reprimand black learners for doing so. Black students are treated with disdain, contempt and suspicion when they experience, recognise and respond to interpersonal racism at these formerly white desegregated schools by teachers and school management. Black students are also rebuked and chastised for speaking out against the racism and abuse they endure; and for reporting it to teachers that they may trust or to their parents. These students are stigmatised, ostracised and perceived to be trouble-makers that want to cause racial tension and animosity at the school by both teachers and school management.

These teachers and school management prefer to gag conversations on incidents relating to the realities of race and racism at these schools. This is so as to not taint the school's reputation or to be publicly exposed for racism and racist incidents. Black students endure extreme personal difficulties on a psycho-social level when they report such incidents of racism. This affects their cognitive abilities which then strain their inter-personal and inter-racial relationships during adolescence at these schools. The author demonstrates that these actions preserve the institutional culture of unequal race relations at these schools and inside their classrooms during lessons.

According to Teeger (2015), teachers dealt with topics of racial inequality in the curriculum in ways that muted conversations around them due to their perceived divisive nature. This is because teachers assume that these conversations will further exacerbate divisions of race among students already in a racially diverse class. This relates to teachers coming from different educational backgrounds and who were socialised under apartheid, as indicated by Vandeyar (2010), Meier and Hartell (2009), and Vandeyar and Killen (2006). Teeger (2015) underlines the negative role of race, including the chronic problem of structural and interpersonal racism at post-apartheid schools, and its impact on society. The author attributes this to the failures of the post-apartheid education system.

Recent evidence suggests that post-apartheid education is currently in a state of turmoil. For instance, Vally (2020) critically reflects on the desultory state of post-apartheid education currently. The author is candid that the post-apartheid education system has failed to achieve its democratic ideals, and this is demonstrated in the problems of chronic racism, racist incidents and racial integration challenges faced at post-apartheid desegregated schools. The author points to the democratic government's failures in redressing and reversing the effects of the legacy of apartheid and transforming the post-apartheid education landscape along non-racial lines. This relates to the role of race and its negative impact on democratic society and particularly in education.

Similarly, Vally (2020) reflects on the South African Human Rights Commission research report on racism, racial integration and desegregation in post-apartheid schools that he co-authored in 1999. He laments how things have gone awry with democracy and particularly in education. The author is justified in his criticism of the post-apartheid education system as endorsed by his experience, having undertaken a prior study of racism in post-apartheid desegregated schools in 1999. This is because the realities of racism and race inequity are still prevalent as under apartheid. The ideals of democratic citizenship and social justice are not reflected in post-apartheid society and particularly in education. According to the author, these failures are epitomised in education, which ironically should be the main pillar of enshrining a democratic and more equitable society.

The literature reviewed investigates the issues that are contextually relevant to this research project because they still remain elusive and unachievable. The challenges of racial integration in desegregated schools still exist today and subsume the issues of race, chronic racism and

inter-racial conflict that prevail. The literature reviewed offers insightful explanations on the deleterious role of race and racism, and its impact on society particularly at desegregated schools, but offers minimal solutions to address this chronic scourge. Creative ways to address these societal challenges are particularly needed.

2.4 Theoretical framework that underpins the study

This study uses the Critical Race Theory (CRT).

2.4.1 Critical Race Theory (CRT)

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is the theoretical lens of this study. Critical Race Theory has five basic tenets (DeCuir & Dixson 2004; Ladson-Billings 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate 1995; Makoelle 2014; Modiri 2012; Naidoo, Pillay & Conley 2018). These are:

- 1). The permanence of race and racism and their intersectionality with other forms of discrimination such as class and gender discrimination, including one's sexual orientation;
- 2). The critique of liberalism: CRT has been critical of three notions that have been incorporated by liberal legal ideology: the notion of colourblindness; the neutrality of the law; and incremental change;
- 3). The commitment to social justice and social change;
- 4). The centrality of experiential knowledge and counter-storytelling, and;
- 5). The transdisciplinary perspective: CRT is multi-disciplinary and cuts across many fields in academia such as History, Ethnic Studies, Feminist Studies, Political Science, Law, Sociology, film, theatre and other fields so as to analyse and interrogate race and racism in society.

The wide-ranging domains within CRT's five tenets make it the most apt theoretical lens for this study's investigation of racism and racist incidents taking place at post-apartheid desegregated high schools currently. It explores the damaging effects of racism and the racist incidents taking place at these schools. Tenets one and three are explored in order to illuminate the context of the current educational crisis at these schools. Tenet one highlights the

permanence of race and racism and their intersectionality with other forms of discrimination, such as class and gender discrimination, including one's sexual orientation; and tenet three underlines its commitment to social justice and social change. The current study utilised a case study methodology, employing CRT as a theoretical lens to investigate multi-racial teacher perspectives on the current educational crisis. It was conducted at President High School in the Western Cape to assess the extent to which race and racism plays a part and is pervasive in this crisis. Critical Race Theory as a theoretical framework has great relevance to the post-apartheid educational context, although it was derived in the U.S.A., as both countries share many similarities on issues relating to race and racism.

2.4.2 Origins of CRT

“CRT was derived during the mid-1970s as a response to the failure of Critical Legal Studies (CLS) to adequately address the effects of race and racism in U.S. jurisprudence” (DeCuir & Dixson 2004: 26). It explored how race and racism operated covertly and overtly in U.S. society. It highlighted that racism is a normal everyday experience in U.S. society (Ladson-Billings 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate 1995; Martinez 2014). Critical Race Theory analyses the role of race and racism in perpetuating social disparities between dominant and marginalised racial groups (DeCuir & Dixson 2004; Ladson-Billings & Tate 1995). The analytical canons of CRT are relevant for this study of racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools. This is because they could illuminate the deleterious effects of race and racism; and the overt and covert roles it plays in society. These roles could be exposed through the lens of CRT. This is because it helps demonstrate how they play out at schools currently embroiled in racial crises. Many proponents of CRT highlight its benefits in educational research and policy analysis.

For example, Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) highlight the advantages of using Critical Race Theory (CRT) in educational research and policy analysis in the U.S.A. relating to issues of race, racism and societal inequity. Critical Race Theory is also beneficial because it analyses the intersectionality of education, economic development and race. This allows for a deconstruction and analysis of societal hierarchies and relationships between racial groups within these domains. It interrogates how education and economic development overlap with race. This reveals how society is racially and economically configured, and the resulting entrenchment of white hegemony and privilege. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995: 57) highlight that storytelling is also an important tool in CRT to effect social change and social justice. This

is because it gives a voice to the oppressed to relate their own personal stories and lived realities, and in the process, nullify the stereotypical representations of them by their oppressors, i.e., white hegemony. The benefits of CRT allows for a process of mental liberation and restorative inner healing which counters the normative hegemonic meta-narratives (ibid.). The benefits of CRT are equally applicable to the post-apartheid South African educational landscape. This is because studies were conducted on racial integration in desegregated schools also through storytelling using CRT as a theoretical tool that yielded benefits to students' emotional and psychological wellbeing.

The CRT has been widely used in scholarship. For instance, Naidoo, Pillay and Conley (2018) conducted a study on racial integration using primarily storytelling in Gauteng schools. This was motivated by the benefits of using CRT, due to its five tenets. The study specifically relates to its third tenet which espouses social justice and social change. This tenet was most relevant to the study in the context of the racial integration challenges faced by post-apartheid desegregated schools. According to the researchers, "CRT provides a multi-layered approach to understanding the complexities of racism, racial jurisprudence and the management of racial integration" (ibid. p. 3). Naidoo, Pillay and Conley (2018) assert that CRT's first tenet is that society accepts the permanence of racism as a normal feature of life. They further assert that it then becomes important to probe the root causes of racism in its entirety first before implementing any interventions to address it (ibid.).

Therefore, CRT allows for a deeper analysis of societal factors such as social, political and economic inequities that have resulted in racism being perceived to be normative in post-apartheid society. This perception is plausible given the legacy of apartheid and its impact on post-apartheid society. These social, political and economic inequities still resonate and are reflected in desegregated schools as evidenced by the challenges of racial integration. In their study, the authors used primarily storytelling which was complemented by interviews and focus group discussions (Naidoo, Pillay & Conley 2018: 5). The CRT tools allowed learners from different race groups to speak about their life experiences, opinions and to give meaning to and make sense of their lived realities (ibid. p. 3–4). Thus, CRT helps learners from different race groups to understand that their own reality is socially constructed, by the formation and exchange of stories from the different situations that they experience. The authors highlight that it also helps them to heal from the misery of racial oppression and to realise that the sharing of stories can surmount racism. Therefore, CRT is a useful analytical tool relating to issues of race in post-apartheid society (ibid. p. 4).

According to Modiri (2012), CRT can be used as an analytical tool strictly relating to issues of race in post-apartheid society. Critical Race Theory can be utilised to expose how race still plays a debilitating role and is firmly embedded in post-apartheid social systems, through its five tenets. The social systems relate to societal power relationships, the law, labour markets and the economy, as well as academia and school education, including the political and ideological environments. Practitioners within these domains ignore or fail to acknowledge the deeply entrenched racialised hierarchies and race-based identities etched within them because of apartheid (ibid. p. 405). The author proposes that a post-apartheid CRT be developed as an alternative to the conventional liberal insights relating to issues of race and racism. These liberal insights advocate “individual autonomy, colour-blind constitutionalism and race-neutrality” (ibid.).

This CRT schism will help to expose the paradox and rhetoric of race within the post-apartheid legal and constitutional landscapes and other segments of its social systems. Critical Race Theory will also unmask the explicit and nuanced ways in which race is propagated therein, through its tenets. This takes place normatively within human rights, “legal and public discourses”; CRT can uncover these manifestations by “critiquing the racial ideologies embedded in them” (Modiri 2012: 405–406). Critical Race Theory is activism-driven and committed to effecting social justice and social change. Therefore, CRT is relevant for post-apartheid society and its social systems, particularly post-apartheid education. There is equivocation by denialists in post-apartheid society regarding the widespread racism and racial integration challenges faced at desegregated schools, yet the flurry of media reports both past and present prove the contrary through well-documented evidence of it. Conradie (2016) argues that the vestiges of apartheid, i.e., structural and interpersonal racism, resonate in many levels of post-apartheid societal interaction, including at desegregated schools. Apartheid defined social and interpersonal relations among different race groups thus creating a racialised hierarchy. Therefore, CRT is an important analytical tool that can also be used to address the racial integration challenges at desegregated schools due to the strengths of its five tenets.

2.4.3 Strengths of CRT

Modiri (2012) highlights the strength of using CRT as a tool in the post-apartheid South African legal, political and education landscapes. This is due to its intention to interrogate race and racism with the aim of achieving racial justice and equality, particularly at desegregated schools. According to DeCuir and Dixson (2004), Ladson-Billings and Tate can be credited

with the use of CRT in education as far back as 1995. It was used as it provides a critical lens through its analytical framework to investigate race and racism in educational research more rigorously. In this way, CRT contributes meaningfully to academia and educational development, thus becoming an important tool to effect social change and social justice. Social change and social justice can be achieved through the exploration of its tenets; e.g., by using counter-stories of the marginalised to examine the permanence of racism and its impact on society.

Critical Race Theory is activism-orientated and thus empowers oppressed individuals and communities in society to unmask the sources of their marginalisation and oppression, i.e., institutional and structural racism. Critical Race Theory is also a theoretical tool to deconstruct the rhetoric and “discourses of race and racism in contemporary color blind and supposed post-racial societies” (Martinez 2014: 9). This is most relevant in the context of post-apartheid South African society and ironically in a post-racial state, because rhetoric and propaganda are peddled and bandied about such as “rainbow nation”. Such terms wilfully negate the central role that race still plays in democratic South Africa. It masks the inequities perpetuated by extant racialised hierarchies that operate covertly in the political, social and economic domains, making them normative and the natural order in society. Hiraldo (2010: 54) highlights that “the various tenets of CRT can be used to uncover the ingrained societal disparities that support a system of privilege and oppression”. This is applicable to the transformation of post-apartheid South Africa’s education system, with CRT as a lens to analyse the degree to which it has transformed. Critical Race Theory can uncover whether the education system has become complicit in sustaining and reproducing the very inequities of apartheid education that it has dismantled, but in newer ways in this process. This relates to School Governing Bodies (SGBs), admissions policies, or exclusionary practices based on other criteria that inadvertently mask race.

2.4.4 Weaknesses of CRT

Critical Race Theory has many weaknesses. Firstly, a major weakness of CRT is its lack of inclusion in knowledge systems related to South African legal scholarship, although the country has endured legalised racial segregation under apartheid (Modiri 2012: 406). The exclusion of CRT from post-apartheid legal scholarship could be due to its radical stance in analysing, interrogating and exposing issues of race and racism in society. This relates to CRT

highlighting and exposing that post-apartheid law is contradictory, i.e., common law is still based on apartheid legal norms, which were racially based, hence the paradox. Modiri (2012) highlights that CRT is also an important tool that exposes the race-neutral, formalistic and apolitical stance of the post-apartheid legal system which it promotes in its quest to offer legal redress to its citizens due to the legacy of apartheid. The legacy of apartheid still permeates democratic South Africa with regards to wealth distribution, class issues, state-societal power relations, and even in education, all of which are divided on racial lines (ibid. p. 406).

According to Litowitz (1999) CRT has systematic problems at a structural level with the conceptualisation and validity of its legal analyses. This relates to “basic errors or confusion about the proper role of argumentation within the law and the proper methodology of legal scholarship” which needs further clarification (ibid. p. 503). This relates to the understanding of liberalism in CRT as a “system of civil rights litigation” rather than the state being neutral “between competing conceptions of the good life” (ibid.). The implication is whether CRT is indeed critiquing liberalism at all? Litowitz (1999) further asserts that much of CRT scholarship seems to create the notion that blacks or diverse people can only write about their own experiences and how they see the law; and that there is bias in their exclusive storytelling as it becomes politicised. DeCuir and Dixson (2004) highlight that CRT was traditionally used in legal research, but it can also be applied in educational research. The authors explicate that researchers need to be critical of how they employ race in their educational research (ibid. p. 30). This is because the focus on race eclipses other aspects of difference that marginalise and oppress people of colour (ibid.). This is mitigated by the intersectionality of race and other forms of discrimination such as class, gender and sexual orientation.

2.5 Justifying CRT for this study

Notwithstanding the stated weaknesses, this study draws on the work of CRT to argue that it is the most apt theoretical lens and analytical framework to investigate racism and racist incidents taking place at post-apartheid desegregated high schools currently. Critical Race Theory is a relevant and useful tool for understanding the context, implications and consequences of post-apartheid educational reforms. This is in relation to the current educational crisis involving racism and racist incidents at schools. Critical Race Theory’s emphasis on the need to understand the permanence of race and racism is especially useful in this study as it allows one to think through how it is normalised and entrenched in society, and how it intersects with other

forms of discrimination like class, gender and sexual orientation. To this end, CRT's conceptualisation of the deleterious effects of race and racism is generative for grasping how they still play a significant role in post-apartheid South Africa, particularly in its educational reforms. Critical Race Theory allows for reflection on the continued legacy of apartheid and highlights the failure to see how deeply racism is entrenched at all levels of society, even after the dismantling of apartheid and the introduction of a democratic dispensation (Modiri 2012: 407). It is here also that CRT's attention to understanding, analysing and responding to the racism and racist incidents taking place at post-apartheid desegregated high schools is of value for informing society and those affected of its commitment to social justice and social change.

2.6 Chapter summary

The aim of this chapter was to review literature that relates to the role of race and racism, and its impact on society. Firstly, the chapter examined the debates on race that emerge within the realm of Political Science. Secondly, the chapter looked at the resurgence of scholarship within Political Science on the role of race and racial ideology by various disciplines in the Social Sciences, including Political Science. It reviewed this resurgence, which has seen the Social Sciences delimit scholarship on the role of race to local contexts, e.g., the post-apartheid South African education landscape. This relates to post-apartheid desegregated schools. The third and the last part of the chapter covered the theoretical framework associated with race and racism in relation to the racial integration challenges faced at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. The theory reviewed was Critical Race Theory (CRT). The chapter went into detail, discussing CRT in relation to its origins, features, strengths and weaknesses, including its justification as the theoretical lens of this study.

CHAPTER 3: RACIAL INTEGRATION IN POST-APARTHEID DESEGREGATED SOUTH AFRICAN HIGH SCHOOLS: A CONTEXTUAL PERSPECTIVE

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented a literature review on the role of race and racism, and its impact on society as related to the debates that take place within Political Science. It also elaborated on the resurgence of scholarship on the role of race and racial ideology by various disciplines in the Social Sciences, including Political Science. This chapter begins by giving an overview and contextual perspective of educational reforms and racial integration during apartheid from 1948 to 1993. It proceeds to give an overview and contextual perspective of racial integration in post-apartheid South African education. It proceeds further by giving an overview of how the post-apartheid educational reform legal framework was also related to continental frameworks and their critical programmes on democracy and human rights. It then charts the legislative frameworks that underpin desegregation and racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated schools. This relates to the legal and policy frameworks implemented in post-apartheid South Africa to improve racial integration at desegregated schools. The remaining part of the chapter surveys problems encountered with racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated schools. This provides a contextual synopsis to assess the levels to which the current realities deviate and divert from the legislative frameworks implemented or the degree to which there is alignment.

3.2 Educational reforms and racial integration during apartheid: 1948–1993

According to Vally and Dalamba (1999: 10), apartheid educational segregation was rigorously applied from 1948. However, there were limited forms of racial integration in education during apartheid. This began in the aftermath of the Soweto student uprisings of 1976, which was a protest by black students against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in all their subjects. This resulted in at least six hundred students being killed by the apartheid state. This incident was condemned locally and globally, leading to insurmountable international pressure on the apartheid state regarding its reprisal against the students. It was in this context of political turmoil and growing resistance to apartheid that the Catholic Bishops Conference enrolled black learners in Catholic schools in contravention of apartheid educational policies (Makoelle 2014: 285). Black students were also enrolled at private schools in the 1970s. These

private schools provided educational instruction to the black elite in society. The black students enrolled were “the children of African diplomats, black South African government officials, or exceptionally wealthy black parents” (Vally & Dalamba 1999: 10).

Private schools continued to cater for black students well into the 1980s as long as their parents could afford them (Vally & Dalamba 1999: 10). This situation was due to state schools refusing to accept black students who failed their matriculation examinations. They refused because such students “could not be reabsorbed into the system and age restrictions on entry to secondary schools had been imposed in the early 1980s” (Vally & Dalamba 1999: 9). There was also the scenario in 1985 where black pupils were allowed to enrol at Indian and coloured schools, however this was considered illegal by the apartheid state up until 1990 (ibid. p. 10). Evidently, the apartheid state’s enforcement of racial segregation in education could not be regulated in the draconian sense that it intended. This was the result of mounting resistance to its policies and the wide-ranging political pressure brought to bear on the apartheid state, which seemed to be inevitably disintegrating. The 1980s saw apartheid South Africa becoming a pariah of the world, a powder keg of volatile mass resistance and in the throes of crippling international sanctions against its policies. There were serious political tensions mounting in 1989 which called for white schools to be open to blacks in key cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town (ibid. p. 9–10). These political tensions resulted in white schools being allowed to enrol black students, subject to certain pre-conditions, in 1990.

According to Vally and Dalamba (1999), white schools allowed black students to enrol in 1990 but they were subject to certain conditions. These conditions related to the school population remaining fifty-one percent white; and with the character and culture of the school remaining intact. It also included the condition that management councils of these schools should not promote the employment of black teachers. Further, it made black parents finance their children to attend these schools. This illustrates that limited desegregation of white state schools took place only in 1990 as part of apartheid educational reforms (ibid. p. 9). “In October 1990, the Minister of (white) Education in the House of Assembly, Piet Clase, announced the possibility that white state schools might legally admit black pupils. To do this, white school parent communities needed to vote on the issue. Schools were required to achieve an 80% poll, out of which they needed to obtain a 72% majority. Schools were given the option to vote for one of three models – A, B, or C. These became known as the Clase models” (ibid. p. 10).

In 1992, all white schools were declared with Model C status by Minister Clase (Vally & Dalamba 1999: 10). This happened primarily due to mounting local and international political pressure against apartheid policies. This was evidenced by growing resistance to these policies with mass action and international sanctions that were crippling the economy. This coincided with rampant political violence and the apartheid state's brutal retaliation, which was widely condemned the world over. It was castigated for its impunity as apartheid already had the stigma of being long declared a crime against humanity by the United Nations. South Africa was on the brink of a civil war and the political mayhem worsened with political resistance reaching boiling point. The apartheid government had to make certain political and diplomatic concessions to appease the international community. These related to political expediency with the hope of the lifting of the trade embargo and economic sanctions. The ushering in of white schools to Model C status and the entry of black students into them under certain conditions was proffered as an educational reform effort by the apartheid government. The aim was to cut state costs and defer the financial control and management of these schools to white parents (Vally & Dalamba 1999: 10). This was actually a veiled preservation of white hegemony in the name of educational reform.

3.3 Racial integration in post-apartheid South African education

A number of authors (Vally & Dalamba 1999; Ndimande 2009; Naidoo, Pillay & Conley 2018) highlight that there were unprecedented policy and legislative changes with the democratic transition from apartheid in 1994. These changes transformed the South African political landscape, including that of education, along non-racial lines. Democracy in South Africa aimed to reintegrate society as a democratic non-racial state, to foster reconciliation and nation building in all spheres of society, and to redress past apartheid inequalities. The Bill of Rights and the South African Constitution framed post-apartheid education legislation and reforms. The purpose was to redress past education inequalities that were entrenched under apartheid. The post-apartheid educational reform legal framework was also related to and coincided with continental frameworks, both past and present; and their critical programmes on democracy and human rights.

3.4 Continental frameworks and critical programmes on democracy and human rights

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU), formed in 1963 was disbanded and replaced by a new continental structure, the African Union (AU) in July 2002 (Ibrahim 2012: 30). The reasons for the formation of the AU were to usher in a new dawn for Africa's history and future as a continent "in which peace, security, stability, sustainable development, democracy, and human rights would be ensured" (ibid.). There was also a rallying call to promote "Africa's growth and economic development by championing citizen inclusion and increased cooperation and integration of African states (ibid.). There was also the imperative to enshrine the continent's firm commitment to the promotion of democracy and human rights. This was done through the ratification of the Constitutive Act (2000) of the AU, where, "the Heads of State and Government made an undertaking to ensure respect for democracy and human rights" (Ibrahim 2012: 30 – 31).

The AU's central "human rights normative framework" has its roots within the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (African Charter), which was signed in Kenya in 1981 under the auspices of the then OAU (Ibrahim 2012: 30 – 31). The African Charter was incorporated into the Constitutive Act (2000) of the AU to promote and protect human and peoples' rights as per its prescripts. These prescripts embody fundamental rights, including that of human rights through its various articles. These articles make special provisions through various non-discriminatory protocols that apply to women, children, refugees, and cultural issues. This also includes the promotion of democracy and good governance on the continent.

One of the key priorities of the AU is the promotion and protection of democracy and human rights through its various continental programmes, in which member states participate, either individually or together. The critical and key programmes of the AU that inform and address these issues on the continent are Conflict Resolution, Peace & Security; Democracy, Law & Human Rights; Diaspora & Civil Society Engagement; and Gender Equality & Development. These key programmes are highlighted by both the various articles as set out in the Constitutive Act (2000) of the AU and that of the African Charter.

The following articles in the African Charter as reflected in the Constitutive Act (2000) of the AU in part 1, chapter 1, deals with human and peoples' rights. Article 2 relates to non-discrimination based on race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth or any status. Article 5 relates to the right to dignity for every individual as inherent in a human being in terms of their legal status.

Article 17 relates to the right to education of every individual. These specific articles are directly related to the South African Constitution and the Bill of Rights in the context of this study. The South African Constitution and the Bill of Rights espouse a human rights approach that it adopts for both societal and educational transformation in post-apartheid South Africa. This is reflected in its post-apartheid educational reform legal framework.

3.5 Post-apartheid educational reform legal framework

The post-apartheid legal framework relating to educational reform that is contextually relevant to this study and specifically deals with racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated schools includes: The South African Constitution and Bill of Rights (1996); the South African Schools Act (1996); and White Paper 6 (2001). According to Vally and Dalamba (1999), the democratic government passed education legislation incorporating prescripts from the South African Constitution, Act 108 (1996) as part of its educational reform efforts. The Constitution espoused a human rights approach encompassing equality, respect for human dignity, and a non-racial ethos.

The Constitution also incorporated non-discriminatory clauses pertaining to gender, race, disability, sexual orientation, religious beliefs, culture and language as reflected in chapter two, the Bill of Rights. The purpose was to redress past education inequalities that were entrenched under apartheid, and establish them along non-racial lines. The desegregation processes of schools were mired in racial discrimination, racist incidents and racial integration challenges that flouted these constitutional prescripts, with schools actually becoming re-segregated. Schools, teachers and learners were complicit in not upholding the provisions of the Constitution which were based on (a) Human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms; and (b) Non-racialism and non-sexism (Constitution 1996: 5). Chapter two of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights highlights education as a basic right in democratic South Africa.

Section 29 of the Bill of Rights highlights education as a basic right in the democratic state. It also relates to further education and the role of language in education, encompassing equity and the need for redress due to past discriminatory laws under apartheid. This is relevant for the present study in terms of the desegregation processes at schools, wherein the Bill of Rights' specific non-discriminatory clauses have not been adhered to by schools themselves, as adduced by teachers and learners. This highlights that the democratic and non-racial ethos upon

which the transformation of the education landscape was based had become an enigma. This was because the issues of race, chronic racism and racial integration challenges are still prevalent amidst post-apartheid reform legislation such as the South African Schools Act (1996) which was based on the Constitution (1996) and the Bill of Rights.

The South African Schools Act (1996) incorporated the imperatives of the Constitution (1996) and the Bill of Rights. It allowed children of all races access to attend a school of their choice. This included former racially-segregated schools that they were previously denied access to under apartheid. The Act's preamble encapsulates the transformative ethos of the democratic state's vision for education in post-apartheid South Africa. According to Vally and Dalamba (1999), this Act repealed all apartheid laws relating to schools. It also outlawed corporal punishment and admission tests that were used under apartheid (ibid. p. 14). It implemented "compulsory education for children between the ages of 7 and 15 and provides the framework for a unified schooling system" (ibid.).

According to Chisholm (2004), the South African Schools Act of 1996 (SASA) established both public and independent schools. It also established School Governing Bodies (SGBs) to decentralise management and education control of schools. It introduced curriculum reform through Outcomes Based Education (OBE) and Curriculum 2005 (ibid. p. 205–206). "New forms of assessment, qualification and certification were" also implemented (ibid.). It deals with various important facets such as: compulsory attendance, admission to public schools, language policy of public schools, freedom of conscience and religion at public schools, curriculum and assessment. It further deals with: the code of conduct for learners, prohibition of corporal punishment, representative council of learners and governance, professional management of public schools, constitution of governing body, the code of conduct of the governing body, and the levying of compulsory fees. The South African Schools Act (1996) was the precursor for further educational reform legislation such as White paper 6 (2001).

According to Makoelle (2014: 283–284), White paper 6 (2001) has its roots in the South African Constitution and the Bill of Rights. It espouses respect for human dignity, equality, human rights and non-racialism. It renounces discriminatory practices relating to race, sexism, sexual orientation, disability, religious beliefs, age, culture and language. It also propounds the right to a basic education including adult basic education as set out in Section 29 (1) of the Constitution (1996). This Act aimed to achieve an inclusive education and training system with

the goal of education for all. It highlights that this meant fostering a non-racial and democratic ethos of inclusivity that would be the thrust for the desegregation of schools in the achievement of constitutional prescripts that would also be reflected in broader society.

South Africa adopted inclusive education from 2001 with White Paper 6. This was the first indication that inclusive education was to be implemented in schools. According to Makoelle (2012), it also put special emphasis on learner needs, particularly those that were disadvantaged by the apartheid education system. This Act “aimed at responding to learner and teacher needs by establishing institutions and structures of support which will ensure quality education for all” (ibid. p. 96). It was implemented amidst the political transition of the state, which sought to foster nation building and reconciliation, particularly at desegregated schools. This related to post-apartheid society being still caught up in the ruptures of a racially divided society in spite of all the democratic changes seen since 1994. The scenario of racial divisions also played itself out at desegregated schools. Makoelle (2014: 283) emphasises that South Africa is one of the most racially and ethnically divided societies on the planet.

3.6 Plethora of reactions to school desegregation

Vandeyar (2010: 343) observes that there was a plethora of reactions to school desegregation. Firstly, it involved the migration of mainly black students to former white and Indian schools in search of better education. This also resulted in white and Indian students migrating to Model C schools. Secondly, the admission to these now desegregated former white schools was through proxy where these schools raised their admission fees to prevent black learners from enrolling. Thirdly, it introduced the phenomenon of ‘bussing in education’, where black students from the townships had to take the bus to schools in formerly Indian and white suburbs that were created by the Group Areas Act (1950). Fourthly, there were language policy changes at schools where exclusively Afrikaans-medium schools became dual medium with the incorporation of English. Fifthly, the desegregation of schools saw black African diaspora learners also enrol at these schools together with South African black learners.

3.7 Challenges of racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated schools

The transition from apartheid to a democratic non-racial state heralded many unprecedented legislative and policy changes that took place in all spheres of the democratic government, including within education. Post-apartheid educational reforms were enacted through

legislation such as SASA (1996) and White Paper 6 (2001). The aim was to transform the educational landscape and to redress apartheid inequities in education. Both these Acts incorporated the imperatives set out in the Constitution (1996) and the Bill of Rights, but they were and are not without challenges. These challenges still relate to race and racism, which is prevalent in post-apartheid South African desegregated schools.

These challenges are manifold in nature and have manifested within different contexts at post-apartheid desegregated schools. These differing contexts encompassed challenges relating to the formation of School Governing Bodies; SGBs and a new middle-class alignment; the challenges faced by SMTs and SGBs with racial integration; inequities and disparities in terms of resource allocation; the problematic curriculum content in post-apartheid classrooms; holding on to vestiges of the past; challenges faced by teachers with racial integration; challenges faced by learners with racial integration; no official rezoning policy by the SASA (1996); and language as a racial integration challenge.

The South African Schools Act (1996) established the formation of School Governing Bodies (SGBs). According to Soudien (2004: 8), the Act was passed to bestow on parents the responsibility for managing the schools their children attend, and to legally sanction parents as important management stakeholders in the running of the school. School Governing Bodies (SGBs) comprised of “parents, teachers, students (in the case of secondary schools) and members of the school support staff” (ibid.). The SGB was responsible to develop school policies on various educational and financial management aspects to be implemented by school managers. The composition of School Governing Bodies (SGBs) of post-apartheid desegregated schools became problematic because it had to be reflective of the non-racial ethos and tenets of SASA (1996). Problems arose with the convergence of parents that were of different races and classes who would constitute the School Governing Body (SGB).

Chisholm (2004) highlights that the composition of SGBs became problematic in relation to SASA (1996) because it projected perceptions of parental identities as being predominantly middle-class. The school’s functionality revolved around these perceptions of the SGB. This related to resource allocation, admissions, school fees, time management and issues relating to language policies; and the cultural ethos and practices of the school which they had control over (ibid. p. 17). This resulted in the domination of SGBs around a middle-class nexus that gave them overarching powers in contradiction to what SASA (1996) had envisaged.

Chisholm (2004) emphasises that SGBs in black schools were dominated by principals and teachers, and in white schools they were dominated by middle-class white parents. The domination of SGBs invoked trepidation, due to some of the white parents being complicit in racially exclusionary practices at post-apartheid desegregated schools (ibid. p. 17). This is indicative of “new ways in which South Africa’s racial past is being rearticulated through social class” at these schools (Soudien & Sayed 2003: 29). A primary example corroborating this is the admissions policies at some of these schools that purport to be open to all races but in effect have nuanced exclusionary mechanisms and inhibitors, such as criteria relating to “finance, location and language” (ibid.). Thus, “language, as cultural capital; the ability to pay fees, as economic capital; and location, as social capital, show that race no longer operates in its crude form but is being mediated through class” (ibid.). This also indicates that SGBs in some schools might have transformed in terms of their racial composition but have not done so in terms of class representation. Unfortunately, the racial profiles of some SGBs remain unchanged and are still largely mono-racial whilst learner profiles have changed because of SASA (1996).

Soudien and Sayed (2003) underline that some SGBs have changed their racial compositions but not their class profiles, with a great number of them being majority black, which they refer to as the “non-change scenario”. Black SGB members were middle-class parents who were co-opted strategically to preserve the structural edifices and vestiges of these schools, racially segregated under apartheid, which were now desegregated. Such structural edifices and vestiges related to these schools’ exemplary standards, legacy of excellence and its quality of education delivery. Therefore, schools remained institutionally intact, as they had been under apartheid, but with the facade of racial transformation (ibid. p. 38). School Governing Bodies then endeavoured to preserve the ethos of these schools as paragons of academic excellence by executing nuanced exclusionary practices, such as raising school fees that were exorbitant to the poor and working-class communities, i.e., mainly black communities from the townships (Vally & Dalamba 1999: 19; Soudien & Sayed 2003: 38).

School Management Teams (SMTs) and School Governing Bodies (SGBs) were not adept to dealing with learners of different races and facilitating meaningful racial integration among them due to racial prejudice and negative stereotypes held (Naidoo, Pillay & Conley 2018: 4). This is because SMTs and SGBs flouted policies related to educational reforms such as SASA (1996) and White Paper 6 (2001), especially the non-practice and implementation of them. This resulted in poor inter-personal relationships in which learners of a particular race group struggled to interact with learners and educators from other race groups. This was also

exacerbated by the fact that SMTs and SGBs lacked basic conflict management skills and the diversity education needed to interface with racially diverse learners in post-apartheid desegregated schools.

According to Ndimande (2009), post-apartheid educational reforms had many challenges despite the democratisation of education on non-racial lines. There was democratic education legislation to redress the inequities of apartheid education, including SASA (1996), which desegregated all schools, and White Paper 6 (2001), which fostered inclusive education. However, challenges loomed such as disparities in resource allocation. Apartheid inequities in education still resonate in post-apartheid educational reforms. This is because they mirror the resource allocations under apartheid. Post-apartheid township schools are still under-resourced and ill-capacitated as compared to the resources of formerly white schools (Vally & Dalamba 1999: 7; Ndimande 2009: 125). This disparity in resource allocation sustains the dysfunctionality of black township schools and renders them inefficient in terms of high-quality educational delivery. It set in motion the exodus of black children, as they migrated to formerly white, coloured and Indian schools in search of better-quality education.

The curriculum was “modelled on outcomes-based education (OBE) as applied in Australia, Britain and New Zealand” and was not applicable to the post-apartheid educational reform context as it was “too technical and lacked the critical bite to quality learning” (Ndimande 2009: 131). According to Ndimande (2009), the curriculum content in post-apartheid classrooms remains problematic despite all the democratic educational reforms. This is because it marginalises and distorts the history of black people and this history is given minimal attention in the curriculum. It has also become evident that indigenous languages are not being taught to black children at a young age at formerly whites-only post-apartheid desegregated schools (Ndimande 2009: 131). This demonstrates a dereliction on the part of schools and their tacit contravention of SASA (1996), where mother tongue language denial amounts to an alternate form of racial and cultural prejudice. Black culture, history and heritage are not equally reflected in comparison to other components relating to curriculum content (ibid. p. 131).

In spite of the transition from apartheid to democracy and post-apartheid educational reforms, i.e., SASA (1996) and White Paper 6 (2001), which were guided by the Constitution (1996) and the Bill of Rights, many desegregated schools still hold on to vestiges of the past. Vally and Dalamba (1999: 27) highlight that many traditional white Afrikaans schools still practice

apartheid-era educational prescripts by promoting its symbols in the democratic era. This is a brazen and blatant intransigence to the country's democratic transformation to a non-racial society (ibid.). These schools still sing the "Die Stem", display the old flag, and promote sports such as rugby which epitomise white Afrikaner nationalism; and which black learners do not play. This results in the preservation of apartheid-era school institutional cultures in which black learners are culturally ostracised and alienated in a post-apartheid desegregated school environment. Black learners and teachers at these schools are ostensibly tolerated but not accepted or supported, as racial indifference reigns together with a type of racial sufferance (ibid.).

Naidoo, Pillay and Conley (2018: 2–3) highlight that many teachers came from diverse racial and cultural backgrounds and did not possess the requisite skills to teach learners of other racial groups. This is due to them being socialised under apartheid, attending racially segregated teacher training colleges and teaching at mono-racial schools which was the same race as theirs. The impact of post-apartheid educational transformation and the implementation of educational reforms through legislation like SASA (1996) and White Paper 6 (2001) posed serious challenges for teachers. These challenges related to them having to adapt and adjust to teaching learners of different races, languages and cultural backgrounds in diverse classrooms. According to Vandeyar (2010: 344), this caused great consternation and tremendous stress as it conflicted with their racialised identities, values and beliefs that were formed due to their apartheid socialisation. This also impacted on whether they accepted race and racism as a reality in schools or chose to deny its existence.

Vally and Dalamba (1999) explicate that many teachers in post-apartheid desegregated schools tended to deny the existence of race, racism and racial prejudice at schools and avoided discussions on these subjects with their diverse learners. "Educators exhibit little or no commitment to constructing a learning environment free from discrimination and prejudice. Too many prefer to deny the existence of racism or presume a superficial tolerance. Some prefer to have their schools as laboratories for cultural assimilation where black learners are by and large tolerated rather than affirmed as of right" (ibid. p vii). This is because they were also racially biased in favour of learners of the same race as themselves and they viewed learners of other races as intellectually inferior. They were also ignorant about "the roots of racism and could not distinguish between multicultural education and anti-racist education" (ibid. p. 34). The implications of such ignorance on the part of teachers is that it exacerbates the racially volatile environment they find themselves in. This then contributes to the indifference and

impasse that arises with learners of other races that they teach or interact with at desegregated schools (ibid.).

Mainly black learners and those of other races endure a litany of racially related violations, racism, racist incidents and rancour in post-apartheid desegregated schools. They endure these violations on a daily basis and to this very day, nearly twenty-eight years after democracy was established. The severity of this situation has festered into a social malaise since the implementation of SASA (1996) which legally desegregated all schools that were administered under apartheid. It soon became evident that the desegregation of formerly racially segregated schools did not translate into meaningful reintegration of learners from different races that were now attending them. This process of racial integration was laden with racial challenges from the outset relating to racism and racist incidents, which have become chronic in nature. They impair these learners' right to human dignity and infringe on their human rights as per the Constitution (1996) and the Bill of Rights. They are also in direct contravention of SASA (1996) and White Paper 6 (2001). These racist acts are perpetrated by both teachers and learners alike, and they manifest in different forms.

Overt forms of racism and racial incidents manifest as racial slurring and derogatory name calling, racial heckling and physical fights (Vally & Dalamba 1999: 2). Covert forms of racism and racial incidents are more subtle and nuanced whereby sarcastic racial diatribe and insinuation relating to race masquerades as ordinary discourse without the mention of race. Therefore, it is not easily detectable and would seem normative, but racial invective is intended by the perpetrators (Vandeyar & Killen 2006: 383). Learners also endure institutional and systemic racism that is firmly entrenched within these desegregated schools. Naidoo, Pillay and Conley (2018) expound that learners are assimilated into the dominant ethos and institutional cultures of these schools and they have to adopt its language, practices and values. In this process, they have to relinquish their own language, values, racial and cultural heritage. Vandeyar and Killen (2006) highlight that these debilitating experiences have a great impact on learners' psychological wellbeing due to racial integration challenges. They experience trauma, emotional and psychological scarring which affects their mental health. They also develop an inferiority complex due to being "labelled as incompetent, illiterate and ignorant" that lasts well into adulthood (Naidoo, Pillay & Conley 2018: 3).

Another racial integration challenge was that the SASA (1996) did not set well-defined policy directives to school districts regarding zoning in order to facilitate effective school integration

(Ndimande 2009: 129). This caused a furore as it led to racial animosity at former whites-only desegregated schools where white parents stymied the desegregation process by citing zoning policies as a legal exclusionary measure. This occurred when black children were denied access to enrol at these schools because they fell outside the allotted zones (ibid.). This was a legislative oversight that white parents took advantage of to prevent racial integration. It clearly indicated their disgruntlement with the racial integration processes.

The Bill of Rights in the Constitution guarantees language rights where everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice (Constitution 1996: 14). The application of this clause to desegregated schools posed many challenges. According to Vally and Dalamba (1999: 15), it was also used for exclusionary purposes “on grounds of cultural incompatibility”. This relates to language being used for “divisive and segregationist purposes”, and where desegregation has taken place, “learners who do not conform to or cope with the dominant language are seen to have a language ‘deficiency’ and diversity” is perceived to be a language impediment (ibid. p. 15). This is because the desegregation of schools brought together learners of other races, i.e., mainly black learners who spoke primarily their mother tongue languages, in addition to English and Afrikaans.

English and Afrikaans were the main modes of instruction under apartheid and were categorised as first languages in these desegregated former whites-only schools. Many black learners who enrolled at these schools were very proficient in their mother tongue languages. These were their first languages and modes of instruction in their former township schools. These learners had difficulties in English and Afrikaans in desegregated schools. This was due to these languages being their third or fourth spoken languages and therefore, they struggled with these mediums of instruction (Meier & Hartell 2009: 188–189). Teachers at desegregated schools also struggled with teaching black pupils due to the problem of language diversity, and were not adept with indigenous languages, which strained interpersonal relations between them and these learners.

3.8 Chapter summary

The purpose of this chapter was to contextualise racial integration in South African education. It explored both educational reforms and racial integration during apartheid from 1948 to 1993 and racial integration in post-apartheid South African education. It gave an overview of how the post-apartheid educational reform legal framework was also related to continental

frameworks and their critical programmes on democracy and human rights. The chapter presented the legislative frameworks and discussed the legislative Acts that are pertinent to educational reforms in post-apartheid South Africa in relation to desegregation and racial integration. This relates to the legal and policy frameworks implemented in post-apartheid South Africa to improve racial integration at desegregated schools. The last part of the chapter presented the challenges faced with racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated schools.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided a contextual perspective of racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools. The main objective of the study is to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. This chapter describes the study's methodology, including the procedures and processes involved so that it achieves the research objectives. Interpretivism will be highlighted as the chosen philosophical assumption because it directly correlates to the study's research objectives. This chapter elaborates on research paradigms, research approaches, research design, research site, target population, sampling strategies, data collection methods, data quality control, pilot testing and data analysis processes. It concludes by highlighting the ethical considerations of the study.

4.2 Research paradigms

Interpretivism is the paradigm used in this study because it deals with the subjective responses of the individual participants. It focuses on the participants' "interpretations and perceptions of varied social phenomena which include the behavioral patterns of individuals, cultural traditions, and group dynamics" which are subjective in nature (Leedy & Ormrod 2016: 25–26). This relates to multi-racial teacher perspectives on issues of racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. The interpretivist paradigm's subjectivist perspective falls within the qualitative research approach. This research approach is most appropriate for this study, to fulfil the research objectives and answer the research questions. Paradigms are also related to different epistemologies, ontologies and axiologies that shape their respective research outputs.

4.2.1 Epistemology of interpretivism

According to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2016), epistemology deals with the assumptions about knowledge and how we know what we know. The epistemological focus of interpretivism highlights the importance of the meanings arising from participants' lived experiences. This incorporates their points of view and how they make sense of their social worlds (Bryman & Bell 2011: 168; Bryman 2012: 179). Epistemologically, this exploratory

study incorporates the subjective meanings and knowledge of the participants regarding racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools.

4.2.2 Ontology of interpretivism

According to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2016), ontology deals with the nature of reality. Ontologically, the interpretivist paradigm as used in this qualitative study is subjectivist in nature. It relates to research which aims to get an understanding how human beings interpret their social worlds through their lived experiences. In this process, “reality is socially constructed, subjective and could be perceived in different ways by different people” (ibid. p. 134). This relates to the subjective meanings from the participants of this study regarding issues of racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools. Therefore, in this study, it is a socially created ontology which is interactionist in nature.

4.2.3 Axiology of interpretivism

According to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2016: 128), axiology refers to the role of values that are involved in the research process and how researchers deal with their personal values and those of the research participants. Researchers must acknowledge axiologically and in line with interpretivism that their own “interpretation of research materials and data, and thus their own values and beliefs play an important role in the research process” (ibid. p. 140). During this process, interpretivist researchers should be cognisant of their own values which could influence research participants (ibid.). This may occur through their inherent bias or the subjective imposition of a particular stance. In relation to this study, the researcher made every effort to mitigate against imposing his own bias, personal values or political opinions regarding racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools or its processes. The researcher also respected the personal values and political opinions of the research participants regarding race, language, cultural orientations, the roles of gender, sexual orientation and religious affiliation. This was done to elicit the best possible responses relating to racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools from them during the interview process.

4.3 Research approaches

According to Creswell (2014), research approaches incorporate the critical considerations, important procedures and steps involved in the research process. “The most important decision

relates to the selection of the research approach that will be used for the study, the researcher's philosophical assumptions which underpinned the study, the chosen research design and the detailed methods for data collection, analysis and interpretation" (ibid. p. 3). There are three main research approaches: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods. There are many differences between these research approaches in terms of their methodological procedures, philosophical assumptions and research designs. They also differ in relation to their methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation. The qualitative approach was used in this interpretivist study. It "seeks to explore and understand the meanings that individuals or a group attribute to a social issue or human problem through a small sample of research participants" (Creswell 2014: 4). The perspectives of multi-racial teachers and their subjective meanings were explored relating to the issues of racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated South African high schools in this study. The qualitative research approach also affords researchers the process of reflexivity.

The qualitative research approach afforded the researcher the process of reflexivity, which was an important consideration for this interpretive study. This related to the role of the researcher in the research process and could have impacted negatively on the outcomes of this study if not considered. Leedy and Ormrod (2016: 278–279) illustrate that reflexivity is the need for researchers to self-reflect on the social, political, personal or philosophical biases that they bring into a research study. This might affect their collection, analysis and interpretation of data. This process entails the steps they take to reduce these factors. Therefore, the researcher guarded against the aforementioned factors relating to reflexivity and was mindful of it throughout the research process and all its phases. This also related to the researcher being non-judgemental when interacting with the research participants, to avoid prejudice and stereotyping during the research process.

4.4 Research design

Research designs "are types of inquiry within qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches that provide specific direction for procedures in a research study" (Creswell 2018: 31). It is a plan and strategy for answering research questions or problems. It provides an outline of the steps that a researcher has to take for data collection. This will determine from whom and where data will be collected and includes the processes of data analysis and interpretation (Cohen, Manion & Morisson 2018: 38). Research designs do have different characteristics

within qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches. Research designs are also referred to as the strategies of inquiry or research strategies. There are five common qualitative research designs: “case studies, ethnographies, phenomenologic studies, grounded theory and content analysis” (Leedy & Ormrod 2016: 271).

The research design chosen for this research project is the case study strategy of inquiry, which is related to the qualitative research approach. According to Kumar (2011), case studies are mainly used in quantitative research but can be applied in qualitative research. A case can be “an individual, a group, a community, an instance, an episode, an event, a subgroup of a population, a town or a city”; the “total study population” is regarded as a single entity (ibid. p. 126). The case selected in this research project was a group of four multi-racial teachers who were both male and female. They had to be between the ages of 21–60 years old and South African citizens. They were the participants selected as the sample for this study. This sample formed a single case in which the participants’ perspectives were explored on issues relating to racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools.

4.5 Research site

The site for this study is President High School in the Parow area of Western Cape. President High School is a desegregated former whites-only school founded in 1964. It currently has 28 multi-racial teachers and approximately six hundred multi-racial learners.

4.6 Target population

The target population for this study was the total number of seventeen (17) qualified and permanent teachers based at President High School employed by the Western Cape Education Department (WCED). They were both male and female between the ages of 21– 60 years and South African citizens. The target population came from the different racial groups as classified in this country. This was representative of a multi-racial teacher staff component at a post-apartheid South African desegregated high school. There were 28 teachers in total at President High School with seventeen (17) being permanent and eleven (11) being temporary staff members. The qualified and permanent teachers employed by the WCED met the requirements of the target population.

4.7 Sampling strategies

Sampling is the procedure whereby the researcher selects a smaller subgroup (sample) from the larger group (target population) “to become the basis for estimating or predicting the prevalence of an unknown piece of information, situation or outcome” relating to the larger group (Kumar 2011: 193). There are three main categories of sampling designs: random/probability sampling designs; non-random/non-probability sampling designs and ‘mixed’ sampling designs (ibid. p. 25). There are three types of methods within random/probability designs: simple random sampling (SRS), stratified random sampling and cluster sampling. There are five methods within non-random designs that are used in both qualitative and quantitative research: quota sampling, accidental sampling, judgemental or purposive sampling, expert sampling and snowball sampling (ibid. p. 206).

This qualitative study applied the non-random/non-probability sampling design with purposive sampling as the chosen key sampling method. According to Mason (2002: 124), purposive sampling is beneficial in that it selects a sample that is relevant and has the requisite knowledge of the problem being investigated. This related to racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools. The sample was a smaller subgroup consisting of four (4) permanent multi-racial teachers purposively selected from the larger group of seventeen (17) permanent multi-racial teachers employed by the WCED who collectively made up the target population. The sample selected met all the criteria of the target population and from which data was collected for this study.

4.7.1 Sample size

The sample size was four (4) multi-racial teachers who volunteered to participate in the study. Their voluntary participation was helpful for this study due to their diversity in a multi-racial staff component. This related to them being teachers of different races and genders at the school as per the principal’s request to staff members to volunteer for this study. The four teachers who volunteered to participate in the study differed from the remaining thirteen (13) permanent teachers employed by WCED. This was because they were much younger and below the age of forty (40). This was also complemented by their enthusiasm for the study, knowledge and experience of being teachers at a post-apartheid desegregated South African high school.

BENSEPT is a twenty-nine-year-old unmarried coloured male whose home language is English and who is also a devout Muslim. He has both coloured and Malawian roots. He has been teaching for four years at this multiracial school. He is also an ex-student of President

High School. He grew up in Elsies River and still resides there with his family. He teaches Afrikaans from grades eight to twelve and is the cultural coordinator of the school; he is popularly known as “Mr. Culture”. He is a very passionate teacher and feels strongly about political and racial transformation in schools and society, which led him to becoming a teacher. He was also a student activist at the University of Stellenbosch.

NAOMI is a twenty-eight-year-old coloured female whose home language is English. She is married, has one daughter and grew up in Pinelands where she went to school. She has been teaching English for six years, from grades eight to ten, at President High School. She is passionate about drama and racial integration at schools and therefore volunteered to participate in this study. She is very vocal about student matters and has a great rapport with the diverse learners at President High School.

EDGBOT is an unmarried thirty-one-year-old white male whose home language is Afrikaans and who comes from a strong Afrikaner background. He is a subject head and has been teaching English for five years, from grades ten to twelve, at this multiracial school. He is also an ex-student of President High School. He grew up in Parow East and still resides there with his family. He attended the University of Stellenbosch. He is the coordinator of the learner council at school and is passionate about student empowerment and issues relating to sexual orientation, race and identity politics. He felt strongly about racial integration at schools and therefore volunteered for this project.

JULJOOS is a married white female and mother of two whose home language is Afrikaans. She has been a teacher since 2006 and started her career at Brackenfell High School and then left South Africa to teach in England for a year where she met her English-born husband. When she returned, she started at President High School in 2008 and has been teaching maths from grades eight to twelve ever since. She is also on the school’s management committee. She has thirteen years of teaching experience at multiracial schools, both internationally and locally. She is very passionate about student empowerment and therefore volunteered to participate in this study. She can also teach economics and commerce subjects and is pursuing an honours degree at the University of Pretoria.

4.8 Recruitment strategy

The SGB of President High School granted Gate-keepers permission to conduct the research study (see Appendix A). The WCED also granted institutional permission to conduct the study

subject to certain prescribed conditions (see Appendix B). These conditions were strictly adhered to and all related research protocols were observed for the study that was conducted. The school principal assisted the researcher, as per his request, by highlighting this research study's goals and its criteria at one of their staff meetings. The principal highlighted to staff members that participation in the study was on a voluntary basis. Those meeting the criteria and who were interested in participating voluntarily should contact her, the principal, personally for further information. Fortunately, four (4) eligible teachers meeting the criteria volunteered to participate in the main study. They made up the sample and provided the requisite information needed for this study. Two (2) other eligible teachers volunteered to participate in the pilot study prior to the main study, and did not participate in the main study. Interview time-frames were proposed once the participants provided their contact details, confirmed their participation in the study by giving consent, and signing the informed consent form (See Appendix D).

The researcher made his telephone number, WhatsApp details and e-mail address available to the participants. They were contacted so that any preliminary information or concerns regarding the study, the interview time-frames and their participation could be addressed and interventions made prior to its commencement. The interview time-frames proposed were discussed for their suitability, and included the participants' input in selecting the most convenient days for their participation and the time/s of their availability. This was collated into an interview time-table once participants confirmed their dates and times of participation. The participants were reassured that it would not impinge on their teaching time. The researcher contacted the participants telephonically, via email and on WhatsApp to remind them as the interview date/s approached.

4.9 Data collection methods and instruments

Data collection in a research project can use various methods. The data that was collected in this study comprised of primary data through semi-structured interviews that were conducted with the research participants.

4.9.1 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used as the main method of data collection in this study. The researcher compiled a list of themes, topics and issues together with a few core questions that

made up the interview schedule (see Appendix C) that was covered during interviews. This was condensed into sub-questions for each core question, which captured the essence of the themes, topics and issues that were explored individually. This helped augment the personal opinions of the interviewees relating to the core questions. The interviews were formal, allowing for greater ease for the interviewees to be candid and to express themselves freely. The order of the interview questions fluctuated according to the level of interaction in the discussions and synergy between the researcher and the interviewees. Each interview took approximately two hours in duration.

The interview schedule also incorporated supplementary questions if further probing was necessary. This was an additional measure to further supplement the responses of the interviewees relating to the study's research questions and objectives. The interview schedule provided the questions for the singular interviews that each of the participants were involved in. Therefore, four interviews were conducted in total, with one for each interviewee. The interview schedule also had a few guidelines on how to initiate and conduct the interviews. They advised on how to probe and further stimulate discussion, with some tips to conclude the interview (Dawson 2002: 28). The participants granted permission for their interviews to be recorded before they commenced. The participants' oral responses to the interview questions formed the data that was collected by audio-recording with the simultaneous use of a Dictaphone and a cell phone as a backup device in the event of any technical glitches. Note-taking was required in some instances during interviews when the interviewees made important points regarding certain facets related to the topics in the interview questions.

4.10 Data quality control

Validity and reliability are apt terms for use in quantitative research that embraces positivism but are "philosophically and technically inappropriate in relation to qualitative research based on interpretive assumptions, where reality is regarded as being socially constructed and multifaceted" (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2016: 205). "Interpretivist researchers either adapt these terms i.e., reliability and validity to assess their research, or reject them as inappropriate to interpretivist studies" (ibid. pg. 202). This is an interpretivist study and the researcher followed this approach and adapted the following terms for the purposes of this study. Reliability was delineated as reliability/dependability, validity was delineated as validity/credibility and generalisability was delineated as generalisability/transferability relating to data quality control.

4.10.1 Reliability/dependability

According to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2016: 397), it concerns whether other researchers will achieve similar data information if they used the same data collection method and research instrument in qualitative studies. This study's interview schedule would be deemed to be reliable/dependable if it was used in exactly in the same way for data collection by other researchers in a similar study that yields similar data information. In this study, the researcher ensured reliability/dependability in that there was no ambiguity in the wording of the interview questions and it was easy to understand.

4.10.2 Generalisability/transferability

This researcher acknowledged the applicability of the study's findings to other contexts. The findings would be applicable to primary and secondary schools nationally and provincially in the post-apartheid education system. The generalisability/transferability of findings from qualitative research interviews is a concern that is often highlighted and "generalisability/transferability refers to the extent to which the findings of a research study are applicable to other settings" (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2016: 398). This related to the study conducted on racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools through multi-racial teacher perspectives at President High School.

4.10.3 Validity/credibility

The researcher was cognisant that he had to enhance the validity/credibility of the research instrument, i.e., the interview schedule, through a high level of innovative probing during the interviews in this study. The researcher had to be flexible, build rapport, be mindful of bias and cultural differences, and simultaneously guard against being intimidating to the interviewees (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2016: 398). This was done in order to maximise his cognitive understandings of the interviewees' responses as expounded, based on their expertise of being multi-racial teachers in a post-apartheid desegregated high school. This mechanism tried to elicit the best possible responses relating to racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools from them.

4.11 Qualitative tests and data quality

The trustworthiness and authenticity of a qualitative study are determined by four indicators: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Kumar 2011: 189). This study adopted credibility and dependability to determine the quality of data collection techniques so that it met the criteria of data trustworthiness and authenticity. According to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2016: 398), credibility relates to the degree to which the researcher has intuitively interpreted the data provided by the interviewees. This related to interviewees' expertise on the problem being examined. The researcher ensured credibility by actively and attentively listening to the responses of the interviewees in this study. This also entailed intuitively unpacking their experiential perspectives in relation to the problem under investigation. This study explored racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools through multi-racial perspectives. Credibility was also enhanced by building rapport with the interviewees during the period of the interviews with each one of them. These interactions also solidified mutual respect between the interviewer and interviewees in relation to cultural, religious and linguistic differences.

4.12 Pilot testing

Kumar (2011: 159) highlights that a pilot test is a minor pre-test that is undertaken under the exact research conditions prior to the main study commencing. This is done in order to test the research instruments and data collection methods so that no problems are encountered during the main study. It also allows the researcher the opportunity to make necessary corrective interventions beforehand. A pilot test was conducted with two participants from the target population who were similar to the actual research participants but who did not participate in the main study; their input and feedback was valuable for the researcher. Their feedback allowed for necessary interventions and corrective action to be taken by the researcher regarding the research instrument and data collection methods prior to the main study commencing.

4.13 Data analysis

This research project was a mono-method qualitative study as it employed one qualitative data collection method and a corresponding qualitative analysis procedure. The data collected

through the four audio interviews were transcribed manually by the researcher onto A4 pages. Interview 1 generated 73 A4 pages; and interviews 2, 3 and 4 generated 83, 65 and 58 A4 pages, respectively. This was in preparation for the data analysis process. According to Gordon (2016), data analysis involves the researcher interpreting the information from the data collected from the sample. The data analysis procedures were dependent on the research questions and the research methods that were selected. Thematic analysis was used in this study as the data analysis method.

Braun and Clarke (2006: 6) explicate that thematic analysis is a technique that identifies, analyses and detects emerging patterns, i.e., themes, in the data collected. The themes that emerged can be narrowed down into smaller sub-themes. “A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (ibid. p. 10). Braun and Clarke (2006) have identified six phases involved in thematic analysis, as indicated below:

Phase 1: Familiarising yourself with your data

The researcher went over the collected data repeatedly in this step. He familiarised himself with the responses of each of the research participants so as to unpack their broad subjective understandings.

Phase 2: Generating initial codes

This phase involved generating initial codes and assigning them to headings, keywords, phrases and extracts of the data set information as in phase 1, which were relevant to the research problem and research questions.

Phase 3: Searching for themes

This phase involved a review of all the coded data and the identification of patterns, similarities and differences within them. This also included areas relating to topics and issues highlighted within the coded data and where they overlapped. The codes were then collated and categorised into themes and sub-themes based on this differentiation.

Phase 4: Reviewing themes

This phase reviewed the themes and if they were related to both the coded data and the entire data set. The main purpose of this phase was to assess if the themes complemented both the coded data and the entire data set.

Phase 5: Defining and naming themes

This phase entailed defining and naming the themes. Themes were defined to specifically outline their unique attributes. Names were given to themes that were concise and resonated with the essence they encapsulated.

Phase 6: Producing the report

The six phases involved in thematic analysis identified by Braun and Clarke (2006) guided this study's data analysis processes and procedures. This generated themes and sub-themes to answer the study's research questions. This study used computer-aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS), i.e., NVivo version 10, for the thematic analysis. Lastly, the researcher integrated the main themes and sub-themes and the responses categorised under them into the report.

4.14 Overview of the thematic analysis

Five themes were used by the researcher to conduct the thematic analysis. They helped to categorise teacher responses as political actors in relation to their perspectives on racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. The five themes were broken down into sub-themes. Each theme also incorporated one of the five research questions of this study. Demographic categories were assigned to the interviewees and were compared with each other for the thematic analysis. The demographic categories were age, gender, race, home language and the number of years of teaching experience. This study maintained all ethical protocols throughout, with confidentiality and anonymity being a prerogative. Interviewees were reassured that their names would not be mentioned, and pseudonyms would be used throughout the study, including during the data analysis and presentation. The codes that were used in this study to protect interviewees' anonymity are displayed in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Description of codes

Organisation	Code	Description
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President High School	BENSEPT	Interviewee 1
	NAOMI	Interviewee 2
	EDGBOT	Interviewee 3
	JULJOOS	Interviewee 4

4.15 Ethical considerations

This research study observed all research related and ethical protocols, including those relating to the research participants, throughout all its stages. Research ethics “are the standards of behaviour that guide the conduct of researchers in relation to the rights of those who become the subject of their work, or are affected by it” (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2016: 239). Researchers must be cognisant of these standards of behaviour and they must be upheld and implemented throughout every stage of the research process. According to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2016), there are a number of principles that have been developed to recognise ethical issues that occur in research. These principles relate to: “the integrity and objectivity of the researcher; respect for others; avoidance of harm (non-maleficence); privacy of those taking part; voluntary nature of participation and right to withdraw; informed consent of those taking part; ensuring confidentiality of data and maintenance of anonymity of those taking part; responsibility in the analysis of data and reporting of findings; compliance in the management of data; and ensuring the safety of the researcher”. The researcher was guided by these principles throughout the entire research process and an application for ethical clearance was made to the University of KwaZulu-Natal Research Office for the purposes of this study.

4.16 Chapter summary

This chapter presented a comprehensive account of the methodology that the researcher employed to understand racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated South African high schools through multi-racial teacher perspectives. This chapter discussed the research

methodology in relation to the chosen paradigm, research approach, research design, target population, sampling strategies, data collection methods, data quality control, pilot testing and data analysis processes. It then concludes by highlighting the ethical issues that guided this study.

CHAPTER 5: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter elaborated on the study's methodological underpinnings, and the procedures and processes involved so that it achieves the research objectives. The main objective of this study was to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. This chapter employs tables and matrices in presenting the data. As highlighted in the previous chapter, data was collected from the four multi-racial teachers who were the research participants based at a post-apartheid desegregated high school, i.e., President High School in the Western Cape. This chapter presents their responses and a comparative analysis of the findings.

The chapter proceeds to give a synopsis of the demographic categories used for the analysis of this study. It then presents data relating to the five research questions and their relationship to the five themes and sub-themes that were identified. Firstly, the chapter presents data collected from the interviewees on how teachers perceive the impact that racial integration has on post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. Secondly, it outlines data relating to how racial integration affects the role of learners. Thirdly, it presents data relating to how racial integration affects the role of teachers.

Fourthly, the chapter presents data relating to the effects of racial integration on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa. Fifthly, the chapter discusses data relating to classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions that can address the challenges of racial integration. Lastly, the chapter looks at the comparative analysis of responses in relation to the five themes and sub-themes in terms of the levels of congruence, divergence or variation. The chapter concludes by outlining the summary of the findings.

5.2 Demographic categories

The demographic categories selected were: age, gender, race and the number of years of teaching experience. This was done to allow for variation and a diversity of responses based on them relating to particular issues and topics in the data that was collected. There was equal representation in terms of gender, with two male teachers and two female teachers who were

the interviewees; and who were below the age of 40 years old. There was also equal representation between coloured and white teachers who spoke both English and Afrikaans. Their teaching experience ranged from four to fifteen years respectively.

5.3 The impact of racial integration on post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools

The first research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on the impact of racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. It fell within the broad theme relating to the role of political socialisation in racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. Political socialisation denotes the process wherein people develop political attitudes, beliefs and values individually or as part of groups. There were four sub-themes that emerged under the broad theme relating to this research question. The first sub-theme dealt with the apartheid education system and socialisation. The second sub-theme dealt with post-apartheid socialisation and the curriculum, followed by the third sub-theme that dealt with perceptions of race. The fourth sub-theme dealt with the effects of racial integration on post-apartheid desegregated high schools. Interviews were used to ascertain the interviewees' perspectives relating to this research question and are presented below.

5.3.1 Apartheid education system and socialisation

Teachers are political actors and agents of political socialisation at post-apartheid desegregated South African high schools, and they fulfil these roles in diverse ways. Prior studies have noted that they are still affected by the apartheid education system and its socialisation, which was based on race and legal racial segregation. Teachers of all races who were socialised under the apartheid education system went to racially segregated schools, universities or teacher training colleges. This meant that they were trained to teach children of their own race. They would have developed rigid conditioning of either racial inferiority or superiority in this process. The researcher wanted to understand if this would filter into their classrooms in the democratic era; and if it could have an impact on racial integration processes at desegregated schools involving both teachers and learners of different races. Matrix 6.1 presents the views of the interviewees.

Matrix 6.1: Summary of responses on the role of the apartheid education system and socialisation as having an impact on racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools based on race.

Major theme	Sub-theme	Interviewees' Response	Source
Political Socialisation	Apartheid education system and socialisation	<i>When I just joined the school and we had our first group of black learners who joined us in grade eight, we still had many of our older teachers present because they were still trying to test the waters to see how they will be able to cope with the change in our school and many of the learners because I taught them Afrikaans in my first year and the learners would often come to me and they would complain, the black learners specifically about racism being prevalent in many of the older teachers' classes</i>	(EDGBOT), white
		<i>So if you can't treat me, a coloured person that is racially different from you, with respect, I cannot understand how you are going to treat a learner in front of you with respect</i>	(NAOMI), coloured
		<i>I became an educationist because of what we are sitting here, for the reason why we are sitting here today, for, to change these things and to address racial problems in our schools and for my kids and being a teacher at my alma mater to just help the kids to do this better, integrate themselves into the new system</i>	(BENSEPT), coloured
		<i>I can only say that I know of the fact that when we decided to become English, there was some resistance from teachers that it could be that they knew that there would be an influx of other colour learners</i>	(JULJOOS), white

Matrix 6.1 encapsulates the diverse teacher responses relating to this sub-theme. Teachers are political actors and agents of political socialisation within the school as a political environment and outside of it. They disseminate information to learners who develop political attitudes, beliefs and values individually or as part of groups based on this role. Teachers also perform

this role with fellow teachers of different races or the same as theirs at the schools they teach at. They fulfil these roles in diverse ways based on their race and socialisation under the apartheid education system, which could have either a positive or negative impact on racial integration processes at schools. This is evidenced by the abovementioned quotes.

The quote by (*EDGBOT*), *white* highlights the critical issues prevalent at the school. It highlights that the older white Afrikaans-speaking teachers at President High School found it difficult to adjust and cope when the school desegregated and allowed its first group of black learners. This school was an all-white racially segregated Afrikaans school under apartheid before the legal desegregation of all schools commenced with the SASA (1996). These teachers experienced difficulty in teaching black learners who came from diverse backgrounds amidst this process. They were also apprehensive about the desegregation process and the admission of black learners to the school. This relates to their fears of the transition and transformation of the educational landscape through desegregation processes based on democratic principles of non-racialism. They resisted this process and became barriers to educational transformation. Racism is prevalent at the school and is levelled by older white teachers towards the black learners that they teach. This is acknowledged by (*EDGBOT*), *white* and therefore, this will lead to inter-racial conflict between learners and teachers of other races. This is corroborated by the quote of (*NAOMI*), *coloured*.

The quote of (*NAOMI*), *coloured* highlights the racial divide, inter-racial conflict and racism that exists between white and coloured teachers. Some teachers although coming from a “multi-racial background” are supportive of racial integration processes at the school and endeavour to contribute to it positively amidst this racial impasse. This is validated by the quote of (*BENSEPT*), *coloured* which highlights that these teachers are making a concerted effort to address racial problems and to help learners better integrate amidst the reintegration challenges faced at desegregated schools. An example is that they seat diverse students alphabetically to enhance more inter-racial interaction and inhibit racial clustering. The contributions of these teachers could then impact positively on racial integration processes at the school involving learners and teachers of different races, and lead to inter-racial tolerance.

5.3.2 Post-apartheid socialisation and the curriculum

SASA (1996) introduced curriculum reform through Curriculum 2005 and Outcomes Based Education (OBE). This was the democratic vision and ethos envisaged for the transforming

post-apartheid education landscape at desegregated schools. Teachers now had to embrace this vision and ethos, and give life to it at these schools as political actors and agents of political socialisation. This was to be effected through the new curriculum which they had to teach to diverse learners at these schools. Many teachers from the old apartheid era struggled to embrace the transforming education landscape due to their apartheid socialisation, which became problematic. Matrix 6.2 and Matrix 6.3 illustrate the views of the interviewees.

Matrix 6.2: Summary of teacher responses to post-apartheid education socialisation and the curriculum based on race.

Major theme	Sub-theme	Interviewees' Response	Source
Political Socialisation	Post-apartheid socialisation and the curriculum	<i>We are still stuck in our old ways</i>	<i>(JULJOOS), white</i>
		<i>I know that the curriculum can be both formal and informal. The curriculum cannot only be content; it's not only content</i>	<i>(JULJOOS), white</i>
		<i>The set work books and the resources here...Because, I feel that it fits in here. That's not a school thing, that's a curriculum thing. A lot of the things, a lot of sources, the resources that are given to the learners that they have to learn from are also very biased</i>	<i>(NAOMI), coloured</i>
		<i>I just wanted to lead you into how integration is happening at this school at the moment, eh, like you said earlier when you contextualised where teachers that have been in the previous system and now how they are dealing with this system. I feel like how you said that how some of us were raised with the apartheid indoctrination and to that extent, racial integration, especially coming from old notions pre-apartheid and now in post-apartheid, these notions are quite difficult for some teachers to relate to learners</i>	<i>(BENSEPT), coloured</i>

Matrix 6.2 summarises the teachers' diverse sentiments based on race relating to this sub-theme. There is both variation and ambivalence in their views and how they related to this sub-

theme, which demonstrates a racial dimension in their responses. This shows how they relate to the democratic vision and ethos envisaged for the transforming post-apartheid education landscape at desegregated schools. It relates to teachers either supporting or opposing the curriculum and its content, and their role in implementing it, which could be race-oriented or based on their personal and political opinions. This is evidenced by the quotations. The first quote from (JULJOOS), *white* highlights that teachers have entrenched racialised identities and are very rigid as a result of their socialisation under apartheid. This shows that they may be intransigent to embrace the democratic vision and ethos envisaged for transforming the post-apartheid education landscape at desegregated schools. It highlights that teachers could have antipathy towards curriculum reform in relation to its content and objectives.

Matrix 6.3: Summary of teacher responses to post-apartheid education socialisation and the curriculum based on gender.

Major theme	Sub-theme	Interviewees' Response	Source
Political Socialisation	Post-apartheid socialisation and the curriculum	<i>I don't think, I, a female coloured individual is taken seriously in my subject and I do not think that; not that I want to show off my intelligence but I do not think it is, eh, I am seen as an intelligent individual in my job</i>	(NAOMI), female
		<i>This is inter-racial conflict that learners mention like: "I can't really focus on what that teacher says because she does not express herself very well in English."</i>	(BENSEPT), male
		<i>I know that the curriculum can be both formal and informal. The curriculum cannot only be content; it's not only content</i>	(JULJOOS), female

Matrix 6.3 shows the diverse responses of teachers to this sub-theme based on gender. It shows that the gender of teachers can have an impact on their role as political actors and agents of political socialisation. This demonstrates that there is gender disparity in how both male and female teachers relate to the post-apartheid education system and the new curriculum. There maybe also the existence of gender dynamics in how teachers of different races relate to and affirm the curriculum in terms of its content and delivery at schools which is also linked to their language proficiency. This relates to them disseminating information particularly to diverse learners. This then impacts on racial integration processes at post-apartheid

desegregated high schools, involving both teachers and learners either positively or negatively, depending on their gender. The quotations highlight these issues. This is validated by the quote of (NAOMI), *female* which shows the role of gender is seen as a determinant among teachers in fulfilling their professional duties at desegregated high schools. This could emanate from the organisational cultures present at the school where gender discrimination exists among teachers which would then filter down to learners as well. This highlights that there are entrenched gender stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes based on the gender of teachers that are pervasive at the school. This could then lead to inter-racial conflict among both teachers and learners which is confirmed by the quote of (BENSEPT), *male*. This quote by (BENSEPT), *male* shows the intersectionality of gender and the language proficiency of teachers. This relates to their role as political actors and agents of political socialisation and how they disseminate information relating to the curriculum and the realisation of its objectives.

5.3.3 Perceptions of race

The perceptions of race by teachers as political actors and agents of political socialisation are most relevant in the context of racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. These perceptions are intertwined with their racial identities and are expressed through opinions of race due to their socialisation. This is pivotal in transforming the post-apartheid South African education landscape as compared to the apartheid education landscape which was race-based. Matrix 6.4 indicates teacher responses to perceptions of race.

Matrix 6.4: Summary of teacher responses to perceptions of race.

Major theme	Sub-theme	Interviewees' Response	Source
Political Socialisation	Perceptions of race	<i>No, I don't think you can ever think that there is a pure race</i>	(EDGBOT), <i>white</i>
		<i>They have an idea of who you are and it is based on skin colour</i>	(JULJOOS), <i>white</i>
		<i>Are they doing it because of my race because they are different race from me or are they just doing it because I am this person</i>	(NAOMI), <i>coloured</i>

		<i>She was white, I'm coloured. She wasn't laughing, I wasn't laughing</i>	<i>(NAOMI), coloured</i>
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Matrix 6.4 encapsulates the teachers' varied responses based on race, relating to this sub-theme. It shows that teachers' perceptions of race are varied and that the concept of race has different connotations among them. Some teachers are more perceptive to the issues of race, racial identity, inter-racial conflict and racial discrimination as compared to others. Race is also often conflated with language, which gives various mutations of one's racial and linguistic identity. This becomes synonymous as a referent of race, e.g., white Afrikaans-speaking teachers and learners are referred to as Afrikaners yet coloured teachers and learners also speak Afrikaans but are referred to as just coloured. It shows that one can speak the same language but race ultimately becomes a marker of difference. This is validated by the quotes of *(EDGBOT), white* and *(NAOMI), coloured*. This quote by *(EDGBOT), white* shows that some teachers are more perceptive to the issues of race than others. This relates to how it is bandied about in social and political discourses, and particularly among teachers and learners of different races at desegregated high schools.

5.3.4 The effects of racial integration on post-apartheid desegregated high schools

Teachers' views on the effects of racial integration and its impact on post-apartheid desegregated high schools is an important indicator of how they perceive this process. This relates to their racial identities, socialisation, educational backgrounds and their number of years of teaching experience; and if this influences their perceptions. The researcher aimed to find out teachers' views on the effects of racial integration and its impact on desegregated high schools; and particularly the ones they teach at. Matrix 6.5 indicates teacher responses to this sub-theme.

Matrix 6.5: Summary of teacher responses to the effects of racial integration and the impact it has on post-apartheid desegregated high schools based on the number of years of teaching experience.

Major theme	Sub-theme	Interviewees' Response	Source
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Political Socialisation	The effects of racial integration on post- apartheid desegregated high schools	<i>the people that are, that are dealing with this; all of them have been here since nineteen-ninety whatever else before the segregation law in 1996, they are still here, they are still in the same position and I highly doubt that they have changed enough to make it an impartial decision</i>	<i>(NAOMI), 6 years of teaching experience</i>
		<i>I do feel like there were teachers that had issues because they had to adjust their teaching style perhaps, especially in our school that when we transitioned into an English school as well, we opened our doors to many black learners as well; and I do think that when that happened, many teachers, predominantly white, who only spoke Afrikaans, actually decided to leave this school as well as they were not willing to prepare for the integration to take place because I think they thought it will be too big of a movement in their mind-set to do it or maybe they didn't necessarily agree with the change as well but, yah!</i>	<i>(EDGBOT), 5 years of teaching experience</i>
		<i>This is very broad and at the moment we have a situation at school where one coloured lady educator is fighting the fact that integration is not happening in terms of high positions that some teachers hold here or positions of power at schools and this teacher at the moment is saying that; she's not saying it, it is the truth that at the moment, you like we are, racial integration in this school, the perspective, eh, we have white people running our school still</i>	<i>(BENSEPT), 4 years of teaching experience</i>
		<i>I have to assume that they feel; the coloured people feel that the whites are superior, hmm, because the management team is only white and there is one coloured person</i>	<i>(JULJOOS), 13 years of teaching experience</i>

Matrix 6.5 indicates teacher responses to this sub-theme based on their number of years of teaching experience. It shows teachers having both less and more than 10 years of teaching

experience. This indicates their varied responses are based on their number of years of teaching experience. This is validated by the quote of (NAOMI), *6 years of teaching experience*. This quote demonstrates that teachers with less than 10 years of teaching experience do feel that the effects of racial integration is having a greater impact on post-apartheid desegregated high schools as compared to teachers who have more than a decade of teaching experience. This could be due to their personal opinions, sensitisation to the realities and first-hand experience of racial integration at the school. It also indicates that teachers with more than a decade of teaching experience may feel that the effects of racial integration are having a minimal impact on desegregated high schools.

5.4 The impact of racial integration on the role of learners at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools

The second research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on how racial integration affects the role of learners at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. This research question fell within the broad theme relating to the role of political ideology in racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. Political ideology refers to a political, social and economic model encompassing doctrines and ideals of how society should be structured. There was one sub-theme that emerged under the broad theme relating to this research question, and it dealt with the role of learners. Interviews were used to ascertain the interviewees' perspectives relating to this sub-theme, and are presented in the sections below.

5.4.1 The role of learners

Teachers are political actors and agents of political ideology at post-apartheid desegregated South African high schools. They fulfil these roles in many ways depending on their political beliefs and the political ideology they ascribe to. This is because of their socialisation under the apartheid education system, which was based on race. Apartheid was a political, economic and social system that deified race based on racial ideology. Therefore, teachers could still identify with apartheid racial ideology and be oppositional to the democratic government. Teachers could also be supportive of the democratic government's ideological leanings. Matrix 6.6 presents the views of the interviewees.

Matrix 6.6: Summary of teacher responses to the effects of racial integration on the role of learners at post-apartheid desegregated high schools based on race.

Major theme	Sub-theme	Interviewees' Response	Source
Political ideology	Role of learners	<i>The role of a learner at a school is to achieve their full, not full, to achieve academic excellence</i>	(NAOMI), coloured
		<i>And they didn't embrace it well; well so, let me be honest</i>	(NAOMI), coloured
		<i>not all teachers are very committed into change; especially our older teachers, they don't want to face change</i>	(BENSEPT), coloured
		<i>we are definitely not diversifying in a sense that we are helping learners that are weaker than the rest</i>	(JULJOOS), white
		<i>I have all these isiXhosa learners and now foreign black learners I would have in front reason being is, I teach the language that they see as the language of oppression and the reason I have them in front is so that I can relate to them first</i>	(BENSEPT), coloured
		<i>teachers were not right in the way they were working with the learners because the learners felt that they are being discriminated against and that's when the teachers started talking in mostly in Afrikaans</i>	(EDGBOT), white

Matrix 6.6 gives a summary of varied teacher responses relating to this sub-theme based on race. It shows that teachers' varied responses could be based on their ideological leanings, upbringing, teacher training and socialisation. This can impact either positively or negatively on racial integration processes at the school involving teachers of different races and the diverse learners that they interact with. This could then filter into teachers' classrooms and affect the role of learners either positively or negatively that come from diverse backgrounds. This is validated by the second quote of (NAOMI), coloured which shows the intransigence of teachers to embrace the democratic vision and ethos of non-racialism in society and at the very schools they teach at. This might be due to their staunch ideological views and political attitudes, which could impact on the role of learners negatively.

On the other hand, there are teachers that are supportive of these transformative developments and their contributions could have a positive impact on the role of learners in racial integration processes at schools. This is validated by the second quote of (*BENSEPT*), *coloured* which highlights that some teachers of different races are supportive of the democratisation of education along non-racial and democratic principles. They facilitate mechanisms such as seating black South African learners and black African diaspora learners in the front of their classes. This is so these learners receive assistance relating to any challenges they might encounter, such as in their language subjects. This could impact positively on racial integration processes at the school and build good inter-racial and inter-personal relations between both teachers and learners of diverse backgrounds.

5.5 The impact of racial integration on the role of teachers at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools

The third research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on how racial integration affects the role of teachers at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. It fell within the broad theme relating to the role of political communication in racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. Political communication denotes how political information is disseminated in a political system. There was one sub-theme that emerged under the broad theme relating to this research question and it dealt with the role of teachers. Interviews were used to ascertain the interviewees' perspectives on this sub-theme and are presented below.

5.5.1 The role of teachers

Teachers are political actors and agents of political communication at post-apartheid desegregated South African high schools. They fulfil these roles in many ways based on their political beliefs, political opinions and party-political affiliations. This is due to their socialisation under the apartheid education system which was based on legalised racial discrimination and segregation. Hence, teachers will either be oppositional to the current democratic dispensation or will be supportive of it. This relates to them identifying with the prescripts and transformative values for the attainment of a non-racial and democratic society. It becomes problematic when teachers of different races are conflicted about the transforming political landscape, particularly within education. On the other hand, there are teachers who

could be supportive of the transforming political landscape, particularly within education. Matrix 6.7 presents the views of the interviewees.

Matrix 6.7: Summary of teacher responses to the effects of racial integration on the role of teachers at post-apartheid desegregated high schools based on race.

Major theme	Sub-theme	Interviewees' Response	Source
Political communication	Role of teachers	<i>The kids are here, you allow them all to come here, so they are in front of you but when you are meant to teach them, you don't teach them with that whole post-apartheid idea.</i>	(NAOMI), coloured
		<i>It's my white perspective, so it difficult, it's more difficult for me to see it, I think</i>	(JULJOOS), white
		<i>We don't play the role and the role of a teacher is poor in the effects of racism and this does not exclude me!</i>	(BENSEPT), coloured
		<i>To be a mentor, to be a second parent, to be the best teacher I can to my learners, to get content across but also I need to be their mother as well</i>	(JULJOOS), white

Matrix 6.7 summarises diverse teacher responses relating to this sub-theme based on race. This could be related to their socialisation under apartheid with the formation of entrenched racialised attitudes of either racial superiority or inferiority. This would have been solidified by their educational backgrounds and teacher training. This relates to their role primarily as educators, political actors and also as agents of political communication at the school as a political environment. This would then impact on racial integration processes at the school either positively or negatively. In spite of the many racial integration challenges faced by teachers, it must be acknowledged that there are some teachers who are making a positive impact on racial integration processes at the school. This is validated by the second quote of (JULJOOS), white which represents the ideal role that teachers should play at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. This exemplary model of what teachers of different races should be aspiring towards is just a figment compared to the realities of how teachers could become complicit in inhibiting racial integration processes at desegregated schools. This is validated by the comment made by (NAOMI), coloured.

The above quote by (NAOMI), *coloured* shows that the role of teachers pivots around their entrenched racialised identities due to their political socialisation. This shows that teachers can be barriers to post-apartheid educational transformation due to their political beliefs, political opinions and party-political affiliations. This relates to whether they are oppositional to the current democratic dispensation or are supportive of it. This could then filter into their classrooms in which they interact with learners of diverse backgrounds. It could impact positively if teachers embrace the transformative developments within education and the vision of achieving a non-racial and democratic society. It also could have a negative impact if there is anathema on the part of teachers who are recalcitrant to embrace this democratic and non-racial vision. This would signify that the ideal relating to the role of learners' achieving academic excellence is being stymied by teachers. This could lead to racism, racial discrimination and inter-racial conflict in the classes they teach which has diverse learners.

5.6 The effects of racial integration on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa

The fourth research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on how racial integration affects the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa. It fell within the broad theme relating to the role of political dynamics in racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. Political dynamics relates to a government's or political entity's policy making and public administration processes. The sub-theme that emerged under the broad theme relating to this research question was policy and practice. Interviews were used to ascertain the interviewees' perspectives relating to this sub-theme and are presented below.

5.6.1 Policy and practice

It is vitally important that teachers of different races be aware of and identify with the relevant legislation. This can become problematic when teachers of different races are either aware or unaware of the legislation but neither identify with nor implement it. Matrix 6.8 presents the views of the interviewees.

Matrix 6.8: Summary of teacher responses to the effects of racial integration on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa based on race.

Major theme	Sub-theme	Interviewees' Response	Source
Political dynamics	Policy and practice	<i>White Paper 6 isn't pasted in the staff room</i>	(BENSEPT), coloured
		<i>We don't make any highlight to Heritage Day as a school</i>	(BENSEPT), coloured
		<i>I don't know when last I read it (S.A.C.E code of conduct)</i>	(NAOMI), coloured
		<i>Not the exact (emphasis) legislation but I know the gist of it I guess</i>	(NAOMI), coloured
		<i>I can only say that I know of the fact that when we decided to become English, there was some resistance from teachers that it could be that they knew that there would be an influx of other colour learners</i>	(JULJOOS), white

Matrix 6.8 gives a summary of varied teacher responses relating to this sub-theme based on race. Their varied responses could be due to their socialisation under apartheid, teacher training and personal or professional opinions. This indicates how teachers of different races perceive policies such as SASA (1996) and White Paper 6 (2001) related to the desegregation of schools and the practice of it. They then become instrumental for its implementation in this process, resulting in either its realisation or non-realisation. This shows that there is minimal legislation awareness, greater levels of unawareness and legislation apathy among teachers of different races. This is highlighted by the first quote from (BENSEPT), coloured and the first and second quotes of (NAOMI), coloured which typify the realities at this legally desegregated school. There is a serious disconnect between teachers and the democratic educational legislation that they are supposed to be aware of and implement. This legislation engenders the democratic vision and ethos to transform the post-apartheid education landscape along non-racial lines, and to redress the inequities of apartheid education. This is also an indictment of the school's part, which highlights its institutional culture.

The institutional culture also includes not celebrating Heritage Day. This is in contravention to celebrating national commemorative days in order to foster nation-building and reconciliation. This is to the detriment of the diverse school population, including both teachers and learners, which negates their heritage and diversity; and would foment further divisions. It also shows teacher apathy in their not referring to their S.A.C.E code of conduct regularly, which is pivotal

and an indispensable part of their professional obligations as educators. It further demonstrates that teachers might assume that they are familiar with post-apartheid legislation. This signifies they would execute their responsibilities based on these assumptions and not within the true ambit of the legislation's objectives, nor to actually achieve them.

5.7 Classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions to address racial integration challenges at post-apartheid desegregated high schools

The fifth research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on what classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions can address the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. It fell within the broad Political Science theme relating to the role of political culture in racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. Political culture denotes the prevailing values, attitudes, customs and practices within a political system. The political system in this context would refer to the school as a political environment in which the teachers of different races are political actors and agents of political culture. The sub-themes that emerged under the broad theme relating to this research question were: 1). administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy; and 2). classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions. Interviews were used to ascertain the interviewees' perspectives relating to these sub-themes and are presented below.

5.7.1 Administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy

President High School is a desegregated former whites-only school founded in 1964 under apartheid. It had exclusively white teachers, learners and principals, and its administration and management were totally mono-racial, which represented its political culture under apartheid. The SASA (1996) desegregated all public schools that were administered under apartheid. It becomes problematic when the status quo remains the same in the transformation process. This relates to white teachers still being in the majority and the dominant race in the staff composition, and with a white principal still at the helm as under apartheid in terms of demographic representation.

The demographic representation of the seventeen (17) qualified and permanent multi-racial teachers employed by the WCED who met the requirements of the target population and from whom the sample was drawn; and was case studied revealed the following information. There

were only five (5) coloured teachers with two (2) males and three (3) females out of the total of the seventeen (17) permanent teachers. The remaining twelve (12) permanent teachers were all white Afrikaans-speaking with nine (9) females and three (3) males. Four (4) out of the five (5) coloured teachers were also Afrikaans-speaking with one female who was English-speaking. The current principal and her deputies were all female and white-Afrikaans speaking with no coloured representative as a deputy principal to date. The School Management Team (SMT) had only female representatives with three being white-Afrikaans speaking and only a single coloured female representative. The demographic representation also revealed that there were no black teachers employed by President High School to date although there are black learners in attendance. This indicates that there is an administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy in place at the school, which would then adversely influence its racial integration processes.

Matrix 6.9: Summary of teacher perspectives based on race relating to the challenges of racial integration that have given rise to an administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy due to the school's political culture.

Major theme	Sub-theme	Interviewees' Response	Source
Political culture	Administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy	<i>Our school has never employed black teachers</i>	<i>(EDGBOT), white</i>
		<i>A new black parent, she comes and wants to enrol her child into President High School; walks into the foyer and she sees all previous principals and there's just white men and the white female that is currently the principal, you understand? That, changes for me the role of a learner because immediately that parent and that learner sees how we are going to fit in here at this school</i>	<i>(BENSEPT), coloured</i>
		<i>Well, our school is mainly led, the, the, the staff in; I'm not going to say power. The staff that, that carry out most of our disciplinary actions are of one race</i>	<i>(NAOMI), coloured</i>
		<i>I have to assume that they feel; the coloured people feel that the whites are superior, hmm, because the management team is only white and there is one coloured person</i>	<i>(JULJOOS), white</i>

		<i>if you look at our school's like subject heads' perhaps, I think if I'm being honest that only maybe two or three have been placed in position of the subject head when the majority are still the white teachers being placed in that position</i>	<i>(EDGBOT), white</i>
		<i>The white race and I feel like; so whatever punishment I give; it has to eventually go through them. Right, and then if I gave one person this punishment and you didn't feel it was necessary, then you can literally, you can literally go over my head and scratch out the detention I gave the one person because you feel that I; the child didn't deserve the punishment that I gave them</i>	<i>(NAOMI), coloured</i>
		<i>To be frankly honest to you, if I am the first or if any; if I see a coloured person in the higher positions in management even in the next ten years, it would be a huge surprise to me</i>	<i>(BENSEPT), coloured</i>

Matrix 6.9 gives a summary of teacher perspectives based on race relating to this sub-theme, due to the school's political culture. It shows that both the coloured and white teachers are highlighting that the school's current political culture is as it was under apartheid and has not truly transformed in the democratic educational landscape. The only difference is that the school is now desegregated, with other races of both learners and teachers, but its political culture remains as it was under apartheid, and is still relatively intact. This indicates that a pseudo-political culture is in place under the guise of transformation, which seems to be normative. In reality, it masks the school's administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy in which whites are still in the ascendancy as under apartheid. This is encapsulated by the first quotes from both *(BENSEPT), coloured*; *(NAOMI), coloured* and the only quote from *(JULJOOS), white*.

The abovementioned quotes are highly significant and unmask the sordid realities of the school's current political culture which is not too dissimilar from its previous one under apartheid. It has ensured continuity through an entrenched administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy in place with whites as the dominant race as under apartheid but paradoxically in the democratic era. This is validated by the first quote of *(EDGBOT), white* which shows

convincingly that the school has not really transformed in the truest sense but has rather undergone pseudo-transformation. This relates to it still being overtly replete with and maintaining apartheid-era iconology and traditions amidst the transforming democratic educational landscape. This then renders the current political culture of the school as normative through the entrenched white administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy; and perceivably uncontested amidst the resultant challenges that emerge. These challenges relate to racism, inter-racial conflict and racial discrimination among both teachers and learners of different races and backgrounds.

5.7.2 Classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions

It has been established that the current political culture of the school is still reminiscent of its previous culture under apartheid. This becomes problematic due to its stasis and gives rise to serious challenges. These challenges are racism, inter-racial conflict and racial discrimination among both teachers and learners of different races and backgrounds. Hence, it becomes incumbent to get multi-racial teacher perspectives on what classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions can address these racial integration challenges. This relates to teachers of different races as having intimate knowledge of these challenges, being on the ground, and observing and experiencing the contexts in which they play out in diverse scenarios at the school. Interviews were used to ascertain the teachers' perspectives on these issues. Matrix 6.10 below presents their recommendations and interventions to mitigate against the racial integration challenges.

Matrix 6.10: Summary of classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions based on race to address the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools.

Major theme	Sub-theme	Interviewees' recommendations and interventions	Source/s
Political culture	Classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions	<p>1). <i>Seating arrangements in the classroom to enhance more inter-racial interaction and to inhibit racial clustering.</i></p> <p>2). <i>A review of the curriculum and the set works to be more relevant and representative.</i></p>	<p>(BENSEPT), coloured; (JULJOOS), white; (NAOMI). Coloured; and</p>

		<p>3). <i>Regular workshops for teachers to focus on conflict management and resolution skills training for diverse classrooms by the WCED and DBE.</i></p> <p>4). <i>Anti-racism awareness campaigns and a zero-tolerance approach to racism at the school for both teachers and learners of different races – This must also involve parents through discussion sessions and must be carried out by the WCED and DBE.</i></p> <p>5). <i>Sport and cultural activities at the school involving both learners and teachers of different races.</i></p> <p>6). <i>Language diversity – by introducing isiXhosa at the school and bringing a black teacher who can speak these learners’ mother tongue language.</i></p> <p>7). <i>Language parity and equity – all three official languages of the province must be equally represented and spoken at the school; and this includes teaching as well. This must also be reflected in all the school’s signage and official communiqué.</i></p> <p>8). <i>Staff room cordiality must be encouraged through creative initiatives involving teachers of different races.</i></p> <p>9). <i>The school’s code of conduct needs to be reviewed.</i></p> <p>10). <i>Teachers need to have empathy towards learners of different backgrounds.</i></p>	<p>(EDGBOT), white</p>
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		<p><i>11). Teachers need to practice openness and transparency relating to racial integration challenges at the school.</i></p> <p><i>12). Teachers need to be impartial and encourage learners to stand up against racial or any form of discrimination.</i></p> <p><i>13). Teachers need to be aware of racism and acknowledge it as a serious problem affecting schools.</i></p> <p><i>14). The school needs to start employing black teachers to indicate its true commitment to transformation within the post-apartheid educational landscape.</i></p>	
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Matrix 6.10 highlights the responses of the interviewees relating to their classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions based on race to address the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. This can be implemented to mitigate against the challenges that have arisen because of the school's current political culture.

5.8 Discussion of findings

In view of the broad research questions in this study, the following section describes the results in relation to what previous researchers have observed.

5.8.1 Multi-racial teacher perspectives on the impact of racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools

The first research question in this study sought to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on the impact of racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. The researcher intended to understand the perceptions of multi-racial teachers in relation to this research question and particularly at the schools they teach at. Thematic issues that emerged from this

research question included the apartheid education system and socialisation; post-apartheid socialisation and the curriculum; perceptions of race; and the effects of racial integration on post-apartheid desegregated high schools which are discussed below.

The apartheid education system and socialisation

The current study found that the teachers had varied responses based on race in relation to the apartheid education system and socialisation as having an impact on racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools. This result reflects that of Vally and Dalamba (1999), who reported that the impact of apartheid's entrenched socialisation around race, which perpetuated racial superiority and inferiority, still prevails and in most cases is taken to be normative. In addition, Vandeyar (2010) found that teachers relate differently to the issues of diversity and the challenges encountered with desegregation. These negative or positive responses are based on their personal values, attitudes, beliefs and socialisation. This result is further corroborated by Naidoo, Pillay and Conley (2018) and Meier and Hartell (2009), who found that many teachers came from different racial and cultural backgrounds and did not have the necessary skills to teach learners of other racial groups. This was due to their socialisation under apartheid, attending racially segregated teacher training colleges, and being trained to teach only learners as the same race as their own.

These results are in line with those of previous studies. This result may be explained by the fact that teachers are political actors and agents of political socialisation within the school as a political environment and outside of it. They disseminate information to learners who develop political attitudes, beliefs and values individually or as part of groups based on this role. Teachers also perform this role with fellow teachers of different races, or the same as theirs, at the schools they teach at. They fulfil these roles in diverse ways based on their race and socialisation under the apartheid education system, which could have either a positive or negative impact on racial integration processes at schools. Therefore, it can be concluded that this would then impact negatively on racial integration processes at the school involving learners and teachers of different races, and lead to inter-racial conflict.

The current study found that racism is prevalent at the school and is levelled by older white teachers towards black learners that they teach. It indicates that racism is a serious challenge at the school, involving non-white learners, and may also be directed at the non-white teachers. This finding is consistent with that of de Wet (2001) who highlighted that individual and cultural racism develops on a personal level due to one's socialisation whilst institutional

racism “is reflected in the policies and practices of an institution”. These results also reflect those of Makoelle (2014), Ndimande (2009) and Vandeyar and Killen (2006), who found that there are serious challenges within post-apartheid educational reforms relating to racism being practiced by teachers at desegregated schools. According to Modiri (2012), this is a result of failing to understand how deeply engrained racism is at all levels of post-apartheid society, including its schools. This result is further corroborated by Vally and Dalamba (1999) who reported that “a study of present-day racial integration in schools has first to acknowledge racism as a structural feature of society and to understand it in its historical context”. These results seem to be consistent with other research that found racism to be a serious problem at desegregated schools. Therefore, it can be concluded that this would impact negatively on racial integration processes between teachers and learners of different races and lead to inter-racial conflict.

The current study found that the older white Afrikaans-speaking teachers at President High School found it difficult to adjust and cope when the school desegregated and allowed its first group of black learners. This finding is consistent with Meier and Hartell (2009) whose findings indicate that teachers had to adjust to the growing cultural diversity of learners from other race groups at these desegregated schools. They had to realign their personal values, beliefs and teaching strategies in order to accommodate learners of other race groups and different backgrounds. These teachers went to racially segregated training colleges or universities and were trained to only teach learners as the same race as themselves. They were also not prepared nor trained to teach learners of other races other than their own. This resulted in inter-racial conflict, including language and racial discrimination towards black learners. These results are in line with those of previous studies, and it further indicates that these perceptions are based on race, due to their apartheid socialisation in which they formed entrenched racialised identities of white superiority and hegemony. Therefore, it can be concluded that this would impact negatively on racial integration processes between teachers and learners of different races and lead to inter-racial conflict.

An important finding was that white teachers were apprehensive about the desegregation process and the admission of black learners to the school. This was due to the school adopting a dual medium language policy of both English and Afrikaans. This finding is corroborated by Meier and Hartell (2009) who found that teachers at desegregated schools struggled with teaching black pupils due the problem of language diversity, and they were not adept with

indigenous languages. They went to racially segregated training colleges or universities and were trained to only teach learners as the same race as themselves. Teachers were also perplexed with the dynamics of the diverse classroom, with learners of different races and cultural backgrounds and who spoke different mother tongue languages. They were also not equipped to teach learners of other races other than their own. This resulted in inter-racial conflict, including language and racial discrimination towards black learners. This result may be explained by these teachers' socialisation under apartheid wherein they would have developed entrenched racial attitudes of superiority. Therefore, it can be concluded that this would impact negatively on racial integration processes between teachers and learners of different races and lead to inter-racial conflict.

Another finding to emerge from the analysis is that there is a racial divide, inter-racial conflict and racism that exists between white and coloured teachers. Very little was found in the literature to specifically support this finding. The present study shows that this stems from the desegregation of the school and the diversification of the staff complement by the introduction of coloured teachers. It is apparent that this situation is dire and endemic at a now paradoxically post-apartheid desegregated high school. The coloured teachers are disrespected by their fellow professionals and seen to be racially inferior by the white teachers. This could be due to the latter's apartheid socialisation and entrenched racial attitudes of racial superiority as white teachers in their formerly racially exclusive domain. This would impact negatively on racial integration processes between teachers of different races and lead to inter-racial conflict.

A further finding was that teachers can be instruments of change irrespective of their apartheid socialisation. Very little was found in the literature to specifically support this finding. Some teachers, although coming from a "multi-racial background", are supportive of racial integration processes at schools and endeavour to contribute to it positively, e.g., by promoting racial integration through the seating arrangements in their classrooms. They seat diverse students alphabetically to enhance more inter-racial interaction and inhibit racial clustering. Therefore, it can be concluded that the contributions of these teachers would then impact positively on racial integration processes at the school involving learners and teachers of different races and lead to inter-racial tolerance.

Post-apartheid socialisation and the curriculum

The current study found teachers had varied and ambivalent responses based on race in how they relate to post-apartheid socialisation and the curriculum having an impact on racial

integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools. On one hand, this finding is consistent with that of Teeger (2015) who found that teachers dealt with topics of racial inequality in the curriculum in ways that muted conversations around them due to their perceived divisive nature. Teachers assumed that these conversations would further exacerbate divisions of race among students already in a racially diverse class. The present study raises the possibility that this could be due to their ideological, cultural, personal and political beliefs, which are reinforced by their socialisation under apartheid. This then impacts negatively on racial integration processes involving both teachers and learners of different races. On the other hand, very little was specifically found in the literature to support this finding, where teachers of different races affirmed the curriculum as having a positive impact on racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools.

Another finding is how teachers relate to the democratic vision and ethos envisaged for the transforming post-apartheid education landscape at desegregated schools. This result indicated that they may be intransigent to embrace this democratic vision and ethos. This finding is consistent with that of Vandeyar and Killen (2006) who cautioned that the Constitution of South Africa (1996) is being flouted by teachers. This could be due to teachers having entrenched racialised attitudes that are unsupportive of the transforming post-apartheid education landscape at desegregated schools as a result of their socialisation under apartheid. Therefore, this would impact negatively on racial integration processes between teachers and learners of different races and lead to inter-racial conflict.

An additional finding was that teachers as political actors and agents of political socialisation could have antipathy towards curriculum reform in relation to its content and objectives. This finding is consistent with that of Ndimande (2009) who found that the curriculum content in post-apartheid classrooms is problematic despite all the democratic educational reforms. This relates to teachers either supporting or opposing the curriculum, its content, and their role in implementing it, which could be race-oriented. This could also be based on their personal and political opinions relating to it. This result may also be explained by the fact that teachers may be intransigent to embrace the democratic vision and ethos envisaged to transform the post-apartheid education landscape. This could be due to them having entrenched racialised identities because of their socialisation under apartheid. These findings indicate that teachers are the conduits for this democratic vision and ethos to be realised, and if they are not fully supportive of it, then this will have a negative impact on racial integration processes at the

school. This involves learners and teachers of different races and will lead to inter-racial conflict.

On the question of the role of gender, this study found that it is seen as a determinant among teachers in fulfilling their professional duties at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. Very little was found in the literature to specifically support this finding. A possible explanation for this might be that this could emanate from the organisational cultures present at the school where gender discrimination exists among teachers, which would then filter down to learners as well. Another possible explanation for this is that there are entrenched gender stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes based on the gender of teachers that are pervasive either on a latent or overt level at the school. It can therefore be assumed that this would then impact negatively on their role primarily as teachers, political actors and agents of political socialisation based on their gender. This relates to how they disseminate information relating to the curriculum and the realisation of its objectives. Therefore, it can be concluded that this will impact negatively on racial integration processes at the school and lead to inter-racial conflict among both teachers and learners of different races.

Perceptions of race

The current study found that the teachers had varied responses based on race in relation to perceptions of race having an impact on racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools. This result reflects that of Vally and Dalamba (1999) who reported that race was deified under apartheid “but the concept of ‘race’ in South Africa has come to be used too glibly and uncritically”. This finding is also consistent with Mania, Jones and Gaertner (2008), who observed that present-day views of race have evolved, with it being viewed as socially constructed “from the social fabric of societal beliefs and actions”. In addition, these authors highlight that “the social construction of race contributes to the cultural meanings that are widely shared as stereotypes” and these meanings change with time due to “newly constructed beliefs, ideologies and stereotypes”. This result is corroborated by Soudien (2004) who reported that the dominant stance in understanding difference in South Africa relates to race, which still is pertinent in post-apartheid educational reforms.

This result can also be linked to teachers’ perceptions of race in relation to the post-apartheid context. It highlighted that teachers’ perceptions of race are varied and that the concept of race has different connotations among them. This result may be explained by the fact that some teachers are more perceptive to the issues of race, racial identity, inter-racial conflict and racial

discrimination as compared to others. Another possible explanation for this might be that teachers' perceptions of race could be linked to their entrenched racial identities of either racial superiority or inferiority emanating from their socialisation and educational backgrounds under apartheid. This leads to racial discrimination and inter-racial conflict between teachers among themselves, and between them and learners of different races. It can therefore be concluded that this would impact negatively on racial integration processes at the school and filter into the classrooms in which they teach, where there are learners of diverse backgrounds.

A supplementary finding was that race is also often conflated with language, which gives various mutations of one's racial and linguistic identity. This becomes synonymous as a referent of race, e.g., white Afrikaans-speaking teachers and learners are referred to as Afrikaners yet coloured teachers and learners also speak Afrikaans but are referred to as just coloured. Very little was found in the literature to specifically support this finding. This result may be explained by the fact that one can speak the same language but race ultimately becomes a marker of difference. This is in the context of racial integration processes at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. Another possible explanation for this might be that teachers' perceptions of race could be linked to their entrenched racial identities emanating from their socialisation and educational backgrounds under apartheid. This could impact either positively or negatively on racial integration processes at these schools, involving both teachers and learners of different races. This relates to the perceptions of race by teachers of different races.

The effects of racial integration on post-apartheid desegregated high schools

The current study sought to determine teachers' perspectives on the effects of racial integration on post-apartheid desegregated high schools. The current study found that teachers with less than 10 years of teaching experience feel that the effects of racial integration is having a greater impact on post-apartheid desegregated high schools as compared to teachers who have more than a decade of teaching experience. Very little was found in the literature to specifically support this finding. A possible explanation might be that this could be due to their personal opinions, sensitisation to the realities, and first-hand experience of racial integration at the school. It also indicates that teachers with more than a decade of teaching experience may feel that the effects of racial integration are having a minimal impact on desegregated high schools. It is possible, therefore, that this could be attributed to apathy, socialisation or views that might not be supportive of the racial integration processes at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. Therefore, it signifies that younger teachers with less than 10 years of teaching

experience may be more supportive of the transitioning educational landscape as compared to older teachers with more than ten years of teaching experience. An implication of this is the possibility it impacts negatively on racial integration processes, as older teachers with more years of teaching experience may become, or are, barriers to educational transformation.

5.8.2 The impact of racial integration on the role of learners at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools

The second research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on how racial integration affects the role of learners at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. The researcher intended to understand the perceptions of multi-racial teachers in relation to this research question. There was one sub-theme that emerged under the broad theme relating to this research question that dealt with the role of learners, and it is discussed below.

The role of learners

It was found that there was varied teacher responses relating to the effects of racial integration on the role of learners at post-apartheid desegregated high schools based on race. This result reflects that of Vally and Dalamba (1999) who found that many teachers in post-apartheid desegregated schools denied the existence of race, racism and racial prejudice at schools and avoided discussions on these subjects with their diverse learners. Vally and Dalamba (1999: vii) opine that “educators exhibit little or no commitment to constructing a learning environment free from discrimination and prejudice”. This finding is also consistent with that of Ndimande (2009) who asserts that there are serious challenges within post-apartheid educational reforms. These relate to racism, cultural intolerance and inter-racial conflict experienced by mainly black learners at desegregated schools. The result is further corroborated by Naidoo, Pillay and Conley (2018) who found that learners are assimilated into the dominant ethos and institutional cultures of these schools and they have to adopt the schools’ language, practices and values. They have to relinquish their own language, values, racial and cultural heritage in this process.

These debilitating experiences have a great impact on the psychological wellbeing of learners. They experience trauma, emotional and psychological scarring which affects their mental health. They also develop an inferiority complex due to being “labelled as incompetent, illiterate and ignorant” that lasts well into adulthood. This result is also confirmed by Vandeyar and Killen (2006) and Meier and Hartell (2009) who reported that desegregation at schools was

occurring through a process of assimilation of black learners where institutionalised racism was rife. This had a negative impact on “the academic and social relationship between the educator and the learner”. It also strained inter-personal and racial relations among learners of different races. This then will filter into teachers’ classrooms and will affect the role of learners negatively that come from diverse backgrounds. Therefore, it can be concluded that this will have a negative impact on racial integration processes including the role of learners at the school. This will also lead to inter-racial conflict between teachers and learners of different races.

Another finding was that there are teachers of different races who are supportive of the democratisation of education along non-racial and democratic principles. Very little was specifically found in the literature to support this result. They facilitate mechanisms such as seating black South African learners and black African diaspora learners in the front of the their classes. This is so these learners receive assistance relating to any challenges they might encounter, such as in their language subjects. Therefore, this would impact positively on the role of learners in achieving academic excellence; and on the racial integration processes at the school. It will also help build good inter-racial and inter-personal relations between both teachers and learners of diverse backgrounds.

5.8.3 The impact of racial integration on the role of teachers at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools

The third research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on how racial integration affects the role of teachers at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. The researcher intended to understand the perceptions of multi-racial teachers in relation to this research question. There was one sub-theme that emerged under the broad theme relating to this research question and it dealt with the role of teachers, as discussed below.

The role of teachers

The current study found that there were diverse teacher responses to the effects of racial integration on the role of teachers at post-apartheid desegregated high schools based on race. This result is consistent with that of Naidoo, Pillay and Conley (2018) who reported that many teachers came from diverse racial and cultural backgrounds and did not possess the requisite skills to teach learners of other racial groups. This is due to them being socialised under apartheid, attending racially segregated teacher training colleges, and teaching at mono-racial

schools which were the same race as theirs. This result was also consistent with Vally and Dalamba (1999) who found that teachers were also ignorant about “the roots of racism, and could not distinguish between multicultural education and anti-racist education”. This ignorance on the part of teachers exacerbates the racially volatile environment they find themselves in and contributes to the indifference and impasse that arises with learners of other races that they teach or interact with at desegregated schools. This result is corroborated by le Roux (2014) who found that education shapes the transformation landscape of post-apartheid South Africa into a non-racial society at all levels, including schools. Therefore, teachers have an important role to play either as advancing this cause or they could be complicit in further entrenching racial divisions because of their socialisation. These results are in line with those of previous studies and therefore, it can be concluded that this will impact negatively on racial integration processes at the school. This will also lead to inter-racial conflict between teachers and learners of different races.

An additional finding was that the role of teachers pivots around their entrenched racialised identities due to their political socialisation. The results of this study show the realities of how teachers renege on the expectations of their professional duties and become apathetic towards racism, and even perpetrators of it. Overall, these results tie in well with previous studies (Makoelle 2014; Modiri 2012; Naidoo, Pillay & Conley 2018; Ndimande 2009; Soudien & Sayed 2003; Teeger 2015; Vally & Dalamba 1999) which concur that teachers are complicit in being apathetic towards racism and even perpetrators of it. These results match those observed in earlier studies. A possible explanation for this might be that racism, racial discrimination and inter-racial conflict maybe perceived by teachers to be normative within the school environment in relation to racial integration processes. This would be a result of their apartheid socialisation that entrenched highly racialised attitudes. An implication of this is the possibility that teachers would exude these racialised values when they interact with both teachers and learners of diverse backgrounds. Therefore, it can be concluded that this will have a negative impact on their role, including racial integration processes at the school. This will also lead to inter-racial conflict between teachers and learners of different races.

An further finding to emerge from the analysis is that the ideal relating to the role of learners in achieving academic excellence is being stymied by teachers. This finding is consistent with Meier and Hartell (2009) and Ndimande (2009) who found that there was language and racial discrimination directed towards black learners by teachers. This was to the detriment of learners and affected their role in achieving academic excellence. These results are in line with

those of previous studies and therefore, it can be concluded that this will impact negatively on racial integration processes including the role of teachers at the school. It will also lead to inter-racial conflict between teachers and learners of different races and diverse backgrounds.

5.8.4 The effects of racial integration on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa

The fourth research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on how racial integration affects the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa. The researcher intended to understand the perceptions of multi-racial teachers in relation to this research question. The major sub-theme that emerged under the broad theme relating to this research question was policy and practice, as discussed below.

Policy and practice

The current study found that there are varied responses in relation to how teachers of different races perceive the effects of racial integration on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa. This finding is consistent with that of Vandeyar (2010) who found that the impact of post-apartheid educational transformation and the implementation of educational reforms through legislation like SASA (1996) and White Paper 6 (2001) posed serious challenges for teachers. These results also reflect those of Ndimande (2009) who found that there was a disjuncture between the policy implemented and the practice of it to achieve meaningful racial integration. This result is corroborated by Naidoo, Pillay and Conley (2018) who found that racial integration has not been fully realised in post-apartheid schools. This was due to policy and practice issues, poor interrelationships, ill-capacitated educators and chronic inter-racial conflict. This result is also consistent with Machaisa (2014) who found that policies provided opportunities for racial integration but schools did not address the challenges resulting from its implementation. These challenges related to racism and the resultant inter-racial conflict. The findings further revealed that there was also a serious disconnect between policy implementation and the practice of it. A possible explanation for this might be that this could be due to their socialisation under apartheid, teacher training and personal or professional opinions. Therefore, it can be concluded that this would impact negatively on racial integration processes at the school and lead to inter-racial conflict between teachers and learners of different races.

Another finding was that teachers do not have White Paper 6 in their staff room to refer to and remind themselves of their professional obligations in the democratic educational landscape. It can thus be suggested that this is also an indictment on the school's part, and highlights its institutional culture. Very little was found in the literature to specifically support this finding. A possible explanation for this might be that the disjuncture between policy and the practice of it will lead to inter-racial conflict, and poor inter-racial and inter-personal relations between both teachers and learners of different races and backgrounds. Therefore, it can be concluded that this would then impact negatively on racial integration processes involving both learners and teachers of different races, and hence on the functionality of the school. It can thus be suggested that this is also an indictment of the school's part, and highlights its institutional culture.

An additional finding was that the school's institutional culture also includes not celebrating Heritage Day, which flouts national imperatives. Very little was found in the literature to specifically support this finding. This result may be explained by the fact that it is in contravention of the legislated national imperatives, in not celebrating national commemorative days meant to foster nation-building and reconciliation at the school. It can thus be suggested that this is to the detriment of the diverse school population of both teachers and learners of different racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, which negates their heritage and diversity and would foment further divisions. Therefore, this will impact negatively on racial integration processes involving the school's diverse population.

A supplementary finding is that there is teacher apathy in their not referring to their S.A.C.E code of conduct regularly, as it is a pivotal and indispensable component of their professional duties. Very little was found in the literature to specifically support this finding. A possible explanation for this might be that teachers assume that they are familiar with post-apartheid legislation. It can thus be suggested that teachers of different races would execute their responsibilities based on these assumptions and not within the true ambit of the legislation's objectives or to achieve them. Therefore, it can be concluded that this would impact negatively on racial integration processes at the school and lead to inter-racial conflict between teachers and learners of different races.

5.8.5 Classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions to address racial integration challenges at post-apartheid desegregated high schools

The fifth research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on what classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions can address the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. The researcher intended to understand the perceptions of multi-racial teachers in relation to this research question. The major sub-themes that emerged under the broad theme relating to this research question were: 1). administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy; and 2). classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions which are discussed below.

Administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy

The study found that there were varied teacher perspectives based on race relating to the challenges of racial integration at the school that have given rise to an administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy due to its political culture. This result is consistent with that of Vally and Dalamba (1999) who reported that “yet even the schools that are beginning to desegregate retain a racialised character”. This result was also reported by Teeger (2015) who found that teachers and school management prevented the established racial hierarchy at the school from being disturbed. These actions also demonstrate that they steadfastly preserved the institutional culture of unequal race relations at these schools. The present study indicates that both the coloured and white teachers highlight that the school’s current political culture is as it was under apartheid, and has not truly transformed in the democratic era. Therefore, it can be concluded that this would impact negatively on racial integration processes at the school and lead to inter-racial conflict between teachers and learners of different races.

Classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions

The current study found that there were varied responses from teachers of different races relating to their perspectives on what teacher-led recommendations and interventions could address racial integration challenges at the school. Very little in the literature was found specifically to support this result. Another finding was that both coloured and white teachers as political actors and agents of political culture were supportive towards addressing the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. Very little in the literature was found specifically to support this result. This result relates to them proposing classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions that could address these challenges.

A possible explanation of this is that most studies such as Naidoo, Pillay & Conley (2018), Teeger (2015) and Vally (2020) only explicate teacher reactions and responses but rarely propound teacher-led initiatives and interventions. This relates to teachers directly addressing the challenges of racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated schools and the ones in which they actually teach at. These results are likely to be related to the school's current political culture. It becomes problematic and gives rise to challenges of racism, inter-racial conflict and racial discrimination among both teachers and learners of different races and backgrounds. An implication of this is that the racial integration challenges will become protracted and incrementally erode interpersonal relations among the school's population. Therefore, it can be concluded that if teacher-led recommendations and interventions are given due consideration by the education authorities to address racial integration challenges, then this will impact positively on racial integration processes at the very schools in which they teach. Table 6.4 gives a brief overview summary of the emergent themes, findings and CRT arguments.

Table 6.4: Summary of the emergent themes, findings and CRT arguments

Emergent themes	Findings (summary)	CRT arguments
<p>1). The apartheid education system and socialisation</p> <p>2). Post-apartheid socialisation and the curriculum</p> <p>3). Perceptions of race</p> <p>4). The effects of racial integration</p>	<p>The role of political socialisation has a significantly more negative impact in racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools.</p>	<p>Tenet 1 of CRT highlights the permanence of race and racism and their intersectionality with other forms of discrimination such as class and gender discrimination including one's sexual orientation. This relates to: Theme 1, where it was found that racism is prevalent at President High School and is levelled by older white teachers towards black learners that they teach; Theme 2, where it was found that teachers of this school may be intransigent to embrace the democratic vision and ethos of the post-apartheid landscape by not affirming the content and objectives of the curriculum; Theme 3, where it was found that teachers' perceptions of race at this school could be linked to their entrenched racial identities of either racial superiority or inferiority emanating from their socialisation and educational backgrounds under apartheid.</p>

		<p>This leads to racial discrimination and inter-racial conflict between teachers among themselves, and between them and learners of different races at the school and; Theme 4, where it was found that teachers with more than a decade of teaching experience at President High School may feel that the effects of racial integration are having a minimal impact on this desegregated high school. They may become, or are, barriers to educational transformation and racial integration at the school.</p> <p>Tenet 3 of CRT highlights the commitment to social justice and social change. This relates to teachers at this school that are instruments of change irrespective of their apartheid socialisation. They are supportive of racial integration processes at this school and endeavour to contribute to it positively, e.g.,</p>
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		by promoting racial integration through the seating arrangements in their classrooms.
5). The role of learners	The role of political ideology affects the role of learners more negatively than positively in racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools.	Theme 5 is related to Tenet 1 of CRT, where it was found from the analysis that the ideal relating to the role of learners in achieving academic excellence at this school is being stymied by teachers. This is due to the permanence of race and racism and its intersectionality with other forms of discrimination as highlighted by tenet 1.
6). The role of teachers	The role of political communication affects the role of teachers more negatively than positively in racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools.	Theme 6 is related to Tenet 1 of CRT, where it was found that on the question of the role of gender, this study found that it is seen as a determinant among teachers in fulfilling their professional duties at this post-apartheid South African desegregated high school. This is due to the entrenched gender stereotypes and gender discrimination which have become

		normative at this school. This also applies to learners as well.
7). Policy and practice	The role of political dynamics affects the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa significantly more negatively than positively.	Theme 6 is related to Tenet 3 of CRT as this showed that there is minimal legislation awareness, greater levels of unawareness and legislation apathy among teachers of different races this school. This indicates that this would lead to the non-realisation of tenet 3 with the status quo remaining unchanged or deteriorating even further in relation to racial integration at this school.
8). Administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy	The role of political culture impacts both positively and negatively on classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions that can address the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid African desegregated high schools.	Theme 8 is related to Tenet 1 as both the coloured and white teachers highlighted in this study that this school's current political culture is as it was under apartheid and has not truly transformed in the democratic era. This is its negative role.

9). Classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions		Theme 9 is related to Tenet 3 as it was found that both coloured and white teachers were supportive towards addressing the challenges of racial integration at this post-apartheid South African desegregated high school. This would help in the realisation of tenet 3. This is political culture's positive role.
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5.9 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented and analysed the results of the interviews that were conducted in this study. The chapter employed matrices and tables to present data. Data were collected from the four multi-racial teachers who were the research participants based at a post-apartheid desegregated high school, i.e., President High School in the Western Cape. The chapter presented views of the research participants and compared the findings as related to the research questions of this study. The results of this study indicate the varied perspectives of multi-racial teachers in relation to racial integration challenges in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. It indicated that there are multiple factors responsible for this situation. In summary, these results show that racial integration processes have had significantly negative outcomes in post-apartheid desegregated high schools. The chapter then concludes by giving a summary of the emergent themes, findings and CRT arguments.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has presented and analysed the results of the study. This chapter presents a summary for this thesis as a part of the broader study that explored multi-racial teacher perspectives on racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. It presents the findings and conclusion in terms of the research objectives and research questions of the study. Finally, the chapter will provide recommendations based on the results of the study and declare its limitations. In concluding this study, the chapter will provide areas for future research.

6.2 Summary of the research objectives and research questions

The fundamental problem in this study as shown in the preliminary literature review is the negative effects of racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. This has led to serious racial integration challenges such as chronic racism, inter-racial conflict and racist incidents at these schools. Table 6.5 provides a summary of the research objectives and research questions of this study.

Table 6.5: Summary of research objectives and research questions

	Research Objectives	Research Questions
a)	To ascertain the impact of racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools.	What impact does racial integration have on post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?
b)	To identify factors relating to racial integration which affect the role of learners in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools.	How does racial integration affect the role of learners in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?
c)	To identify factors relating to racial integration which affect the role of	How does racial integration affect the role of teachers in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?

	teachers in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools.	
d)	To determine the effects of racial integration on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa.	What are the effects of racial integration on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa?
e)	To find out what classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions can address the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools.	What classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions can address the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?

6.3 Summary of chapters

A summary of chapters is presented below.

6.3.1 Chapter one: overview of the study

Chapter one commences with a contextual synopsis and presents a historical overview of issues relating to racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated schools. It then progresses to elucidate the problem statement of this study including its research objectives and research questions. The chapter also expounds on the significance of the study and ends by giving an outline of the chapters that make up the study.

6.3.2 Chapter two: conceptualising racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated South African high schools

Chapter two begins by conceptualising the issues of racial integration in post-apartheid high schools by reviewing literature of prior research related to this topic. It proceeds to explore the role of race and racism, its impact on society, and what previous scholars have established in this area of inquiry. This exploration entailed examining the debates that emerge on race within

Political Science. It then moves on to assess the resurgence of scholarship on the role of race and racial ideology by various disciplines in the Social Sciences including Political Science in the last decade. The last part of the chapter presents the theory underpinning this study, i.e., Critical Race Theory (CRT). Critical Race Theory underpins this study and is the theoretical lens through which the issues of racial integration are explored through multi-racial perspectives at a post-apartheid desegregated high school. The chapter explicates the origin, development and components of CRT. The chapter concludes by highlighting its strengths and weaknesses, including its justification as a theoretical lens for usage in this study.

6.3.3 Chapter three: racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated South African high schools: a contextual perspective

Chapter three discusses a contextual perspective of educational reforms and racial integration during apartheid from 1948 to 1993. It proceeds to give an overview and contextual perspective of racial integration in post-apartheid South African education. It gives an overview of how the post-apartheid educational reform legal framework is also related to continental frameworks and their critical programmes on democracy and human rights. It then charts the legislative frameworks that underpin desegregation and racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated schools. This relates to the legal and policy frameworks implemented in post-apartheid South Africa to improve racial integration at desegregated schools. The chapter concludes by highlighting challenges with racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated schools.

6.3.4 Chapter four: research methodology

Chapter four describes the study's methodology, including the procedures and processes involved, so that it achieves the research objectives. Interpretivism was highlighted as the chosen philosophical assumption because it directly correlates to the study's research objectives. This chapter elaborates on the research paradigms, research approaches, research design, research site, target population, sampling strategies, data collection methods, data quality control, pilot testing, measurements, and data analysis processes. It concludes by highlighting the ethical considerations of the study.

6.3.5 Chapter five: data presentation and analysis

Chapter five offers an analysis of the outcomes and results of the interviews conducted in this study. The chapter presents data comparing the views of the respondents that participated in the interviews.

6.3.6 Chapter six: summary of findings, recommendations and conclusion

Chapter six delineates the summary of the findings and conclusions of the study. The chapter firstly reiterates the research objectives and research questions of the study. This is followed by a collective summary of the chapters for the dissertation in its entirety. The chapter presents the results drawn from the study, adduces conclusions, discusses implications within its context and concludes by making recommendations for future research.

6.4 Summary of research findings and conclusion

The present study explored multi-racial teacher perspectives on racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. The purpose of this section is to delineate the research findings as presented in the preceding chapter. This section presents the conclusions drawn from the findings which are related to the five research questions of the study.

6.4.1 The impact of racial integration on post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools

The first research question in this study sought to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on the impact of racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. The researcher intended to understand the perceptions of multi-racial teachers in relation to this research question and particularly at the schools they teach at. The current study found that the teachers had varied responses in relation to the impact of racial integration on post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. These findings have been corroborated by other scholars.

The apartheid education system and socialisation

The current study found that the teachers had varied responses based on race in relation to the apartheid education system and socialisation having an impact on racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools. This could be related to their socialisation under apartheid with the formation of entrenched racialised attitudes of either racial inferiority or superiority, their educational backgrounds and teacher training. This could have either a positive or

negative impact on racial integration processes at schools. The current study also found that racism is prevalent at the school and is levelled by older white teachers towards black learners that they teach. This finding indicates that racism practiced by teachers is a serious problem at desegregated schools. Another finding was that the older white Afrikaans-speaking teachers at President High School found it difficult to adjust and cope when the school started to legally desegregate and allowed its first group of black learners. These collective results indicate that this would impact negatively on racial integration processes between teachers and learners of different races and lead to inter-racial conflict. An additional finding was that teachers can be instruments of change irrespective of their apartheid socialisation. Very little was found in the literature to specifically support this finding. It indicates that some teachers, although coming from a “multi-racial background”, are supportive of racial integration processes at schools and endeavour to contribute to it positively. Therefore, it can be concluded that this would impact positively on racial integration processes at the school involving learners and teachers of different races and lead to inter-racial tolerance.

Post-apartheid socialisation and the curriculum

The current study found teachers had varied and ambivalent responses based on race in how they relate to post-apartheid socialisation and the curriculum as having an impact on racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools. It found that teachers dealt with topics of racial inequality in the curriculum in ways that muted conversations around them due to their perceived divisive nature. Another finding is how teachers relate to the democratic vision and ethos envisaged for the transforming post-apartheid education landscape at desegregated schools. This result indicated that they may be intransigent to embracing this democratic vision and ethos of transforming the post-apartheid education landscape at desegregated schools. These collective results could be due to their ideological, cultural, personal and political beliefs including their socialisation under apartheid.

An additional finding was that teachers as political actors and agents of political socialisation could have antipathy towards curriculum reform in relation to its content and objectives. This relates to teachers either supporting or opposing the curriculum, its content, and their role in implementing it, which could be race-oriented. This could be due to the fact that teachers have entrenched racialised identities and are very rigid as a result of their socialisation under apartheid. These abovementioned findings have been corroborated by other scholars.

Therefore, it can be concluded that this would impact negatively on racial integration processes between teachers and learners of different races and lead to inter-racial conflict.

Perceptions of race

The current study found that the teachers had varied responses based on race in relation to perceptions of race as having an impact on racial integration in post-apartheid desegregated high schools. It highlighted that teachers' perceptions of race are varied and that the concept of race has different connotations among them. Another finding was that race is also often conflated with language, which gives various mutations of one's racial and linguistic identity. This result indicates that one can speak the same language but race ultimately becomes a marker of difference. A possible explanation of these collective results is that teachers' perceptions of race could be linked to their entrenched racial identities of either racial superiority or inferiority emanating from their socialisation and educational backgrounds under apartheid. These results have been corroborated by other scholars. It can therefore be concluded that this would impact negatively on racial integration processes at the school and filter into the classrooms in which they teach where there are learners of diverse backgrounds.

The effects of racial integration on post-apartheid desegregated high schools

The current study sought to determine teachers' perspectives on the effects of racial integration on post-apartheid desegregated high schools. The current study found that teachers with less than 10 years of teaching experience feel that the effects of racial integration is having a greater impact on post-apartheid desegregated high schools as compared to teachers who have more than a decade of teaching experience. Very little was found in the literature to specifically support this finding. A possible explanation for this might be that this could be due to their personal opinions, sensitisation to the realities, and first-hand experience of racial integration at the school which are related to their socialisation. Therefore, it can be concluded that this will impact negatively on racial integration processes at the school.

The first research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on the impact of racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. It fell within the broad theme relating to the role of political socialisation in racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. The collective findings of the four sub-themes which fell under this broad theme relating to this research question indicated results that racial integration has a significantly more negative impact at post-apartheid desegregated high schools in comparison

to the positive results that emerged, which were minimal. Therefore, it can be then concluded in this study, that the role of political socialisation has a significantly more negative impact in racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools.

6.4.2 The impact of racial integration on the role of learners at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools

The second research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on how racial integration affects the role of learners at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. The researcher intended to understand the perceptions of multi-racial teachers in relation to this research question. The current study found that the teachers had varied responses in relation to the impact of racial integration on the role of learners at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. These findings have been corroborated by other scholars.

The role of learners

It was found that there were varied teacher responses relating to the effects of racial integration on the role of learners at post-apartheid desegregated high schools based on race. The result reflects that of Vally and Dalamba (1999) who found that many teachers in post-apartheid desegregated schools denied the existence of race, racism and racial prejudice at schools and avoided discussions on these subjects with their diverse learners. This finding is corroborated by Ndimande (2009) who asserts that there are serious challenges within post-apartheid educational reforms relating to racism experienced by mainly black learners at desegregated schools. Therefore, it can be concluded, that this will have a negative impact on racial integration processes, including the role of learners at the school. This will also lead to inter-racial conflict between teachers and learners of different races.

Another finding was that there are teachers of different races who are supportive of the democratisation of education along non-racial and democratic principles. Very little was specifically found in the literature to support this result. They endeavour to implement and are pro-active in facilitating mechanisms such as alphabetical order seating arrangements to enhance racial integration among learners. Therefore, this would impact positively on the role of learners in achieving academic excellence, and on the racial integration processes at the school. It will also help build good inter-racial and inter-personal relations between both teachers and learners of diverse backgrounds.

The second research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on how racial integration affects the role of learners at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. It fell within the broad theme relating to the role of political ideology in racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. The collective findings of the one sub-theme which fell under this broad theme relating to this research question indicated that racial integration affects the role of learners more negatively than positively at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. Therefore, it can be then concluded in this study that the role of political ideology affects the role of learners more negatively than positively in racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools.

6.4.3 The impact of racial integration on the role of teachers at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools

The third research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on how racial integration affects the role of teachers at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. The researcher intended to understand the perceptions of multi-racial teachers in relation to this research question. The current study found that the teachers had varied responses in relation to the impact of racial integration on the role of teachers at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. These findings have been corroborated by other scholars.

The role of teachers

The current study found there was diverse teacher responses to the effects of racial integration on the role of teachers at post-apartheid desegregated high schools based on race. This result is consistent with that of Naidoo, Pillay and Conley (2018) who reported that many teachers came from diverse racial and cultural backgrounds and did not possess the requisite skills to teach learners of other racial groups. This is due to them being socialised under apartheid, attending racially segregated teacher training colleges, and teaching at mono-racial schools which were the same race as theirs. This result was also consistent with Vally and Dalamba (1999) who found that teachers were also ignorant about “the roots of racism, and could not distinguish between multicultural education and anti-racist education”. Another finding to emerge from the analysis is that the ideal relating to the role of learners in achieving academic excellence is being stymied by teachers. This finding is consistent with Meier and Hartell (2009) and Ndimande (2009) who found that there was language and racial discrimination towards black learners by teachers. This was to the detriment of learners and affected their role

in achieving academic excellence. Therefore, it can be concluded that this would have a negative impact on racial integration processes, including their role as teachers at the school. This will also lead to inter-racial conflict between teachers and learners of different races.

The third research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on how racial integration affects the role of teachers at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. It fell within the broad theme relating to the role of political communication in racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. The collective findings of the one sub-theme which fell under this broad theme relating to this research question indicated that racial integration affects the role of teachers more negatively than positively at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. Therefore, it can be then concluded in this study, that the role of political communication affects the role of teachers more negatively than positively in racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools.

6.4.4 The effects of racial integration on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa

The fourth research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on how racial integration affects the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa. The researcher intended to understand the perceptions of multi-racial teachers in relation to this research question. The current study found that there are varied responses in relation to how teachers of different races perceive the effects of racial integration on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa. These findings have been corroborated by other scholars.

Policy and practice

The current study found that there are varied responses in relation to how teachers of different races perceive the effects of racial integration on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa. This finding is consistent with that of Vandeyar (2010) who found that the impact of post-apartheid educational transformation and the implementation of educational reforms through legislation like SASA (1996) and White Paper 6 (2001) posed serious challenges for teachers. These results also reflect those of Ndimande (2009) who found that there was a disjuncture between the policy implemented and the practice of it to achieve meaningful racial integration. Another finding was that teachers do not have White Paper 6 in their staff room to refer to and remind themselves of their

professional obligations in the democratic education landscape. Very little was found in the literature to specifically support this finding. Therefore, it can be concluded that this would impact negatively on racial integration processes involving both learners and teachers of different races, and hence on the functionality of the school.

The fourth research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on how racial integration affects the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa. It fell within the broad theme relating to the role of political dynamics in racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. The collective findings of the one sub-theme which fell under this broad theme relating to this research question indicated results that racial integration affects the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa significantly more negatively than positively. Therefore, it can be concluded in this study that the role of political dynamics affects the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa significantly more negatively than positively.

6.4.5 Classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions to address racial integration challenges at post-apartheid desegregated high schools

The fifth research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on what classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions can address the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. The researcher intended to understand the perceptions of multi-racial teachers in relation to this research question. The study found that there was varied teacher perspectives based on race relating to this research question and its sub-themes. These findings have been corroborated by other scholars.

Administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy

The study found that there was varied teacher perspectives based on race relating to the challenges of racial integration at desegregated high schools pertaining to an administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy. This result is consistent with that of Vally and Dalamba (1999) who reported that “yet even the schools that are beginning to desegregate retain a racialised character”. This result was also reported by Teeger (2015) who found that teachers and school management prevented the established racial hierarchy at the school from being disturbed.

Therefore, it can be concluded that this would impact negatively on racial integration processes at the school and lead to inter-racial conflict between teachers and learners of different races.

Classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions

The current study found that there were varied responses from teachers of different races relating to their perspectives on what teacher-led recommendations and interventions could mitigate against the challenges of racial integration that have arisen due to the school's political culture. Very little in the literature was found specifically to support this result. Another finding was that both coloured and white teachers as political actors and agents of political culture were supportive towards addressing the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. Very little in the literature was found specifically to support this result. This result relates to them proposing classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions that could address these challenges. Therefore, it can be concluded that if teacher-led recommendations and interventions are given due consideration to address racial integration challenges by the education authorities, this will impact positively on racial integration processes in the very schools they teach at.

The fifth research question in this study aimed to explore multi-racial teacher perspectives on what classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions can address the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. It fell within the broad theme relating to the role of political culture in racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. The collective findings of the two sub-themes indicated both positive and negative results respectively. This indicated that the administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy at the school will have a significantly negative impact in addressing the challenges of racial integration at the school. This also indicated that the proposed classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions, if given consideration, will have a significantly positive impact in addressing the challenges of racial integration at the school. Therefore, it can be then concluded in this study that the role of political culture impacts both positively and negatively on classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions that can address the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools.

6.5 Recommendations

6.5.1 Research objective one: impact of racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools

The study found that racial integration has a significantly more negative impact at post-apartheid desegregated high schools in comparison to the positive results that emerged, which were minimal. This study also concluded that the role of political socialisation has a significantly more negative impact on racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. To better understand the implications of these results, future studies involving the DBE, WCED, education policy makers and practitioners could also consider addressing this chronic problem through a Political Science lens, as evidenced in this study.

Further research is needed to holistically explore the following findings as very little was found in the literature to specifically support them. This is so new insight can be gained in these relatively unexplored research areas. They relate to: 1). the racial divide, inter-racial conflict and racism that exists between white and coloured teachers; 2). teachers can be instruments of change, although coming from a “multi-racial background”, if they are supportive of racial integration processes at schools and endeavour to contribute to them positively, irrespective of their apartheid socialisation; 3). the role of gender is seen as a determinant among teachers in fulfilling their professional duties at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools and; 4). teachers with less than 10 years of teaching experience feel that the effects of racial integration are having a greater impact on post-apartheid desegregated high schools as compared to teachers who have more than a decade of teaching experience. Additionally, this study has shown conclusively how racial integration negatively impacts on the school as a learning environment and affects all of the school’s diverse population. Therefore, it is imperative to create a learning environment and culture of mutual respect and tolerance supplemented with programmes that highlight a zero tolerance approach to any forms of discrimination based on race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, language and a person’s place of origin.

Implications

The findings of this study will assist the DBE, WCED, education policy makers and practitioners to better understand the impact of racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools through multi-racial teacher perspectives. A key priority should, therefore, be to

recognise them as indispensable stakeholders, and to include their input in all future interventions to address racial integration challenges at schools.

6.5.2 Research objective two: factors relating to racial integration which affect the role of learners

The study found that racial integration affects the role of learners more negatively than positively at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. This Political Science study also concluded that the role of political ideology affects the role of learners more negatively than positively in racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. An approach to address this issue could be for the DBE, WCED, education policy makers and practitioners to re-evaluate the role of learners. The role of learners needs to be re-prioritised with a learner-centred and learner-driven approach where they are recognised as important stakeholders in addressing racial integration challenges at the school. This role should encourage them to speak out against any form of discrimination that they may experience from both teachers and fellow learners. In this way, they become instruments of change at their schools. They also become exemplars in promoting and enacting the democratic principles of equality, non-racialism and non-sexism. This will also give life to the equality that they seek to promote and aid them in achieving academic excellence.

Implications

In particular, these findings have important implications for the DBE, WCED, SGBs and SMTs. It will be beneficial to them collectively if alternative approaches such as this are considered in light of the findings this study has highlighted.

6.5.3 Research objective three: factors relating to racial integration which affect the role of teachers

This study found that racial integration affects the role of teachers more negatively than positively at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. This Political Science study also concluded that the role of political communication affects the role of teachers more negatively than positively in racial integration at post-apartheid desegregated high schools. Therefore, teachers need to be acquainted with and be exemplary in practicing the prescripts of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights which espouse a human rights approach, including the right to human dignity. This should be a fundamental and indispensable component of all their

lessons. They need to take a small portion of their lesson time to highlight these prescripts to learners so as to create a human rights culture at the school. Teachers need to attend education and training programmes dealing with teaching diverse classrooms, and conflict management and resolution workshops facilitated by the DBE and WCED. This is so that the role of teachers impacts positively on racial integration processes at desegregated schools involving both teachers and learners of different races.

Implications

These findings have important implications for teachers, learners, the DBE, WCED, and education policy makers and practitioners. It will yield positive outcomes by enhancing the positive roles which teachers can play in reintegration processes at desegregated schools. Therefore, education policy makers should prioritise these initiatives and make them mandatory for teachers to undertake as a pre-condition on entry into the teaching profession.

6.5.4 Research objective four: the effects of racial integration on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching

This study found that racial integration affects the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa significantly more negatively than positively. This Political Science study also concluded that the role of political dynamics affects the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa significantly more negatively than positively due to this. The fourth research objective sought to determine the effects of racial integration on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching and focused on the issue of policy and practice. These findings will be useful particularly to the WCED, DBE, SMTs and SGBs as there is a dereliction on the school's part in not making any attempt to observe or celebrate national commemorative days such as Heritage Day. Therefore, the observance of national commemorative days has to be mandatory at schools as this will promote social cohesion, and foster nation building and reconciliation, which are national imperatives of the democratic government. Further research is needed to critically explore the following findings as very little was found in the literature to specifically support them. This is so new insight can be gained in these relatively unexplored research areas. The findings are that: 1). teachers do not have White Paper 6 in their staff room to refer to and remind themselves of their professional obligations

in the democratic education landscape; and 2). there is teacher apathy in not referring to their S.A.C.E code of conduct regularly, which is pivotal and indispensable in giving life to their role as teachers.

Implications

These findings present the opportunity for future researchers to explore new research areas pertaining to the functionality of the school as related to policy and practice issues. This is related to seeking new understandings of how these factors impact on racial integration processes at desegregated schools. The findings may also be of assistance to the DBE, WCED, and education policy makers and practitioners in relation to a review of the challenges encountered with policy and practice issues. They will help them in consolidating a revised strategy for effective policy directives and implementation at desegregated schools.

6.5.5 Research objective five: classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions that can address the challenges of racial integration

The study found both positive and negative results. Firstly, the administrative hegemony and racial hierarchy at the school will have a significantly negative impact in addressing the challenges of racial integration at the school. Secondly, the proposed classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions, if given consideration, will have a significantly positive impact in addressing the challenges of racial integration at the school. This Political Science study also concluded that the role of political culture impacts both positively and negatively on classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions that can address the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. To better understand the implications of these results, future studies involving the DBE, WCED, education policy makers and practitioners should be undertaken incorporating the classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions proposed by multi-racial teachers that can address the challenges of racial integration. These findings also present the opportunity for teachers to be creative; for example, by hosting dialogues in their classrooms on the challenges of racial integration at the school. This can involve parents, fellow teachers, and interested community members, including learners. This can provide a platform where they can share their experiences, and give input and suggestions on how to best address these challenges. This will foster community participation through a classroom-based initiative and

raise much needed awareness on the critical issues being faced at the school and its impact on the broader community.

Implications

This finding provides the impetus for the DBE, WCED, education policy makers and practitioners to formally acknowledge and consider classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions proposed by multi-racial teachers in addressing the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools.

6.6 Limitations of the study

A few limitations in this study need to be acknowledged. Firstly, case studies provide an in-depth understanding of a “case(s), process and interactional dynamics within a unit of study but cannot claim to make any generalisations to a population beyond cases similar to the one studied” (Kumar 2011: 127). This is applicable to this case study in that generalisations cannot be made to a population of multi-racial teachers in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools beyond the case similar to the one studied at President High School (ibid.). Secondly, the scope of the study had a very broad focus and tried to cover racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools as comprehensively as possible. Thirdly, the most critical limitation in this study was the time constraints as a result of the lockdown amidst the Covid-19 pandemic. The researcher had to conduct scheduled interviews at revised times as per the principal’s directive. This related to the availability of the interviewees – for interviews to be conducted at convenient times so as to not clash with their teaching duties. Notwithstanding these limitations, the current study has strived to augment our understanding of racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools through multi-racial teacher perspectives.

6.7 Chapter summary

The present study explored multi-racial teacher perspectives on racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools. This chapter has presented the summary of chapters for the entire thesis and reported the findings. This Political Science study has shown the following in relation to racial integration processes in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools: 1). that the role of political socialisation has a significantly more

negative impact on these processes than positive demonstrated impacts, which were minimal; 2). that the role of political ideology affects the role of learners more negatively than positively; 3). that the role of political communication affects the role of teachers more negatively than positively; 4). that the role of political dynamics affects the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa significantly more negatively than positively; and 5). that the role of political culture impacts both positively and negatively on classroom-based teacher-led recommendations and interventions to address racial integration challenges. Subsequently, based on the results and objectives of the study, it also presented several recommendations. This study also delineated lacunae in knowledge relating to this topic and recommended areas for future research.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A: Gatekeepers letter



Hoërskool President High School

Tygerbergstraat/Tygerberg Street, Vrijzee, 7460

Tel no: 021-591-5181

Faks/Fax no: 021-591-5183

e-pos/email: hoof@presidenths.co.za

Skoolhoof/Principal: El Joubert

Dear Mr Chetty and Professor Sybert

Permission to conduct research study

Hereby the School Governing Body of President High School gives permission for you to conduct an off-site research study.

Please let me know how we can assist you.

Kind regards

El Joubert
Principal
24-07-2020

Appendix B: WCED – Institutional permission

Directorate: Research

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

REFERENCE: 20200804-7377

ENQUIRIES: Dr A T Wyngaard

Mr Kumresh Chetty
403 Marsubar Flats
Wynne Street
Parow
7500

Dear Mr Kumresh Chetty

**RESEARCH PROPOSAL: RACIAL INTEGRATION IN POST- APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICAN
DESEGREGATED HIGH SCHOOLS: A CASE STUDY OF MULTI-RACIAL TEACHER PERSPECTIVES AT
ONE SCHOOL IN THE WESTERN CAPE**

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
5. The Study is to be conducted from **12 August 2020 till 30 September 2021**.
6. No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
7. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number?
8. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
9. Your research will be limited to the list of schools as forwarded to the Western Cape Education Department.
10. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
11. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:
The Director: Research Services
Western Cape Education Department
Private Bag X9114
CAPE TOWN
8000

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.

Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard

Directorate: Research

DATE: 15 April 2021

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

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

Appendix C: Interview schedule

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR MULTI-RACIAL TEACHERS

Racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools: A case study of multi-racial teacher perspectives at one school in the Western Cape.

- Observation of ethical protocols guiding research pertaining to interviews.
- Introduction to interview, ice-breaker, build rapport with interviewee and make them comfortable and at ease.
- Answer any questions or concerns that interviewees may have and which may take place at any stage of the interview.
- Clarify and explain any information that is needed from interviewee at any stage of the interview. Sustain interest of the interviewee by facilitating engaging and/or probing questions if warranted and by active listening.

List of Themes/topics and questions and to be covered

TEACHER PERSPECTIVES

1. As a teacher at President High School, what are your perspectives on racial integration and the impact it has on post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?
2. As a teacher at President High School, what are your perspectives on race and racism and the impact it has on post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?
3. As a teacher at President High School, what are your perspectives on inter-racial conflict and the impact it has on post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?

THOUGHTS ON HOW THE ROLE OF LEARNERS ARE AFFECTED

1. What are your thoughts on how racial integration affects the role of learners in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?
2. What are your thoughts on how race and racism affects the role of learners in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?
3. What are your thoughts on how inter-racial conflict affects the role of learners in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?

THOUGHTS ON HOW THE ROLE OF TEACHERS ARE AFFECTED

1. In your experience as a teacher, how does racial integration affect the role of teachers in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?
2. In your experience as a teacher, how does race and racism affect the role of teachers in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?
3. In your experience as a teacher, how does inter-racial conflict affect the role of teachers in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?

THE EFFECTS ON THE FUNCTIONALITY OF THE SCHOOL AS A PLACE OF LEARNING AND TEACHING

1. What are your views on the effects of racial integration on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa?
2. What are your views on the effects of race and racism on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa?
3. What are your views on the effects inter-racial conflict on the functionality of the school as a place of learning and teaching in post-apartheid South Africa?

TEACHER-LED RECOMMENDATIONS AND INTERVENTIONS TO ADDRESS CHALLENGES

1. In your opinion, what classroom based teacher-led recommendations and interventions can address the challenges of racial integration at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?

2. In your opinion, what classroom based teacher-led recommendations and interventions can address the challenges of race and racism at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?
3. In your opinion, what classroom based teacher-led recommendations and interventions can address the challenges of inter-racial conflict at post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools?

Any other comments?

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Appendix D: Consent form

CONSENT LETTER

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL (For research with human participants)

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date:

Greetings,

I am Kumresh Sivalingum Chetty (218085392), a Masters student in Political Sciences at the School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. My contact details are as follows:

Email: kumreshchetty@gmail.com

Kumresh.Chetty@westerncape.gov.za

Cellular 082 8318 746

You are kindly requested to consider participating in a research study titled “Racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools: A case study of multi-racial teacher perspectives at one school in the Western Cape.” The objective of the research is to explore issues related to racial integration and its challenges in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools through multi-racial teacher perspectives. The study is expected to include qualified and permanent teachers employed by the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) based at President High School. The researcher shall conduct semi-structured interviews with selected teachers based at President High School. Kindly note the following in respect of your participation:

- a. That your participation in this study is voluntary. You have a choice to participate or not. You may also withdraw your participation at any time you deem without giving any reason;
- b. Your participation is highly confidential. No one has the right to know of your participation;
- c. no incentives, monetary or otherwise is available to participants and no risk is envisaged;
- d. all data, both electronic and hard copy, will be securely stored during the study and archived for 5 years after which all data shall be destroyed;
- e. all information given shall be treated with strict confidentiality and will be analysed strictly for academic purpose.

Kindly note that this study was approved having been screened by the Ethics Board of the School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu Natal in South Africa with approval no.

Considering the foregoing, your honest response to the questions will be highly appreciated.

If you have any doubt, question or concern, you may please, call on the research supervisor; Prof Sybert Muterekos (muturekos@ukzn.ac.za; +27312607951) or contact:

Mr. Premiall Mohun,
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Administration
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban 4000 KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Yours sincerely,
CHETTY, KS.
Researcher

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

I have been informed about the study entitled “Racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools: A Case study of multi-racial teacher perspectives at one school in the Western Cape.”

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to ask questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

I have been informed about any available compensation or medical treatment if injury occurs to me as a result of study-related procedures.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at kumreshchetty@gmail.com , Kumresh.Chetty@westerncape.gov.za, 082 8318 746; or

Mr. Premiall Mohun,
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Administration
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban, 4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable:

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview

YES / NO

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature/Date of Witness (as applicable)

Signature of Translator (as applicable)

Appendix E: Ethical clearance letter



21 August 2021

Mr Kumresh Sivalingum Chetty (218085392)
School Of Social Sciences
Howard College

Dear Mr Chetty,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00002854/2021

Project title: Racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools: A Case study of multi-racial teacher perspectives at one school in the Western Cape

Degree: Masters

Approval Notification – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

This letter serves to notify you that your response received on 08 August 2021 to our letter of 07 July 2021 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

This approval is valid for one year until 21 August 2022

To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

All research conducted during the COVID-19 period must adhere to the national and UKZN guidelines.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

Yours faithfully

.....
Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/dd

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
UKZN Research Ethics Office Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Tel: +27 31 260 8350 / 4557 / 3587
Website: <http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics/>

Founding Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville

INSPIRING GREATNESS

Appendix F: Certificate of language editing



12 January 2023

Editing Certificate

This certificate confirms that the following Master's dissertation by Kumresh Chetty was language edited: **Racial integration in post-apartheid South African desegregated high schools: A case study of multi-racial teacher perspectives at one high school in the Western Cape.**

Dr Karen Buckenham, M.A. (KwaZulu-Natal), PhD (KwaZulu-Natal), TESL (Toronto).

kbuckenham@mweb.co.za

DISCLAIMER: The English language editor used track changes for corrections and inserted comments for queries. The responsibility for effecting the changes in the final, submitted document is the responsibility of the student.